

“NOW I SEE THE IMPORTANCE OF HISTORY”: TRACING THE
GENEAOLOGY OF HIP HOP, YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE ACADEMY

TAMAR FABER

Supervisor: Dr. Nombuso Dlamini (York University, Faculty of Education)

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program Communication and Culture, York University, Toronto, Ontario

October 2023

Abstract

This dissertation analyses the development of hip hop's use in research and pedagogy in academic researching institutions. In particular, my research traces scholarly/ journal documentation of hip hop as an example of youth identity culture, taking seriously the ways that research has historicized and constructed the relationship between hip hop and Black youth over time.

I reviewed over 2000 documents using a Systematic Integrated Literature Review (SILR) whereby I manually coded academic peer-reviewed journals according to specific exclusionary criteria. Ultimately, 414 documents were collected, coded, and analysed according to various abundance and variety criteria such as keyword frequency, publishing year, journal, field of study, and methodology used. The trends and patterns that emerged formed the basis of my thematic analysis.

Through this comprehensive review, terms such as Culturally Relevant Pedagogy, Identity, Urban, Marginality, and Resistance emerged as leading concepts that often explain Black youth positionality in hip hop culture.

This dissertation asserts that the terms and methods used to articulate an image of Black youth identity can lead to particular outcomes for how such youth are imagined in academic spaces. There is confusion and complexity in the use of terminology regarding youth attitudes and behaviours, and this complexity often results in similar ideological narratives being produced time and time again.

My work joins with other scholarship that takes seriously the links between culture and power, and it highlights how academic and ideological legacies can be furthered and extended to reflect the young people at the centre of the research. The findings illustrate in part how institutional research can conceptualize, frame, reify, and position young people.

Dedication

*To those young people who created, fostered, nurtured Hip Hop and provided me with the tools
to build my politics and the sounds that have illuminated my life.*

Acknowledgments

Thank you to my committee and the professors who guided me to this topic through discussion and inspiration throughout my six years at York. Nombuso, you pushed me to expand my scope and vision in ways that I will always be grateful for. Because of our conversations, I was able to think through concepts and theories that I had never previously considered, and I want to thank you for that. Natalie, you have been a mentor in so many ways. I appreciate all the conversations we have had about both the personal and professional challenges I have gone through. You always considered me for projects and work opportunities, and that has meant so much to me. Thank you. Lastly, thank you to my classmates who became my friends and confidantes; you have understood this experience like no one else can.

Thank you to those professors and TAs who opened my eyes to critical thinking and Media Studies during my undergraduate degree at Western and my master's degree at Brock University, especially Dr. Chris Richardson who changed the course of my career and encouraged me to do my master's, present my undergraduate work at conferences, and offered me my first opportunity to publish professionally.

To Mom: Because of you, I tried to stay true to myself through this process and never waver in my beliefs and convictions. Your dedication to your family and loved ones is a constant inspiration for me, and like you, I hope to always prioritize the things that matter to me and stand up for myself and for those I care about every day and in every way. You are always teaching me how to focus on what matters and dismiss the rest. Thank you and I love you.

To Daniel: Throughout this degree, we moved in together, got married, bought a house, started a family, grieved together, and now I truly would not be here without you, and I love the life we've created together. You have always given me the confidence to believe I could

complete this. You have been curious about my work, patient, and supported me emotionally when I didn't see the finish line; you are a constant source of inspiration. Thank you. Watching you run a business and work full-time, excel in your MBA, be the best partner to me, and the greatest dad to Romi and Reuben has been my North Star. I want to be just like you when I grow up. I admire you and I love you *sooooo* much.

To Romi: The other love of my life. My smart, curious, funny *Romish*. Thank you for being a constant source of light and laughter. Thank you for motivating me every day. Maybe one day you'll read this and enjoy it as some light reading before bed, you little smartie.

To Reuben: You came into this world exactly one week after I defended this dissertation. You were with me during the hardest time of this journey – you sat in my belly and listened to my thoughts, felt all my emotions with me and kept me company during the long hours of editing and revising. You were the only one there with me during the defense and now that I know you, I know your chill vibe put my nerves in check. Thank you my sweet Reubish boy.

To Danielle, Rory, Micah, Maxie, Jonny and Erin: There were many times I could have spiraled out of control or buried myself in my laptop, but your love and levity kept me tethered to the real world. Thank you for pushing my curiosity, for understanding me when I literally couldn't speak after days of reading and writing, and most of all, for being my best friends.

And to my late Dad, a man who never gave up on anything in his life. I aspire to embody your strength, resilience, and inner confidence. Trying to emulate you is 100% what got me through all aspects of this degree. I'll keep trying for the rest of my life.

“If we could build a ladder that tall to come up and see you, we would, ‘cause we’re down here, and we miss you” – Gemini on “Free Chilly” by Lupe Fiasco (2007)

Table of Contents

ABSTRACT.....	II
DEDICATION	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS	VIII
LIST OF TABLES	XI
LIST OF FIGURES	XII
INTRODUCTION: SETTING THE STAGE	1
INTRODUCTION	1
PURPOSE.....	1
SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY	3
RESEARCH QUESTION	10
AT STAKE	10
CHAPTER OVERVIEW	12
CHAPTER 1: MY STATE OF MIND: REVIEW OF LITERATURE: HIP HOP CULTURE, YOUTH STUDIES, HIP HOP STUDIES.....	18
SCOPE OF LITERATURE REVIEW	18
A HIP HOP REVIEW	20
ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CULTURE	20
HIP HOP STUDIES	31
HIP HOP YOUTH CIRCUMSTANCES	36
THE HIP HOP GENERATION.....	37
GLOBAL HIP HOP	39
HIP HOP EDUCATION AND THE RISE OF HIP HOP PEDAGOGY.....	43
YOUTH, RACE, IDENTITY, POPULAR CULTURE.....	45
CONCLUSION.....	53
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS	55
DECONSTRUCTION	55
THE PRODUCTION OF KNOWLEDGE.....	58
THE ETHNOGRAPHIC PHENOMENON OF #BLACKLIFE.....	61
CONCLUSION.....	62

CHAPTER 3: TRACE THIS TO THE ROOTS: METHODOLOGY64

INTRODUCTION: THE SYSTEMATIC INTEGRATED LITERATURE REVIEW	64
RATIONALE	66
RESEARCH QUESTION(S).....	69
<i>STAGE I: LITERATURE REVIEW PLANNING</i>	70
<i>STAGE II: SEARCHING, IDENTIFYING, AND ORGANIZING STUDIES</i>	72
DATA ANALYSIS.....	75
<i>STAGE III: EXTRACTING AND EVALUATING DATA: LET THE TRACE BEGIN</i>	75
<i>STAGE IV: PRESENTING THEMATIC FINDINGS</i>	78
RESEARCHER POSITIONALITY	80
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	86
POTENTIAL LIMITATIONS.....	86
CONCLUSION.....	88

CHAPTER 4: DO YOU SEE WHAT I SEE: DATA PRESENTATION89

<i>SIGNIFICANCE OF THE QUANTIFIED FORM</i>	89
<i>SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONTEXTUALIZED FORM</i>	90
STAGE II: SEARCHING, IDENTIFYING AND ORGANIZING STUDIES	91
STAGE III: EXTRACTING AND EVALUATING DATA: LET THE TRACE BEGIN.....	96
CONCLUSION.....	114

CHAPTER 5: STAGE IV PT I: DOIN’ IT FOR THE CULTURE: CULTURAL EDUCATION AND LINGUISTICS115

THE JOURNALS	116
KEY FRAMEWORK CATEGORIZATION: CRITICAL PEDAGOGY, CRP & “CULTURAL LITERACY”	118
A) CRITICAL PEDAGOGY (APPEARED IN 36.5% OF THE TOTAL DATASET).....	118
The Deployment of Critical Pedagogy in the Dataset	119
B) CRP (APPEARED IN 33.8% OF TOTAL DATASET)	122
The Deployment of CRP in the Dataset	124
C) CULTURAL LITERACY? (APPEARED IN 30.7% OF TOTAL DATASET)	129
KEY CONCEPTS/PHRASES.....	132
METHODOLOGIES USED	135

CHAPTER 6: STAGE IV PT II: STAYIN’ HIP AND RELEVANT: POPULAR MUSIC STUDIES, POPULAR CULTURE STUDIES, COMMUNICATION AND MEDIA STUDIES, GENDER AND SEXUALITY STUDIES, DANCE STUDIES, AND VISUAL CULTURE STUDIES: CULTURAL STUDIES147

THE JOURNALS	150
CULTURAL STUDIES	152
BLACK CULTURAL STUDIES	153
YOUTH CULTURAL STUDIES	154
KEY FRAMEWORK CATEGORIZATION.....	155
IDENTITY (74.1% OF THE DATASET)	155

The Deployment of Identity in the Dataset.....	156
MASCULINITY (21.7% OF THE DATASET)	161
The Deployment of Masculinity in the Dataset	162
URBAN MUSIC (50.7% OF THE DATASET).....	167
The Deployment of Urban Music in the Dataset	168
RESISTANCE (44.9% OF THE DATASET).....	171
The Deployment of Resistance in the Dataset	173
KEY CONCEPTS/ PHRASES	180
METHODOLOGIES USED.....	189
 <u>CONCLUSION: WHAT’S IT ALL ABOUT?</u>	 <u>214</u>
 CHAPTER SUMMARIES	 215
SCHOLARLY CONTRIBUTIONS	220
FUTURE PROJECTS	221
FINAL THOUGHTS.....	224
 <u>BIBLIOGRAPHY</u>	 <u>227</u>

List of Tables

TABLE 1: JOURNALS INVESTIGATED.....	101
TABLE 2: FIELD	104
TABLE 3: KEY WORD COLLECTION.....	106
TABLE 4: METHODOLOGIES USED.....	110
TABLE 5: FULL LIST OF JOURNALS INVESTIGATED IN THIS CHAPTER.....	140
TABLE 6: FULL LIST OF DOCUMENTS INVESTIGATED IN THIS CHAPTER	141
TABLE 7: CULTURAL STUDIES JOURNALS INVESTIGATED	150
TABLE 8: FULL LIST OF JOURNALS INVESTIGATED IN THIS CHAPTER.....	199
TABLE 9: FULL LIST OF DOCUMENTS INVESTIGATED IN THIS CHAPTER	201

List of Figures

FIGURE 1: VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE INCLUSION/EXCLUSION PROCESS – TAYLOR & FRANCIS DOCUMENTS	91
FIGURE 2: VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE INCLUSION/EXCLUSION PROCESS – SAGE DOCUMENTS	92
FIGURE 3: VISUAL REPRESENTATION OF THE EXCLUSION PROCESS – TOTAL DATA SET.....	96
FIGURE 4: DOCUMENT PUBLISHING YEARS	97
FIGURE 5: NUMBER OF TIMES “HIP HOP” WAS USED THROUGHOUT A DOCUMENT.....	100
FIGURE 6: NUMBER OF TIMES “YOUTH” WAS USED THROUGHOUT A DOCUMENT	100

Introduction: Setting the Stage

Introduction

Born in the early 1970s as the next generation of the Black Arts Movement, hip hop quickly became the voice of young Black and Latinx youth in New York City (Ogbar, 2008; Parmar & Bain, 2007). Hip hop is the resounding voice of youth cultures worldwide with enormous potential for social and political change (Abe, 2006; Cepeda, 2004). Although hip hop culture can provide a counter-narrative to mainstream cultural values, it has also been a source of oppression and conformity. Hip hop has been adopted into neoliberal institutional and corporate spaces with such ease that the line on where its liberatory potential begins and ends has blurred. Currently, there are limited theoretical or conceptual foundations in the literature to critically examine the results of using of hip hop to describe youth behaviour, access youth communities, or explain youth culture. This study is concerned with the absence of a systematic model that illustrates how to understand the nature of the relationship between hip hop, young people, and institutions of knowledge/higher education. This is especially significant as hip hop continues to define youth cultures around the world.

Purpose

This dissertation questions the nature of academic work and wonders about the intellectual relationship between hip hop, the academy, and the young people who are often the centre of inquiry. To do so, it outlines the research trends, practices, tropes, and theories that have built the multidisciplinary field of Hip Hop Studies thus far. It compiles scholarly documents highlighting key developments, analyses the narratives produced, and provides insight and critique into the current state of knowledge. In addition, it looks at what can be done to continue, strengthen, and

challenge the existing research to make our own research stronger and more indicative of youth practices and behaviour. Questions of history, research trends, institutionalization, and identity knowledge production were all top of mind as I undertook this research project.

At this time, scholars who want to study hip hop and young people across disciplines and in multiple contexts do not have a resource that can help them trace the scholarly documentation that exists, particularly in peer-reviewed journals. Such a resource is crucial for understanding how scholarly research potentially produces a particular narrative about youth identity.

My research should be viewed as part of Hip Hop Studies. This project traces the intersections between hip hop and Black youth identity since, as mentioned, Hip Hop Studies are multidisciplinary and can be found in many different fields across the humanities and the sciences. I approached this work as a Cultural Studies scholar, which led me to be acutely interested in tracing discourse, power, and knowledge as it appears in such fields as Youth Studies, Black Cultural Studies, Communication and Media Studies, Religious Studies, Linguistics, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Popular Music Studies, and Popular Cultural Studies. Furthermore, I investigated those research documents that relate to young people's identities as they interact with hip hop culture.

While research, analysis, and policy are all important to protect and support youth in society, the principles governing the construction of said young people offer too little by assuming too much (Iwamoto, 2003; Hopkinson & Moore, 2006; Gabriel, 2013; Peterson, 2014; Patton, 2013). In 2001, in an interview with Handel Kashope Wright, Larry Grossberg discussed his colleague Stuart Hall:

[Hall] is criticizing the kind of comfortable position the academy teaches us to occupy; where you have a theory that you deploy over and over again without any effort to

measure the theory against the demands of the messy world of people's lives, social institutions and relations of power. (Grossberg in Wright, 2001, p. 135)

In particular, Grossberg pointed out the significant body of work in Cultural Studies that is concerned with the difference within identity (p. 135). In this interview, Grossberg went on to state that he believes Cultural Studies in general is not doing very well and that for him, the illness lies in the significant body of work in Cultural Studies where "one more time" is concerned with the construction of the other in a text (p. 136). Giroux (2004) asked how symbolic and institutional forms of power are entangled in "constructing identity, modes of political agency and the social world itself" (p. 59).

Significance of the Study

Because researchers in higher education tend to produce new knowledge by processing existing knowledge, one needs to trace the origins of our thinking. Thus, the significance of my study has to do partly with the production of knowledge itself. Drucker (1993) suggests that knowledge is a meaningful resource in capitalist society that produces results that are most useful outside the person with the knowledge, that is, for society, for the economy, or for the advancement of knowledge itself (p. 46). Knowledge intended for the advancement of knowledge itself is a main focus here; for this project, I considered how knowledge about young people has been produced and maintained in the context of academic research spaces.

In North America, it has been impossible in dominant discourses not to acknowledge the contribution of Black people to major historical events that have shaped popular culture, nationhood, citizenship, and politics. Even though Whiteness is often constructed as official public ideology, the presence of Black people is an integral part of nationhood in both Canada and the United States. In the American context, Whiteness is enmeshed with aggressive capitalist

ideologies, which results in the constant opening and closing of various discursive moments that highlight the presence and cruciality of Black identities (Wald, 1995). My dissertation explores the different ways that certain images/narratives are produced around young people, especially as influenced by hip hop culture and the area of study invented as a result. It focuses on the impact Black popular culture has had on how scholars pathologize youth discourses, and in the process, legitimate, naturalize, and reproduce certain concepts, institutional policies, practices, and arrangements.

When trying to grasp the characteristics of mainstream popular culture of the past 30 years, hip hop plays an integral role. Its influence can be seen in television, film, radio, internet and social media content, sports, and politics. Its reach is felt in the Middle East, Asia, and Africa as young people consume and produce hip hop culture in both hyper-local and global ways (Lipsitz, 1994; Krims, 2000). Hip hop is in many ways synonymous with contemporary mainstream culture; it takes on many forms and can be found in many facets of society: music, community art, globalized corporate industry, politics, academia, fashion, language, and education (Dyson, 2001; Rose, 2008; Romero, 2012). There is immeasurable value in associating with hip hop culture (Forman & Anthony Neal, 2004).

The emergence of the academic discipline examining hip hop culture can be traced to the 1984 publication of David Toop's *Rap Attack: African Jive to New York Hip-Hop* and Steven Hager's *Hip Hop: The Illustrated History of Break Dancing, Rap Music, and Graffiti* (1984). Although studies of hip hop can be found in academic disciplines from the humanities to the sciences, in most cases, research in this field has engaged in the historical and sociopolitical areas of hip hop, using Black popular culture as a backdrop with young people at the forefront (Miller et al, 2014, p. 4). Studies have aimed to publish critically engaged, culturally relevant,

and nuanced analyses of hip hop and its influence on society. Hip hop scholarship tends to emphasize hip hop's relationship to race, ethnicity, nationalism, class, gender, sexuality, justice and equality, politics, communication, religion, education, and popular culture (p. 6).

My project discusses the ways that these disciplines imagine, construct, and perpetuate knowledge about the hip hop youth experience, focusing on mapping the progression of the culture into academic spaces. This is important as we enter the fourth decade of academic research on hip hop and ask what kind of knowledge has been produced thus far and why is it important to continue to research hip hop and young people.

Being young is simultaneously envied and despised. On one hand, adults want to preserve their youth through increasingly industrialized natural wellness, alternative medicine, exercise and body preservation trends, diets, and an overall desire for “lifestyles of freedom from responsibility.” At the same time, however, adults hold the balance of power in society and often chastise youth simply for being young and irresponsible (Tilleczek, 2011). Youth, as a concept, is produced from a child/adult binary. The concepts of ‘adolescence,’ ‘youth,’ ‘identity,’ and ‘subjectivity’ are important considerations for this dissertation since ultimately, I am researching the connections between Black youth and hip hop culture as a youth identity marker and a discourse, or a subjectivity, through which certain people are constructed and can be spoken to/for. In accordance with Critical Youth Studies (CYS) scholars, I studied youth discourses to understand “the ways in which these systems of reasoning that operate across multiple sites influence how societies construct and frame youth as a social category” (Wright in Gosseling et al, 2021, p. 24). A key concept of YYS is that the imagined conceptualization of youth actually frames how society views young people. In alliance with YYS scholars, this project asserts that scientific and popular youth discourses promote the cultural construction of youth as a separate

social category, which is reproduced and institutionalized through hegemonic power relations between youth and adults. Dominant representations of youth set this demographic apart from both children and adults, while at the same time, suggesting there is a “homogeneity of experience, the inevitability of trouble, and the constant need for surveillance” (Griffen, 1997; Kelly, 2000). As Giroux (2009) points out:

In the current historical moment, young people are increasingly defined through a youth crime-control complex that is predatory in nature and punishing in its consequences, leaving a generation of young people with damaged lives, impoverished spirits, and bankrupted hopes. (2009, p. 4)

Meanwhile, under neoliberalism, youth are being “squeezed between policies which jeopardize their economic and social future and policies that demand they take more and more responsibility earlier” (During, 2005, p. 135). Consider this alongside the fact that despite many shifts to progressive disciplines and varied learning and teaching strategies, Black (primarily male) students continue to be disproportionally suspended, expelled, and punished in middle and high schools (Gosine, 2017). It’s not hard to see that there is a deep-rooted hostility toward youth, which reinforces the conditions they live under. Within these complex social relations, popular and academic youth discourses do a lot of the work in generating, legitimizing, and reproducing certain concepts and social structures (Griffen, 1993; Wright, 2015). The significance of my project lies in the promise that analyzing the intersection between hip hop and young people can bring to light the pathologized discourses that structure, produce narratives, and impact understanding of youth identity construction (Griffin, 2011; Vadeboncoeur & Luke, 2004; Wyn, 2012).

Black existence being constructed as a problem is an immutable fact (Dumas, 2016b), as has been revealed through systems and laws that were designed to restrict and discipline Black life (Coles & Powell, 2020, p. 115). For Black people in North America, Richard Iton (2008) tells us, there is an “inside/outside dynamic” that gets experienced asymmetrically as political disfranchisement on the one hand and overemployment in the arenas of popular culture on the other. Iton goes on to say that understanding the “precise nature of the linkage between popular culture and this thing we call politics” is critical for Black people as a way to map out the most effective strategies for emancipation (p. 4). In the United States, communities with a higher proportion of Black people experience higher rates of surveillance, discrimination, and excessive force by police (Smith & Holmes, 2014). Looking at the Canadian context, Toronto researchers have reported that Black males are more likely to be stopped by police than their White counterparts (Hayle, Wortley, & Tanner, 2016; Wortley & Owusu-Bempah, 2011), especially in, but not limited to predominantly racialized communities such as Jane-Finch, Malvern, and Regent Park in Toronto. As scholars like Rinaldo Walcott and Idil Abdillahi (2020) highlight, people who live this experience every day don’t need research to tell them how dire the conditions around them are, so it should be obvious that negative police interactions lead to greater risk of experiencing trauma (Geller, Fagan, Tyler, & Link, 2014).

The logic of anti-Blackness structures the social worlds of Black youth, their day-to-day interactions with people, institutions, and systems. Although this trauma is well documented, subsequent efforts to curb, heal, and support young Black communities often rely on similar folk-devil narratives and tropes that highlight things like a lack of personal responsibility, prevalence of broken homes, tendencies for rebelliousness, and lack of mentors and role models (Davis, 2017; Walcott, 2003). These “narratives invent, center and stereotype [B]lack

masculinity, arguing that it has become impaired or flawed because it lacks the necessary resources to produce ‘good patriarchs’” (Walcott, 2003, p. 60). In the past 15 years of research on youth of colour, scholars using a critical race studies approach have articulated the particular burden taken on by Black youth in schools and other dominant institutions (Lynn & Parker, 2006; O’Connor, 2020). These studies focus on understanding what youth must deal with and how they experience and perceive the world. I have not attempted to examine all the research that explores race; my review is limited to those studies that focus on the relationship between hip hop and Black youth in North America.

This project is concerned with the scholarly documentation of Black youth in relation to an associated understanding of hip hop culture. I examine Hip Hop Studies in terms of its presence across disciplines concerned with culture and trace how particular images and narratives are produced around Black youth identities, joining with other scholars who ask what we know about Black youth identity and how do we know it (Ibrahim, 2004, 2014; Ginwright, 2008; Akom, 2008b; Cohen, 2010). Furthermore, how do the values and pressures of research as a knowledge producer potentially impact what is known about young people? I have looked to scholars like Awad Ibrahim, Cathy Cohen (2010), and Nombuso Dlamini (2015) in thinking that when young people are kept as a distinct category in society, there is only room for a narrow and predictable range of interpretive options for how they are studied and understood. Specifically, this dissertation is concerned with the ways young Black life is constructed, engaged with, and researched.

Youth Studies scholars as well as Black Cultural Studies scholars such as bell hooks (1992), Stuart Hall (1993), Angela McRobbie (1994), Lawrence Grossberg (1996), Manthia Diawara (1996), Kobena Mercer (2003), and Rinaldo Walcott (2003) have pushed the boundaries

of our understanding of both how culture deploys power and how it is shaped within a variety of systems of representation, production, consumption, and distribution. I have followed these scholars who are concerned, in part, with the role the university occupies as a site of research, pedagogy, and knowledge mobilization, but most importantly, power. Research institutions operating under neoliberal ideology function more like a business than a place of education and enrichment. Taking this realization seriously means that scholars and activists have the opportunity to push progress and critique the roles that academics might play as “engaged intellectuals willing to link the imperatives of a radical multiculturalism or a politics of difference with struggles outside of the university” (Giroux, 2003, p. 83).

I was not concerned with categorizing existing work as ‘Youth Studies’ or not, but rather, following Deleuze & Guattari (1987), I am more interested in asking: Why are we conducting youth studies and what do we do with it? My work seeks to contribute not only to the development of Youth Studies and hip hop intellectual history, but also, as mentioned above, to the conversations surrounding research and disciplinarity. This dissertation will hopefully function as a basis for other scholars who are curious about the intersection of hip hop and youth culture. By compiling, organizing, and analyzing scholarly literature on young people and hip hop as a point of analysis, I will articulate how academic and ideological legacies have been constructed in the past to reflect the young people at the centre of the work. This compilation inherently necessitates working through long-held commitments to Western structures of knowledge that have built and nurtured academic institutions. Following Foucault’s (1980) concept of “genealogy,” my work asserts that the contemporary condition of scholarly knowledge cannot be considered without accounting for the structures that have made its dynamics inevitable. Dominant repressive powers want to shape history and memory: what can

be known and what knowledge can be acted on? What role does academe play? Which themes/trends define the field? By tracing this literature, I will map trends that reveal how scholars have developed work that contributes to the construction of the hip hop youth connection and why, if applicable, their work has been constrained by the institution writ large. My project is concerned with peer-reviewed academic research that articulates a relationship between young people and hip hop culture as a framework, methodology, or area of inquiry.

Research Question

Ultimately, this project asks: How does the scholarly documentation that connects hip hop and Black youth produce a particular image or narrative about Black youth identity? The relationship between Black youth experiences and hip hop culture is the crux of this project. In taking an academic canon as my subject, I will analyze the dominant themes and trends to consider how relations of power and knowledge are produced.

At Stake

As I worked through this project, I constantly came back to thinking about my role within it. I often think about scholars who are in precarious positions because they take social, political, and physical risks to contribute meaningful research to the canon. I do not take for granted the position I am in as a cis-gendered woman researching in a Canadian university located in the same city I was born in, surrounded by family and friends. In terms of my appearance, I very clearly fit in with the majority of researchers and educators in Canada as I appear White. I am also acutely aware that if I wasn't studying hip hop and Black youth identities, I would likely succeed in studying another area of Cultural Studies. I am able to transform my interests and

politics into my career, and there is immense of privilege in that I have voluntarily entangled myself with hip hop culture and the study of race.

In relation to my own positionality within this work, I also think about the relationship between Black people and (white) Jewish people in North America since the 20th century. Ultimately, Black people and Jewish people have a vested interest in combatting the oppressive structures of White supremacy, which forces all of us to adhere to structures that are set on destroying us. When stories are told mostly through and under the rules of Whiteness, we as neighbours, allies, researchers, educators, and scholars are all worse off.

That said, I am committed to ensuring that, as much as I can, I do not replicate oppressive structures in my interactions. I come into this work with a care for hip hop, young people, and youth experiences, and an intense curiosity about how we understand each other through popular culture, research, narrative, and representation. I struggle with how hip hop, as a primarily Black youth culture, gets used in research spaces, and the particular narratives that get perpetuated about youth behaviour. I am also aware of the longstanding and deeply problematic involvement of White people in hip hop. Because of this struggle, I decided to do my own investigation into the knowledge we have produced thus far to allow me to really untangle my curiosity and problems. For these reasons, there may be times when I appear to focus on Whiteness as central to my discussion of Black youth identity; however, my goal is to explore the incorporation of hip hop into the academy, a space that remains overwhelmingly White.

In thinking through what is at stake for me in this work, I am inspired by scholars like Jason Arday and Heidi Safia Mirza (2018) who discuss colonialism and empire in the university and who aimed to confront the tools of a racist patriarchy through their academic work. In their work they ask: What is the nature of changing terrain on which we struggle? (Arday & Mirza,

2018, p. 20). At the same time, they also acknowledge that they need to use those same tools to dismantle the existing conditions of their lives. As Audre Lorde stated: "... For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own games, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change" (Lorde, 2007, pp. 110-112). This is especially pressing as the university continues to behave like a business enterprise, operating in a highly regulated and competitive commercial marketplace (Collini, 2017). El Jagoe (2019) discusses the nature of the academy and states that the academic is not outside the market that turns teaching and research into capital (El Jagoe, 2019, p. 235). We cannot separate the academy from an economic system that reduces human potentiality to commodity and investment, a system where the best professors are characterized as entrepreneurial and investment-savvy by obtaining grants and fellowships, generating projects and publications, and circulating themselves and conferences to enhance their value (Brown, 2015, p. 37). At the core, I look at the academy as an institutional, neoliberal knowledge producer and I hope to join other scholars who believe that if their work is done properly, the academic institution in its current form will no longer exist.

Chapter Overview

The first chapter of this project, "My State of Mind: Review of Literature: Hip Hop Culture, Youth Studies, Hip Hop Studies," provides a review of the literature of the two interrelated fields that comprise this project: Hip Hop Studies and interdisciplinary youth research. In this chapter, I first outline the origins and development of hip hop culture. Understanding the cultural impact of hip hop lays a foundation for understanding its incorporation into the academy. Next, I discuss the key developments in Hip Hop Studies that solidified it as a field of study, highlighting in particular the developments that discuss hip hop as youth culture. Tricia Rose (1994), Murray

Forman and Mark Anthony Neal (2004), Bakari Kitwana (2002), Christopher Emdin (2011) all contributed heavily to this literature. Finally, I review the literature articulating the relationship between Black youth identity and popular culture. Here, research on race, identity, and popular culture emerge as key foregrounding areas of inquiry, highlighting Awad Ibrahim (2004, 2014), A. A. Akom (2008b), and Cathy Cohen (2010); their work on how and why popular culture has been instrumental in Black youth identity work has helped me carve out the history that points to the current moment in academic thinking.

Chapter 2, “Theoretical Foundations,” sets out the overarching theoretical frameworks, which I lean on throughout my work. Throughout this chapter I discuss how Deconstruction (Derrida, Saussure, Louis Gates Jr.), The Production of Knowledge, and #Blacklife (Walcott & Abdilahi) serve as the grounding for my theoretical investigating. Recognizing that the past powerfully shapes the present has directed my approach to my subject. This piece of my theoretical puzzle is wrapped up in questions about the nature of knowledge itself, and I have looked specifically at the framings, debates, and knowledges of culture, power, young people, and hip hop, with the recognition that past and existing knowledge, language, discursive structures, etc. powerfully shape the present and in turn, potentially predict future knowledge. Understanding what existing theories say about the ways we come to know the world is crucial to the project and has directed me in the particular literature I review here.

Chapter 3, “Trace This to the Roots: Methodology and The Trace,” describes my methodology. I carried out a systematic literature review as well as a thematic analysis of this literature. John Law (2004) explains that methods don't just describe social realities; they also help to create them. In so doing, methods are always political and the question of what kind of social reality researchers create becomes crucial (p. 1). In this section I looked, in part, to John

Law (2004) and Maggie MacLure (2001) to explain the use and functionality of what they refer to as a 'trace' and its relationship to the Deleuzian school of thought that says, in part, that instead of assuming a set of specific external realities upon which we can know the world, we should understand that "whatever there is in the world cannot be properly or finally caught in the webs of inquiry found in science and social science (or any other form of knowing)" (Law, 2004, p. 8). My methodology reflects my larger ontological questions: How is cultural hegemonic knowledge (re)produced? Epistemologically, I ask about the relation of the knower to the known. The hip hop literature I am concerned with is framed within particular power relationships where- young people are positioned as subjects of research studies, and thus, the objects of the desire for knowing. How are young people located within the research? More than that, how do we study and interrogate those who are tasked with knowledge dissemination like authors of youth-based publications and research investigators?

To provide a comprehensive analysis of the state of Hip Hop Studies, I carried out a systematic integrative literature review (SILR). The SILR consists of five stages: (i) planning the literature review process; (ii) searching, identifying, and organizing studies; (iii) extracting and evaluating data; and (iv) presenting descriptive and thematic findings; and (v) conducting a thematic analysis. I used the systematic method of critical thematic analysis (CTA) to examine the interrelationships between discourses, social practices of conducting research, power relations, and ideologies. Thematic development first involves examining codes (and associated data), then combining, clustering, or collapsing codes together into bigger or more meaningful patterns (Charmaz, 2000). Giving definitive answers, however, was not my aim; uncertainty is an inevitability, especially when discussing the quickly changing and adapting nature of neoliberal

White supremacy (Johnson, Joseph-Salisbury, & Kamunge, 2018) that can address the many mutations involved with this research.

The fourth chapter, “Do You See What I See: Data Presentation,” quantitatively and visually presents data from the trace, which I started in 2018 by compiling journal articles dating back to 1973 published by Sage Publications and Taylor & Francis Publications. Articles were considered based on the boundaries of my trace: only English-language peer-reviewed journal articles published between 1973 and 2021 (1973 being recognized as the official birth year of hip hop) from fields including Youth Studies, Black Studies, Cultural Studies, Communication & Media Studies, Education, Religion, and Linguistics. Within these broad fields, I looked for and chose journals that focus on the study of popular culture; equity in education; multiple dimensions of performance, experience, and identity; critical contemporary issues of young people; dynamic, innovative, and creative approaches on the subject of the Black experience; and cultural pedagogy. Articles with a title and/or abstract containing the term “hip hop” (and/or any of the five general elements of the culture; see “Scope of the Literature Review” in Chapter 1) and/or “youth” were then further analyzed. Some 8668 documents were scraped in the initial phase; this number was narrowed down to 695 documents through a rigorous, manual process.

Chapters 5 and 6 present the thematic findings from the trace. The thematic analysis focuses on synthesizing the main outcomes extracted from the literature and thus is useful for understanding the main characteristics of the field of investigation. My main aim was to highlight current trends and gaps in the research and to inform future research practitioners as well as others interested in understanding the nature of the field. At the end of both Chapters 5 and 6 are lists of all the documents that comprised the dataset. The full lists are included because this project is also intended to be a comprehensive resource for other scholars to use to learn

about this area of research. If they are interested in tracing where the literature exists, they can use this dissertation as a guide.

Chapter 5, “Findings PT I: Doin’ It For The Culture: Cultural Education and Linguistics” is dedicated to Cultural Education Research and the field of Linguistics; here, I discuss the theoretical avenues most often taken and how they have produced widespread understandings and narratives about hip hop's role as cultural form, a pedagogical tool, and a connector to youth. Throughout this chapter, I pay attention to the aims and scopes of popular journals, key conceptualizing frameworks that appear most often, and an analysis of keywords that frame much of the research according to the trace. To further analyze this set of literature, I look in detail at the different key framing concepts, key words and phrases, and methodologies used throughout. With this information, I could make conclusions about the state of knowledge production in the field. Out of the 695 total documents reviewed in this project, I investigated and analyzed 213 documents. This chapter is organized as follows: (i) an overview of the key journals that publish articles that determine academic trends and leading concepts, (ii) categorizing the key frameworks that guide the majority of documents plus a critical analysis of them, (iii) a critical analysis of the key concepts/phrases that are repeated and consistently used throughout the documents, and (iv) an overview and critical analysis of the methodologies used in the selected articles.

Chapter 6, “Findings Pt II: Stayin’ Hip and Relevant: Popular Music Studies, Popular Culture Studies, Communication & Media Studies, Gender & Sexuality, Dance Studies, Visual Culture and, Cultural Studies,” deals with the huge swath of Cultural Studies research. Specifically, this chapter organizes literature from Communications, Media Studies, Youth Studies, Popular Music Studies, Gender Studies, Race Studies, Dance Studies, and Visual Art

Studies, fields I have clumped together because of their orientation towards studying people, populations, and the popular. Here I have explored a number of questions: What are the themes and narratives about young people throughout academic research? What role do journals play? What key concepts have been constructed in these journals? How does methodology impact the kind of research undertaken? I began by highlighting some noteworthy journals and their aims to contextualize and justify my analytic choices. The review of the literature provides an overview of (i) key journals that publish leading scholarship, (ii) key concepts that appear, (iii) methodologies used, and (iv) my conclusions on what has been compiled.

Chapter 1: My State of Mind: Review of Literature: Hip Hop Culture, Youth Studies, Hip Hop Studies

*"Brain cells are lit. Ideas start to hit/Next the formation of words that fit/At the table I sit, making it legit/And when my pen hits the paper. Ahh sh*t!" - Big Daddy Kane*

This chapter contains a comprehensive review of two sets of literature that highlight the origins and significance of hip hop culture to Black youth. The chapter first discusses hip hop as a cultural phenomenon with Afro-diasporic roots, looking at Hip Hop Study with a youth focus. I examine the context surrounding hip hop music specifically and the process by which it moved from being seen as a simple community expression of art to a critical youth movement with an identity and a political formation that was then commodified and transformed into global youth popular culture. Second, this chapter contains a review of how race, identity, and popular culture have been used and developed within youth studies research, highlighting the importance of scholars like Awad Ibrahim (2004, 2014), A. A. Akom (2008b, 2009), and Cathy J. Cohen (2010). Laying out the foundational knowledge that prioritizes Black youth positionality reveals as much about the politics of academe as it does about young people's lives. This area of research into Black youth identity is a key problematic in my work. The important cultural and academic interventions made in these two areas build the roads that lead to my object of study: the scholarly literature that documents the relationship between Black youth identities and hip hop culture.

Scope of Literature Review

To focus even more narrowly on the boundaries of this review, I defined two differing but interrelated areas of research that contribute to my positionality. First, I reviewed the origin and development of hip hop culture out of the Black Arts Movement, spurred by Black and Latinx youth who were inspired by African traditions. This section positions youth at the centre of hip

hop and discusses the attributes that have led to the characterization of hip hop as youth culture. Circumstances in the Bronx created a fertile ground for youth who were looking to create community through acts of resistance. Throughout this project, I refer to rap music as the primary musical style of hip hop culture, representing one element of the culture (and the one that has become the most commoditized), while hip hop is a reflection of the culture as a whole.

In addition to my scholarly literature search, I have looked to multiple other sources to help me articulate the depth of hip hop for this section: magazines, blogs, music, podcasts, scholarly books, archives, articles, and dissertations. In my discussion of hip hop studies from the perspective of both Black culture and youth culture, I highlight key works that have contributed to my thinking about hip hop culture and its deep connections and entanglements with Black youth culture, drawing on notable hip hop historian scholars like Tricia Rose (1994) Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal (2004), Bakari Kitwana (2004), Bettina Love (2013) and Christopher Emdin (2016). This section also looks at how scholarly books, articles, journals, institutes, and organizations have provided a firm academic foundation for the field of Hip Hop Studies and asserts that “this data is just as good as any other academic data and is worthy of serious consideration and reflection” (Miller et al, 2014, p. 3). The study of hip hop now spans three decades and has enmeshed itself in many areas of scholarly research, most often under the umbrella of the Humanities including Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, Education, Communication and Rhetoric Studies, Religious Studies, cultural Studies, Critical Race Theory, Missiological Studies, Gender Studies, Linguistic Studies, Youth Studies, and Popular Culture Studies. To accurately trace the image produced by research on Black youth, I had to establish the circumstances that gave rise to Hip Hop Studies as the lens and vehicle through which Black youth are understood.

Following this, I laid out the key interventions made in youth research as they relate to the framing, debates, and knowledge of race, identity, and popular culture (Ibrahim 1999, 2004, 2014; Iton, 2008; Ginwright, 2008; Akom, 2008b; Coehn, 2010), specifically reviewing key works that have defined the scholarship, that is, the works that contain a framework for describing Black youth experiences and behaviour through their engagement with popular music culture. Young people have long been perceived of as being at the centre of the creative practices and cultural productions that advance culture, express resistance, and catalyze community change (Greene, 1991; Wright, 2015; Goessling, 2017, 2021). Here, I specifically looked at scholarly books and articles that articulate the relationship between Black youth identity and popular culture. This context makes hip hop fascinating and worthy of questions such as: What do we know about the ways that Black youth are imagined in relation to popular culture?

A Hip Hop Review

Origins and Development of the Culture

Hip hop culture is traditionally understood as a composite of five creative components: (1) MCing, also known as rapping; (2) Deejaying/DJing, or turntabling; (3) graffiti art/tagging/“graf”; (4) breakdancing, the hip hop dance form, which also encompasses a certain style and body language (Fogarty 2007); and (5) knowledge/knowledge of self and *consciousness*, which is the continual commitment to the Black consciousness ideals of spiritual and intellectual upliftment by hip hop artists and consumers. The classic hip hop sound consists of (1) a breakbeat, whereby a DJ takes a piece or a sample of original funk, soul, and/or reggae music, manipulating it to repeat the drum pattern, and (2) rapping, or rhyming, on top of the beat where MCs put together smooth talking, rhyming, and humour, taking elements from poetry and jazz stylings to tell a story and endear listeners. In its earliest iteration, the combination of these

two elements brought the breakdancers to the dance floor, creating the essential elements for the original hip hop party.

As a cultural phenomenon, hip hop is a complex and contested terrain, but undoubtedly, it originated with young people following in the traditions set forth by the Black Arts Movement. It is widely documented that hip hop was born in the early 1970s. Folklorically, its birthdate has been traced to August 11, 1973, when, as hip hop originators like DJ Kool Herc and Grandmaster Flash agree, the first hip hop party was hosted by DJ Kool Herc and MC Coke La Rock at 1520 Sedgwick Avenue, South Bronx, New York City¹, when they were both 18 years old. DJ Kool Herc is a Jamaican-American DJ whose Jamaican roots influenced his performance and sound stylings, which later became integral to hip hop's form, from the rhythmic structure to the flow or "ragamuffin"-style DJ performance² to the organization of having "the selector" (aka the DJ) and "tha toaster" (aka the MC). Jamaican reggae producers and performers have long projected "their own powerful distinctive figurations of Blackness and modernity," speaking from a position of "anti-imperialist, anti-racist New-World Blackness" (Marshall, 2006, p. 33). The Caribbean character of American music has been partly attributed to the mass migration of Jamaicans to cities in both the United States and Canada, but especially to New York City in the mid-20th century (Patterson, 1987). The interplay between hip hop and reggae illuminates hip

¹ Trying to trace hip hop back to a certain date is a tricky process that has become highly subjective. When discussing August 11, 1973, it should be noted that this is understood as the first instance of a "community expression" including some of hip hop's central traditions: the DJ, the speaker system, the MC, and the house party. Noting the community instances of hip hop illuminates the organic, ground up nature of the culture and the haphazard, spontaneous actions on behalf of young people in New York (Neal & Forman, 2004). Scholar Michael Eric Dyson traces rap as an oral artform to Gil Scott-Heron's 1971 verse on "Here Come de Judge." When thinking about the barrier breaker that saw artists placing "rhythmic, repetitive speech over well-known Black music samples," 1979 is marked as the beginning of contemporary rap music with the premiere of the song "Rapper's Delight" by Sugarhill Gang. Grandmaster Flash's 1982 song "The Message" along with "New York, New York" are historicized as the "social awakening of rap" whereby social protest, musical creation and cultural expression were combined (Dyson in Neal & Forman, 2004, p. 69).

² "Ragamuffin"- style DJing is a Caribbean diasporic subcultural style that heavily relies on electronic music; like hip hop music, the art of sampling plays a large role in achieving the signature sound (McMillan, 2017, p. 74).

hop's rebellious, radical beginnings (Thomas, 2004; Gilroy, 2003, 385). Hip hop, like reggae, is part of the Black rhetorical continuum, as it "borrows from and expands a tradition of creative use of language styles and strategies" (Persaud, 2011, p. 629). Hip hop was created as rhetoric of resistance primarily to racial discrimination and oppression (Kopano, 2002; Spencer, 1996, 1991; Royster, 1991), attempting to create an aesthetic rooted in "Black resistance and liberation" during the Civil Rights Movement (1955–1968) and the Black Power Movement (1968–1974).

The Black Arts Movement of the 1960s sought to create liberatory art, which could be available to many people, especially people of colour, to engage and learn with each other away from the gaze of White people (Dyson, 2007, p. 63). Historically rooted in Black and Latinx youth in New York City, hip hop emerged as a form of artistic expression for young people living in dire conditions, creating art that voiced their despair, joy, freedom, confinement, desires, and resentments (Chang, 2005). Black diasporic young people attempted to make sense of their social realities and exercised resistance to racial and economic segregation, dilapidated housing, mass incarceration, and unemployment through music, dance, and graffiti (Rose, 1994; Chang, 2005). The physical division caused by the building of the Cross Bronx Expressway in 1972 destroyed existing communities by "plowing right through more than a hundred streets" and gave rise to racist federal and local housing policies as White families fled the area, leaving Black families in the inner city without assistance and resources (Price, 2006). Urban renewal simultaneously left housing limited, and Black and Latinx families who stayed in the South Bronx were pushed into shoddily built high-rise, low-income apartments (Asante, 2008; Price, 2006, Fab Five Freddy, 2022).

The elements of hip hop historically work together to provide a way to celebrate, understand, confront, and comment on life and ways of living (The Kennedy Center, 2023).

While its five components each have their own slightly different attitude and style, they ultimately share one ethos: those who are pushed to the margins of society have something to say about their identity, experience, and place in the world. As a result, young people living in the untenable situation caused by the expressway gathered in public parks and on street corners. Black cultural production often emerges out of repressive systems, with people using their local resources to help them reach for hope and radical imagination, and hip hop fit snugly into this legacy (Rose, 1994; Shabazz, 2021).

For most of its infancy throughout the 1970s, hip hop was relegated to the margins of North American society in both White and Black neighbourhoods, rejected and feared by politicians, teachers, and parents who deemed it violent, angry, and dangerous (Dyson, 2004). It was thought of as a passing fad, a Black cultural form that helped youth voice their anger about the tensions of a postindustrial economy, the grim prospects of upward mobility, the low levels of educational attainment, and racism: anger that would ultimately simmer down as they grew up (Dyson, 2004). However, as Tricia Rose discusses, it didn't take long for marginalized Black and Latinx youth communities in other cities like Toronto, Los Angeles, Oakland, Detroit, Chicago, Houston, and Philadelphia to develop their own local hip hop scenes built on similar post-industrial urban experiences, and as a result, sustain and build their particular culture in various ways (Rose, 1994, p. 60). In 1979, even more North American exposure to hip hop came when the song "Rapper's Delight" was released by the Sugar Hill Gang. This marked the beginning of commercial hip hop as the band members, ranging from 17 to 23 years old, were making music in a highly corporate setting, all at the behest of music executive Sylvia Robinson at Sugar Hill Records, who was looking to make music appealing to youth (Toop, 1984).

In the 1980s, the opportunities for commercial success intensified as musicians like Kurtis Blow started to reach wider audiences; Blow earned the first certified gold hip hop record with “The Breaks” in 1980 when he was 21 years old. Despite the emerging success of some artists, mainstream acceptance of hip hop at this early stage was not fully there (Persaud, 2011). Radio and television stations were still refusing to play rap music and *Billboard* did not categorize or define rap music in any way. Several conditions, however, began to coalesce during this era. First, the power of Black youth agency was becoming apparent; Second, hip hop was being made possible partly by a set of social and economic circumstances but also by technological innovations like turntables, records, microphones, and speakers. As Tricia Rose explains, young people being trained in vocational high schools in obsolete technologies for jobs that no longer existed responded to their marginalization by mastering modern new technologies like digital samplers (1994). She further notes that it was the way that Black youth were using and listening to cassette tapes that made hip hop possible because music had become portable; the ways they adopted and adapted to technology helped disseminate the early ‘Black noise’ and this made hip hop harder and harder to ignore (Rose, 1994; Persaud, 2011; Bennett, 1999).

It was really the late 1980s that hip hop began settling into its position as a marketable and lucrative music form for music industry executives. Nelson George commented on rap’s nationwide expansion in 1988 specifically when he wrote: “Rap and its hip hop musical underpinning is now the national youth music of Black America” (George, 1992, p. 80). In 1988, the annual record sale of hip hop music reached \$100 million, which was 2% of the music industry’s sales (McLeod, 1999, p. 136). Radio stations like Hot97 in New York (1988–present), television stations like Much Music in Canada with shows like *Rap City* (1988–2007) and *Electric Circus* (1984–2003), American national show *Yo! MTV Raps* (1988–1995), films like

Wild Style (1983), and print magazines like *Word Up!* (1987–1997) and *The Source* (1988–present) were influenced by young hip hop creators and solidified an industry with global media potential and a clear youth demographic. These media played a central role in making international youth aware of hip hop culture, music, graffiti, and dance (Morgan & Bennett, 2011, p. 182).

The industrialization of hip hop as youth culture continued in 1989, when DJ Jazzy Jeff and The Fresh Prince (Will Smith) won the first Grammy for Best Rap Performance for their song “Parents Just Don’t Understand.” The hip hop duo was clear about their imagined audience as Will Smith rapped: “You know parents are the same/ No matter time nor place/ They don't understand that us kids/ Are going to make some mistakes” (1989). As S. Craig Watkins highlighted, hip hop was “invigorated by the creative labour of a constituency not ordinarily regarded as interested in effecting social change: youth” (Watkins in Neal & Forman, 2004, p. 654). The originating voice of hip hop was loud and clear in terms of its age and perspective.

Meanwhile, the 1980s also saw the establishment of the rapper persona in the young Black male rapper. Hip hop scholar Francesca D’Amico Cuthbert (2019) discusses the roots of the rapper identity that young people built by re-imagining a “badman” trope (D’Amico Cuthbert, 2019, p. 141). This badman was nonconformist, lived on the margins of Black communities, and took pride in generating fear among White people and authorities such as the court system, the corporate world, and especially the police (141). Baldwin (2012) also theorizes that the “outlaw, anti-hero” aspect of the badman, or the rapper, celebrates their racialized marginality, hyper-masculinity, hyper-sexuality, criminality, and violence (Baldwin in Forman and Neal, 2012, p. 236; hooks, 2004). This established a hyper-racialized and hyper-sexualized framework that continues today in contemporary mainstream hip hop culture.

By the early 1990s, rap music accounted for approximately 5% of the music industry's annual income (Vaughn, 1992; Rose, 1994). As Kimbrow McLeod discusses, hip hop by this time had been transformed from being “an aspect of a small subculture identified with young, city-dwelling African-Americans” to a genre absorbed into mainstream popular culture (McLeod, 1999, p. 136). The 1990s were characterized by record labels finding artists who were embodying the ‘gangsta rap’ aesthetic and a hustler image, gangster rap being the most prominent and profitable kind of music emerging out of wider hip hop culture. Millions of albums were being sold to White teens, and the music and fashion of Black youth was faring extremely well in the marketplace based on the perpetuation of the gangsta/hustler image.

At the same time, as George Lipsitz notes, young people of colour were not themselves experiencing the same successes as they continued to feel the effects of tax cuts that ignored these adults of tomorrow through “systematic divestment in schools, the environment and industrial infrastructure” (Lipsitz, 1994, p. 18). At the same time, record labels and mass media executives continued to commoditize Black youth expression and use it as a source of pleasure for other youth listening populations. Similar conditions existed elsewhere where hip hop was popularizing. In Canada, for example, as Mark V. Campbell and Maya Stitski note, while Canadian media coverage of hip hop was limited, what coverage did exist assumed that the themes of violence, aggression, and hyper-sexuality were essential and natural to the culture, and journalists often circulated predictably anti-Black tropes and colonial narratives of Black youth as “aggressive,” “criminal,” “angry,” “rough,” “unprofessional,” and “mindless” (Stitski & Campbell, 2018, pp. 238–39). Hip hop culture and the associated popular rhetoric of media and politicians designated hundreds of thousands of noncriminal youths as criminals dominated by gangs. The result was, as Richard Iton (2008) expertly maintains, that the landscape of post-

Civil Rights Black music produced a Blackness that resulted in a subjected object – the young Black man – that was outside of the mainstream frame and in need of discipline (Iton, 2008, pp. 104–108). These circumstances were coupled with the reality that in the 1980s and 1990s, one out of every four Black males under the age of 25 in the United States was in jail, prison, or under some kind of probation (Lipsitz, 1994, p. 20). Images of youth ‘gang members’ became intimately associated with inner-city life.

Simultaneously, as mentioned above, it was young people who, both because of and despite their everyday life, were creating the hip hop culture that was quickly taking over as the mainstream cultural form. The year 1996 was a critical year in hip hop and is often thought of as the peak of the golden age of the genre. Bad Boy Records and Death Row Records garnered extreme popularity, and the tragic death of Tupac Shakur at only 25 years old put hip hop front and centre of mainstream media and news outlets. Rappers like Will Smith and Cash Money Millionaires were changing slang and everyday language, popularizing phrases like “getting jiggy wit’ it” and “bling bling.” Hip hop brands like FUBU, Ecko Unlimited, Phat Farm, Sean John, and Rocawear were experiencing record-breaking profits, earning hundreds of millions of dollars and changing the fashion landscape immeasurably (Romero, 2012). Youth culture in general underwent a “Black reincarnation [appropriation] via the Hip Hop aesthetic” during this time (Akom, 2009, p. 53). Before rap music, youth subcultures such as the punk movement had been able to gain popularity in the mainstream of mass culture, but the kind of commercial success hip hop was beginning to experience meant that it was also being stripped of its heritage, transformed and repackaged to be accepted and adapted by mainstream White audiences (Blair in Forman & Neal, 2004, p. 575). The central hip hop sentiments such as youth authenticity and honesty were becoming the raw material for cultural production by mass culture industries (p.

579). Rap music allowed mainstream listeners to easily consume emotions like powerlessness, risk, and nervousness, and thus feel like they were making a social connection to Black youth street culture. For example, *Yo! MTV Raps* was a popular show for the MTV generation and allowed the mostly White, suburban, male audience between 16 and 24 to see stars like KRS-One, LL Cool J, and Chuck D from the comfort of their own home. David Samuels (2004) notes that the show allowed “hip, young, White professionals to keep up with urban Black slang and fashion” (Samuels in Forman & Neal, 2004, p. 173). Millions of rap and hip hop albums were being sold to White teens, and as the mostly Black rappers and hip hop practitioners were becoming more publicly visible, they were valorized for being able to tell ‘authentic’ stories about their experiences as young people living in city centres. Selling authentic youth identities became the marketplace hip hop was inevitably trafficking in. Rappers were viewed as those who could grant access to that which was so often obscured or invisibilized (Beer, 2014).

In relation to those obscured stories, rap performances increasingly thrived on misogyny and homophobia during this era while cis-male practitioners hoped to gain visibility in the patriarchy (Morgan, 1999; Perry, 2004). Therefore, women and queer people were constantly subordinated and left out of having substantial power in the culture. For women in particular, the struggle to strengthen Black womanhood, already hard enough in the White supremacist capitalist patriarchy, also proved extremely difficult within hip hop hyper-masculinist circles as well (Rose, 2008, p. 2). Women wore clothes coded as masculine, gender-bended their speech and demeanour, altered the timbre of their voices to sound more masculine, and worked tirelessly on their raps and delivery (p. 3). Artists like MC Lyte and Queen Latifah stretched the normalized gender binaries. Queer identities were often used to strengthen the hetero-masculinist coolness of gangsta rap, and gay male identities became collateral damage as they were isolated

and demeaned time and time again. For male rappers, queerness was used as a way to humiliate rappers during rap beefs and to assert authenticity and popularity among male rappers. However, in a note to how varied hip hop has always been, there were artists like Salt-N-Peppa who began to use the music to speak back to the gender politics and dynamics they were forced into in their early twenties. Albums like *Blacks' Magic* (1990) featured songs like “Let’s Talk About Sex” and “Expression,” which expressed the politics of the Black female experience and sexual desire, and pushed back at the dominant discourses of women’s subordination (Morgan, 1999, pp. 56–59).

The emergence of socially conscious rap in the 1980s saw artists like Public Enemy, KRS ONE, Sistah Souljah, Brand Nubian, De La Soul, and others deploy their Black radical politics to craft a hip hop based on artistic, socially critical forms of social activism (Boyd, 2004; Hall, 2009; Kitwana, 2004). These artists positioned hip hop as collaborative, democratic, experimental, critical, and ever-changing; In 1987, KRS-ONE released “Poetry” and rapped:

Well now you’re forced to listen to the teacher and the lesson / Class is in session so you
can stop guessing / If this is a tape or a written down memo / See I am a professional, this
is not a demo / In fact call it a lecture, a visual picture / Sort of a poetic and rhythm-like
mixture...

And in 1989, on “You Must Learn,” he further centred education and teaching as his main mission:

It seems to me that in a school that's ebony / African history should be pumped up
steadily, but it's not / And this has got to stop, See Spot run, run get Spot / Insulting to a
Black mentality, a Black way of life / Or a jet Black family, so I include with one
concern, that / You must learn...

The subgenre of socially conscious rap also positioned itself as the opposition to the mass consumerist hip hop that was happening alongside. In any event, amidst the push towards highly commodified forms of rap music, hip hop was also becoming a significant element in the social construction of a certain reality, one that pertains to Black identity and is centered around the tenets of human consciousness and self-determination (Karenga, 1997, p. 59). It is important to note that the emergence of socially conscious rap has enabled future scholars and educators to imagine a pedagogical space where hip hop can be the connecting thread to students who speak the language of hip hop (Richardson, 2003). I discuss this further in the section on hip hop education.

The early 2000s saw yet another shift in the popular cultural landscape. Dr. Dre's *Dr. Dre 2001* (1999) went six times platinum, Eminem's *The Marshall Mathers LP* (2000) went seven times platinum, and Nelly's *Country Grammar* (2000) went five times platinum. Rap/hip hop as a genre now accounted for 12.9% of the American music market, replacing country music as the second most popular genre (Romero, 2012, p. 23). According to the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) 2000 consumer profile, rap and hip hop music buyers were the second largest segment of music purchasers (p. 23). Into the 21st century, rap music is still a primary sound for mainstream popular culture, and hip hop's social and political impact on young people now comes primarily through popular culture (Watkins, 2005). Hip hop launched a revolution in youth culture, where fashion, style, music, and "a sense of generational purpose" have, as Watkins says, come under its spell (p. 148).

In fact, as the proliferation of technological changes provides opportunities for social spaces to rid themselves of the time and space they were once bounded by, it has become nearly impossible to travel around the world without encountering some form of hip hop culture. The

dissemination of hip hop across Europe, Africa, and the Middle East has had an impact on the formation of youth identities all over the world, as well as a profound effect on understanding the social construction of youthhood and race. Greg Tate (2003) discussed the unique position hip hop holds in the 21st century when he wrote that hip hop's omnipresence – artistically, economically and socially – has become a paradox whereby it provides space for all Black ideologies from the most anti-White to the most pro-capitalist “without ever having to account for the contradiction” (p. 7). Hip hop culture is both global Black youth culture and American popular culture and therefore treads choppy waters as it navigates its image. On one hand, as Bradley (2016) noted, current commodified forms of hip hop and rap music tend to create a fetishistic idea of Black youth experiences and therefore a bubble in which Black youth are forced to exist. At the same time, as young people have done throughout history, their embrace of technology and new forms of expression enabled a transformative dimension to local and global hip hop cultures and communities, empowering young people to document and distribute their personal and local art, ideas, and experiences (Morgan & Bennett, 2011, p. 180).

Many researchers who view rap in a positive light also claim it can be an excellent educational tool. Rap music is useful in promoting awareness and educating listeners on cultural issues (Iwamoto et al., 2007). This is evident in the ways that hip hop has been taken up as a field of study in academic researching institutions.

Hip Hop Studies

The fifth element of hip hop is knowledge, or consciousness, of self. This element encapsulates the feeling, sentiment, and attitude of hip hop culture. Bettina Love summarized the importance of knowledge of self when she defined it as “the study of Hip Hop culture, music, and elements, alongside an examination of issues within one's surroundings to create positive

change in one's community" (Love, 2013, p. 8). The other four elements revolve around something visible and tangible, something people can *see* and *do*. Knowledge of self involves beliefs rooted in community, driven by social and aesthetic values that contribute to positive social change and experiences in one's life. Because this element is based on emotions and politics, it connects people from all over the world and has been the catalyst for people embracing hip hop in a variety of ways and creating an identity around their engagement with it. The essence of shared beliefs and values makes hip hop a worldview and a way of life. It is also the element that, in relation to this project, makes it a culture with identifying properties but also an immense pedagogical potential that has contributed to the development of hip hop studies. This section aims to highlight the pedagogical impact of this fifth element as well as discussing the origins of hip hop studies alongside the cultural expressions happening in popular arenas.

In 2004, when scholars Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal wrote that journalistic and scholarly writing were an undeniable part of the hip hop universe, they were highlighting that such writing provides important documentation of hip hop culture and allows it to be remembered for its tropes, trends, and histories, which continue to be built upon (Forman & Neal, 2004, p. 3). Asante (2008) wrote in his book *It's Bigger Than Hip Hop: The Rise of the Post-Hip Hop Generation* that putting "Hip Hop in its proper context means understanding the inextricable link between Black music and the politics of Black life" (p. 4). Hip hop studies is an academic space where Black youth are often at the centre of inquiry; establishing the prominent ideas in the field of Hip Hop Studies thus allows me to trace a particular area of academics and the production of knowledge that has occurred around particular Black youth identity since the 1980s.

Scholars began translating the important words of hip hop artists in the early 1980s, highlighting the cultural contexts that allowed hip hop to evolve as an art form (Neal & Forman, 2004, p. 3). As previously mentioned, the 1980s was a time when hip hop was garnering mainstream attention in mass cultural spaces and places. This coincides with the time when scholars began to position hip hop firmly in their discussions of American culture.

The emergence of academically oriented approaches to hip hop culture can be traced to the 1984 publications of David Toop's *Rap Attack: African Jive to New York Hip-Hop* and Steven Hager's *Hip Hop: The Illustrated History of Break Dancing, Rap Music, and Graffiti* (1984). Toop is a musician, curator, and academic. His pioneering work is a genealogy of rap, presenting the story of rap's development as an emerging music form. Toop's contribution began to establish a discourse around hip hop as a music culture. Years later, Nelson George (1992), Tricia Rose (1994), Bakari Kitwana (2002), Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal (2004), Rinaldo Walcott (2003), Mark V. Campbell (2012, 2018), Charity Marsh (2012), Elena Romero (2012), Mary Fogarty (2012), and Awad Ibrahim (2014) were among those who gave rise to a variety of scholarship that aimed to both document and theorize how hip hop can rupture and challenge prevailing notions of contemporary cultural conditions. Thus, much of the research produced since 1984 has discussed the social and political impact of hip hop in relation to the wider context of race, class, and gender. Hip hop scholarship currently generally engages in the historical and sociopolitical areas of hip hop (Miller et. al, 2014, p. 8). This scholarship can be found within Communications, Cultural, and African American and Education Studies, using Black popular cultural theories as a foundation.

Into the early 2000s, and in 2004 specifically, Jeff Chang, Nelson George, and Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal laid out hip hop's ontology, arguing that hip hop is legitimate

and worthy of a place in the realm of popular culture. *That's The Joint: The Hip Hop Studies Reader* by Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal (2004) and Jeff Chang's 2005 *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip Hop Generation* were two massive moments for the establishment of Hip Hop Studies. These books made a stand: Studying hip hop culture was as good as studying any other culture, and there are considerations and reflections to be made by taking it seriously. *That's The Joint* marks the establishment of Hip Hop Studies as a coherent academic field as it is considered the first time that scholars from the areas of Sociology, Cultural Studies, Critical Theory, Gender Studies, Critical Race Studies, Dance Studies, and Music Studies came together to build a reader and a rich resource for others looking to join the field in some way. These scholars considered hip hop to be a knowledge producer and an empowerment tool both to improve behavioral outcomes in youth and to shape society. *That's The Joint* was an inspiration for my own project in that it was clearly intended for use as an anthology and a primer for academics and others seeking to learn more about hip hop.

Over the years, this thing called Hip Hop Studies has grown and has sought to answer the question: "Why do we even need to study hip hop?" In their 2014 introduction to the *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, Monica Miller, Daniel White Hodge, Jeffrey Coleman, and Cassandra D. Chaney wrote that hip hop studies has attempted to fill a void in scholarship across disciplines where scholars and practitioners working in and around hip hop data look for an academic space with other like-minded scholars (Miller et al, 2014, p. 6). They asserted that as universities around the world continue to offer courses on the subject of hip hop culture and welcome hip hop artists and journalists as visiting scholars, the need for a devoted field of study grows stronger and more urgent. The ways hip hop is currently used and studied in the academic context is extremely varied, focusing on historical narratives (Neal & Forman, 2004; Dyson,

2004, 2010; Rose, 1994, 2008), gender (Morgan, 1999; Hill Collins, 1998, 2019, 2020; Snorton, 2013; Walcott, 2013; Love, 2017), technology and music-making (George, 2005), and education (Allistar & Pennycook: 2007; Petchauer, 2009; Marsh, 2010; Ibrahim, 2015; Emdin, 2010, 2016). Critical theorists have criticized the way the subculture of popular culture rap music is succeeding in the music industry, a largely capitalistic system promoting individuality and competition (Barron, 2013). On the other hand, some critical theorists often praise rap for the way it can be used to further the critical theory Marxist agenda and speak out against economic oppression and class relations,

Other areas of universities have noted the value of hip hop knowledge. In 2007, Cornell University implemented the Hip Hop Collection and UC Berkeley started a Hip Hop Studies Working Group as well as a fully focused course on Tupac Shakur. In 2016, Harvard created the Hip Hop Archive and Research Institute (HARI). University of Toronto Scarborough has an expanding hip hop community thanks to scholars like Dr. Mark Campbell, aka DJ Grumps, who also started the Northside Hip Hop Archive in 2010, an online archive that aims to capture the “many oral histories that best embody the essence of Hip Hop’s youthful exuberance in the 1980s and 90s” (Nshharchive.ca). Courses on hip hop are offered in English, Cultural Studies, Dance, Linguistics, Geography, Anthropology, and Sociology departments at a variety of universities including University of Toronto (Hart House), York University, McGill University, Queen’s University, Howard University, UC Berkeley, Stanford, Michigan, Yale, MIT, NYU, Princeton, University of Massachusetts, Columbia. Stanford, University of Michigan, Berklee College of Music, Texas A&M University, and University of Colorado Boulder. Germany hosted the first international “Hip-Hop Meets Academia” conference in August 2006, and in June 2007, the University of Wisconsin Madison started a comprehensive four-year interdisciplinary living–

learning program of study focused explicitly on the celebration and study of hip hop culture. Hip Hop scholars historicize and encapsulate the origins and development of the culture and in the process, make a case that there is space for hip hop in the predominantly White supremacist academy, a space where many Black and minority ethnic scholars often feel like “outsiders-within” (Hill Collins, 1998, p. 5).

The issues involved in Hip Hop Studies have become more complex as different fields come to consider it as a space and place to engage with, but the constant thread has long been that hip hop culture is built and sustained by young people. Below I discuss how scholars have imagined youth participation in hip hop.

Hip Hop Youth Circumstances

Tricia Rose’s 1994 publication *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* came out of Rose’s PhD dissertation, which is recognized as the first hip hop thesis in North America. Rose has long specialized in 20th century African American culture, popular culture, and gender issues. At the time of *Black Noise*’s publication, Rose was an American Studies professor at NYU. *Black Noise* is foundational in its account of the cultural context surrounding hip hop’s origin, and Rose was among the first to acknowledge the importance of hip hop culture within the wider American culture. Moreover, despite being criticized by some at the time³, she claimed that rap was “Black America’s most dynamic contemporary popular cultural, intellectual and spiritual vessel” (Rose, 1994, p. 2). Rose’s work contributes to the understanding that rap music specifically is a product of late 20th century African-American and Afro-Caribbean youth expression, which exists under the larger umbrella of hip hop culture (p.

³ Book reviews at the time criticized Rose for overly quoting secondary sources and perhaps being overly and problematically enthusiastic about Hip Hop’s impact (Baker, Jr, 1995, 672; Ramsay, Jr, 1995).

2). Rose positioned youth at the centre of hip hop culture while noting that the hegemonic culture is always seeking to define Black and Hispanic youth as both disorderly and criminal.

Rose also discussed the influence of the Bronx and city politics in leading young people to resist the miseries of postindustrial urban America. Rose expertly connected each of the five elements of hip hop culture within the context of postmodernism and deindustrialization, proposing that these social and political forces, coupled with Black cultural priorities, shape and define hip hop youth (p. 23). She continued:

The way Rap and Rap-related violence are discussed in the popular media is fundamentally linked to the larger social discourse on the spatial control of Black people...DJs and Rappers set up shop in parks and on street corners because they are unwelcome in familiar spaces of entertainment. (p. 11)

Rose's articulation of the physical limitations experienced by Black and Hispanic young people in American public space fits within a legacy of scholarship that understands where and how racialized youth exist in society. Rose's work lays a foundation for the construction and positioning of hip hop as young people's comfortable space amidst crisis and chaos.

The Hip Hop Generation

Bakari Kitwana's 2002 book, *The Hip Hop Generation: Young Blacks and the Crisis in African American Culture*, is critical reading material for understanding whom hip hop is produced for and consumed by. In this book, Kitwana conceptualizes what he calls "the hip hop generation" and defines it as African-Americans born between 1965 and 1984 "who came of age in the eighties and nineties and who share a specific set of values and attitudes" (Kitwana, 2002, p. 4). Kitwana's work is important in the development of Hip Hop Studies because he articulates the importance of age in the conversation about hip hop's character. Given the parameters he is

setting out, those people born just before hip hop ‘created’ are still considered part of the hip hop generation. As has been established widely, the original creators of hip hop were in their teens in the early 1970s, which says something about the perspective of the art, but Kitwana is pointing to the young people who were as young as eight years old when hip hop started. The hip hop generation includes people who were shaped by the hip hop creators and their output.

The Hip Hop Generation explores the attitudes and beliefs of young Black people connected to hip hop and asks: “Where are we going? What are the sociopolitical forces that have shaped us?” (p. xiii). Kitwana devoted this work to unpacking the ethical, political, and gender struggles unique to Black Americans who were in their youth around the time of hip hop’s emergence, a time that doubled as the post-Civil Rights era. It is decidedly not a book about rap music, but instead about the ways that Black youth are defined in relation to urban narratives, social protest, and lyrical boldness (p. 3). In some ways, Kitwana’s work carves out a unique group of people who are connected to hip hop in ways that others are not, but in other ways, the hip hop generation is not much different from other generations, both past and current, in that they are shaped by their context. The struggle of learning how to find a purpose is not necessarily new or unique to young people, however, and Kitwana discusses how the hip hop generation was impacted by a government that abandoned them, and left them with a defunded public education system and limited housing, an emerging inimical global economy, and the impending cultural domination of Black culture by mass media (p. 212). These circumstances encouraged the hip hop generation to unite and create positive habits and customs distinguishable from their parents’ generation: the Black Power generation.

Hip hop’s potential as a tool for challenging systems of cultural and political hegemony all while helping Black youth identify themselves is what brings people together on an intimate

level (p. 212). The consideration of young people at the centre of the production and perpetuation of the culture allowed scholars to think through how popular culture helps Black youth specifically navigate through crises. Kitwana contends that within the popular cultural arena, rap music, more than anything else, helped shape the “new Black youth culture” (p. 9), and his work advanced knowledge and understanding about the unique connections between popular culture and Black youth.

As a former editor at *The Source* magazine, Kitwana includes himself part of the hip hop generation and therefore intimately connected to its development. He writes in first person and refers to “our parents,” or collective thoughts about things like marriage and romantic love, thoughts that he shares with other hip hop generationers and which therefore become identifying characteristics (p. 107). In terms of scholarly positionality, Kitwana’s insider status has helped him capture and articulate the voice of the culture and generate questions and insights that others might not have an awareness of. *The Hip Hop Generation* is crucial to the advancement of Hip Hop Studies as a field of study in that it was clearly directed at other scholars with the goal of educating those in academic circles and potentially removed from hip hop spaces.

Global Hip Hop

Kitwana’s *Hip Hop Generation* has definitive roots in Black youth culture and has certainly articulated a history of who has historically been considered the center of hip hop culture. Additionally, as mentioned, the mainstream success of hip hop beginning in the late 1980s meant that it was being exported to global markets with rappers performing their music in London, Paris, and Tokyo (Stapleton, 1998). In the years since Kitwana’s work, the proliferation of hip hop around the world has complicated his original characterization and forced many to re-conceptualize what hip hop means and whom it belongs to. In many ways, hip hop has become

the language for popular and political youth culture around the world (Hall & Bennett, 2011; Pennycook, 2007), and at the same time, it has also become a conduit for scholars to analyze and understand its performance and authenticity in the globalized and glocalised world. As hip hop culture has spread to youth populations in places like Lagos, Paris, London, Havana, Beirut, and Tokyo, for example, there has been a realization that hip hop has a complicated relationship with identity, space, and place. Morgan (2016) discusses the ways that American global influences have opened up the emancipatory potential for hip hop and allowed it to resonate around the world:

“Hip Hop earned its place as a new lingua franca of global youth because it focused on language, culture, science, practice, art, disguise, play and power. It is an impossible ideology that unifies young people across racial and national boundaries while honoring their diversity, complexity, intellect, and artistry.” (p. 145).

In this way, hip hop leaves its cultural (American) origins and instead picks up different contexts and cultures as it travels around the world.

Significantly, it is not only artist contributions but also scholarly conversations around hip hop’s multifaceted nature that has changed what hip hop heads mean when they talk about ‘this thing called hip hop.’ Artists like Tiwa Savage (Lagos Island, Nigeria), Ms Banks (London, UK/Nigeria), Freek (UAE/Somalia), and Belly (Palestinian/Canadian) are understood in academic circles as engaging in a reorganization of Western hip hop tropes where local artists are not simply imitating American hip hop, but creating a different variety based on local politics and aesthetics. Their artistry can be viewed alongside the work of scholars like Tony Mitchell (2001) and Alastair Pennycook (2003, 2007) who discuss the global flow of “cultural and linguistic forms and ideas associated with Hip Hop on the one hand, and the local appropriation

and refashioning of these forms and ideas on the other (Pennycook, 2007, pp. 6–7). In their discussion, the boundaries between local and global are troubled, but also the very idea of boundaries is brought into question. As Bynoe (2002) posits, thinking that cultural expressions born in the US and heavily inspired by Blackness can speak for everyone, regardless of their individuality, relies on nation-centric ideas of culture and therefore potentially misinterprets Blackness in other countries that don't have the same cultural context, history, and politics (Bynoe, 2002, p. 79).

In relation to theories of globalization, how can we understand how hip hop is transported and adapted? In this context, ideas around Blackness and diasporic identity are important. Osumare (2001) argues that African-American popular culture is at the centre of global youth culture (2001, p. 172). She reveals how individuals around the world develop “authentic Hip Hop” in their locales but also shape their own hip hop culture based on the international conceptualization of Black identity. Yvonne Bynoe (2002) similarly discusses this as she analyses “real” hip hop and the imagination of authenticity that comes along with Black significations within hip hop (p. 77). For Bynoe, the global formation of hip hop is deeply intertwined with the world misinterpreting and reconfiguring “popular understandings of Black culture to fit their own narratives, thus drastically distorting the nature of Hip Hop” (p. 77). The result is the continuation of Black silencing, which facilitates a larger commodification of Blackness on a global scale.

Similarly, it is worth noting that, as Bennett and Hall (2011) discussed, there are also many instances where youth populations use hip hop sentiments such as authenticity and honesty as the raw material for their own cultural industry production. Bennett (1999) and Fenn and Perullo (2000) discuss regional hip hop and note the imitation phase often seen when hip hop

enters a new area. For example, the incorporation of rap and hip hop in Japanese youth scenes is complicated by the fact that Japanese youth have used chemicals to darken their skin and grow afros in an effort to mimic Black American aesthetics and images (2011, p. 179). After this imitation phase, however, hip hop most often indigenizes in that local area and takes on its own unique character in that particular locale. Engagement with specific sites of hip hop cultural practice, production, and performance in different parts of the world “demands a perspective that favours the plurality of Hip Hop Cultures over the singular and monolithic Hip Hop Culture” (Harris, 2019, p. 44).

At the same time, Mitchell’s identification of “global noise” (2001) led to a massive explosion in the scholarship of this subfield, and including the addition of such topics as linguistics, feminism, and performance that effectively complicated the normative understanding of the genre. Alongside the conversation on localized politics, global Hip Hop Studies also pay specific attention to appropriation, authenticity, and identity (Harris, 2019, p. 38). Hip hop scholar Travis Harris (2019) postulates about the future of global Hip Hop Studies as he notes that there must be a continued privileging of African and African diasporic scholars, and that we must implement Performance Studies into the examination of hip hop; how people perform in the various areas of their lives will further point both to what is ‘real’ and to the notions of appropriation that further articulate that hip hop not be confined to a particular space or time. The emerging field of global Hip Hop Studies also provides an opening to discuss conditions, cultures, and hip hop’s use and value for social transformation, making its study particularly salient in classrooms.

Hip Hop Education and the rise of Hip Hop Pedagogy

The blueprints laid by artists like Krazy Legs, KRS-ONE, and Sistah Souljah are present in the development of hip hop as a pedagogical tool and area of study. Hip hop pedagogical practices invested in the power of the culture have illustrated how incorporating hip hop culture can challenge normative educational paradigms that have excluded the social practices of people of colour (Morell & Duncan-Andrade, 2002). Just like the radical raps of Public Enemy, scholars like Houston Baker (1993) assert that the rap resists the homogeneity of the authoritarian US state. When hip hop is considered a resisting discourse, bringing it into educational spaces requires educators to be committed to examining the ways in which they and other potentially well-meaning educators attempt to silence “languages of colour” in White public space (Alim, 2011, p. 133). Ultimately, hip hop pedagogy was conceived as a way to combat the failures of public education which has not lived up to its full potential for many – especially Black youth (Kinloch et. al, 2017, 35). Historically, the inclusion of hip hop as a pedagogical tool has been applied to “urban classrooms” aimed at “engaging younger generations” (Dimitriadis, 2015; Emdin, 2010; Stovall, 2006). When hip hop is discussed in relation to youth work scholars

A significant portion of Hip Hop Studies is dedicated to merging the fields of Youth Studies and Hip Hop Studies with Culturally Sustaining Pedagogy (CSP) to create Hip Hop Based Education (HHBE). Awad Ibrahim (2014), Marc Lamont Hill (2009), Bettina Love (2013), and Christopher Emdin (2010, 2011, 2016) are foundational scholars in this area. Marc Lamont Hill (2009) defines HHBE as an umbrella phrase to “collectively comprise educational research using the elements of Hip Hop culture (i.e., rap, turntableism, break dancing, graffiti, knowledge of self, fashion, language), which inform pedagogy in formal and non-formal school

spaces” (p. 3). This area of research is built on the long-standing use of critical pedagogy as seen with scholars like Paulo Freire (1970/ 2000) and Gloria Ladson-Billings (1995). In this area of Hip Hop Studies, hip hop culture is seen as a catalyst for teaching Black, Latinx, and Indigenous youth their heritage (Love in Ibrahim & Steinberg, 2014, p. 445).

Hip hop in this way is used as a teaching framework interwoven with the students’ culture. Ibrahim (2014) articulates the urgency of incorporating HHBE into the classroom: “Black youth are an important audience for HHBE because Black youth tend to identify with Black cultural artforms, of which Hip Hop is one, and do so in part because Black students have been seen as marginalized and identified by the dominant culture as Black” (p. 120). Similarly, Emdin builds his theory and praxis on the students’ connection to hip hop and states that through HHBE, “urban students” can be valued, embraced, and engaged with in respectful ways (2010). Bettina Love (2014) argues that because of the impact hip hop has on Black youth lives, there is a clear need for pedagogy that meaningfully responds to the cultural and linguistic diversity of youth, and hip hop has become the element that links young people’s lifestyle to their school life. Hip hop has been theorized as useful in its ability to build solidarity among young people and to represent modes of cultural expression that give them a sense of purpose (Love in Ibrahim & Steinberg, 2014, p. 447). For HHBE scholars, rap is also the chief artifact of hip hop and therefore has a unique ability to provide an insider perspective on Black youth sentiments; rap music has consistently translated the voices of the socio-economically disadvantaged and discriminated against (Emdin, 2010). To sum up, this area of scholarship believes that anyone interested in bettering the conditions for racialized students must listen, learn, and engage with hip hop.

Youth, Race, Identity, Popular Culture

Traditionally, as Awad Ibrahim (2014) notes, studies of youth have tended to focus on understanding them as a special category (p. xv). Youth studies, which emerged in the 20th century out of Sociology, puts youth in a culturally, socially, and historically constructed category that sees young people as constantly evolving (Jones, 2009, p. 1). For Youth Studies scholars across the disciplines, the concept of youth is a product of 20th century capitalism and industrialization, giving rise to reforms in employment and education standards, which meant that people under 18 went to school instead of work. The result was the production of youth as a social unit protected by the government and privileged in society (Ibrahim, 2014, p. xvi). Over the past 120 years, the figuration of the young person in society has shifted many times, becoming a social and political category that has been used and abused in a variety of ways across fields, platforms, settings, and discourses.

This section of my review is dedicated to tracing how race, identity, and popular culture have developed in relation to the study of young Black people, and specifically outlines key developments in describing Black youth experiences and behaviour. What are the material and semiotic developments that form the ways that Black youthhood has been described in relation to popular culture? What are the key developments that have illustrated the imagining of young people's representations and behaviours? I highlight research that articulates the relationship between Black youth identity and popular culture alongside the ideological phases outlined next.

The key debates about the youth period have progressed over the past century and can be briefly identified in four phases, as outlined by James Côté (2017). In the early to mid-20th century (1900s–1960s), adolescents were seen as being in turmoil. The field of adolescent psychology emerged in the United States, and scholars like G. Stanley Hall started to delineate a

time in life that is between childhood and adulthood and noted that, in actuality, this was a time filled with delinquency and stress (Côté, 2017, p. 10). In the 1960s and 1970s, the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) subcultural model suggested that young people were rebellious and determined to act in opposition to their parents and other authority figures. In the process of being oppositional, they were imagined to be forming identities, egos, and morals that ran counter to the dominant capitalistic ideologies of the time. Into the 1970s and through to the 1990s, much of the relevant research on young people was taking place in the UK, with a continued focus on deviant youth, youth criminal groups, and others who existed on the periphery of society. This literature became part of a subgroup known as the Subcultures Project where young people were imagined as finding resistance through consumption and identity displays (Hebdige, 1988, pp. 17–36).

Since the 1980s, Youth Studies scholars have generally seen being young as a fluid identity marker, just one among the many other identities young people are juggling at one time. Post-subcultural theorists assert that the role of consumption becomes larger when it comes to young people's identity; more individualized tastes and multiple identities create a less stable subculture than the ones identified by the CCCS in the 1970s. Fashion, behaviour, and recreational activities are more indicative of who young people are at this time. This era saw an ideological transition from the subcultures project to studying youth under the umbrella of Critical Youth Studies (CYS). YYS views young people as “cultural agents” and embraces the “critical theoretical notion that the study of youth is political; the context of being a young person has everything to do with how agencies of power work, and how this work affects young [people]” (Ibrahim, 2014, p. xvi). YYS scholars invite us to deepen our understanding of young people and the systems they navigate by embedding youth practices within the contexts of

current national and global forces across geographic, socioeconomic, temporal, and cultural sites that are informed by ideology, power, and material relations (Ibrahim, Steinberg, & Hutton, 2014; Kamp & Kelly, 2014; Maira & Soep, 2005; Tuck & Yang, 2013).

Throughout all these ideological phases, young people have been positioned as being in need of discovering, understanding (mostly by authorities or adults), categorizing, and fixing. Through trying to discover the youth experience, and under the guise of youth protection, young people were and still are often used as rhetorical devices in public discourse to obfuscate social and economic issues. With this, the figuration of the young person in research spaces has also developed in an attempt to accurately represent and theorize what it means to be young in capitalist societies. Throughout Western post-industrial history, dominant youth discourses have framed adolescents through a pathological lens that views them through a deficit model. This perspective characterizes youth as “problems to be fixed” instead of legitimate agents both in their own development and in collective processes for community change (Lesko, 2012; Steinberg, 2011; Wyn, 2015). Such pervasive discourses constrain youth agency, limiting their opportunities to serve as decision-makers and knowledge producers (Wright in Goessling, 2021, p. 115). The research on Black and minority ethnic youth has been dominated by studies that focus on ‘problem’ behaviours (Akom, Cammarota, & Ginwright, 2008, p. 1); that is, when youth become contradictory or threatening, they also become a problem that needs to be fixed. Youth thus have become objects of ambivalence caught between contradictory representations, discourses, and spaces of transition (Giroux, 2012, p. xiii).

In discussing Black youth, Youth Studies scholars have often focused on representations of crime, delinquency, and violence in poor urban communities with at-risk youth. Thinking with young, racialized people in terms of their “assets, agencies and aspirations” has been limited

(Akom, 2008b). Instead, the figure of the disadvantaged young person growing up in an unequal society has been central to the foundation and development of Youth research from the 1900s onward. When looking at how Black youth have been framed, the conceptualization and construction of race have deep implications for how people think about each other and themselves. To understand the narrative framings that exist around racialized youth, Awad Ibrahim's 2004 definition of race is useful:

Race...is a network of meanings against which we negotiate our psychic being; that is to say, who we are, what future we envision for ourselves and others, and where we invest and find our desires reflected. Being a network of meanings or a collection of stories we "tell" ourselves and others and henceforth live by, race is a symbolic capital that is either valued positively in schools and in the larger society—if your narrative is the "right" narrative—or negatively—if your telling does not have the "right" infrastructure of the symbolic market of exchange: namely, possessing an authorized language, being an authorized speaker, speaking with authority and hence command hearing. (Ibrahim, 2004, p. 77).

In this way, Blackness is a process of becoming that is constantly being both tethered to and pulled away from society. When considering the context of Black youth in Western society, the social process of racialization and racism means that people are mapped against the hegemonic White state of mind (p. 78). So, as Ibrahim highlights the social constructions of race very clearly, he also notes that it becomes real in how it shapes lived experiences, opportunities, and outcomes for young people, something also articulated by scholars like Omi and Winant (1994).

One way this has manifested in both public discourse and research on youth is through the idea of moral panics. Stanley Cohen (1972), in his work *Folk Devils and Moral Panics: The*

Creation of the Mods and Rockers takes social deviance seriously and argues that “studying moral panics...allows us to conceptualize the lines of power in any society, the ways we are manipulated into taking some things too seriously and other things not seriously enough” (Cohen, 1972, p. xxvi). In these historical moments when moral values are in question, certain groups, especially youth and racialized groups, are seen as a threat to the existing moral and social order. In short, the discourse around moral panics describes a situation where certain groups are blamed for the harmful, negative changes in society that lead not only to significant social change but also to anxiety, whether rational or not. Scholars have noted that no age group is more associated with the risk of moral panic in the public imagination than youth (Thompson, 1998, p. 42). Racial conceptualizations collide with desires to study youth behaviour and have opened an area of study that discusses the public demonization of Black youth as a source of moral decline (Cohen, 2010). As such, moral panics have become a prominent framing discourse used to clarify the relationship between Black youth and the dominant society. It is often argued that responses to forms of popular culture that Black youth produce and consume – especially hip hop – are greatly exaggerated with respect to their contribution to social and moral decline. Moral panics sensationalise what are often norms of everyday life for young people. Where young people are discussed in relation to consumption, lifestyles, and politics, they are positioned as a threat to the moral fabric of society.

Gill Jones (2009) argues that consumption is an important vehicle for the construction of young people’s lifestyles and that this consumption is largely in relation to popular culture. S. Craig Watkins (2004) notes that the study of popular culture generally oscillates between two opposing poles: containment or resistance (p. 643). When it comes to discussions of resistance, scholars have long believed that popular cultures have the capacity to subvert dominant

ideologies and regimes or representations (Hall, 1981b). This means that engagement with popular culture, and music in particular, can often be a way of negotiating marginalization and attempting to shift the balance of power in matters of culture (Hall, 1992, p. 24). With this in mind, popular culture should be understood as a “perpetual theatre of struggle” whereby containment and resistance “remain in a constant state of negotiation” (Watkins in Neal & Forman, 2004, p. 643). This figuration has been incorporated into youth subcultural and post-subcultural theories that believe cultural formations like music can solve the collective problems experienced by young people and can thus change the contours of their lives (Watkins, 2004; Bennett, 2000; Hodkinson, 2007). Those who have been pushed to the margins of society often rely on music as a way to subvert, assimilate, and otherwise make sense of their condition.

Lipsitz (1994) asserts that as a highly visible and audible commodity, music comes to stand for the “specificity of social experience in identifiable communities when it captures the attention, and even allegiance of people from many different locations” (Lipsitz, 1994, pp. 126–7). Any study of young people and their music-based practices requires that one look closely at the “institutions, strategies and tactics underpinning the young people’s perceptions of their own developing sense of personhood” (Bloustein & Peters, 2011, p. 60). In this way, they note, musical praxis and talk about and around music activities – taste, engagement, production and consumption – become central to the ways that youth speak about, reflect on, negotiate, and create this sense of cultural self (p. 12). People look to music as a symbolic anchor, a sign of community, belonging, and a shared past (Bennett, 2000; Lewis, 1992). Music has long been theorized as providing a collective identity and a symbolic sense of community. The popular media invented, created, and produced by Black youth represents a distinct sphere of cultural

production and has become an essential location to think and theorize about Black American culture, representation, and politics (Gray, 1995; Watkins, 2004).

For example, Dei (1997) notes that identity is used to refer to definitions of individual self and personhood, and how the inner sense of self is connected to the outer perception of self (p. 241). To claim an identity, rather than passively accept one, is a political act that involves oneself and others (p. 241). In this way, identity also always acquires its meaning from what it is not (Hall, 1989, p. 1991). To obtain an identity, one must be perceived to be either identical to or identified with someone else while, at the same time, exhibiting some uniqueness. C.H. Smith's (1997) text explores the boundaries of identity in hip hop music specifically and notes that hip hop music is based on identity construction and the dynamic performance of that identity. S. Craig Watkins (2004) notes that “the most arresting features of [B]lack youth popular cultural productions represent distinct forms of agency, struggle, and social critique. But the vigorous commodification of African American cultural productions also develops complicated features” (Watkins in Forman & Anthony Neal, 2004, p. 644). In this way, notions of identity have been theorized as being tied to authenticity and “keepin’ it real” in a way that transcends the commodified world (McLeod, 1999). Black youth cultural style is seen as pushing the boundaries, shifting and mobilizing the popular media landscape. Black youth participate in popular culture in strategic ways that shake the existing terrain.

As mentioned, one way that scholars have envisioned Black youth identity as resistive is through the hip hop frameworks of authenticity and ‘keepin’ it real’ (McLeod, 1999, p. 140). This is a framework that valorizes individualism and demonizes conformity, aka mass culture. Black youth culture is understood to have flourished because of the notion of ‘keepin it real,’ which refers to staying true to yourself and representing who you are to the best of your ability,

constantly finding ways to duck and evade the neoliberal tendencies of the popular cultural arena (p. 140). The term is ultimately about “exhorting individuals to be true to their roots and not to front or pretend to be something they are not” (Rickford & Rickford, 2000, pg. 23). Relatedly, Richard Iton’s (2008) work on politics and popular culture helps both to shed further light on the representations of Black youth in public discourse and to contextualize how the history of the scholarship in this area has developed. Iton notes the importance of corporations like Black Entertainment TV (BET), which has produced and distributed Black cultural productions but argues that Black youth themselves also exercise their agency in and through their consumption and uses of popular culture, which often resist the ways that they are constructed through these representational and signifying practices (p. 129).

Youth studies have tended to follow the dominant trajectory of Humanities research, which focuses on (im)migration, super-diversity, and versions of identity and culture that “essentialize and flattened the ways in which race and racism intertwine into young people’s lives” (Harries et al, 2016, p. 178). In our current perceptions of youth, we now understand that investigations into young people’s lives represent more complex empirical worlds; contemporary youth research is impacted by concepts like globalization, the extension of the youth phase of life, and shifting concepts of identity (Cieslik & Simpson, 2013, p. xii). Intersectional theory shows that within intersectional frameworks, race, class, gender, sexuality, age, ability, and other variables of identity may overlap. As a consequence, some people may experience these variables of identity simultaneously that are also constitutive of each other (Crenshaw, 1991). These concepts are always in motion and never stable, and Youth Studies scholars have begun to pay attention to this. Youth are flexible and mobile, experiencing rapidly changing life phases. Currently, being a young person is an identity process in which a story is created about their own

lives (Ibrahim, 2014, p. xvii). The process of being young is not linear and, in fact, young people are more likely to form and re-form their identities, kind of like identity testing.

There is currently a reconstitution of race in youth work, and it is this area of scholarship that my work hopes to contribute to. Those thinking through ideas around subcultural identities and the way they may create forms of everyday resistance should pay attention to the risks of overemphasising versions of youth that accentuate creativity, agency, and style. The seemingly logical response is to call for more empirical research, more analysis, and more policy. While research, analysis, and policy change are all important, the principles governing the construction of ‘youth’ offer too little by assuming too much. Nancy Lesko (2012) argues that an impulse to analyze and classify youth behaviour has provided the justification for researchers to gaze under the guise of knowledge production and inquiry. Scholars are now more aware of the distortion this produces. Noting the distortion has led to criticisms of research on youth, criticisms that stem from the idea that the field exists in an intellectual vacuum where theoretical renewal and development are stagnant (Johansson, 2016). CYS recognizes a particular set of “theoretical and methodological tenets,” including, among other things, “how the meaning and experience of youth is shaped by other important axes of social difference, including but not limited to race, class, gender, place, nation, and sexuality” (Best, Garcia, & Taft, 2017). The field of CYS centres young people both as social agents as well as structures of power, including race, a concept that stands in stark contrast to the long-standing theoretical deterministic perspective of young people as malleable, deviant, and pathological (Hagerman, 2017, p. 8).

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter was to review the literature that has built the imagined relationship between hip hop culture and Black youth. To successfully map out the history of how we have

arrived at this current moment of understanding this relationship, I first outlined a brief history of hip hop culture and the ways that Black youth have been integral to its foundation and maintenance, both as community art and as a commodified global culture. Second, in terms of my research question that asks about the impact of scholarly documentation, I reviewed the key developments in hip hop as an academic field of study. Coupling this context with the articulation of Black youth identity and popular culture, the third element of this chapter, served to carve out the current moment where hip hop now becomes a primary lens through which to view Black youth and produce a particular narrative about Black youth identity. This current moment moves with me to the next phase of this project and is where my trace begins.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Foundations

In this chapter, I provide the theoretical grounding underpinning my discussion of the interrelationship between Black youth identity construction and hip hop culture. These theories help me explain why it is crucial to think about the assumptions and observations research produces. Deconstruction (Derrida, Saussure, Louis Gates Jr.), The Production of Knowledge, and #Blacklife (Walcott & Abdilahi) serve as the grounding for my theoretical investigating, creating an intellectual base to answer my questions. I employ these concepts in conjunction with one another in order to examine the discursive power of knowledge. Together, this theoretical foundation demonstrates how structures like the academy work to shape identity and knowledge, that is, what can be known and what knowledge structures our thinking about youth identity and race. Throughout this chapter, I discuss the key elements of each theory as well as how they contribute to this project, however, the importance of each of these theories lies in how they understand the nature of the world as a constructed text which can be subject to interrogation.

Deconstruction

This section discusses language construction and deconstruction as they relate to the work of Ferdinand de Saussure (1995 [orig. published in 1916]), Jacques Derrida (1976; 1978), and Henry Louis Gates Jr (1985; 1986; 1988). These scholars help me understand the various social and economic institutions that delineate identity in Western cultures. In essence, deconstruction is concerned on the nature of text and how one experiences the world as text. There are complex historical reasons for our language systems and traditions, and none of these things are natural. So what are the constructions of language that should be interrogated?

Saussure's key ideas are that, first, linguistics is a science of language and that to study meaning in languages, one can derive meaning only because of the differences between

signifiers. Linguistic identities and their values are purely relational. The appearance of objects in time and space always exist in relation to one another. Meaning is unstable and relies on unstable signifiers. If the only way we can understand objects is by their relation to one another, then all objects are in themselves signifiers and there is nothing that can be ‘absolute’ and ‘irreducible.’ The relationship between signifiers can change over time, but the meaning is never final. Due to the instability of signifiers, meaning is also always unstable. Therefore, we should (1) distinguish between language as a system (*langue*) and language as an individual using language at a particular moment (*parole*); (2) distinguish between the material signifier and the concept signified; and (3) distinguish between the linguistic sign and its referent. Jacques Derrida’s thinking of the text, the trace, and the event has been crucial to the formation of my dissertation, and his theory on deconstruction from the 1960s–70s frames the dissertation in how it works to untether ‘meaning’ from ‘truth.’ Derrida analyzes this through an “identity trace,” that is, our identities depend not only on how we define ourselves, but also on how our identity is given to us by others.

The Derridian “trace” is something that is not necessarily present, but is rather something that emerges out of the chain of signifiers (p. 41). This trace allows us to grasp meaning not just from words, but also from any readable ‘text’ (bodies, fashion, art, music, etc.) (p. 57). The trace allows us to make comparisons and evaluate objects in terms of their relation to other objects (p. 57). Derrida’s philosophy on Saussure’s difference seeks to destabilize notions of identity and rethink the very concept of the foundation on a differential ground, or an ungrounding, or a decentered centre, but a centre nonetheless (Cisney, 2018, p. 59). Speaking in Derridian, the name, especially the so-called proper name – in this case “Youth” and “Hip Hop” – is always caught in a chain and a system of differences. To characterize something as a thing, that is, to

give it an identity, we have to be able to say things about that thing, to characterize it in ways that produce an understanding of it. This means injecting a thing with attributes and qualities that are different from it in many senses.

Derrida gives me the tools to trace interpretive logics of discourses around young people and hip hop culture. Since this project revolves around youth construction and knowledge construction, Derrida and his concepts of identity, language, and knowledge production are both resourceful and fruitful, particularly his “possibility of circularity,” which essentially points out the paradox of the structures and origins of epistemology:

The circle in which tradition (or transmission) and language, thought and language, society and language, each precede the other, postulate and produce each other reciprocally... The circle, as a vicious circle, a logical circle... constitutes rigorously limited, closed and original autonomy of a field... If there is no entry into the circle, if it is closed, if one is always already set down within it, if it has always already begun to carry us along in its movement. (Derrida, p. 145)

Derrida’s analysis of epistemology brings me to my concern with knowledge production itself, that it is difficult to establish knowledge of something unless we already have knowledge of that thing (Stocker, 2006).

Henry Louis Gates Jr. (1985), in following Derrida, also points to the arbitrary circular nature of language and the development of discourses around race. He observes how African-American writers define themselves, their craft, and their culture. In his view, standard literary theories drawn from Western traditions are simply inadequate to tell the Black story. Gates’s fundamental argument in much of his literary work revolves “around resurrecting, analyzing, understanding, and accepting African American literary, historical, and cultural discourses as

part of the larger American story” (Ongaga, 2013, p. 54). He asks what importance does “race” have as a meaningful category in the study of literature and the shaping of critical theory (Louis Gates Jr, 1985, p. 2). His 1985 work deconstructs the term “race” as both descriptive and inscriptive “differences of language, belief system, tradition, seemingly ‘natural’ attribute, celebration, and so forth” (p. 5). For him, race is the ultimate trope of difference and is completely arbitrary in its application; terms like Black, White, and Brown for him are arbitrary constructs and “not reports of reality” (p. 8). Here he follows Saussure and Derrida in that he believes that racial categories are signs of insidious tendencies that are often portrayed through language. What I take from Louis Gates Jr. is (1) the consideration of language as an arbitrary constructor of social relations, and (2) how the development and deconstruction of concepts contribute to cultural narratives.

At stake here is a critique of representational thinking, the meaning and construction of identity, and the nature and task of research itself (p. 59). In my analysis of the history of hip hop/youth research, I attempt to think through the deployment of terms and concepts that have framed how we think about young Black people as the core consumers and creators of hip hop culture. Through deconstruction, I can better understand the signification of academically constructed terms, as well as consider what Black people signify in a society “in which they are intentionally introduced as the subjugated” (Louis Gates Jr., 1988, 52).

The Production of Knowledge

Hortense Spillers is credited with inventing “a new grammar” for race that is less concerned with pinning down Black life and culture to a word or a phrase and more interested in articulating the complex networks – historical, cultural, literary – that have shaped, and continue to shape, the contours of “intramural Black life” (another phrase of hers) (Woubshet, 2012, p. 925). Central to

Black Studies is a disciplinary critique, which takes issue with how fields are built and sustained in the academy; Spillers and other leaders in Black Studies have been at the forefront of calls to de-discipline. Spillers demonstrates that construing Black life as an “ethnographic phenomenon” rather than as the history of Western civilization actually “reaffirms the very colonial structures Black Studies sets out to trounce” (Weheliye, 2014, p. 5).

In my embracing of Hortense Spillers, it is clear to me that the responsibility to articulate Black life and contribute to Black cultural understanding isn’t solely the responsibility of Black people. When Black people are allowed to remark or comment on Black life only, it is tantamount to saying that Black people have nothing else to contribute to the world. Spillers states:

Black culture is critical culture and in the final analysis, it’s not about skin colour. It’s about a critical disposition so that Black culture can be anybody’s culture if they are willing to take or assume a certain kind of relationship to power. And that’s where Black culture is leading us at the same time that Black culture seems to be relinquishing its critical edge. (Spillers in Leonard, 2007, p. 1066).

Additionally, Spillers is keen on expanding the field of Black Studies so that as long as people critically analyze power relationships in a specific way, they can be said to be doing Black Studies. Different formations of Black Studies around the world will be an avenue for many to take (Spillers, 2007, p. 1056).

My project aims to apply the disciplinary critique founded by Spillers and others like Saidiya Hartman to the area of youth research and hip hop culture. I lean on Spillers and her later work, which worries that Black Studies has become a suddenly circular object. Although my particular area of critique is not Black Studies, I, like Spillers, take a similar approach in looking

at the multidisciplinary field of hip hop and youth research. For me, Spillers's work is fundamental to understanding how concepts, knowledge, artifacts, etc. transition to the naturalized order of culture. In highlighting this transition, Spillers states that we have reached a point where everything is culture and everything mimics culture; this argument requires critique and interrogation. Spillers's interpretation of culture is that, as a term, 'culture' might adhere to a certain stillness and predictability on paper, "but beyond its nominal evocations, it is visible only in its effects" (Spillers, 2006, p. 12). This point was crystalized in a 2007 interview:

Everybody's writing about rap, talking about rap. It seems that everybody is talking about rap and contemporary life. But you know the risk of that is rap is not a synonym for Black culture. It is not metonymic of Black life. (Spillers in Leonard 2007, p. 1062).

For Spillers, the culture does not read itself, but instead exists alongside the lines of the economy of the fetish, either described in theoretical/"psychoanalytic terms" or in terms of labour and commodity (Spillers, 1994, p. 34). A Spillers framework argues that Black people have been mined and used as raw material in culture and research (Spillers, 1987, p. 300). However, at the same time, she points to scholars to maintain a critical edge in the face of neoliberal institutionalization and argues that when it comes to hip hop, there is a tendency to drop the "comparative angle" that is crucial to the critical form.

I am using a Spillers framework to understand the tensions between hip hop as a representation of a shared, global, popular culture, and how it has been co-opted by hegemonic institutional forces, which have a dramatic effect on its impact. How can it remain a critical culture in the face of neoliberal academic education and research? Spillers's vocabulary in discussing this issue beyond the discourses available is important for my project.

The Ethnographic Phenomenon of #Blacklife

Critical race scholars in Canada have long argued that Canadian racism is embedded in our structures and systems in ways that our institutions fail to address substantially (Bannerji, 1993, 2000; Miki, 1998; Monture, 2010; Razack, 1998). In 2014, Rinaldo Walcott noted:

What it means to be human is continually defined against Black people and Blackness. The very basic terms of social Human engagement are shaped by anti-Black logics so deeply embedded in various normativities that they resist intelligibility as modes of thought... This global anti-Black condition produced in the post-Columbus era, still and again manifest[s] itself in numerous ways that have significantly limited how Black people might lay claim to Human-ness and therefore how Black people might impact on what it means to be Human... (2014, p. 93)

Of course, expanded globally, this is a recognizable fact in settler colonial regions all around the world. Zooming into local geographies, the realities of the conditions of existence for Black people are such that, as Rinaldo Walcott and Idil Abdilahi tell us, “living Black makes #BlackLife inextricable from the mark of its flesh, both historically and in our current moment” (Walcott & Abdillahi, 2019, p. 8). “Blacklife” (in Canada) finds itself “being expressed and circumscribed by the demand from Black people that it be a full life and they call on others to “undo, at least the “narratively condemned status of the Black” (Wynter, 1994) so that other imaginings might not only be possible but could also become evident (p. 15). In an effort to reinforce this notion and to help find ways to undo the narrative status of Black people, I have chose to use this term “BlackLife” throughout my dissertation.

Another term I’ve used throughout the dissertation is “ethnographic phenomenon.” The particularization of #Blacklife mentioned above has turned Black youth especially into an

ethnographic phenomenon. What does it mean to be an ethnographic phenomenon? I am using this term to discuss the particularity of Black youth in the academy, referring to the position of Black youth in the academy as once again phenomenized and sought after to be the focus of qualitative research, to be ‘uncovered,’ described, theorized, exoticized, and narrativized. The language that defines and frames Black youth is connected to the ways they are imagined in both research institutions and society at large. How we imagine youth is not just how we envision or think about them in their present circumstances, but also how we view what is possible for their lives (Dimitriadis & Weis, 2001; Greene, 2000). Throughout the history of Youth Studies, the rhetoric of saving or fixing Black youth has become a common narrative that traces back to a long history of “benevolence” and “charity” in American culture (Martinez & Rury, 2012).

I argue that the nature of #BlackLife is one that is constantly being ‘discovered’ as traumatized, in need of resources, in need of helping, phenomenal, exceptional, special, and culturally genius. The traditional academic solution has called for more research projects, more pilot projects, and more intervention from adult experts. In reality, however, the roots of the problem are being sidestepped in the name of said continuing research, funded by (in Canada) the same governments that have the ability to fundamentally change education, after-school programs, funding for the arts in ways that would eliminate the need to once again propose ‘arts-based’ research. The larger history of phenomenizing Black youth as special, culturally competent, and artistically superior (Iton, 2008) also means that the avenue for such youth research is narrow, being confined to popular culture in some very problematic ways. As a result, hip hop is again and again seen as the end solution, the language to speak, and an ethnographic lens. But what impact does this history have on the current state of Youth Cultural Studies?

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the theoretical foundation for my research: the literature that has given me the scholarly foundation for all of my sense making along with the ideas that I take forward throughout this project. While centering on the arbitrary nature of language and the development of discourses, the concepts discussed above provide a way to think about race and the significations around Black youth identity. Here, I consider the work of Spillers, for example, fundamental for articulating how knowledge transitions to the naturalized order of culture. With that, the particularity of being an ethnographic phenomenon becomes integral to my thinking. What does the positionality of Black youth in the academy tell us about how their identities have been imagined over time? The constant desire to uncover, describe, theorize, and narrativize certain people is the problematic that ultimately foregrounds this project. The next chapter outlines how I went about uncovering this phenomenon and the methods I used to do the work.

Chapter 3: Trace This to the Roots: Methodology

Introduction: The Systematic Integrated Literature Review

John Law (2004) explains that methods don't just describe social realities, they also help to create them because methods are always political and the question of the kind of social reality researchers create becomes crucial (p. 1). A guiding problematic for my project is to uncover the construction of academic narratives and the structures of research that dictate trends, theories, and knowledge within a given field. This chapter on research methodology includes my research design rationale, my research questions, a description of the data collection method, an overview of the data analysis, and a discussion about relevant ethical considerations and potential limitations.

I selected a Systematic Integrated Literature Review (SILR) for this study because it allowed me to work within the multidisciplinary context of hip hop youth research. Kivunja (2018) notes that a systematic review of pertinent literature “provides the understanding that a theory is a generalized statement of abstractions or ideas that asserts, explains or predicts relationships or connections between or among phenomena” (p. 44). This process brings together ideas, interrelated concepts, definitions, and propositions that explain events and situations and relationships (Glanz, 2008, p. 114). These ideas, concepts, and themes constitute a deep and broad base of knowledge in the discipline, and it is this knowledge base that constitutes the theory, which, in turn, enables us to explain the meaning, nature, and relationships of a phenomenon.

An SILR is a useful method for exploring a large body of research in a systematic fashion to identify the state of the knowledge, its key developments, trends, and themes, as well as where gaps exist. An SILR is used when the summary needs to be verifiable, repeatable, and objective

(Brereton, 2007). This kind of review requires the specification of conceptually guided keywords and categories that are then used to search suitable databases and to reveal a ‘holistic corpus’ of literature on a given topic. In this regard, the SILR is a research methodology characterized as a pragmatic, transparent, and reproducible manner of analyzing existing literature, one that can be applied to many issues and disciplines (Cook et al, 1997; Cooper, 1998; Lettieri et al, 2009). Typically, a systematic review is undertaken to clarify the state of existing research and the implications that can be drawn from an area of scholarship. The purpose of this SILR is to critically examine and interrogate the dominant themes and trends in the wide-ranging scholarly documentation of Black youth in relation to hip hop. Using this methodology, the goal of my project is to offer insight into the state of the field: the implications and analysis of the prevailing themes and narratives as well as potential new theorizations and avenues for research (Pettigrew & Robert, 2006).

Scholars in disciplines within and beyond the realm of Youth Studies research have been using hip hop in their research and writing earnestly since the mid-1990s; others have drawn on the ideas of music more generally (as resistance, rebellion, fandom) along with youth culture since the 1960s. I undertook this research to provide a synthesis of the work that has been done in this area and to provide guidance for future research, believing that this area of study would benefit from “a holistic conceptualization and synthesis of the literature to date” (Torraco, 2005, p. 357). Using an SILR combined with a thematic analysis provides a space where dominant themes become apparent, and in the process, also take on a material form. I argue that considering the materiality, or existence, of the research also points to its ideological potential and therefore to its capacity to transform ideas, values, stories, myths, and narratives into a symbolic object and, beyond that, into a potential physical reality (DeMarrais, 1996).

To sum up, to answer my research questions, I conducted an SILR in conjunction with a thematic analysis of the literature to uncover the interrelationships between the discourses, social practices of conducting research, power relations, and ideologies centering on Black youth and hip hop culture. The SILR consists of four stages: (i) planning the literature review process; (ii) searching, identifying, and organizing the studies; (iii) extracting and evaluating the data; and (iv) presenting descriptive and thematic findings by conducting a thematic analysis.

Rationale

In the process of conducting the literature review, it began to feel more like a *trace*, with the process of finding and organizing the literature according to specific criteria also doubling as a discovery of how commonly held notions within the area of scholarship have been described and reiterated over the years. As I went through document after document, patterns revealed themselves, so I am using the concept of a trace as part of my methodological framework. Traces can materialize things but also reproduce them, and I have highlighted the importance of both contexts throughout this project.

As hip hop matures and the volume of the literature grows, there is a corresponding growth and development in the knowledge base of the topic and its popularity as a scholarly endeavour. According to Tarraco (2005), a trace addresses the need for a review, critique, and potential reconceptualization of the expanding and more diversified knowledge base of a topic as it continues to develop. From a quantitative aspect, the goal of research is “collecting ‘facts’ of human behaviour, which when accumulated will provide verification and elaboration on a theory that will allow scholars to state causes and predict human behaviour” (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 38). Tracing thus allows me to contain the data, but at the same time, lets this data guide me to a point where conclusions can be drawn. The trace is an exploration into the ruinous ivory tower,

into the “vestiges of past thought.” Marjorie Levinson (1995) contends that “the critic must shape her practice not to that present but to a future that is somehow (in some coded, partial, obscure, an un-self-conscious way) sealed up in contemporary material conditions” (p. 113). Instead of predicting human behaviour, I plan to thematize the nature of scholarly research and how it has relied on ‘concept’-ualization, which has the capacity to transform life.

In considering the significant amount of research that uses hip hop as the foundation for discussing youth behaviour, this SILR traces the scholarship that works intimately with both. This dissertation is meant to be an opening rather than a closing (p. 2). The SILR is something that can also be viewed as a ‘check-up’ on a segment of the field to determine how scholars have built the field and narrativized the relationship between Black youth and hip hop culture to provide insight into the wider status of this genre of academic literature as well as the logic of knowledge reproduction more generally. We must consider how our own discipline and conventions, our own genres of writing and reflecting, limit our ability to know the world and to convey this knowledge (Jackson, 2012; Elliot, 2014).

In part, this approach follows scholars like MacLure (2011) and Kushinski (2019) who use the notion of “the ruins” to reveal questions about qualitative research. The ruins is a figure that is used to problematize the image of the objective social scientist who thinks they are “capable of producing disinterested truths and maintaining a safe distance between themselves and their research” (MacLure, 2011, p. 997). MacLure uses the ruins as a way of opening up questions about the goals of qualitative research (p. 997), arguing that writing on theory and methodology hangs in an empty discursive space, void of examples (p. 998). She writes:

The notion of working the ruins is [about] a commitment to bringing forth a different kind of research out of those ruins—research that has lost its innocence

and its faith in “victory narratives,” that recognizes that its truths are always partial and provisional and that it can never fully know or rescue the other (p. 997).

I chose the figure of the ruins as a guiding principle because it provides a way to consider the question of how successful we have been at “putting theory to work in the doing, thinking and writing of research, in specific research projects and investigations” (p. 998). MacLure tells us that working the ruins is an ethical and political project as well as a methodological one. It is not my intention to criticize the work of particular researchers or my potential colleagues, and there are instances when my work has also failed to be ruinous. Instead, I am questioning if research has truly made a difference to the practices of research and the kind of knowledge that is produced. I am driven by a conviction that how we understand the beginnings of the relationship between youth and research contributes to its current possibilities.

At the same time, I am also incorporating elements of Critical Discourse Analysis in my thematic analysis, which is the last stage of the review. I take seriously the words of Hammersley & Atkinson (1995) who state that “part of the problem with so many methods/research practice[s] is that it closely resembles ‘the routine ways in which people make sense of the world everyday’” (p. 2). Here I consider this qualitative work, and I seek, through reading and writing scholarly texts, to produce a complex and reflexive account of the stories told, the research undertaken, the conclusions drawn, the structures supported, and the people involved (Jones & Jenkins, 2008, p. 125). Out of these texts, I can choose studies based on clearly defined criteria (Denyer & Tranfield, 2009; Webster and Watson, 2002).

I chose a structured literature review methodology to allow me to direct my analysis towards addressing key questions about research construction and conceptualization. Analyzing

thematic development first involves examining codes (and associated data), then combining, clustering, or collapsing codes together into bigger or more meaningful patterns (Charmaz, 2000). The following sections outline the characteristics of each stage as well as what will be included in each.

Research Question(s)

This study examines how the scholarly documentation of Black youth produces a particular image and/or narrative of Black youth identity in relation to hip hop culture. I sought to (1) create a resource that organizes and categorizes the volume of research that explores this topic, and (2) provide critical insights on the status of the knowledge produced over the past 30+ years. To do so, I traced the multidisciplinary existence of hip hop youth research to highlight potential images and narratives used to characterize Black youth identity in research spaces. To examine the necessary elements, I posited the following questions:

- (1) How do Hip Hop Youth scholars describe the core assumptions, beliefs, guiding philosophies and/or theories, key terms, and key concepts of *Youth* that inform their research?
- (2) How do Hip Hop Youth scholars describe the core assumptions, beliefs, guiding philosophies and/or theories, key terms, and key concepts of *Hip Hop* that inform their research?
- (3) What do Hip Hop Youth scholars describe as the core tenets or aspects of Black youth identity and hip hop cultural engagement?
- (4) What methodologies do Hip Hop Youth scholars employ and believe to be necessary for uncovering the identities of Black youth?
- (5) Where does the scholarship on Black youth identity and hip hop culture exist?

- a. Does this have an impact on the key theories which get reproduced throughout the research?
- (6) What is the relationship between the knower and the known (aka, the researcher and the researched)?

Data Collection

This phase of the study has two stages: (1) literature review planning, and (2) searching, identifying, and organizing studies.

Stage i: Literature Review Planning

In December 2017, I was invited to a small hip hop conference in Toronto held at a hotel in the west end of the city. The purpose of this three-day conference was to find ways to sustain hip hop culture in Canada by bringing industry, academia, and artists together. Throughout the weekend, guests and speakers were tasked with collectively charting new paths forward for Canadian hip hop to “build a body of knowledge to equip future generations to build infrastructure and sustainable cultural mechanisms to keep hip hop culture fresh North of the 49th parallel” (www.nshharchive.ca).

For the second day of workshops, the organizers had brought in some 20 junior high school students from a majority Black school in the GTA to join the discussion. To make sure they were seen and heard, they were placed at the front of the room across two tables. Inviting young Black kids to a dynamic space of learning and meaning-making for people of all ages was a refreshing idea, and I value the organizers for having thought through this element of the weekend. Although there were a few brave participants who raised their hands and shared (in my opinion) the most insightful thoughts of the weekend, the emphasis on hearing their perspective

was lost. I remember one panelist asking them to share their feelings about the current state of hip hop. The ensuing conversations were fruitful and thought-provoking; however, a discussion of youth culture, hip hop, fandom and creation continued on and there was a tendency to talk around the young people we had in the room with us. After the conference, I began to think about where young people stand in youth research and how their positionality relates to how they are understood. This was the beginning of my thinking around how scholars construct images of young people in their research and how that impacts the overall narratives we tell each other about identity and the positionality of young people in research.

In thinking about where to find the answers to my questions about youth positionality, I made the scholarly choice to look at what the research has told us thus far. The critical connections between hip hop culture and young people have been powerfully imagined in the academy; as scholars, we rely on existing research to pave the way for our own endeavours, and this process means that certain ideas get built into academic imagination. My research question asks what those imagined ideas look like.

As mentioned earlier, the foundational Hip Hop Studies text *That's The Joint* (2004) by Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal changed the game by asserting that academic/journalistic research and writing are absolutely part of wider hip hop culture in that analyzing, theorizing, and writing about hip hop are also forms of cultural labour and accordingly should be regarded as consequential facets of the culture (Forman & Neal, 2004, p. 3). Therefore, academic literature was where the review began in terms of the literature review planning. In particular, I was looking for research that specifically focused on young Black people and their engagement with hip hop culture.

Stage ii: Searching, Identifying, and Organizing Studies

In this phase, I began to collect the relevant data that would comprise the review. I conducted a sweeping search of two online databases – SAGE and Taylor & Francis – specifically looking for research that mentions hip hop and young people in any way. Through both the York University library and Toronto Metropolitan University websites, I was granted access to search through SAGE Journals and Taylor & Francis Journals databases to find relevant literature. SAGE and Taylor & Francis are both global academic publishers of books, journals, and other library products and services (SAGE, 2023). Both publish more than 1000 journals globally each year, and their websites have search functions that enable people to explore millions of peer-reviewed articles (Taylor & Francis, 2023).

I used Boolean search methods (AND/OR/ NOT) and keywords “Hip Hop” and “Youth” to search abstracts and titles, and the search yielded results like “Youth Perspectives on the Intersections of Violence, Gender, and Hip-Hop.” Furthermore, the functions of advance searching made it possible to look for related keywords automatically, for example, “rap,” “graffiti,” “b-boying,” “b-girling,” and “young people,” to make sure I was fully encompassing all elements of hip hop culture while also accounting for differences in language and terminology. This initial search yielded in 2268 documents from SAGE publications and 4511 from Taylor & Francis publications.

To more narrowly focus in on my research questions, I decided on the following inclusion criteria:

- (1) Peer-reviewed research journal articles published between 1973 and 2021, 1973 being the year hip hop was born (Chang, 2005). The Taylor & Francis database allowed me to go as far back as 1973; however, SAGE only goes as far back as 1986.

- (2) Peer-reviewed journal articles published in English. Unfortunately, I only read English so this limited my findings in some ways.
- (3) Journal articles under the general umbrella of Cultural Studies, including Communication and Media Studies, Popular Music Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Race/Black Cultural Studies, Linguistics, Youth Studies, Hip Hop Studies, and Cultural Education Studies.
- (4) Peer-reviewed journal articles with “Hip Hop” and/OR “youth” in the title and BOTH “Hip Hop” AND “youth” mentioned in the abstract to indicate to me that both hip hop and youth were key guiding frameworks for the research.

My exclusion criteria included:

- (1) Peer-reviewed journal articles published before 1973 or after 2021.
- (2) Peer-reviewed journal articles not in English.
- (3) Books, edited volumes, book chapters, unpublished papers, theses, reports, magazine articles, and peer-reviewed studies published in conference proceedings.
- (4) Research relating to ethnomusicology and the study of hip hop as a technical art form, Health Sciences/ Public Health Criminology/ Criminal Justice, Archeology/ Anthropology, Sociology, Psychology, Nutrition Studies, Geriatrics, Medicine, Politics and International Relations, Nursing, Public Administration, Environmental Studies.
- (5) Peer-reviewed journal articles that did not have “hip hop” and/OR “youth” in the title as well as BOTH “hip hop” AND “youth” mentioned in the abstract.
- (6) Documents that had fewer than nine occurrences of the keywords “hip hop” and “youth.”

I want to note here that I do not claim to provide a full and total review of all publications related to hip hop and young people, but instead offer a comprehensive review of the field that is

measured and driven by my specific effort to understand the imagined relationship between hip hop and Black youth identity. First, I covered only peer-reviewed journal articles published in English, possibly missing important studies published in other languages. The studies that marginally discussed these issues or briefly mentioned them while discussing other issues were not included. Second, the articles had to be classified as peer-reviewed journal articles. Third, the articles had to contain “youth” and/or “hip hop” in the title along with both terms in the abstract. Finally, to have a clear picture of the relevant data, I decided to analyze only those documents that mentioned both “hip hop” AND “youth” more than nine times throughout the research itself. So, for example, if an article mentioned “hip hop” 85 times but “youth” only 3 times, it was eliminated. In this process, 260 documents were eliminated. Functions in Evernote allowed me to sort through the 674 documents easily, and this last phase of Stage ii left me with the 414 documents to be interrogated more deeply.

Exclusion is clearly a difficult concept for a project that seeks to recognize the exclusionary impacts of scholarship and the failure to account for the complexities of Youth Studies. However, while being explicit about the basis for selection can enable others to potentially criticize this work, it also makes clear my research goals. After completing my database search, I was able to trace codes and categorize the articles as they related to broad ideas about the construction and narrative of young people and hip hop culture.

The last part of the literature research stage involved exporting all relevant documents to Evernote, which was the software I used to help me code, tag, and organize the data. In this process, it became clear that 282 of the documents were unavailable to me as a York U student and had to be eliminated. This left me with 674 articles to export. In Evernote, I was able to have all documents in one place organized in a digital notebook with each document as a different

note. Evernote has a find function that allowed me to look for keywords and a tagging function to assign keywords and concepts to each document, which became the start of my analysis.

Data Analysis

Stage iii: Extracting and Evaluating Data: Let the Trace Begin

During this process, both qualitative and quantitative data were coded into themes using conventional thematic qualitative analysis methods (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and presented as a meta-aggregation (The Joanna Briggs Institute, 2014). I began to manually code the data to extract relevant information. The purpose of this stage was to reveal patterns and to assess saturation (Hennink & Kaiser, 2022).

My first round of coding used predefined codes to trace through the data looking for specific information. Using predefined codes allowed me to refine categories and further identify categorization rules. Pre-defined codes do not necessarily lead to higher levels of analysis or abstraction, but they do offer a good way of gauging general trends and saturation. Therefore, I placed a heavy emphasis on counting and frequency. First, I counted *abundance*, which includes: the number of articles published in each year, the number of documents published in a journal's publication history, the number of documents in each field, how many documents share the same methodology, and a keyword count. Second, I counted *variety*: the number of different journals that featured the relevant research, the various methodologies used, and the range of authors who publish in the field. Abundance and frequency counts indicate a general context across the dataset that eventually paints a picture. Furthermore, getting a sense of the scope and breadth of the relevant research is important when thinking about the resulting impact on research trends and tropes (Hennink & Kaiser 2022).

What follows is an explanation of how I used the codes:

1) Publishing Year

Understanding when the documents were published signals when the research begins to materialize, how it's progressing, and potentially what other knowledge trends are emerging at the time. Additionally, the publishing year provides insight into how the knowledge potentially changed alongside the popularity of the genre in popular culture.

2) Journal

The variety of journals that published relevant articles was noted to trace where the scholarship exists and why.

3) Field

I tagged each article according to its general field of study: Hip Hop Studies, Youth Studies, Cultural Studies, Communication and Media Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Race/Black Cultural Studies, Linguistics, Youth Studies, Hip Hop Studies, and Cultural Education studies. In some cases, documents could have more than one tag.

4) Methodology Used

Tracing the scope and variety of methodologies used for the research was a crucial part of the puzzle here as it signals how particular methods can determine results and create relationships between the researchers and the researched. I noted common methodologies that recurred throughout the dataset to highlight the use and deployment of hip hop as both a concept and a research tactic. In some cases, documents had more than one tag. Furthermore, tracing methodologies used also pointed to larger questions about the trajectory of academic trends and their influence on knowledge.

5) Number of times the term “hip hop” was used throughout a document

Purely on a quantitative level, this code was useful allowing me to gauge how prevalent hip hop was to the main theme and framework of a document. The more “hip hop” was mentioned, the more central it was to the argument. This also helped me make thematic choices on which articles were worthy of a deeper analysis.

6) Number of times the term “youth” was used throughout a document

Similar to the code above, tracking how often “youth” (and variations like “young people”) appeared was useful in signaling the importance of youth to the scholar and the work. Although a more qualitative analysis is required to understand the use and deployment of young people, first tracking quantitative usage helped me figure out which documents should be interrogated.

Applying the codes manually to each document provided an overview of the characteristics of all the data. After the initial coding, I manually sifted through the documents more carefully to evaluate them and group documents qualitatively (that is, extracting information based on patterns and themes). To make the study more specific and relevant to my research questions, I took the results from my initial round of coding and began a second set of more open coding, using a grounded theory approach to provide me with more specific units of analysis to begin to answer my research questions more specifically. Open coding focuses on the conceptualization and categorization of the phenomena within the data (Kaiser & Presmeg, 2019, p. 86). In this stage, I broke down the data into smaller parts for a deeper analysis. Studying the data at this stage to uncover the most prevalent concepts, categories, and keywords resulted in the codes listed below. I determined their significance partly through how often they appeared in the dataset, but also how well they helped me answer questions about the core assumptions, beliefs, guiding philosophies, key terms, and key concepts of who ‘youth’ are and what ‘hip hop’

is imagined to be. The following codes represent the categories that offered the richest answers for the interpretation of the data (Strauss & Corbin, 1990):

- a) "Critical Pedagogy"
- b) "CRP" (Culturally Relevant Pedagogy)
- c) "Cultural Literacy"
- d) "Positive Spaces"
- e) "Marginalized"
- f) "At-Risk"
- g) "Identity"
- h) "Masculinity"
- i) "Black"
- j) "Urban Music"
- k) "Resistance"
- l) "Urban"

During my process of developing the dimensions of the categories, theoretically relevant characteristics also emerged based on associations between the above codes. As a result, I interpreted and developed the data in relation to the phenomenon in question.

Stage iv: Presenting Thematic Findings

In Stage iv, my aim was to identify the studies that showcased the mainstream debates in the discipline. In considering the codes in conjunction with my research questions, I was able to choose which documents were the most relevant and therefore the most suitable for deeper analysis. Thematic analysis is key to understanding the main ideas that have built and sustained the trends and articulated the relationship between young Black people and hip hop culture.

My thematic analysis started with a discussion about which journals publish relevant research, because in the context of this project, the journals structure the environment of knowledge in certain ways. Discussing the location of the research could potentially have an impact on the ideas that get reproduced. Journals' aims and goals delineate what kind of research is important to them, so I wanted to uncover the ways that journals as institutional forms of knowledge aggregation contribute to the construction of what we know about Black youth identity and why.

Thinking about journals in this way helped me answer my fifth research question: Where does the scholarship on Black youth identity and hip hop culture exist? Does this have an impact on the key theories that get reproduced throughout the research? The codes that emerged in the open coding process allowed me to interrogate key concepts and frameworks that came up repeatedly in the data. To me, these are the trends that have structured the research being done over time. What are their core tenets or aspects? How do scholars use these concepts to inform their work? Here, I discuss how certain terms are deployed in research and what it means for knowledge construction more generally. Finally, I traced the methodologies most often used, what each means for the dynamics of the researcher and the researched, and how the method choice has an impact on the conclusions made.

This thematic analysis focused on synthesizing the main points extracted from the literature, thus satisfying my aim of highlighting current trends and gaps in the research to inform future research practitioners as well as others interested in understanding the nature of the field. The focus of the thematic analysis rests on two overarching themes that will be discussed in the sections to come. The first categorization of the literature will be in relation to Cultural Education and Linguistics. The second thematic section discusses popular culture, race, gender,

and visual culture. Specifically, what emerged was a discussion of the recurring themes of Identity which have been foundational thought since the emergence of the field.

Researcher Positionality

I have spent many hours thinking about and attempting to re-trace my steps back to the first time I heard hip hop, how I was introduced to it, and why it has become one of the lenses through which I see the world. One thing is for sure: The role popular culture, and music specifically, has had on my life has been profound. Yet as a fan, my continuing passion for hip hop culture has kept me questioning where I fit within my own social scapes and how I can explain my deep appreciation for the music in relation to my womanhood, my whiteness, and my cultural experiences. How do I, like many other hip hop fans and participants, negotiate a love for the music and my relatively unchangeable role as a white woman? Yet, I feel a particular connection to the themes of individualism that are embedded in the music and the culture. I admire artists who find ways to incorporate their difference into their hip hop art: Lauryn Hill, Jean Grae, Frank Ocean.

I can partly explain my appreciation for hip hop in terms of who my parents are. My mom came to Canada from Israel at 12 years old; her parents were Holocaust survivors and had family here. From a young age, she scraped her money together to collect reggae and R&B records and books; her Stevie Wonder, Bob Marley, Peter Tosh, and Roberta Flack records are now in my possession, and her books by revolutionary Black authors, including Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks* (1952) and James Baldwin's *The Fire Next Time* (1963) and *If Beale Street Could Talk* (1974), which lined the bookshelves in my basement growing up, are now also part of my collection.

Similarly, my father's love for music has passed on to me, I vividly remember the joy that came over him when he listened to music, even on his hardest days. Yemenite folk music played at maximum volume made him stand up and dance. He had been immersed in and obsessed with Yemenite music and culture throughout his life in Israel. Yemenite folk music, like Black music in North America, is born out of struggle and marginalization in Israel. It took me many years to understand that my parents, like me, used the art of music and books to understand the struggles of their neighbours, taking empathy and caring for others seriously. One thing, though: I certainly wasn't always aware that I was consuming revolutionary music that would come to define my interests and my political beliefs.

Hip hop and rap music have always been a part of my media diet growing up in the late 1990s and early 2000s. By then, hip hop was already a massive global phenomenon. I can't pinpoint the exact time I first heard rap music, but I can vividly remember that while watching music videos on MTV (via Direct TV *illegal* satellite), I paid extra attention when rap music was playing. Given my age and exposure, Nelly, Ja Rule, Lauryn Hill, Eminem, and Dr. Dre were the staple artists I knew. After I found channel 49, BET, I spent my formative days in the summers watching *106 & Park* (2000–2014) and *A Different World* (1987–1993) reruns with my brother while our friends were at camp and our parents were working. I was drawn to hip hop music because it was effortlessly cool, it was fun, it had a point of view, and it was so different than anything I had been exposed to before. Of course, I had a fondness for the Spice Girls and Britney Spears, but when I heard rap music, it made me pay attention in a different way. Rap music speaks to people and demands to be heard, and I was listening. It was clear to me from a young age that the distinctly American, largely Black male perspective I was hearing in the enchanting music was speaking from an entirely different experience than my own in North

York, Ontario, Canada. The revolutionary nature of hip hop stemming from young people of colour and low-income backgrounds and the struggles that rappers were responding to were part of a systemic, racist, classist, and sexist form of oppression I had never experienced in my life. I could feel the disconnect, and with that, I took rap music as a lesson: The rappers who filled my days with entertainment and pleasure were also teaching me things about the world. I held them close as teachers, and I began to care for the culture as something that had to be preserved, nurtured, and protected.

By the time I was in junior high, we had a computer in our basement at home, and here I was able to explore music on my own. I spent most nights digitally crate digging. I was obsessed with downloading MP3s on Kazaa and burning CDs so I could rotate all kinds of drumbeats and rhymes in the car on my parent's carpool day, shocking everyone who didn't understand how my Jewish girl identity was mixing with the unapologetically Black perspectives coming through the speakers. Not long after, I became interested in the ideas behind the music and in the lives of the rappers who were illuminating my life. I started tracing the origins of the songs and I read through the liner notes of albums like Jay-Z's *The Blueprint* (2001) and Kanye West's *The College Dropout* (2003) to discover the art of sampling⁴. Like many of my fellow hip hop headz who came of age in 2003, I downloaded the original samples and made my own CDs, sequenced in the same order as they were on the albums. Now I was discovering Bill Withers, Curtis Mayfield, Chaka Khan, and Marvin Gaye. By my high school years, I had developed an even deeper relationship with hip hop; I was serious about understanding the lives and perspectives of artists like Jay-Z, Kanye, Andre 3000, Lupe Fiasco, and Pharrell

⁴ The process whereby producers reuse a portion (or a sample) of a sound (most often old funk and soul records) in their own recordings to make a new song (Rose, 1994). This is one of the foundations of Hip Hop music

Thus, hip hop and rap music have always been personal to me. My friends and siblings weren't engaged in the same way I was, and as a result, my relationship with rap music and hip hop became a private one. I enjoyed experiencing it alone. Hip hop was something for me, myself, and I. I spent hours on blogs like nahright.com (2005–present), missinfo.tv (2007–present) and 2dopeboyz.com (2007–present), reading comments sections, listening intently to the sounds of the drum machines, and rapping patterns of rappers like Lil Wayne, Lupe Fiasco, and Kid Cudi. I laughed at the punchlines, empathized with their personal stories, and nodded my head along to the intricate beats.

One of the most common things people ask me is how I became a hip hop fan or why I care so much about hip hop. These are always the hardest questions I am faced with, both as a woman fan and also an emerging scholar in the field. Ultimately, all I can say is that the music pushed me to feel something, and navigating through those feelings of belonging, being an outsider, learning, pleasure, and voyeurism guided me to untangle my strong, affectionate feelings towards hip hop culture. These questions also led me to the Humanities and Cultural Studies as I became intensely curious about the nature of identity construction, my own included. Popular culture and mass media have had a large role in shaping part of my identity as a fan, consumer, advocate, and enthusiast...and a star performer in the car, shower, and living room!

In terms of my social scapes, this experience has largely been my own. My politics, fashion choices, sense of humour, and perspective on the world have been heavily shaped by hip hop as art, but also, due to my socio-political status and location, as mass media and industry. More specifically, my interactions with hip hop have largely been mediated through technology, and therefore my connection to hip hop culture can largely be described through my fandom. The extensive scholarly work on fandom tells us that it is never a neutral expression (Duffet, 2013;

Hills, 2002). For me as a young person, music played a vital role in my everyday life, but I was always negotiating my identity and my relationships in the process, especially being a young girl. The overly masculinist, sexualized discourses happening in mainstream hip hop in the early 2000s left me confused as to where I fit in, unsure of how to make my interests known to close family and friends. The result was experiencing hip hop in a hidden or a closeted way. At the same time, I was constructing my selfhood through being different from other people I knew. Being in many ways from similar backgrounds and upbringing as my friends and family while also having distinct and separate interests created an important tension between my sense of individuality and my striving to belong to a specific group I wasn't sure how to become a part of. I relied on the online interactions I mentioned earlier to feel an association with other fans.

Ultimately, my fan identity meant that I was required to interpret my favourite music, and my own interpretation of it became part of how I constructed my own identity.

Throughout my journey of combining my fandom and my emerging scholarly career, I have taken steps to respect those voices that have amplified hip hop and have found that my writing and research are one way for me to contribute to the perseverance of the culture. It is also not lost on me that because of the impact hip hop has had on me personally, I have also had a strong desire to understand how culture influences young people over time and around the world.

During my undergraduate degree, I was taught by scholars like Dr. Norma Coates, Dr. Sasha Torres, and Dr. Tim Blackmore who were using popular culture to unpack complex theories about power, capitalism, gender, and race. Finding out this was something I could also do changed my whole idea of what a career could look like. I began incorporating hip hop into most of my essays, writing about hip hop radio, Kanye West, and eventually, female hip hop

journalists, which led me to the next phase of my academic career as this became the topic of my master's thesis. I started to sow the seeds for becoming a hip hop scholar and took that through to the doctoral level in 2016.

Once I entered the PhD program, I considered myself a hip hop scholar in the making. I was passionate about the culture, invested in the politics, and curious about the scholarship. I began finding ways to take part in the active Hip Hop Studies community here in Canada.

I identify myself as a hip hop head because of my long-standing relationship to the music and my passion for the culture. Hip hop has had a major influence on how I see the world and how I experience the world as a Jewish-raised, working-class, 33-year-old woman from Toronto. Rap music and hip hop fashion have shown me what I already know: that I am a cultural outsider in many ways because of my appearance, but also because I am not an artist or a creator. Most of all, I realize that hip hop is not my revolution but the revolution of low-income, racialized people. My way into the culture is through writing and research and being a witness to the many great moments created by others. I appreciate that hip hop is welcoming and open and has taught me some of my greatest lessons.

Because I am continually thinking through and about hip hop, it has impacted my desire to look for counter-narratives to the mainstream stories we are told about each other. Hip hop headz are constantly remixing the existing, putting a new spin on the current cool thing, and looking at the world through a different perspective. Through this project, I have aimed to look at research differently by using the academy as my object of study. Studying 'up' to the institutions of privilege, power, and prestige (Elliot, 2014, p. 152) is inspired by a very hip hop mentality.

At the same time, I am also aware of the conflict inherent in hip hop, namely, how can I negotiate the oppressive dynamics that are part of rap music as an element of hip hop culture?

The glorification of violence, commercialism, misogyny, and damaging depictions of queer people are antithetical to my politics and my beliefs. Part of my mission as a researcher is to keep these dynamics front and centre in thinking about how hip hop's relationship to young Black people has been imagined.

Ethical Considerations

While I do identify as a hip hop head and would probably meet the definition of a hip hop outsider, my positionality did not negatively impact my ability to do this research. I was able to use, in part, a verifiable and repeatable methodology in an effort to ensure that other researchers would land on similar results. Furthermore, the SILR was intended to cast a wide net to include the many angles and disciplines hip hop scholarship embodies. In that, this work is inclusive and considerate.

Potential Limitations

In an attempt to create a manageable (and completable) project, I limited my scope to journal articles published through the Sage and Taylor & Francis publishing houses. Even though I ended up with an enormous dataset that gave me a strong indication of where the field currently stands, I also recognize that the influence of books was missing. Influential scholars like Tricia Rose, Gwendolyn Pough, Jeff Chang, Imani Perry, Michael Eric Dyson, Denean Sharpley-Whiting, Nelson George, and Mark Anthony Neal are undeniably the originators of the field of Hip Hop Studies, but because their most influential works exist in books, they were omitted from this trace. Books and edited collections are often where scholars look to find the overarching theoretical and methodological details of areas of knowledge. In short, books hold more weight in terms of citational politics and practices. Books make way for new knowledge. However, they

also require more time and labour and don't rely on existing knowledge as much as journals do. Part of my trace was to identify the trends that scholarship adheres to and as a result, journal articles were more of an indication of the immediate state of the field.

Another limitation in this project is the narrow geographical boundaries that I imposed. I only looked at journal articles published in Sage and Taylor & Francis journals, which means I largely dealt with North American and European scholarship. However, as I have discussed, hip hop is absolutely a global phenomenon that has impacted people on every continent. There are documents included in the dataset that research young African, Asian, and Middle Eastern people, but in the future, I would want to be more mindful about including independent academic journals such as *Africa Development*, *The Journal of African Cultural Studies*, *The International Journal of Middle East Studies*, *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*, and *Asian Music*.

To extend the foundation I have built with this dissertation, I hope to continue to add to the rich resource created thus far by expanding the scope of my trace. In sticking with youth and hip hop as the main problematic, I should include a larger variety of material. This means opening up my trace to include books, documentaries, and course syllabi. I would also want to include more coding criteria such as country of origin, positionality of researcher, researching institution affiliation, and target population of the research project. Adding further descriptive details about each document would allow for a deeper analysis.

The last area I would hope to expand is in my own research population. I would want to discuss the field issues with my fellow/future colleagues. Much of this dissertation process has been extremely lonely, in part due to the nature of my chosen methodology. In the future, I would want to make this review much more collaborative. Discussing structural and institutional

issues with other scholars contributing to the field would undoubtedly paint a clearer picture of the state of the field. I hope to be able to join the conversations that I know are already occurring among researchers working diligently to preserve Hip Hop Youth Studies.

Conclusion

In using my methodological framework, I aimed to create a compilation, or database, that can be accessed by other scholars who are looking for information on the context and history of this area of scholarship of Hip Hop Studies. Having a central resource where most of the knowledge exists can be of great benefit to the scholarly community. Using a systematic literature review was my way of acting more like a sculptor than a researcher, as Lawless and Chen (2019) discuss:

The researcher is more like a sculptor, chipping away at a block of marble. The sculpture is the product of an interaction between the sculptor, their skills and the raw materials. Analysis becomes a creative rather than technical process, a result of the researcher's engagement with the dataset and the application of their analytic skills and experiences, and personal and conceptual standpoints. (p. 94).

Chapter 4: Do You See What I See: Data Presentation

This chapter presents the data from my trace – that is, the results of the systematic literature review outlined in the previous chapter – both visually and discursively. Here, I (1) present the data in its quantified form, and (2) explain the contextual significance of the data and its relation to my larger research goals. These two elements work together to complete Stage ii: *Searching, Identifying, and Organizing Studies* and Stage iii: *Extracting and Evaluating Data: Let the Trace Begin* of the SILR. This information ultimately forms the basis of the deeper thematic analysis, which follows in Chapters 5 and 6, Stage iv: *Presenting Thematic Findings*.

Significance of the Quantified Form

Quantifying the frequency of elements of qualitative data allowed me to get a sense of what is in the data and to understand trends and phenomena. To quantify the information, I broke samples down into smaller units of content, abstracting language into numbers and separating it from its essence. This process of abstracting features of the documents required me to narrowly focus on specific pieces of material to find quantifiable elements that illustrate *trendiness* because higher frequencies of keywords and other category labels is an indicator of popularity and trendiness.

Figures 1 and 2 show how I arrived at my large compilation of 956 documents from both the Taylor & Francis and Sage databases. Figure 3 is the first step of Stage iii: *Extracting and Evaluating Data: Let the Trace Begin* where I began to sift through 956 documents, and through the process of exclusion, arrived at the final 414 documents I worked intimately with. In this stage of the trace, I also selected unique categories to provide a systematic framework for this analysis. Unique codes are reflected in Figures 4, 5, 6, and 7, indicating publishing year, journals investigated, and field methodologies used; Figures 8, 9, and 10 present popular

keywords/concepts/frameworks. As mentioned, in Stage ii, the work was all quantitative. For my purposes, counting led to the crucial next step of interpreting patterns found in the codes. The question of *how often* contributed to my larger theoretical questions around how knowledge is produced, so the count was the first step of the interpretive process.

Significance of the Contextualized Form

The second step involved giving the data the *descriptive treatment* (Sparker, 2005). In explaining the significance of the numbers, I had to find a way back to the qualitative, re-inserting context and meaning into the data. The purpose of my work is to transform data to context, knowledge, and broad description, so considering the data as text, for me, was a way to bring it to life and thus facilitate new understandings of the area of research I am concerned with. This discursive work identified patterns and connections between knowledge and power and the structures that produced the text (Foucault, 1972; Fairclough, 2001; van Dijk, 1997). Treating texts as data in this instance meant arranging them for the purposes of analysis, “using a structure that probably was not part of the process that generated the data itself” (Benoit, 2020, p. 463). In describing how to turn text into data, Benoit (2020) noted:

Ironically, generating insight from text as data is only possible once we have destroyed our ability to make sense of the text directly. To make it useful as *data*, we [have] to obliterate the structure of the original text and turn its stylized... features into a glorified spreadsheet... (Benoit, 2020, p. 464)

Tracing is first about outlining the larger picture, but it is also about finding a way through it by breaking things down into smaller, more interpretable chunks. Tracing and digging require some destruction as a way to build new insight. However, destroying and re-building also means it was

up to me as a researcher to fuse things together, and doing so gave rise to a lot of self-interpretation and *wondering*. MacLure (2013) discussed the concept of “wonder” as a potential of qualitative research, especially in relation to engaging with data, and proposed concentrating on the capacity for “wonder that resides and radiates in data, or rather, in the entangled relation of data and researcher” (p. 228). Wonder is a counterpart to interpretation, classification, and representation (p. 228). The potentiality of wonder emerges on occasions where something, “perhaps a comment, a field note, an object,” seems to “reach out from the inert corpus of the data to grasp us” (p. 229). These moments are ripe for searching for meanings, patterns, codes, or themes, and at the same time “exert a kind of fascination and have the capacity to animate further thought” (p. 229).

Uncovering context requires an open understanding of other people’s work, worlds, and of their narratives. Uncovering what has been, what is, and what it all potentially means, was ultimately what grabbed my attention. The threads I pulled on unravelled stitches that reveal specific constructions of thought. The descriptive treatment provided a basis for knowledge that would originate from my findings, and also establish meanings that could be useful for others who are looking to contextualize their own work. At the same time, given its ever-changing and dependent nature, this process should be understood as an *indication* of the state of youth hip hop research. What follows is the journey I took through the ruins of past thought.

Stage ii: Searching, Identifying and Organizing Studies

Figure 1: Visual representation of the inclusion/exclusion process – Taylor & Francis documents

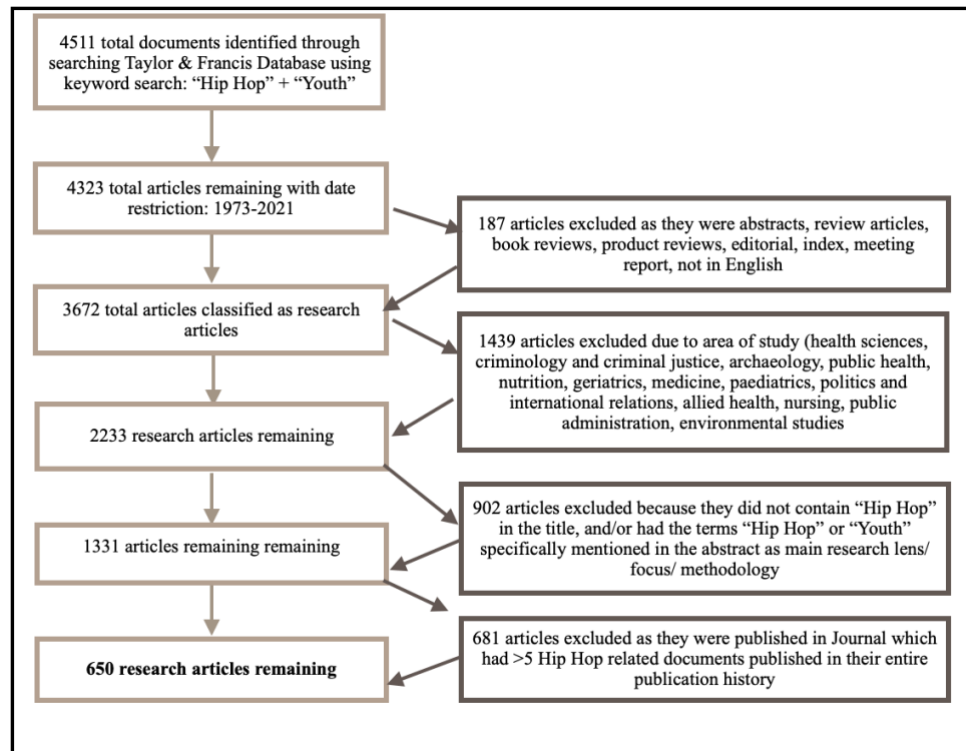
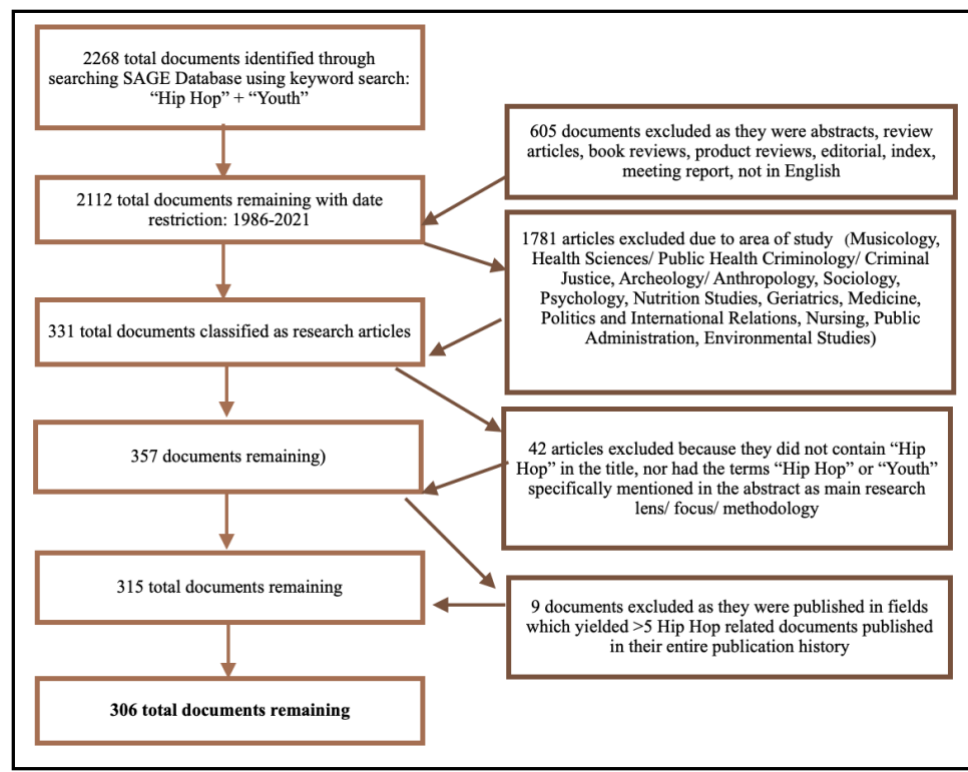


Figure 2: Visual representation of the inclusion/exclusion process – Sage Documents



Figures 1 and 2 reveal important features about the boundaries of this project and what the process of inclusion and exclusion looked like. The first of the four phases of my study dealt with *where* I found my information. As mentioned, while the intellectual beginnings of my trace began in 2018, the practical beginnings started in 2020, which coincided with the initial period of the COVID-19 pandemic when Toronto lockdowns were first imposed. Since I was confined to my condo without access to many university resources, I was forced to make methodological choices about how to carry out this project. I was simply unable to go to the library to pick up books, for instance. Therefore, the York University and Toronto Metropolitan University library websites became sources for my information. I could access journal articles exclusively online using Google Scholar, as well as search the Taylor & Francis and Sage Publishing databases. With limited resources (my laptop and Wi-Fi), I was able to access thousands of documents⁵.

Looking down the charts, the next phase of inclusion/exclusion dealt with the type of documents I planned to analyze, that is, *what* I was looking at. At first, considering only journal articles was a concern for me as I felt a huge part of the intellectual history of hip hop and young people would be missing from my work. Some of the most transformational work in the field comes out of books like *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation* (Chang, 2005) and *The Hip Hop Wars* (Rose, 2008). These books, among a host of others, are referenced throughout my data but are not explicitly reviewed or accounted for in this project. Because the long format of a book lends itself to more thorough exploration and discussion of a subject, books tend to be generally more influential. At the same time, though, journal articles are a fruitful source of information; scholars can undertake research and publish in a journal in less

⁵ Digitization has led to faster communication of academic knowledge as well as the ability to easily link to other similar research and easier measurement of journals' "impact factors" (Paltridge, 2020, p. 147). The digital revolution has greatly impacted the quantity and availability of research.

time than they would for a book, so oftentimes, they can think with more contemporary, cutting-edge ideas. The nature of academic publishing standards means that scholars use journal articles as a space to intellectually work out ideas that might eventually contribute to larger research projects that end up published as books. As a result, journal articles can reflect the time frame they are published in more accurately. Journal articles also reveal current trends as scholars rely on referencing and citation to efficiently establish theoretical and methodological frameworks and context in a smaller amount of space. Noting such academic shorthand reveals how keywords, theories, thinkers, and writing styles define the field. This is where trends and patterns can be deduced.

Next, the figures show how I excluded documents based on their field – in other words, *which* documents were most important to this work. The documents were prioritized based on their field, their general topic/research theme, and which journal they were published in. I excluded articles that did not fall under the umbrella of Cultural Studies as I have defined it. Even though my original search yielded documents from a range of fields, which indicates that many different scholars think hip hop is important in some way, due to my area of interest, my own scholarly pursuits, and my particular problematic, I was only interested in those from Cultural Studies areas.

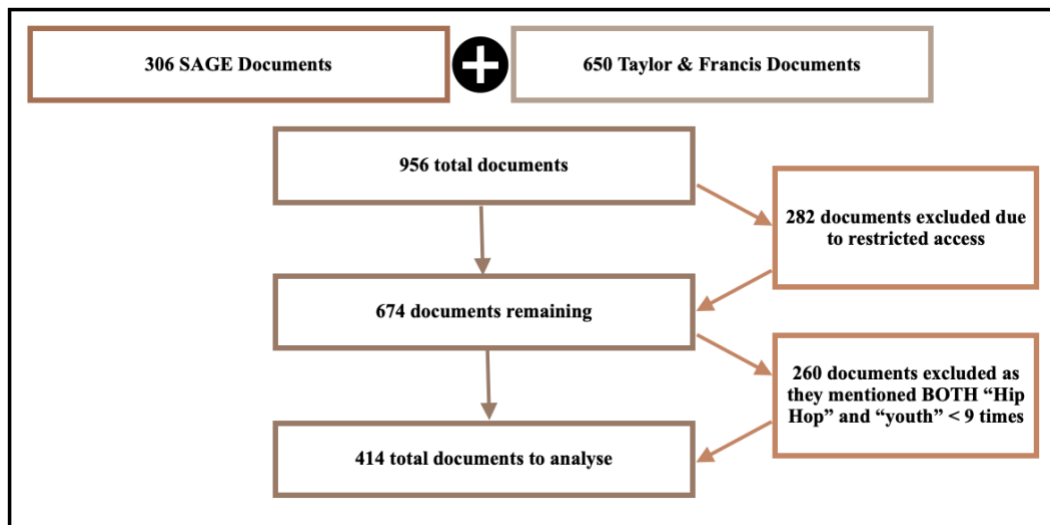
Furthermore, documents were only included if they contained both “hip hop” and “youth” in the title and the abstract. This coding ensured that both ideas were central to the main framework of the document and excluded articles that looked at hip hop through a different lens. For example, the article “Women, Ageing and Hip Hop: Discourses and Imageries of Ageing Femininity” (2017) by Sarah Little, although published in a relevant journal (*Feminist Media Studies*), did not specifically deal with young people and their behaviours. Similarly, an article

such as “Hip Hop Realness and the White Performer” (2005) by Mickey Hess might contain an important discussion of hip hop and authenticity, which is a popular narrative in the field, but because it did not focus specifically on youth culture, it was excluded from this review.

In the same vein, I decided to exclude any document that was published in a journal with fewer than five hip hop-focused youth studies in the publication’s history. This *abundance* code considers the larger aims of the journal itself and the kind of inquiries they take seriously; fewer than five relevant documents in the publication’s history indicated to me that hip hop and young people are peripheral topics to the main scope of the journal. Moreover, this code signals where researchers are interested in existing intellectually and how they think hip hop and young people fit into academic structures of thinking. This initial exclusion fed into later questions around which fields think through the questions and problems scholars are posing and which journals’ aims and scopes relate most to researchers’ pursuits (partly articulated in Figure 5).

Once both databases were scraped and the inclusion/exclusion criteria were applied, a total of 956 documents emerged. As mentioned in the previous chapter and seen in the chart below, there was one more exclusion process whereby I used the tools offered in Evernote to help me further categorize and narrow down my objects of study. The last batch of 260 documents were excluded because they did not mention both hip hop and youth more than nine times throughout the article. For me, nine was the magic number because journal articles tend to run anywhere from 17 to 20 pages, and this was a way to potentially account for each concept being used, on average, on every other page, thus indicating that the terms were important enough to the main idea that they were considered throughout the research.

Figure 3: Visual representation of the exclusion process – total data set



The 414 documents I was left with served as the basis of my thematic analysis and the sources from which I extracted and evaluated information for Stage iii.

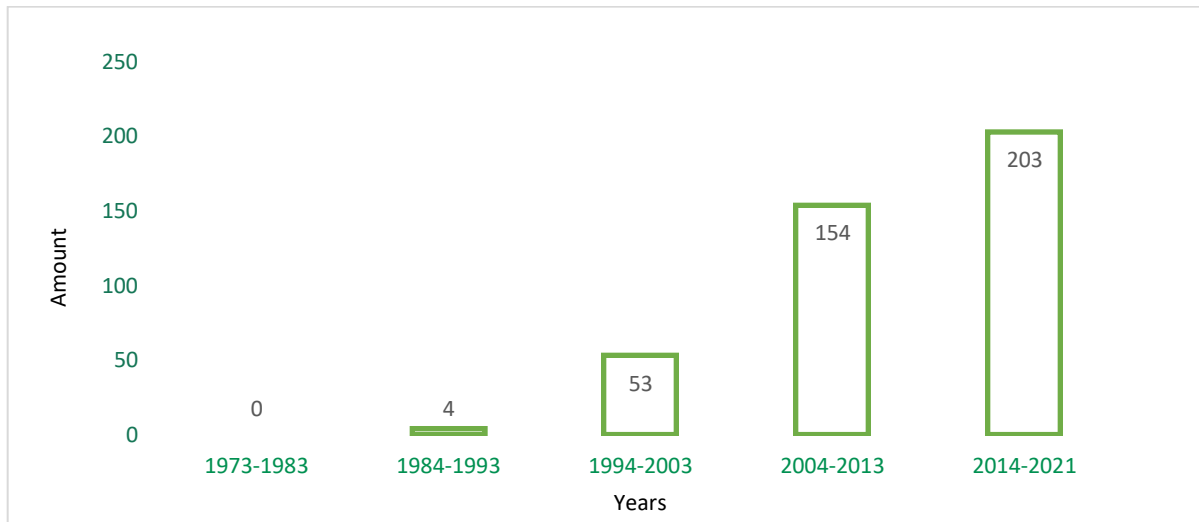
Stage iii: Extracting and Evaluating Data: Let the Trace Begin

Stage iii is represented in Figures 4 through 10. The order of the figures represents my tracing process. First, I tracked publishing years to grasp the breadth of knowledge I was dealing with (Figure 4). Second, I used a frequency code to organize the documents according to how central the concepts of “hip hop” and “youth” were to their framework (Figures 5 and 6). Next, I categorized documents by journal (Figure 7) to begin to delineate where the research lives and why. Subsequently, Figure 8 groups articles together based on field; that is, which fields had the most relevant research? The code used for Figure 8 works in conjunction with Figures 5 and 6 in that when looked at comparatively, I could understand which fields produce the most relevant data. It also works closely with Figure 7 as the primary way I delineated field was journal association. Figure 9 shows the frequency of important keywords that emerged through the deep reading and also serves as the foundation for the thematic analysis to follow. Last, Figure 10

showcases popular methodologies, which are an indication of the relationship between researcher and researcher.

What follows is a presentation of the figures as well as an explanation of their significance.

Figure 4: Document publishing years



Year	Number of Documents
1973-1983	0
1984-1993	4
1994-2003	53
2004-2013	154
2014-2021	203
	414

Figure 4 specifies the publishing year of all relevant documents. The first relevant document, “Rap Music, Self-Concept and Low-Income Black Adolescents” by Venise T. Berry, appeared in 1990 in *Popular Music & Society*, 17 years after hip hop’s origin. I want to discuss this article in some detail as there are important connections to glean from the publication date. Berry traced the evolution of rap music, citing Nelson George (1986) and Curtis Marlow (1984), two influential hip hop journalists, to highlight how hip hop culture had grown in mainstream music

spaces (Berry, 1990, p. 89). Very few scholars were exploring hip hop at this point, so Berry looked to journalists and other artists at the cutting edge of popular culture, documenting what was happening on the streets of New York City. The late 1980s and early 1990s was a controversial time in American culture, especially in terms of what was happening in hip hop culture. NWA released their revolutionary album *Straight Outta Compton* in 1988, and Public Enemy released their radical anthem “Fight the Power” in 1990. Rappers were loud about their politics and about the mistreatment of Black Americans all over the country. At the same time, rappers were targeted as being violent and misogynistic by news outlets like *Newsweek*, *The New York Times*, and *Billboard* magazine as well as by politicians from across the United States⁶. Slick Rick was charged with attempted murder in 1990, 2 Live Crew’s music was banned in Florida for being “audio pornography,” Ice-T faced immense controversy for his song “Cop Killa,” and of course, The Geto Boys gave new meaning to the concept of ‘moral panic’ with their release of “Grip It! On That Other Level” in 1989 where they rapped about rape and murder⁷. However, just as hip hop was becoming *dangerous* and the centre of American revolution (*The New York Times*, 1990⁸), it was at the same time finally deemed worthy of academic inquiry.

The fact that hip hop entered the academy at a time when it was instilling fear and moral panic in the public points strongly to how scholars frame research around young people and popular culture. Moreover, the paper evolved from a “qualitative, two-year investigation of music experiences among a specific group of low-income Black youth” where each member of

⁶ Florida Governor Bob Martinez spearheaded the banning of 2 Live Crew’s music; Tipper Gore, Al Gore’s wife, suggested hip hop was abusive.

⁷ Potts, R. (2016, May 25). The Great Rap Censorship Scare of 1990. Retrieved from <https://medium.com/cuepoint/the-great-rap-censorship-scare-of-1990-115edc69a62f>.

⁸ Pareles, J. (1990, August 28). Distributor Withdraws Rap Album Over Lyrics. *The New York Times*, pp. 51–58.

the sample was a participant in a program for minority youth looking for career guidance. The imagined audience of the genre is clear in my methodological framing and provokes thinking around how long Black youth have been the target for researchers in the field.

I would also like to point to the rate of growth of published materials, which is also seen in Figure 4. There has been an exponential growth happening decade after decade. From the 1990s to the early 2000s, scholarship grew by approximately 200% and by another approximately 32% from 2014 to 2021. There could be many reasons for this growth. First, as hip hop culture enmeshes itself with popular culture year after year, there is simply more material to critique, and the impact of hip hop becomes more widely visible, necessitating an understanding and documentation of the changes slowly being made to wider culture. By the early 2000s, hip hop more or less dominated popular culture; Eminem and 50 Cent were without a doubt the most popular artists, Jay-Z and Diddy were beginning their ascent to becoming some of the richest people on the continent, and rap artists from outside the East and West Coasts were becoming popular. There was simply more to interrogate. It was at this time, too, that Hip Hop Studies was established (via *That's The Joint: The Hip Hop Studies Reader*), and this was undoubtedly reflected in the proliferation of the relevant scholarship.

Figure 5: Number of times “hip hop” was used throughout a document

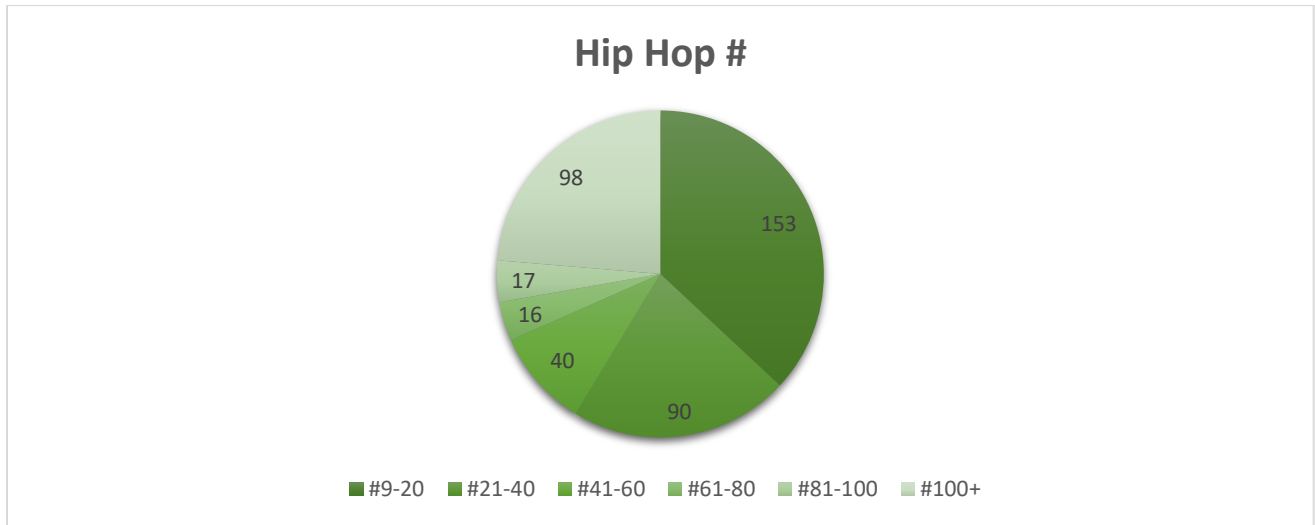
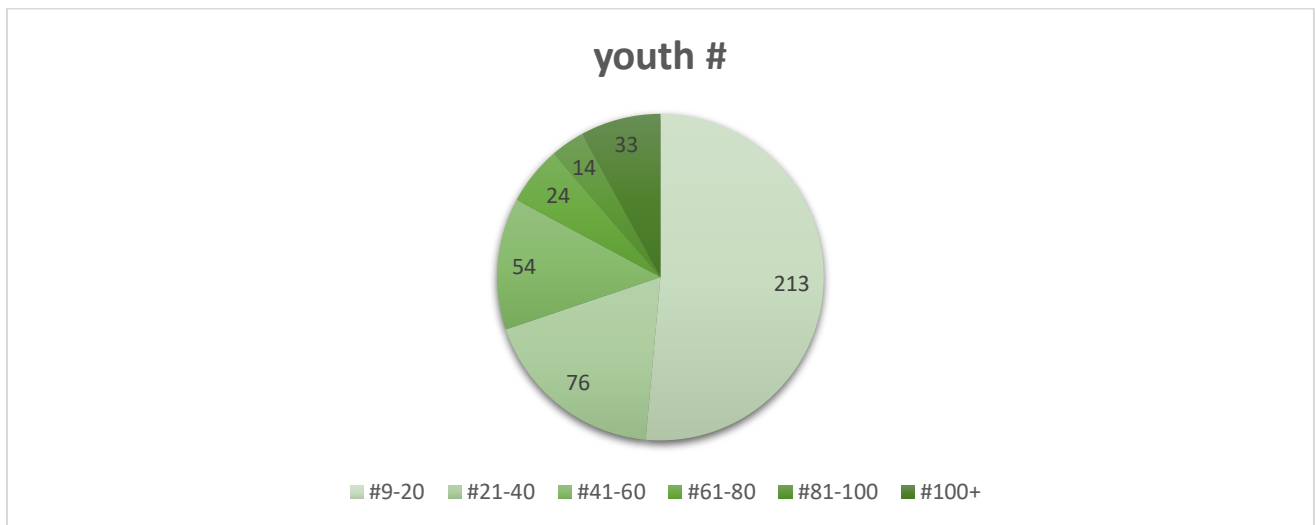


Figure 6: Number of times “youth” was used throughout a document



Figures 5 and 6 provide insight into the actual content of the research topics by highlighting keywords that appear throughout individual documents as well as throughout the whole dataset. With the information gathered here, I was able to capture a more detailed understanding of the epistemological concerns of the reviewed literature. Keywords not only help identify relevant topics in the various fields, but they can also predict trends. Therefore, this code relied on certain framing words and their respective frequencies. This keyword analysis helped describe

interactions and was done in two parts: (1) tracking how often keywords appeared in a single document, and (2) assessing the relationships between concepts and mapping their use and potential meaning (Weismayer & Pezenka, 2017).

Figures 5 and 6 represent the two leading keywords that drive the entire review. As mentioned, every document had to contain the words “Hip Hop” and “youth,” and these were the only two pre-defined descriptive keywords analyzed. The number of times “Hip Hop” and “youth” were used throughout a single document indicated how central these concepts were to my overall research framework. There were 153 documents, representing 37% of the dataset, that used Hip Hop more than 100 times and 213 documents, or 51% of the literature, that used the word youth more than 100 times. Documents with high word counts were looked at closely to determine if they should be further considered.

Table 1: Journals investigated

#	Journal	Number of Documents
1	Urban Education	26
2	Journal of Youth Studies	22
3	YOUNG	19
4	Equity and Excellence in Education	17
5	Negro Education	14
6	Language, Identity and Education	10
7	Souls	9
8	Social Identities	9
9	Music Education Research	9
10	Review of Education, Pedagogy and cultural Studies	9
11	Pedagogy, culture & Society	8
12	Journal of Popular Music Education	7
13	Popular Music and Society	6
14	Education and Urban Society	6
15	Educational Studies	5
16	Education , Communication and Information	5

17	Australian Journal of Linguistics	5
18	youth & Society	5
19	Journal of Musical Arts in Africa	5
20	Journal for cultural Research	5
21	Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education	5
22	Howard Journal of Communication	5
23	Gender, Place and culture	5
24	Fashion Practice	5
25	Ethnic & Racial Studies	5
26	Critical Arts	5
27	The Black Scholar	5
28	The Educational Forum	5
29	Women & Performance a Journal	5
30	Journal of Popular Music Studies	5
31	Journal of Curriculum & Pedagogy	5
32	Identities	5
33	Feminist Media Practices	5
34	cultural Studies	5
35	Communication and Critical/ cultural Studies	5
36	Changing English	5
37	Television and New Media	5
38	Music Educators Journal	5
39	Discourse & Society	5
40	Review of Educational Research	5
41	Missiology	5
42	Men & Masculinities	5
43	Media, culture & Society	5
44	Journal of youth and Adolescence	5
45	Journal of Negro Education	5
46	Journal of Media Literacy Education	5
47	Journal of Creative Communications	5
48	Journal of Black Studies	5
49	Jeunesse	5
50	International Journal of cultural Studies	5
51	European Journal of cultural Studies	5
52	culture & Society	5
53	cultural Studies- Critical Methodologies	5
54	Critical Pedagogies	5
55	Continuum	5

56	Contexts	5
57	Africa Spectrum	5
58	Policy Futures in Education	5
59	culture & Religion	5
60	Pedagogies: An International Journal	5
61	The New Educator	5
62	Typography	5
63	Leisure/ Loisir	3
		414

Table 1 presents the varied number of journals with relevant data. Journals are important in that they disseminate and preserve academic work. As mentioned earlier, the affordances that digital media provide have facilitated new processes and practices of writing for publication that were simply not possible before the advent of certain technologies; most journals now use an online platform for the entire publication process from submission to editing to final publication. Now, with the proper equipment and permission, one can access journal articles anywhere, anytime (Paltridge, 2020). Work can be published more quickly and accessed easily, and without this, my trace would have probably been impossible.

I could tally the number of articles published in each journal with relative ease, so which journals published the most relevant data? *Equity and Excellence in Education*; *Language, Identity and Education*; *Negro Education*; *Urban Education*; *YOUTH*; and *Journal of Youth Studies* all have the highest number of published works in their publication history. I paid particular attention to these journals, tracing and analyzing their journal aims and scopes, and was able to compare and contrast journal types by simply toggling my browser tabs. What do their aims and scopes state that opens up space for the research I am looking at? How do aims and scopes dictate what kind of research gets done? How do journals distinguish between those who know and those who are known?

Their aims and scopes are wide enough to include hip hop and young people as particular areas of interest in that they are looking for work that examines oppression, identity, and culture. *Equity and Excellence in Education* is a particularly interesting journal to highlight because of the language used in their aims and scope. For example, they state that “authors should mos def be attentive to various contexts in which education occurs...” and they also are looking for work that “does it for the culture” (Aims and Scopes, 2019). The hip hop slang is in full effect, signaling a particular affiliation that calls on scholars who look through this lens in their research. Through simple counting, the patterns that emerged from my list of journals led me to a place where I noticed, wondered, and could draw conclusions about what I found.

Table 2: Field

Field	# of Documents	%age of Data Set
Hip Hop Studies	414	100.0
youth cultural Studies	414	100.0
Black cultural Studies	276	66.7
cultural Education	220	53.1
Communication & Media Studies	176	42.5
Popular Music Studies	152	36.7
Gender & Sexuality	87	21.0
Linguistics	55	13.3
Dance Studies	10	2.4
Visual Art Studies	10	2.4

Table 2 gives a breakdown of how prevalent hip hop youth research is in each designated field.

A field (or academic discipline) is essentially a branch of knowledge that exists in higher education spaces. A field can be viewed through both a teaching and a learning lens. For this

project, I was not interested in how fields are organized pedagogically, but rather, how fields are concentrated theoretically. I was interested in the intellectual phenomena that work together to create specific areas of research. Looking at fields is an important indicator because it sheds further light on where the research lives and where I should be focusing my analysis.

To delineate field, I partly relied on the journal a document was published in. Often, the title of the journal makes clear what body of knowledge the research is concerned with. In addition, I looked to what scholars wrote in their introductions and abstracts, which pointed to specific frameworks and objects of study. For example, were students the participants? Noting the object of study also helped to delineate field: Was the research looking at popular culture? Youth educational spaces? Was there a concern with gendered disparities in young people? Was there a focus on the language practices of the genre? I grouped articles and looked at them in relation to each other to allow me to more easily notice the trends and theories used time and time again.

For example, through categorizing, I realized that Cultural Education and Linguistics have core tenets in common. Education and Pedagogy are the two main frameworks that bind these fields together. Cultural Education is concerned with the cultural divide for students and looks to find creative ways to include student cultures in the classroom, while Linguistics is concerned with how to connect to young people through specific language use. Overwhelmingly, the linguistics literature scraped here deals with bringing rap music into the classroom, using the art form as a way to understand youth behaviour and attitudes (Pennycook, 2007; Low, 2007; Sarkar & Allen, 2007; Alim, 2007). In looking at Cultural Education and Linguistics concurrently, it also became clear that scholars rely on each other as well as on similar wells of previous research and this constructs the field as such.

Similar sentiments are present for the other fields categorized here. Popular Music Studies, Popular Culture Studies, Communication and Media Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Dance Studies, and Visual Culture Studies: These fields are clumped together because of their orientation towards studying people, populations, and the popular. The knowledge produced and the narratives perpetuated communicate who people are, how they engage with culture, and how they potentially find meaning in their lives. To understand the connections between these fields, I had to map out the origins of Cultural Studies and its connections to Youth Cultural Studies and Black Cultural Studies. The trends continue to manifest in the next figure where more words/concepts are highlighted as recurring.

Table 3: Key word collection

Keyword/ Concept	# of Documents Present in	%age of Data Set
Hip Hop	414	100.0
youth (culture, population, generation)	414	100.0
Rap Music	323	78.0
Black	322	77.8
Young	322	77.8
Urban	315	76.1
Identity	307	74.2
Marginal/ Marginality	241	58.2
Resistance	229	55.3
Positive (space, place)	220	53.1
Graffiti	154	37.2
Critical Pedagogy	151	36.5
Minority	148	35.7
Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP)	140	33.8
Inner-city	133	32.1
cultural Literacy	127	30.7
Masculinity	91	22.0
disadvantage	88	21.3

Indigenous	82	19.8
Djing	55	13.3
Linguistics	45	10.9
b-boy	45	10.9
b-girl	25	6.0
Aboriginal	22	5.3

To carry out the keyword search shown in Table 3, I chose not to use organizing software with a search algorithm that applies the codes automatically. Rather, I wanted to be able to assess the context around each word, so instead, I let the content guide the keyword list by reading each document and taking manual notes of words I noticed not only appearing often but also appearing to describe hip hop or young people in some way. Some of the recurring keywords will be used as categorizing topics in the thematic analysis that follows.

For the keywords above, I let the content in the documents guide me. I had a sense of which words would appear often, but for the most part, I did not go into this part of the process with any preconceived ideas of what to look for. Certain words and combinations of words recurred and emerged as concepts, which reflect the state of knowledge. I read each document and used the search function throughout, but with each returned search, I also read for context to ensure that the keywords were central to the main themes and questions of the research. The terms “rap music,” “young,” “Black,” “urban,” and “identity” appear in over 75% of the total dataset, representing in huge measure what researchers were discussing in their work.

I would like to discuss the concept of “rap music” specifically. Noticing how often “rap music” is used in comparison to the other elements of hip hop (“b-boying/b-girling,” “DJing,” and “graffiti”) is a stark sign of what the most popular form of hip hop culture is and what researchers think is the most fruitful. Rap music, as the most visible element of hip hop in mainstream culture, is also heavily represented in the scholarship. Hip hop culture has largely

been historicized as the MC up on a club stage with a mic, rapping in front of a crowd, with a DJ behind them (*usually *him*). Additionally, as discussed earlier, rap music is the most popular genre of music today and the rapper is the iconic figure. Therefore, rap has the most information available on popular artists, their styles and associated fashion, and the overall impact the genre is having on wider global society.

For scholars interested in understanding society and culture, looking at where most people are engaging makes sense. At the same time, it is also important to note that time after time in the ongoing investigation of rap music, the potentiality and influence of the other elements gets minimized. Mary Fogarty is one scholar who is committed to highlighting hip hop dance cultures, and two of her articles are included in this dataset. She discusses how popular media obscures the distinctions and details of breakdancing, popping, and locking (two other forms of hip hop dance) (2012). In the process of obfuscation, its impact is also lost; I add to this concern and wonder if it is in this vein that the urgency to study it as a cultural form simply not there. The effects of the overrepresentation of rap music and the serious underrepresentation of the other elements that are part of it has shaped the field drastically.

I also wonder how the overwhelming popularity of rap music impacts a scholar's motivation to look at other spaces where hip hop happens. Rap music is relatively easy to access as both creator and researcher. One of the reasons it has global appeal is because it doesn't require much to create, given the low initial capital and easy barrier to entry. From a researcher perspective, for studying purposes, rap is easy to locate and engage with. It can also be easy to disseminate to a group of participants in a collaborative research setting. Playing music or printing off song lyrics is relatively low effort compared to finding smaller dance communities or tracking down (usually anonymous) graffiti artists; such endeavours can take time and usually

require a higher degree of insider knowledge. The combination of popularity and accessibility seems to be the reason behind why rap music is so overly represented in the field.

Next, I want to discuss the keyword “Black,” which was present in 77.8% of the scraped documents. In my context, “Black” was most used to describe (1) the young original creators of the hip hop genre in New York City in the 1970s; (2) hip hop’s roots in Black American traditions of jazz, funk, soul, disco, etc.; (3) the young racialized participants or objects of study; (4) the sentiment and politics of the hip hop genre, which historically has been considered representative of the voice of Black people in the United States. Hip hop’s influence has also permeated the globe, although I argue that due to its commercialization and globalization, its message has been diluted and it no longer wholly represents the Black community as it once did. On one hand, hip hop represents youth struggles all around the world – in Iran, India, Israel, Gaza, China, and Japan, for example – but it also represents brands and companies looking to align with what’s ‘cool.’ Hip hop is now shared by millions around the world. As Yasiin Bey (Mos Def) said in 1999: “Me, you, everybody – We are Hip Hop.”

Underlying the current context, I wonder about how hip hop works as a signifying practice at different moments in time. What is the connection to Blackness and how is this changing? This part of the code leads me to think about how scholars have historicized and narrativized the connections between social constructions of race and hip hop and whether or not such connections have evolved. By the measure of this code, there is a strong indication that by and large, scholars still use hip hop to study Black youth and Black spaces.

I also want to look at the use of the term “young” as a guiding concept in 77.8% of the documents reviewed. Since its beginnings, hip hop has wanted nothing to do with adult music cultures like disco, Motown, and jazz, and instead has been adamant about resisting the older

generations' attitudes and behaviour. But who is considered 'young'? In just under half the documents (48%), being young refers to high school-aged people, while 202 documents envision people between 14 and 18 as the ideal hip hop consumer and fan – the kind of person who needs to be observed or theorized. Ninety-five documents (23%) used the term “young people” to refer to teenagers more generally; usually these studies did not deal with youth in school settings and often imagined the young person as an individualistic rebellious teen in need of intervention, as someone who was encountering obstacles and constant rejection and was in need of a creative outlet (Rose, 1991; Edwards, 2017; Byrne et. al, 2020). Furthermore, many of the documents centre young people spanning from as young as elementary school age (14.2%) to college age (14%) who are often described as creative in their fashion and language choices (Sarkar & Allen, 2007; Pennycook, 2007; Christianakis, 2011).

In summary, I have used this code to probe how researchers think about their target population(s). Who is the imagined young person? How do researchers treat them? On one hand, the concept of being a young person is vague and essentially up to the researchers themselves to define and justify. At the same time, it appears that the young person who is overwhelmingly the imagined hip hop representative is in high school dealing with the weight of school, society, family, and their identity. With the insights from this code, it became clear that I needed to consider the role of the high school student in more detail.

Table 4: Methodologies used

Method	# of Documents	%age of Data Set
CDA	86	20.8
Observation	52	12.6
textual analysis	47	11.4
Interviews	43	10.4

Case Study	38	9.2
Review	37	8.9
Arts- Based	35	8.5
Workshops	34	8.2
Lyrical Analysis	30	7.2
Ethnography	25	6.0
Surveys	15	3.6
PAR	14	3.4
Digital Ethnography	12	2.9
Group Interviews	7	1.7
Content Analysis	6	1.4
Mixed Methods	6	1.4
Focus Group	5	1.2
Field Work	5	1.2
ANT	4	1.0
Visual Method	4	1.0
Spoken Word	4	1.0
Vignettes	3	0.7
Soundscape	2	0.5
Hangin' Out	1	0.2
Portraiture Study	1	0.2

Table 4: Methodologies Used breaks down the descriptions of methodological traditions the author(s) used in each document. I read each document and scanned the methods section (if available) to uncover the author's process of carrying out their research. The four most frequently used methods were: (1) Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (20.8%), (2) Observations (12.6%), (3) Textual Analysis (11.4%), and (4) Interviews (10.4%).

Understanding methodology is important for this project because it reveals the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Major findings from this code indicate that overall, most of the attention was paid to qualitative methods that exist, as Maggie MacLure notes, “in the discursive space that is fairly empty of examples” (2011, p. 998). CDAs and textual analyses rely on language as the key to understanding culture and the dynamics of power

and therefore negate the need to interact with people in the same ways that interviews and workshops do. Generally, these methods rely on scholarly theorization and interpretation, analyzing materials of culture – news media, music, movies, television – and therefore do not require the opinions of others. CDA and textual analyses are also very common in Communication and Media Studies, Black Cultural Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, and Linguistics where discourse (namely, the shape and creation of meaning systems through language) is an overarching ontology.

I also used this code to take a specific look at what the *lack* of certain methodologies points to. Overall, there are far fewer instances of workshops (8.2%), ethnographies (7.2%), and Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) projects (3.4%). Considering that the entirety of my dataset involves young people and youth culture, the lack of these methodologies indicates that youth voices have mostly been largely ignored or silenced throughout the history of the research. Even in interviews and observation, the methods did not always account how the participants felt or what their body language said.

Young people are often “mere emitters of signals” that fill in the research questions that scholars come into research spaces with (Devercle, 2002, p. 85). Beginning in the early 2000s, however, there was an emergence of literature supporting youth voices and youth-led research. In 2003, Kim Sabo published the journal issue, *New Directions for Youth Research*, which was devoted to youth participatory evaluations in educational research. Shortly after, Delgado (2006) and Flores (2008) published their foundational works, which outline the tenets of youth-led research, its definition, perspectives, underpinnings, and benefits. Although the thinking around how youth should participate in research was increasingly expanding, the concept of youth voices was relatively new within contemporary research environments and often existed in

conjunction with participatory methods of data collection as well as youth input on “project scope, design, analysis and dissemination” (Woodgate et al, 2020, p. 1).

Such research has been characterized as *giving voice*⁹ to young people (James, 2007; Warming, 2005). Youth agency in research spaces became a way for scholars to account for young people in a new way, with researchers employing youth-led research methods to enable young people to shape their own narratives in ways that they might not be capable of doing in other spaces (home, school, in public spaces). This is evident in “Pen 2 Paper 2 Power: Lessons from an Arts-Based Literacy Program Serving Somali Immigrant youth” (2011) by Brian Lozenski and Chelda Smith, published in *Equity and Excellence in Education*. This document illustrates how the practices of two instructors in an arts-based, after-school literacy program serving Somali youth collect insights into teaching urban immigrant students. Lozenski and Smith developed and implemented the Pen 2 Paper Program to illuminate the complexities of immigrant youth cultures and their interactions with popular culture (p. 1547). Featuring youth as experts manifests in arts-based research where participants are often asked to engage in photography, spoken word, and creating vignettes, soundscapes and poetry. Arts-based approaches became popular in both Cultural Education and Communication and Media Studies because it's believed that this work can assist in challenging the traditional power dynamic that may exist between the researcher and the researched.

However, it wasn't until around 2010 that ideas around “hybrid methodologies” became popular and pushed boundaries around disciplinarity and what can be known and not known with a particular method (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2010). The mid-2010s represent a time when

⁹ Even this term has received pushback because of its conceptualization that youth need to be *given* a voice by adults. James (2007) highlights that by stating that children “need to be given a voice in research, the implication is that children are somehow disabled or prevented from speaking out and they need a helping hand” (p. 262).

scholars showed that expecting a holistic result from a single pedagogical method was unrealistic, that using more than one method in a single project worked more effectively to eliminate silences and gaps, and that probing these gaps was where new insights could emerge. However, this is a relatively new area of scholarship in relation to the literature I am studying. Well over half of my dataset does not reflect this intellectual trend, and this can be seen in the kinds of methods used. Not capturing ever-changing theories in methodological studies may be a drawback in my attempt to capture a complete picture of the literature. Nevertheless, the years I have focused on have not been reviewed in the way I have reviewed them, and it is still crucial to do so.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have presented the data I found while tracing through the literature about hip hop and youth. Through a variety of both thematic and frequency codes, I took a huge amount of information and broke it down into workable chunks that painted a picture. Once all the documents had been coded, I examined them by code, combined the codes and then split them into subcategories. The trends and patterns that emerged from the numbers and charts tell a story about the state of the literature.

What I was left with is a wealth of knowledge that became the foundation for the further thematic inquiry that follows in the next two chapters. Based primarily on popular journals and recurring keywords, I split the scholarship into two differing areas: Cultural Education Studies and Linguistics, which form one subcategory that is connected through theories of pedagogy (Chapter 5), and ideas around identity and representation, which comprise the second subcategory (Chapter 6).

Chapter 5: Stage iv PT I: Doin' It For The Culture: Cultural Education and Linguistics

The two fields considered here are Cultural Education and Linguistics. In this chapter, I compile and analyze the research systematically and use it to comprehensively address the problems that have “characterized the education of Black [people] in the United States and elsewhere” (*Equity & Excellence in Education*). I chose to analyze publications from these two fields concurrently because embedded commonalities – education and pedagogy – are the two main frameworks that define them. To further analyze this set of literature, I looked in detail at the different key framing concepts, key words and phrases, and methodologies used throughout. With this information, I am able to draw conclusions about the state of knowledge production in the field.

Out of a total of 695 documents reviewed in this project, I investigated and analyzed 275 for this chapter¹⁰. First, I coded these 275 documents by journal; if they were published in either Sage and Taylor & Francis journals and are in the fields of Cultural Education or Linguistics, they are included here¹¹. Journals with articles in Cultural Education and Linguistics were organized and studied together. I began by pointing to some noteworthy journals and their aims, which serve to offer context and further justification.

Next, I analyzed the documents qualitatively by framework and central ideology. Critical Pedagogy (Freire, 1970), Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (Ladson-Billings, 1995) and Cultural Literacy (Alim, 2007) emerged as the central framing concepts that many scholars have relied upon to showcase the importance of hip hop as a pedagogical tool. I discuss these concepts in detail, highlighting key scholars who defined the themes. Scholars writing in this field include

¹⁰ The full list of documents is located in the chapter appendix

¹¹ The full list of journals is located in the chapter appendix

Louie F. Rodríguez, Mia Fiore, Nadjwa E.L. Norton, Bettina L. Love, David O. Stovall, Marcella Runell, Denise Taliaferro Baszile, Muhammad and Lee Gonzalez, Bronwen E. Low, H. Samy Alim, Alastair Pennycook, Emery Petchauer, Christopher Emdin, Marc Lamont Hill, Stuart R. Poyntz, Rachelle Winkle-Wagner, Shauna Pomerantz, Jeff Duncan-Andrade, and J. Irby.

Next I discuss in detail the use and meaning of three key root words – “Positive,” “Urban” and “Marginalized” – and their many forms that come up again and again throughout the dataset. The impact of their reification is also discussed in this section. Following my thematic analysis, I noted the popular methodologies used in the literature discussed in this section to understand how methods determine results and create a relationship between the researcher and the researched. I paid particular attention to the common methodologies that recur throughout the documents to highlight the use and deployment of hip hop as both a concept and a research tactic. All the documents position youth as central, and hip hop as the vehicle through which to understand youth in more complex ways.

The Journals

The general fields of knowledge mentioned here are all concerned with education as (1) an institution with structural inequities that are present in its systems, and (2) a site where identities are built, fostered, or rejected. For example, this concern with systemic inequity is evident in the mission statement of *Equity & Excellence in Education* whose problematic is to advance and/or complicate existing conceptualizations and understandings of equity, excellence, and justice in the field of education: “We are particularly interested in publishing manuscripts applying critical frameworks that engage in the intersectional examination of systemic oppression along with those that explore ideas of joy, futurity, freedom-dreaming, and radical imagination” (Aims and

Scopes, 2022). In a similar vein, *Education and Urban Society* lays out its commitment to a “multidisciplinary forum for communication among educators, educational administrators, school board members, sociologists, urban anthropologists, and political scientists” (Aims and Scopes, 2022). These two journals are spaces for scholars to discuss the politics of teaching and learning in both formal and informal settings.

The goal of highlighting systemic inequity is also stated in the mission statement of the *Review of Education, Pedagogy and Cultural Studies*: “We view education and pedagogy as cultural processes (material/aesthetic) integral to how power, ideology, identity, and subjectivity are produced and struggled over within and across various sites globally” (Aims and Scopes, 2022). This journal takes seriously the power relationships and dynamics embedded in cultural educational and pedagogical spaces.

Relatedly, the *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* touts itself as an international forum for original research on the “intersections of language, identity, and education in global and local contexts” (Aims and Scopes, 2022), and further documents how issues of language “impact individual and community identities and intersect with educational practices and policies” (Aims and Scopes, 2022). Here, the cultural impact of language is thought to have a bearing on power relations and policy in educational settings.

The connections between identity and education are ever-present and come together in the mission statements for many of the other journals here. First, I want to point to *Pedagogies: An International Journal*, which aims to bring together “emergent and groundbreaking work on pedagogy in response to transforming communities and student bodies, new knowledge and forms of communication” (Aims and Scopes, 2022). A similar perspective is apparent in the mission statement of the *Journal of Negro Education*, which is specifically attuned to Black education, identifying and defining the problems, providing a forum for analysis and solutions,

and serving as a vehicle for sharing statistics and research on a national basis (Aims and Scopes, 2022). The attention to Black education here is central to my analysis because, as I mentioned previously, the connections between hip hop and Black youth are considered a kind of ‘educational phenomenon.’ Leading international journals claim to critically examine diverse perspectives of such phenomena, from schools and cultural institutions to sites and concerns beyond institutional boundaries, namely policy.

Key Framework Categorization: Critical Pedagogy, CRP & “Cultural Literacy”

a) Critical Pedagogy (appeared in 36.5% of the total dataset)

I categorized the research in this section according to key concepts and frameworks. First, the concept of “critical pedagogy,” the central theorization from Paulo Freire, is pivotal to much of the work in Cultural Education, Linguistics, and Religion. Beginning with *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Brazilian educator and philosopher Paulo Freire created a body of work predicated on the philosophical premise that education is not neutral, but instead inherently political. The political choice involved in educating a democratic citizen is made abundantly clear by Freire in *The Politics of Education* (1985). Understanding the limits of educational practice absolutely requires political clarity on the part of educators in relation to their projects. It demands that the educator assume the political nature of his/her practice. It is not enough to say that education is a political act, just as it is not enough to say that political acts are also educative. It is necessary to truly assume the political nature of education. Freire is key to the theoretical foundations of the fields. He believed that education was not neutral, but instead inherently political. Critical pedagogy, grounded in the Freirean tradition, represents an “approach to schooling that is committed to the imperatives of empowering students and transforming the larger social order in the interests of justice and equality” (McLaren, 2007, p. xvii).

In his work on education, pedagogy, and oppressed people, Freire (1970) discusses the relationships needed between teachers and students in an oppressive world using the dialogic process of coming to reveal, reflect, and act upon that world. In this, he was also describing a certain approach to educational research, which revolved around students in their context of oppression and marginalization. Freire's conceptualization of critical pedagogy is concerned with how and why knowledge gets constructed the way it does, and how and why some constructions of reality are legitimated and celebrated by the dominant culture while others clearly are not" (McLaren, 2007, p. 197).

Within this collection of the data, there are 114 articles¹² that discuss critical pedagogy in some meaningful way that lends to their theoretical or methodological orientation.

The Deployment of Critical Pedagogy in the Dataset

What does it look like when critical pedagogy is deployed as a concept? There are several ways that critical pedagogy is made actionable. First, it can be used as a general framework for participatory methods where scholars engage students using hip hop music to arrive at answers to their research questions. Examples of this actionable practice include the works of David Stovall (2006), A.A. Akom (2009), Emery Petchauer (2011, 2013, 2020), and Mariana Souto-Manning and Detra Price-Dennis (2011), to name a few.

To begin, I would like to highlight the work of David Stovall. Stovall authored the 2006 article, "We can Relate: Hip-Hop culture, Critical Pedagogy, and the Secondary Classroom," where he suggests using rap music to provide context for the Humanities and Social Sciences in secondary curriculum. The article is an attempt to identify the use of hip hop music and culture

to develop relevant pedagogical practice. Through classroom workshops, Stovall used hip hop lyrics not only to combat oppressive class spaces, but also as a jumping-off point to discuss inequity throughout history where Anglo-Saxon worldviews have been favoured time and time again (Stovall, 2006, p. 597).

All in all, Stovall's use of critical pedagogy and hip hop is based on developing relationships of familiarity so "students have the greater propensity to grasp concepts originally considered foreign or 'uninteresting'" (p. 586). This is because "urban youth are often blamed for society's ills (i.e., crime, drug use, delinquency, apathetic behavior toward education, etc.)" (p. 586). A critical analysis of hip hop, for Stovall and others, affirms school as a "safe space in which to engage such concerns" (p. 598). Hip hop allows students to feel safe and therefore acts as a catalyst for dialogue about larger issues pertaining to their lives and society (p. 596). In essence, the concept of critical pedagogy is one that helps Stovall justify student empowerment through confronting unequal power dynamics as a priority for modern classrooms.

"Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy as a Form of Liberatory Praxis" by A.A. Akom was published in *Equity & Excellence in Education* in 2009 and has been cited over 350 times. Within the dataset investigated in this section, it was referenced in 31 other articles. Using Paulo Freire, Akom "fused hip hop with critical pedagogy [to] introduce a new framework called CHHP [Critical Hip Hop Pedagogy]" (Akom, 2009, p. 54). Akom seeks to extend Freire's work and suggests that transformative education for the poor and disempowered begins with the "creation of pedagogic spaces where marginalized youth become aware" of their experiences in relation to wider structures of society (p. 55). Akom's premise is clear:

...Hip Hop is an important lens for socio-political analysis and representation of marginalized communities, and that youth-driven research on hip hop and popular culture is an instantiation of reading and acting upon the world, that is, critical pedagogy. (p. 55)

In this mission, Akom insists that students are active agents and advocates for a counter-hegemonic curricula that focuses on youth culture and resistance, racial identity, social reproduction, and counter-narratives (p. 57). CHHP is for students of colour who lack the explanations of school inequality and a critical perspective of the world (p. 55). CHHP is meant to be collaborative, experiential, barrier-breaking, decolonizing, and liberatory. Freire's work allows Akom to think about democratic schooling that is committed to serving the most marginalized groups in society.

As part of his project, he co-taught a course at a university in the Bay Area of California where he and his fellow-teacher collaborated with 130 students, hip hop scholars, and hip hop artists to explore police brutality, incarceration, misogyny, homophobia, racism, sexism, white supremacy, Black nationalism, and commodification. Their workshops culminated in the creation of a public forum for debate and intellectual engagement in an effort to model Freirean pedagogy inside the hip hop studio. Akom's document is a blueprint for how to combine hip hop studies with critical pedagogy, and the use of workshops exemplified how creative scholars can be in this field.

Emery Petchauer's 2011 article, "I Feel What He Was Doin': Responding to Justice-Oriented Teaching Through Hip-Hop Aesthetics," was published in *Urban Education* and is highlighted here as one of Petchauer's most important works in the field. His 2009 review of hip hop educational research was very important in establishing and categorizing the field; with this work, Petchauer illustrates two learning activities designed to use hip hop aesthetics as a way to

discuss justice-oriented teaching. Petchauer entered two majority Black classrooms in New York and New Jersey in 2008/2009 to conduct workshops. His purpose was to develop education that would be derived from and connected to students' needs with a focus on social and educational equity.

Finally, I would like to point to Mariana Souto-Manning and Detra Price-Dennis's 2011 work, "(Re)Framing Diverse Pre-service Classrooms as Spaces for Culturally Relevant Teaching," as it references Freire's classic concept of critical pedagogy to explain their critical inquiry methodology as well as their advocacy for "social justice education" (p. 225):

...Students are not passive recipients of knowledge or information, but active learners constructing knowledge (Freire, 1970). Therefore, to educate becomes a verb full of transformative action and experiences that collectively disrupt oppressive teaching, learning, and living conditions. (p. 225)

Their push to disrupt existing power structures in educational spaces was accomplished in 'unconventional' ways that rely on action and experience. Hip hop, for Price-Dennis and Souto-Manning, is the key to the disruption that breaks oppressive education cycles. The authors say that using "urban youth cultural references" was "invaluable" (p. 228). Using hip hop in this setting means discussing rap song lyrics and analyzing album cover art to engage "multiple worldviews," to create "equity, diversity, and successful teaching" (p. 224).

The establishment and deployment of the critical pedagogy concept helped usher in the use and rise of the idea of "Culturally Relevant Pedagogy," which helps us better understand the importance of hip hop in this field of work.

b) CRP (appeared in 33.8% of total dataset)

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy (CRP) is a popular concept originated by Gloria Ladson- Billings in 1995. It is used in 115 of the articles looked at here¹³. Essentially, CRP maintains that teachers need to be non-judgmental and inclusive of the cultural backgrounds of their students to facilitate effective learning in the classroom. The focus of CRP is *culture* in schooling. In the almost 30 years since CRP became commonplace, it has been noted time and time again to have a positive impact on achievement and to be useful to students. CRP describes, similarly to Freire’s concept of critical pedagogy, how student learning and academic achievement rely on educators knowing and understanding student realities; the focus on student reality is the defining difference. CRP is the way to include culture into the classroom. It is about how teaching should be culturally responsive to students of diverse backgrounds, especially racialized students (Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1994). Generally, it is believed that because ideas of culture and race are inherent in American society, they should be incorporated into the classroom, too. Scholars who use this framework often examine the worldview and practices of successful teachers of Black students (Emdin, 2011, 2016, 2020; Love, 2016; Ortiz, 2018; Cherfas, 2018), study knowledge co-construction, and in this, position hip hop as culturally relevant curriculum for (generally) Black youth. This area of scholarship seeks to expand hip hop course offerings in education programs and is referred to as Hip Hop Based Education (HHBE). The combination of Youth Studies, Black Studies, music-based research, and phenomenized youth cultures has set the foundation for the evolution of HHBE as both praxis and an avenue for scholarly research.

Marc Lamont Hill (2009) defines HHBE more specifically as a phrase to “collectively comprise” educational research using the elements of hip hop culture (i.e., rap, turntableism, breakdancing, graffiti, knowledge of self, fashion, language) to inform pedagogy in formal and

¹³ The full list is located in the chapter appendix

non-formal school spaces. Increasingly, practitioners, educators, and community workers have sought to mobilize particular forms of hip hop by drawing on its potential. The evolution of HHBE is tied to the ascendance of Black Youth Studies. Drawing on Freire's critical pedagogy (1990), some scholars have labelled this approach as "critical hip hop pedagogy" (Hill, 2009; Parmar, 2009; Porfilio & Viola, 2012) or as a "transformative pedagogy" (O'Neill, 2012, 2014). Allen (1996) referred to the use of hip hop music in education and youth workspaces as "edutainment," the purpose of which is to engage learners through participation in artistic activities. In 2013, Harris noted an "... explosion of Hip Hop and rap programmes, projects and strategies used by artists, teachers and scholars, not only to engage young people who struggle with traditional school but to better understand the way they (and we) learn" (p. 124). Scholars continually state that hip hop is a form of community cultural wealth used to "bridge two different worlds in the lives of marginalized youth" (Tabi & Gosine, 2016), implying not only that the classroom and the community are mutually exclusive but also that hip hop can mitigate achievement gaps.

Ladson-Billings builds on the work of Freire when she states that the way to eradicate hierarchy in the classroom is by bringing in student culture (note that the most oppressed students are overwhelmingly understood as Black students and therefore that culture comes in the form of hip hop). Scholars often note that most of the classrooms they study are missing this key teaching strategy, that is, the inclusion of culture, thereby ignoring a specific demographic of the student population who are often young students of colour (read *Black*).

The Deployment of CRP in the Dataset

Within the data examined, there are 115 articles that reference Ladson-Billings and/or her concept of CRP. It is clear that this concept has shifted the field in a significant way in its ability

to extend Freire and address not only the power inequality but also the lack of connection to mostly Black student populations. CRP has revealed a huge blind spot in the way classrooms are organized. Once scholars began to cite Ladson-Billings, the field took a leap forward. This is evident through the work of Louie F. Rodriguez et al. (2008), Christopher Emdin (2011), Bettina Love (2016), and Nickolaus A. Ortiz et al. (2018).

Christopher Emdin, who has been seen as a kind of academic superstar in this field, has conducted many studies that place hip hop as central to educating young Black students. He has undoubtedly emerged as a key thinker and foundational scholar. His name appears in 31 articles as either the author or a reference. Emdin's 2011 article, "Moving Beyond the Boat without a Paddle: Reality Pedagogy, Black Youth, and Urban Science Education" published in the *Journal of Negro Education*, discusses critical pedagogy in the following way:

Critical pedagogy, like culturally relevant pedagogy, pushes beyond traditional approaches to Black youth education. It is an approach to instruction that moves beyond disseminating content by focusing on the social, political, and historical dimensions of teaching and learning (Kincheloe, 1998; Macrine, 2009). Critical pedagogues' function [is] to not only make sense of dimensions of teaching and learning that are not usually considered, but also to make students aware of how these dynamics directly impact what and how they learn. This approach to instruction is rooted in an aversion to oppression and in providing a voice for the marginalized (Apple & Carlson, 1998; Denzin, 2009). It encourages dissention and liberation for oppressed people as a significant aspect of teaching (Freire, 1998). (p. 286).

This is a through line seen in all the work discussed so far and clearly through Emdin's academic career and publication history as well. His 2017 article, "On Innervisions and Becoming in

Urban Education: Pentecostal Hip Hop Pedagogies in the Key of Life” published in *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, is a progression in many ways. Here we can see the continued attempt to break down the power dynamics traditionally at play in classrooms and educational systems writ large. Emdin’s problematic is clear: “The hubris of the researcher who sees no value in these narratives while claiming to care for urban youths is the chief impediment to finding solutions to the real problems in urban education” (p. 483).

With the Freirean tradition squarely established, Emdin continues to fight for anti-oppressive classrooms, which challenge power and inequality, by suggesting that “youth from the Hip Hop generation” and those who work with them begin to “look inwards and imagine possibilities” informed by thinkers outside of education, namely the musicians and artists themselves. This can offer more than “traditional scholars,” he argues. In this, he also points to imagination: when there is space to imagine, both students and teachers move toward teaching and learning that is closer to the “emancipatory spaces students imagine it to be” (p. 108). Music plays a big part in this imagining as it is a perfect encompassment of culture and education/education-as-culture in action. Additionally, Emdin suggests that the combination of imagination and hip hop focuses on youth and their everyday realities in a way that provides an opportunity to reflect upon and release emotions, an idea built on Ladson-Billing’s work. This kind of classroom is particularly well suited to the needs of youth from the hip hop generation, according to Emdin, as their culture, reality, and emotions are absent from the traditional classroom.

Bettina Love’s 2016 “Complex Personhood of Hip Hop & the Sensibilities of the Culture that Fosters Knowledge of Self and Self-Determination” was published in *Equity & Excellence in Education* and presents Hip Hop Pedagogy (HHP) as a pedagogical framework which they

claim has generated “humanizing, critical and creative pedagogical (re)interventions and sensibilities” (p. 415). Love’s roots in Ladson-Billings’s theories are concerned with the social constructions of race and racism and how these intersect with hip hop as a storytelling tool for legitimizing the experiential knowledge of people of colour, especially Black people marginalized by their skin colour (p. 415). At the same time, and this is what makes Love’s article provocative in this space, they acknowledge that hip hop was created alongside the conditions of capitalism, sexism, and patriarchy. In the hope of knowing the youth who are deeply informed by hip hop, Love examined hip hop educational spaces, balancing the two sides of the culture while also centering youth experiences. Like many of the scholars mentioned in this chapter, for Love, hip hop is a cultural site that allows young people to discover and play with how they can identify themselves. The educational potential of hip hop is emancipatory and healing as long as they are not stuck in the binaries of Black popular culture, which are rooted in the enduring fight for Black freedom. I have highlighted Love’s 2016 article here because Love changed the course of cultural education studies by acknowledging the contested space hip hop occupies; the delicate position hip hop holds in contemporary educational spaces makes it worthy of study and sometimes, scrutiny.

Nickolaus A. Ortiz, Mary M. Capraro, and Robert M. Capraro authored the 2018 article, “Does it Really Matter? Exploring Cultural Relevance within a Majority White Classroom” published in the *Journal of Negro Education*. This article explores how culture affects the learning experiences of students in a mathematics classroom. During a two-week statistics course, students took part in a performative assessment and were then asked the following question: “How did hip hop communicate or supplement [your] learning of statistics?” The aim of the project was to “explicate the alignment between culture and mathematics by altering the

learning norms and pedagogical strategies that often undergird traditional teaching” (Ortiz et al, 2018, p. 404). The study focused on the presence or lack of cultural competence, as informed by Ladson-Billings (p. 405). Hip hop thus becomes a primary framework because for these scholars, it “affords the opportunity for students to perform a formative assessment where they maximize both bodily kinesthetic and rhythm and rhyme to demonstrate mastery of the content” (p. 407):

The students were asked to give an account for what they had learned through song. The instructor, the Black male, played a familiar instrumental track by rapper Fetty Wap (2014) and asked the students to give one statement about statistics consistent with the rhythm of the song; in laymen's terms, they were asked to stay on beat while providing the class with a statistics fact (p. 407).

Their findings revealed that 82% of the respondents felt the teacher who used hip hop had an advantage in his ability to connect with the class. Accordingly, they deduced that students are traditionally expected to conform to the way things have always been done and don't get an opportunity to demonstrate knowledge in more appealing and culturally relevant ways.

Lina Cherfas, Rebecca Casciano, and Michael Anthony Wiggins authored the 2018 article, “It's Bigger Than Hip-Hop: Estimating the Impact of a Culturally Responsive Classroom Intervention on Student Outcomes” published in *Urban Education*. This article focuses on student achievement to determine whether or not CRP is an effective avenue to take to help students, working specifically with students who are not otherwise on track to graduate high school. The article defines culturally responsive methods as those which “attempt to bridge the gap between students and schools by recognizing the value of students' experiences and youth culture in the educational setting” (p. 1749). These scholars examine Fresh Prep, a school program rooted in hip hop pedagogy, which for them is a subset of CRP, and how Fresh Prep

"engages both the surface structures and the deep structures of hip-hop culture in helping prepare and motivate students in the face of high-stakes exams" (p. 1751). The article concludes that hip hop pedagogy, as part of a wider mandate for CRP in schools, is effective and meaningful to Black students not on track to graduate.

Once hip hop was established in the field of education in this way, it was able to permeate into other spaces and take on new forms. This was happening alongside the expansion of hip hop in popular culture, and as a result, the artists/musicians/celebrities and their individual work became a point of analysis. This is where we find the emergence of rap lyrics as a tool for understanding language and society in critical ways.

c) Cultural Literacy? (appeared in 30.7% of total dataset)

Throughout my research, I found that as the concept of hip hop pedagogy became more popular, it expanded into other fields outside of Cultural Education and found itself in fields such as Linguistics where it took on a slightly different form. For Linguistics scholars, hip hop helps them make connections with young people through focusing on the lyrics to start conversations that explore controversial topics. Cultural literacy, in this context, is used to describe the way that hip hop requires a certain language base to be practiced and understood. The concept of hip hop as cultural literacy appears in 83 documents¹⁴ in this section. Scholars here have demonstrated how Black youth create language through hip hop use and state that to connect with them, teachers and administrators must find ways to speak their language. Alastair Pennycook, H. Samy Alim, and Bronwen Low are three such scholars who take on this perspective; their articles from 2007 were the first to look at the creation and use of hip hop

¹⁴ The full list of documents is located in the appendix

language in education. They also provided the foundational texts that gave life to this new subject area within the field.

Low, Pennycook, and Alim, among many others, have made language central to their work, drawing on “sociolinguistic and applied linguistic modes of analysis” (Alim & Pennycook, 2007, p. 90). Sociolinguistics as a theme is perfectly distilled in a journal like *The Journal of Language, Identity, and Education* where much of the scholarship lives. This journal prioritizes how to teach cultural literacy and media literacy through hip hop. All the articles discussed below were published in the 2007 in Volume 6, Issue 2 of this journal.

Issue 2 was dedicated to hip hop, specifically rap music. What these studies all have in common is their view that popular culture, and particularly hip hop, is a major site of engagement for students that has serious implications for language, identity, and education (Alim & Pennycook, 2007, p. 98). At the time of publication, these articles provided a path forward for the very specific issue of language and identity that hip hop cultures present (p. 99). Pennycook’s 2007 article is a foundational text in the field of hip hop and linguistics. The article, “Language, Localization, and the Real: Hip-Hop and the Global Spread of Authenticity,” addresses the relationship between “the call for authenticity, its relocalization in other contexts, and the use of English.” Pennycook boldly states that hip hop “forces us to confront some of the conflictual discourses of authenticity and locality, from those that insist that African American [hip hop] is the only real variety and that all other forms are inauthentic deviations, to those that insist that to be authentic one needs to stick to one’s ‘own’ cultural and linguistic traditions” (p. 98).

Pennycook’s article was paradigm-shifting in that he discusses authenticity and language use in hip hop as his way of unpacking questions around who can listen, engage with, and seek joy from the cultural form. This research led to a debate about the use and functionality of hip

hop in the classroom, authenticity, and localization through an analysis of slang/language and mannerisms. Using thematic analysis, Pennycook posits that hip hop can open up a real and useful perspective on the local and global use of languages.

This brings us to another foundational thinker in this area: H. Samy Alim, whose 2007 article “Critical Hip-Hop Language Pedagogies: Combat, Consciousness, and the Cultural Politics of Communication” addresses the tensions in the education of “linguistically marginalized youth” and introduces the theory of Critical Hip Hop Language Pedagogies (CHHLPs) as a holistic approach aimed at both students and teachers, incorporating theory and practice so that innovative approaches might be implemented in classrooms to better connect to the young people he highlights: Black American youth (Alim, 2007, p. 163). For Alim, schools are the main site for the construction and legitimation of official language and therefore become important for the implementation of CHHLPs (p. 164). He discusses two of his projects where he went into classrooms in the Bay Area to implement CHHLPs through his ethnographic research, including discussions, surveys, and workshops (Hiphopography, p. 170), Alim is able to articulate both a theory-based and practice-based approach to language pedagogies that appeal to marginalized students.

Low’s 2007 research titled “Hip-Hop, Language, and Difference: The N-Word as a Pedagogical Limit-Case” begins with a linguistics point of view to explain how hip hop and spoken word were used in “low income school districts” as a way to have discussions about sensitive topics requiring nuance and care: for example, the history of ‘the N-word’ in political and popular culture, or the types of oral poetic traditions in Black cultures. For Low, although the concept is related to themes of language and identity, the impetus for using rap music speaks to the students’ commitments outside the classroom.

Key concepts/phrases

One of the most repeated phrases used consistently in this field is (to some effect) “positively humanizing the education of urban, marginalized students of colour” especially Black students (Petchauer, 2020). Whether we talk about critical pedagogy, culturally relevant pedagogy, or cultural literacy, each of these ideas is about incorporating the arts to make classrooms “positive spaces” that combat negative stereotypes and attempt to redress inequities of learners marginalized by race and class (Gosine & Tabi, 2016; Oritz et al, 2018; Alim & Pennycook, 2007; Green, 2013). The term “marginal” (with different suffixes depending on the situation) was used in 122 articles within the dataset to describe those “urban students of colour” (Morrell, 2002; Paul, 2000; Scherpf, 2001; Christianakis, 2011) who are said to be in crisis and in need of educators who can connect culturally. Many scholars believe that this ‘cultural connection’ is the way to achieve school success. Youth become marginalized because of various identity-based barriers to engagement (Stahl & Dale, 2012). They are victims of the “cruel fallout of racism” (Alim, 2007, p. 91) or as a result of “history” (Turner, 2012; Scherpf, 2001; Irizarry, 2008) or due to heteropatriarchal, intra-racial gender ideologies that have rendered Black people, especially women, marginalized (Lindsey, 2014). Gosine and Tabi (2016) outline the variety of factors contributing to marginality by stating that it stems from some kind of differential treatment based on:

...race, class, and gender; the labeling of students and discriminatory streaming practices; curricula that have scant resonance with the lives and backgrounds of marginalized students; a paucity of in-school supports; a largely White, middle-class teaching faculty; and a neoliberal, middle-class oriented schooling culture from which non-White poor and working class youth generally feel alienated. (p. 446)

When it comes to hip hop education, most studies work with Black youth (American and global scholarship) and Black and Indigenous youth (Canadian scholarship). The term “marginalized” has come to encompass a variety of societal factors and is used as a catch-all here for Black and Indigenous youth. This is most likely why most of the intensive research takes place in “urban intensive and urban emergent” areas of major cities (Milner, 2012; Hill, 2009; Love, 2012; Petchauer, 2012). This comes up in article after article where “urban” and “of colour” are not only interchangeable but also, more importantly, imply a level of cultural connectedness that is missing in the classroom, thus creating a barrier to educational success.

According to Irizarry (2000), “[m]any urban students have internalized representin’ as a cultural code, making the concept a central part of their discourse. Bringing this value into the discourse of teacher preparation can help teachers to become ‘culturally connected.’” (p. 500). Here, Irizarry points out that urban students’ cultural code is not in line with their teachers’ thinking and yet there is a potential for teachers to become culturally connected if they commit to hip hop education. Hip hop has the capacity for strengthening marginalized communities, constructing affirming social identities, and inspiring activism (Gosine & Tabi, 2016). This can be seen in Scooter Pégram’s 2011 article, “Not condemned to fail: Examples of ‘rapped’ resistance and cultural uplift in French hip-hop” published in the *Journal of Poetry Therapy*, where Pégram uses a lyrical discourse analysis to explore French youth. He states: “Frustrated by their lack of a voice in France, one of the only outlets available for youths of colour to express their frustration, communicate with one another or uplift themselves is the medium of hip-hop music” (p. 239)

The disconnect between school and culture mentioned time and time again is also about confronting those in power, which is one of the key tenets of critical pedagogy. Teachers and

administrators are consistently positioned as being outside culture. Khalifa (2010) states that they are “simply not willing to validate non-traditional capital” (p. 621), and Alim (2007) states a similar sentiment in his discussion of CHHLPs: that they are a way to “combat the discrimination of teachers” (Alim, 2007, p. 162). Cherfas et al. (2018), Emdin (2010), and Stovall (2006) continue this critique when they articulate that students will reject a culture (the classroom) that has not only rejected their culture but “constantly asks them to leave their cultural expression outside the school building’s doors” (Cherfas et al, 2018, p. 8).

Culturally responsive methods have attempted to bridge this gap and create positive spaces of learning, but creating positive spaces of learning was (and currently is) a constant battle requiring new philosophies, and this is where the bulk of this scholarship takes us. In many ways, hip hop has emerged as the utopian tool for learning; within this dataset, the word “positive” was used in 118 articles with reference to what it means to bring hip hop into the classroom. The purpose of the articles I highlighted in this chapter as well as the majority of the other works considered is to provide ways for young people to empower themselves through critical thinking activities that they connect to (Rodriguez & Conchas, 2008).

It is crucial to think about how teachers, administrators, and most importantly, researchers have anchored progress and success of marginalized students to hip hop education. This also means that researchers tend to see it through a positive lens and its positive impact is reiterated and solidified within the field with every passing publication. The youth discussed and engaged with are seen as capable of understanding STEM or English only through a cultural (i.e., hip hop) lens, allowing the other barriers to educational success to be conveniently overlooked. In fact, these barriers are rarely, if ever, discussed. Lack of school funding, lack of parental support, minimal parental involvement, and limited opportunities for individual learning

opportunities; government policies, financial stressors, and the implications of systemic racism and classism are all areas of concern that are missing in all the studies mentioned here and in many of the works writ large. Oppression in the classroom mainly originates from a cultural disconnect between teachers and students. This is undoubtedly part of the education system's problem, but there is also a tendency to overstate the importance of culture, as if Black students can understand their grade-level curriculum only through hip hop, which also assumes that all Black students connect to hip hop and would find this approach useful.

I do not want to discount the impact hip hop has on young people all around the world. Moreover, I am not underplaying the deep connection between Black youth and hip hop. However, research should be positioned within a wider context that includes the reality of carceral education in late-stage capitalism (Walcott, 2020). In what ways does bringing hip hop into the curriculum actually combat the carceral classroom? Additionally, as mentioned earlier, the reliance on hip hop as a saviour for Black students assumes and generalizes many things, but most notably for me, it positions youth as assets to build upon for community improvement (Ginwright & James, 2002; Lerner et al, 2002; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Travis & Bowman, 2012). The extractive nature of this kind of research requires a general understanding that the way forward is to connect with youth and build on their strengths, opinions, and knowledge, this being the key to positive change. Here I follow Sunaine Maira and Elizabeth Soep when they cite Charles Acland and note that youth and the 'cries of concern' surrounding them have become an "empty signifier that [only] become meaningful in given circumstances, coming to designate certain attributes or qualities" (Maira & Soep, 2004, p. 253).

Methodologies used

When school failure is seen as an alarming sign of the deterioration of young minds, rather than a product of an inequitable system, interventions fail to address structural conditions including the wholesale abandonment of inner city 'ghetto schools' (Anyon, 1997)

In compiling the data and searching for trends and patterns, I have followed Ruha Benjamin and think it necessary to also mention her theory of the “legitimizing processes” of institutions and research (2020). There is an understanding among institutions that as part of their legitimizing process, they need to appear to be engaging communities, and there is a whole set of exercises around that. Benjamin points out the fact that young people are being brought into the process only at a stage when the questions have been posed, the proposals have been written, and the funds have been disseminated; in other words, young people of colour are brought into the process almost as a prop to check off the box that says we have consulted the community on X, Y, and Z (2020).

Benjamin’s thoughts are crystal clear when I look at the methodologies used in the documents investigated in this chapter. To bring young people into the research in meaningful ways, scholars have adopted creative methodologies that seem to appeal to youth interests generally. However, the methods used can also be seen as extractive, namely taking young people’s knowledge for scholarly progression while not providing much long-term benefit to those same information providers.

For example, workshops were used in 25 of the documents. In particular, I would like to highlight the projects of Stovall (2006), Alim (2007), Fiore (2015), and Byrne et al. (2020). Each of these projects used workshops in tandem with student observation as part of their methodology. For both Stovall and Alim, the workshops involved discussions and activities originating from hip hop lyrics. Songs were used to provide social context and to act as jumping-

off points for dialogue that was then recorded and noted by the researcher. In both projects, students were required to reflect on their own thoughts and provide analysis in both a group setting and to the researchers privately (in Alim's case, students were asked to submit notebooks). Alim emphasizes that the use of hip hop lyrics is not simply to get the students excited, but rather "students are told they are contributing to the body of scholarly literature"; they are "charged with" the historical responsibility of "archiving Black culture – in this case, Hip Hop culture – through words" (Alim, 2007, p. 171).

Fiore (2015) employed a spoken-word workshop with students from two northern New Jersey public schools. In her findings, she recounts conversations she had with her respondents where they revealed personal stories and emotions to her. Through her spoken-word workshops, Fiore was able to discover many of the issues students were having in school and at home. She was able to use their stories to inform her theoretical analysis and make a case for her creative method.

Byrne et al. (2020) drew upon research on 78 children and young people, although their project was focused on six teenagers who participated in a rap workshop. They are clear in their methodological choice, stating that "workshops are an insightful data collection method, particularly in contexts where rap music is already an embedded part of the local youth culture" (p. 50). Rap music workshops are an "effective" research method for "researching with children and young people, especially in disadvantaged communities" (p. 51).

In discussing the workshop methodology, it is important to understand that there must be a limit to how much research can rely on borrowing from young people. The concern for me in much of this research is that in its guise of being creative, it mines young people for information without making long-term changes in the classrooms it sources the information from. When I

consider the students who are the focus of this field, it becomes even more necessary to realize their positionality and the extra care that must be taken to ensure that research coming from academic spaces is equitable. Part of this includes moving away from researching young people as a phenomenon. The shift towards young people – especially young Black people – as a research phenomenon has resulted in the production of “damage-centered” scholarship (Tuck, 2009) that perpetuates a cycle of deficiency and pathology about marginalized communities. According to Bianca Baldrige, this suggests that Black youth are broken and in need of saving (2014). She states that “[t]his deficit framing disregards the assets that Black and minoritized youth bring to educational spaces, thus ignoring their agency, and thereby limiting the ways they are imagined, engaged, and educated” (p. 441).

We cannot ignore the neoliberal framings of this ideology that suggests that some young people are “culturally disadvantaged” or “at risk.” When youth are positioned as marginalized, disadvantaged, and at risk, they become targets for after-school programs, and I argue, research projects, which attempt to contain them or figure out what’s wrong with them. It is these projects and programs that receive funding, and in an education market, funding is supreme. The safe spaces that many scholars seek to create is steeped in neoliberal rhetoric that valorizes student achievement (in near-impossible environments) as a result of individual performance, while at the same time ignoring the lack of structural, government support and the inevitable reliance of schools on private funding as the means to accomplish it. That said, I am suggesting that scholars be more upfront about the neoliberal institutions we are forced to be a part of if we want to undertake academic research. Furthermore, I suggest more space for study respondents to be critical of the research projects and to encourage critical thinking on what it means to be phenomenized. This shift to researching young people as phenomena has resulted in the

production of “damage centered” scholarship (Tuck, 2009) that perpetuates a cycle of deficiency and pathology about marginalized communities. As many scholars have noted, it is very easy to slip from analyzing the problems young people face to seeing youth as themselves the problem (Maira & Soep, 2004). Deficit rhetoric suggests Black youth and other people of colour are broken and in need of saving. This trend is seen in journals such as *Urban Education*; *Review of Education and Cultural Studies*; *Language, Identity + Education*; *Equity & Excellence in Education*; and *Education and Urban Society*.

This deficit framing disregards the agency of Black and minoritized youth, limiting the ways they are imagined, engaged with, and thereby educated. We cannot ignore the neoliberal framings of this ideology, which suggests that some youth are “culturally disadvantaged” or “at-risk.” These kinds of frames suggest that it is the individual student’s behaviour or the choices made by parents that puts kids in these kinds of risky situations, leading them to failure. Robin Kelley suggests that when “the problems facing the vast majority of Black folk in today’s ghettos” are pinned, not on government and corporate policies, but on “the people themselves – our criminally minded youth, our deadbeat daddies, and our welfare-dependent mamas” (Kelley, 1997, p. 8), then youth once again are framed as responsible for their own struggles as well as for larger societal crises (Maira & Soep, 2004, p. 252).

This particularization has turned Black youth especially into an “ethnographic phenomenon.” What does it mean to be an ethnographic phenomenon? This is a term I am using to discuss the particularity of Black and frequently, Indigenous youth in the academy. It refers to the position of Black youth in the eyes of academic researchers as once again phenomenized and sought after to be the focus of qualitative research, to be ‘uncovered,’ described, theorized, exoticified, and narrativized. The language that defines and frames Black and Indigenous youth is

connected to how they are imagined within research institutions and in society at large. How we imagine youth is not just how we envision or think about them in their present circumstances, but also how we view what is possible for their lives (Dimitriadis & Weis, 2001; Greene, 2000).

Throughout the history of Youth Studies, the rhetoric of saving or fixing Black youth has been a common narrative, one that can be traced back to a long history of “benevolence” and “charity” in American culture (Martinez & Rury, 2012).

Table 5: Full list of journals investigated in this chapter

Africa Spectrum	5
Australian Journal of Linguistics	5
Changing English	10
Culture & Religion	6
Education and Urban Society	17
Education Communication and Information	5
Educational Studies	5
Equity & Excellence in Education	36
Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy	5
Journal of Negro Education (founded at Howard University)	5
Journal of Popular Music Education	7
Language Identity and Education	10
Missiology	5
Music Educators Journal	3
Negro Education	24
Pedagogies: An International Journal	2
Pedagogy, culture & Society	3
Policy Futures in Education	5
Review of Education, Pedagogy and cultural Studies	15
Review of Educational Research	6
Social Identities	1
Social Semiotics	3
The Educational Forum	4
The New Educator	1

Typography	1
Urban Education	43
Total	232

Table 6: Full list of documents investigated in this chapter

Abraham, I. (2015). Christian hip hop as pedagogy: a South African case study. <i>Journal of Beliefs & Values</i> , 36(3), 285-296.
Adjapong, E., & Levy, I. (2021). Hip-Hop Can Heal: Addressing Mental Health through Hip-Hop in the Urban Classroom. <i>The New Educator</i> , 17(3), 242-263.
Akom, A. A. (2009). Critical hip hop pedagogy as a form of liberatory praxis. <i>Equity & excellence in education</i> , 42(1), 52-66.
Aronson, B., & Laughter, J. (2016). The theory and practice of culturally relevant education: A synthesis of research across content areas. <i>Review of Educational Research</i> , 86(1), 163-206.
Au, W. (2005). Fresh out of school: Rap music's discursive battle with education. <i>The Journal of Negro Education</i> , 210-220.
Samy Alim, H. (2007). Critical hip-hop language pedagogies: Combat, consciousness, and the cultural politics of communication. <i>Journal of language, identity, and education</i> , 6(2), 161-176.
Samy Alim, H., & Pennycook, A. (2007). Glocal linguistic flows: Hip-hop culture (s), identities, and the politics of language education. <i>Journal of Language, Identity, and Education</i> , 6(2), 89-100.
Bajaj, M., Argenal, A., & Canlas, M. (2017). Socio-politically relevant pedagogy for immigrant and refugee youth. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 50(3), 258-274.
Bridges, T. (2011). Towards a pedagogy of hip hop in urban teacher education. <i>Journal of Negro Education</i> , 80(3), 325-338.
Brockenbrough, E. (2015). "The Discipline Stop" Black male teachers and the politics of urban school discipline. <i>Education and Urban Society</i> , 47(5), 499-522.
Brooks, C. M., Daschuk, M. D., Poudrier, J., & Almond, N. (2015). First Nations youth redefine resilience: Listening to artistic productions of 'Thug Life' and hip-hop. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 18(6), 706-725.
Brooks, M., Wolfgang, J., Adams, J., Armstrong, N., & Cassidy, R. (2020). Using Rap Music to Better Understand African American Experiences. <i>Journal of Creativity in Mental Health</i> , 15(4), 457-473.
Broughton, A. (2017). Being hippped to their hop: tapping into young minds through Hip Hop play. <i>International Journal of Early Years Education</i> , 25(3), 323-335.
Byrne, L., O'Connell, C., & O'Sullivan, S. (2020). Rap and political participation: using rap as a creative method in research with children and young people. <i>Young</i> , 28(1), 50-68.
Byrne, L., O'Connell, C., & O'Sullivan, S. (2020). Rap and political participation: using rap as a creative method in research with children and young people. <i>Young</i> , 28(1), 50-68.

Camangian, P. R. (2013). Seeing through lies: Teaching ideological literacy as a corrective lens. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 46(1), 119-134.
Cervantes-Soon, C. G. (2012). Testimonios of life and learning in the borderlands: Subaltern Juárez girls speak. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 45(3), 373-391.
Cherfas, L., Casciano, R., & Wiggins, M. A. (2021). It's bigger than Hip-hop: Estimating the impact of a culturally responsive classroom intervention on student outcomes. <i>Urban Education</i> , 56(10), 1748-1781.
Christianakis, M. (2011). Hybrid texts: Fifth graders, rap music, and writing. <i>Urban Education</i> , 46(5), 1131-1168.
Emdin, C. (2011). Moving beyond the boat without a paddle: Reality pedagogy, Black youth, and urban science education. <i>Journal of Negro Education</i> , 80(3), 284-295.
Duncan-Andrade, J. (2007). Gangstas, wankstas, and ridas: Defining, developing, and supporting effective teachers in urban schools. <i>International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education</i> , 20(6), 617-638.
Emdin, C. (2011). Moving beyond the boat without a paddle: Reality pedagogy, Black youth, and urban science education. <i>Journal of Negro Education</i> , 80(3), 284-295.
Evans, J. (2020). Connecting Black youth to critical media literacy through hip hop making in the music classroom. <i>Journal of Popular Music Education</i> , 4(3), 277-293.
Evans, J. M. (2019). "Deeper than rap": Cultivating racial identity and critical voices through hip-hop recording practices in the music classroom. <i>Journal of Media Literacy Education</i> , 11(3), 20-36.
Esposito, J., & Edwards, E. B. (2018). When Black girls fight: Interrogating, interrupting, and (Re) imagining dangerous scripts of femininity in urban classrooms. <i>Education and urban society</i> , 50(1), 87-107.
Ghabra, H. S. (2020). Performative communication: Palestinian resistance, hip-hop and cyberspace performances. <i>The Communication Review</i> , 23(3), 181-202.
Gist, C. D., White, T., & Bianco, M. (2018). Pushed to teach: Pedagogies and policies for a Black women educator pipeline. <i>Education and urban society</i> , 50(1), 56-86.
Goldenberg, B. M. (2014). White teachers in urban classrooms: Embracing non-white students' cultural capital for better teaching and learning. <i>Urban Education</i> , 49(1), 111-144.
Gosine, K., & Tabi, E. (2016). Disrupting neoliberalism and bridging the multiple worlds of marginalized youth via Hip-Hop pedagogy: Contemplating possibilities. <i>Review of Education, Pedagogy, and cultural Studies</i> , 38(5), 445-467.
Green, K. L. (2013). "The way we hear ourselves is different from the way others hear us": Exploring the literate identities of a Black radio youth collective. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 46(3), 315-326.
Greenfield, D. (2007). What's the deal with the white middle-aged guy teaching hip-hop? Lessons in popular culture, positionality and pedagogy. <i>Pedagogy, culture & Society</i> , 15(2), 229-243.
Hafez, F. (2016). Political beats in the Alps: On politics in the early stages of Austrian Hip Hop music. <i>journal of Black Studies</i> , 47(7), 730-752.

Hanley, M. S. (2011). You better recognize!: The arts as social justice for African American students. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 44(3), 420-444.
Hess, J. (2019). Moving beyond resilience education: musical counterstorytelling. <i>Music Education Research</i> , 21(5), 488-502.
Hill, M. L. (2009). Bringing back sweet (and not so sweet) memories: the cultural politics of memory, hip-hop, and generational identities. <i>International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education</i> , 22(4), 355-377.
Hoffman, A. R., & Carter, B. A. (2013). Representin'and disrespectin': African-American wind band students' meanings of a composition-based secondary music curriculum and classroom power structures. <i>Music Education Research</i> , 15(2), 135-150.
Ibrahim, A. (2003). Marking the unmarked: Hip-hop, the gaze and the African body in North America. <i>Critical Arts: A Journal of South-North cultural and Media Studies</i> , 17(1_2), 52-70
Ibrahim, A. (2015). youth: Our new cultural theorists. <i>Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, cultures</i> , 7(2), 129-133.
Irby, D. J., & Hall, H. B. (2011). Fresh faces, new places: Moving beyond teacher-researcher perspectives in hip-hop-based education research. <i>Urban Education</i> , 46(2), 216-240.
Irby, D. J. (2015). Urban is floating face down in the mainstream: Using hip-hop-based education research to resurrect “the urban” in urban education. <i>Urban Education</i> , 50(1), 7-30.
Irizarry, J. G. (2009). Representin' Drawing From Hip-Hop and Urban youth culture to Inform Teacher Education. <i>Education and Urban Society</i> , 41(4), 489-515.
Irizarry, J. G. (2009). Representin' Drawing From Hip-Hop and Urban youth culture to Inform Teacher Education. <i>Education and Urban Society</i> , 41(4), 489-515.
Jacobs, C. E. (2016). Developing the " oppositional gaze": Using critical media pedagogy and Black feminist thought to promote Black girls' identity development. <i>Journal of Negro Education</i> , 85(3), 225-238.
Jennings, K., & Petchauer, E. (2017). Teaching in the Mix: Turntablism, DJ Aesthetics and African American Literature. <i>Changing English</i> , 24(2), 216-228.
Jupp, J. C., & Slattery Jr, G. P. (2012). Becoming teachers of inner-city students: Identification creativity and curriculum wisdom of committed White male teachers. <i>Urban Education</i> , 47(1), 280-311.
Karvelis, N. (2018). Race, class, gender, and rhymes: Hip-hop as critical pedagogy. <i>Music Educators Journal</i> , 105(1), 46-50.
Khalifa, M. A., Gooden, M. A., & Davis, J. E. (2016). culturally responsive school leadership: A synthesis of the literature. <i>Review of educational research</i> , 86(4), 1272-1311.
Kim, J., & Pulido, I. (2015). Examining hip-hop as culturally relevant pedagogy. <i>Journal of curriculum and pedagogy</i> , 12(1), 17-35.
Kolluri, S. (2022). Student perspectives on the Common Core: The challenge of college readiness at urban high schools. <i>Urban Education</i> , 57(6), 1031-1058.
Kumar, T. (2020). “Something You Can Look Back On”: Teacher Candidates, Rap Music, and P-12 Social Studies. <i>Urban Education</i> , 55(8-9), 1224-1250.

Lam, K. D. (2019). Asian American youth violence as genocide: A critical appraisal and its pedagogical significance. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 52(2-3), 255-270.
Land, R. R., & Stovall, D. O. (2009). Hip hop and social justice education: A brief introduction. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 42(1), 1-5.
Lashua, B. D., & Fox, K. (2007). Defining the groove: From remix to research in The Beat of Boyle Street. <i>Leisure Sciences</i> , 29(2), 143-158.
Lashua, B., & Fox, K. (2006). Rec needs a new rhythm cuz rap is where we're livin'. <i>Leisure Sciences</i> , 28(3), 267-283.
Lashua, B. D. (2006). "Just another native?" Soundscapes, chorasters, and borderlands in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. <i>cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies</i> , 6(3), 391-410.
Lee, C. D. (2006). 'Every good-bye ain't gone': analyzing the cultural underpinnings of classroom talk. <i>International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education</i> , 19(3), 305-327.
Levy, I. P., Cook, A. L., & Emdin, C. (2018). Remixing the school counselor's tool kit: Hip-hop spoken word therapy and YPAR. <i>Professional School Counseling</i> , 22(1), 2156759X18800285.
Levy, I. P., Hess, C. W., Elber, A., & Hayden, L. (2021). A Community-Based Intervention: A Hip Hop Framework Toward Decolonizing Counseling Spaces. <i>Journal of Creativity in Mental Health</i> , 16(2), 212-230.
Lindsey, T. B. (2015). Let me blow your mind: Hip hop feminist futures in theory and praxis. <i>Urban Education</i> , 50(1), 52-77.
Lopez, G. E., & Nastasi, A. W. (2012). Writing the divide: High school students crossing urban-suburban contexts. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 45(1), 138-158.
Love, B. L. (2016). Complex personhood of hip hop & the sensibilities of the culture that fosters knowledge of self & self-determination. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 49(4), 414-427.
Love, B. L. (2016). Good kids, mad cities: Kendrick Lamar and finding inner resistance in response to FergusonUSA. <i>cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies</i> , 16(3), 320-323.
Low, B. E. (2010). The tale of the talent night rap: Hip-hop culture in schools and the challenge of interpretation. <i>Urban Education</i> , 45(2), 194-220.
Low, B. E. (2010). The tale of the talent night rap: Hip-hop culture in schools and the challenge of interpretation. <i>Urban Education</i> , 45(2), 194-220.
Lozenski, B., & Smith, C. (2012). Pen 2 paper 2 power: Lessons from an arts-based literacy program serving Somali immigrant youth. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 45(4), 596-611.
Nat Turner, K. C. (2012, October). Multimodal hip hop productions as media literacies. In <i>The Educational Forum</i> (Vol. 76, No. 4, pp. 497-509). Taylor & Francis Group.
Newman, M. (2007). "I Don't Want My Ends to Just Meet; I Want My Ends Overlappin'": Personal Aspiration and the Rejection of Progressive Rap. <i>Journal of Language, Identity, and Education</i> , 6(2), 131-145.

Ortiz, N. A., Capraro, M. M., & Capraro, R. M. (2018). Does it really matter? Exploring cultural relevance within a majority White classro
Palmer, R. T., & Maramba, D. C. (2011). African American male achievement: Using a tenet of critical theory to explain the African American male achievement disparity. <i>Education and Urban Society</i> , 43(4), 431-450.
Parmar, P., Nocella, A. J., & Shykeem. (2011). Poetry Behind the Walls. <i>Peace Review</i> , 23(3), 287-295.
Petchauer, E. (2009). Framing and reviewing hip-hop educational research. <i>Review of educational research</i> , 79(2), 946-978.
Petchauer, E. (2011). Knowing what's up and learning what you're not supposed to: Hip-hop collegians, higher education, and the limits of critical consciousness. <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> , 42(5), 768-790.
Petchauer, E. (2011). I Feel What He Was Doin' Responding to Justice-Oriented Teaching Through Hip-Hop Aesthetics. <i>Urban Education</i> , 46(6), 1411-1432.
Petchauer, E. (2012). Sampling memories: Using hip-hop aesthetics to learn from urban schooling experiences. <i>Educational Studies</i> , 48(2), 137-155.
Petchauer, E. (2015). Starting with style: Toward a second wave of hip-hop education research and practice. <i>Urban Education</i> , 50(1), 78-105.
Pollard, T. J. (2014). Conflicted state of mind: Race, masculinity, and Nas's lyric public pedagogy. <i>Journal of Poetry Therapy</i> , 27(1), 1-11.
Price-Dennis, D., & Souto-Manning, M. (2011). (Re) Framing diverse pre-service classrooms as spaces for culturally relevant teaching. <i>Journal of Negro Education</i> , 80(3), 223-238
Prier, D. D. (2017). Situating educational leaders as prophetic critics in Black popular culture. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 50(1), 41-52.
Pulido, I. (2009). "Music fit for us minorities": Latinas/os' use of hip hop as pedagogy and interpretive framework to negotiate and challenge racism. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 42(1), 67-85.
Rawls, J. D., & Petchauer, E. (2020). "Be Current, or You Become the Old Man": Crossing the Generational Divide in Hip-Hop Education. <i>Urban Education</i> ,
Roberts, R. A. (2011). Facing and transforming hauntings of race through the arts. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 44(3), 330-347.
Rodríguez, L. F. (2009). Dialoguing, cultural capital, and student engagement: Toward a hip hop pedagogy in the high school and university classroom. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 42(1), 20-35.
Sachs, A. D., & Schönfeldt-Aultman, S. M. (2018). A dialogue on hip-hop, social justice and pedagogy. <i>Pedagogy, culture & Society</i> , 26(2), 265-281.
Sajnani, D. (2014). Rapping in the Light: American Africanism and Rap Minstrelsy. <i>Souls</i> , 16(3-4), 303-329.
Scherpf, S. (2001). Rap pedagogy: The potential for democratization. <i>The Review of Education/Pedagogy/cultural Studies</i> , 23(1), 73-110
Seiler, G., & Gonsalves, A. (2010). Student-powered science: Science education for and by African American students. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 43(1), 88-104

Shelby-Caffey, C., Byfield, L., & Solbrig, S. (2018). From rhymes to resistance: Hip-Hop as a critical lens in promoting socially just teaching. <i>Changing English</i> , 25(1), 69-84.
Söderman, J. (2011). 'Folkbildning' through hip-hop: how the ideals of three rappers parallel a Scandinavian educational tradition. <i>Music education research</i> , 13(2), 211-225.
Söderman, J., & Sernhede, O. (2016). Hip-hop—what's in it for the academy? Self-understanding, pedagogy and aesthetical learning processes in everyday cultural Praxis. <i>Music education research</i> , 18(2), 142-155.
Stovall, D. (2006). We can relate: Hip-hop culture, critical pedagogy, and the secondary classroom. <i>Urban Education</i> , 41(6), 585-602.
Tarifa, A. (2012). Hip hop as empowerment: voices in El Alto, Bolivia. <i>International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education</i> , 25(4), 397-415.
Teranishi, R. T. (2002). Asian Pacific Americans and critical race theory: An examination of school racial climate. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 35(2), 144-154.
Turner, K. N., & Ives, D. (2013). Social justice approaches to African American language and literacy practices: Guest editors' introduction. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 46(3), 285-299.
Turner, K. N., Hayes, N. V., & Way, K. (2013). Critical multimodal hip hop production: A social justice approach to African American language and literacy practices. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 46(3), 342-354.
Viesca, V. H. (2012). Native guns and stray bullets: cultural activism and Filipino American rap music in post-riot Los Angeles. <i>Amerasia Journal</i> , 38(1), 112-142
Villanueva, G. (2022). You must learn: Sampling critical hip hop pedagogy in communication education spaces. <i>Pedagogy, culture & Society</i> , 30(4), 435-453.
Vito, C. (2015). Who said hip-hop was dead? The politics of hip-hop culture in Immortal Technique's lyrics. <i>International Journal of cultural Studies</i> , 18(4), 395-411.
Watson, V. M. (2013). Censoring freedom: Community-based professional development and the politics of profanity. <i>Equity & Excellence in Education</i> , 46(3), 387-410.
Whatley, R., Banda, R. M., & Bryan, N. (2020). Challenging Traditional Conceptions of English Curricula & Pedagogy: A Review of Literature on Teaching Critical Literacy through Political Music. <i>Changing English</i> , 27(4), 431-445.
Wright, B. L. (2021). Five wise men: African American males using urban critical literacy to negotiate and navigate home and school in an urban setting. <i>Urban Education</i> , 56(3), 451-483.

Chapter 6: Stage iv PT II: Stayin' Hip and Relevant: Popular Music Studies, Popular Culture Studies, Communication and Media Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Dance Studies, and Visual Culture Studies: Cultural Studies

Throughout this chapter I will be highlighting and analyzing the swaths of Cultural Studies research that centre around youth and hip hop. This chapter organizes literature from Popular Music Studies, Popular Culture Studies, Communication and Media Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Dance Studies, and Visual Culture Studies. I have clumped these fields together because of their shared orientation towards studying people, populations, and the popular. The knowledge produced and the narratives perpetuated communicate who people are, how they behave, and how they potentially find meaning in their lives. The practice of Cultural Studies that centres on youth behaviour is based on certain values, and those values have implications not only on the ways we teach and do research but also on how others beyond our institutions think about politics. Multiple discourses, histories, and formations have been part of Cultural Studies since its emergence in 1950s Britain (Hall 1996). As Stuart Hall (1980a) observed, there are no “absolute beginnings” in the formation of Cultural Studies, and in its transdisciplinarity, it can be hard to highlight the contemporary trends. However, it is generally agreed upon that Cultural Studies started in Britain when Richard Hoggart wrote *The Uses of Literacy* (1957) and Raymond Williams wrote *Culture and Society 1780 → 1950* (1958) and *The Long Revolution* (1961) in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Hoggart started the Birmingham Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in 1964 at the University of Birmingham in England; the centre was taken over by Stuart Hall in 1968, and this field of study began to take proper shape. Generally speaking, work that falls under this umbrella is concerned with Neo-Marxist critiques of everyday life (Carrington 2001). Ideology, Identity, Popular Culture, and

Resistance are all areas of concern. These topics have sewn a thread through Cultural Studies and are ever-present in Youth Studies and Popular Music Studies, both key areas of inquiry for Cultural Studies scholars.

As hip hop gained popularity in popular culture, so too did it attract the critical eye of academics. As mentioned, hip hop-focused youth studies can be traced back to 1990 at the earliest, but with every passing decade since then, the volume of work dedicated to these topics has grown exponentially. Between 2015 and 2021, there were 225 articles published across Sage and Taylor & Francis journals. The academization of hip hop is also connected to what Watkins (2005) calls “cultural wars,” which emerged because of student frustrations aired in the 1990s. Student associations – especially Black and other minority associations – began to ask questions about who was employed at the university, what topics got studied, and who had access to the knowledge.

At the same time, scholars like bell hooks and Cornel West supported and led the way for these student inquiries in their own scholarship that challenged the status quo. This paved the way for first-generation hip hop cultural scholars like Tricia Rose, Paul Gilroy, Greg Dimitradis, and Mark Anthony Neal along with others who were attempting to democratize Cultural Studies research by examining the culture experienced by Black youth, a group with the least amount of access to academic spaces to reveal their identities and experiences. Who was going to speak to them and for them? For example, Bakari Kitwana crystallized this gap when he theorized about this demographic and then in 2002 wrote *The Hip Hop Generation*, as previously mentioned. Kitwana enlightened academics to a whole generation that had never been acknowledged. He taught us that the members of the hip hop generation had similar thoughts about family, relationships, child rearing, career, racial identity, race relations, and politics (p. 4). Wealth as

well as materialistic and consumer trappings of financial success are also central to the hip hop generation's worldview. These views made up a worldview that had never been defined until the early 2000s; hip hop had now become a way to define people.

This is part of the context I am working within for this chapter. What are the themes and narratives made about young people in academic research? What role do journals play? What key concepts have been constructed in these journals? How does methodology impact the kind of research being carried out?

I begin by highlighting some noteworthy journals and their aims, which serves to contextualize and justify my analytic choices. This chapter relies on themes and theories gleaned from 248 documents¹⁵ found in 78 journals¹⁶. These documents were first coded by journal; if they are published in a Sage or Taylor & Francis journal and are in the fields of Cultural Studies, including Popular Music Studies, Popular Culture Studies, Communication and Media Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Dance Studies, and Visual Culture Studies, they are included here. I analyzed the documents qualitatively by key framework: youth culture and youth behaviour had to be the central lens through which hip hop and identity were viewed. They are discussed in detail and key scholars are noted; some key thinkers writing in this field include Andreanna Clay, Joy White, and Bettina Love. Following this, I go on to discuss the use and meaning of 'Identity' as the leading keyword within the dataset and how it has evolved to include: (1) gender (Masculinity), (2) geography (the Urban and Urban Music) and (3) politics (Resistance) as key concepts that guide the field in general. It is important to remember here that documents were included in the dataset only if they dealt specifically with hip hop culture and young people in a

¹⁵ Full list of documents is listed at the end of the chapter

¹⁶ Full list of journals is listed at the end of the chapter

defining way¹⁷. I also felt it necessary to discuss the popular methodologies used in the documents in this section because this would help me unpack ideas around what it means to do research within neoliberal institutions.

To sum up, the review of the literature here will provide an overview of (i) key journals that publish leading scholarship, (ii) key concepts that appear, (iii) methodologies used, and finally, (iv) my conclusions on what has been compiled.

The Journals

The fields of knowledge subsumed under the umbrella of Cultural Studies are all concerned with what culture means and what culture does across global and local scales of power (*International Journal of cultural Studies*, Aims and Scope, 2022). The journals I analyze here all fit within the general field of Cultural Studies and can be categorized into Popular Music Studies, Popular Culture Studies, Communication and Media Studies, Gender and Sexuality Studies, Dance Studies, and Visual Culture Studies:

Table 7: Cultural Studies journals investigated

Youth & Society	5
Journal of Youth Studies	22
YOUNG	19
Souls	9
Socialism & Democracy	9
Social Identities	9
Popular Music and Society	6
Journal of Popular Music Education	6
Journal of Musical Arts in Africa	5
Journal for cultural Research	5
Howard Journal of Communication	5

¹⁷ This becomes important when thinking about a journal like *Popular Music & Society*, which, despite having a considerable amount of research on hip hop culture themes, generally revolved around representations of race, gender and sexuality, without centering young people specifically.

Gender, Place and Culture	5
Fashion Practice	5
Ethnic & Racial Studies	5
Critical Arts	5
The Black Scholar	5
Women & Performance a Journal	5
Journal of Popular Music Studies	5
Identities	5
Feminist Media Practices	5
Cultural Studies	5
Communication and Critical/ cultural Studies	5
Television and New Media	5
Qualitative Inquiry	5
Discourse & Society	5
Men & Masculinities	5
Media, Culture & Society	5
Journal of youth and Adolescence	5
Journal of Creative Communications	5
Journal of Black Studies	5
Jeunesse	5
International Journal of Cultural Studies	5
European Journal of Cultural Studies	5
Culture & Society	5
Cultural Studies- Critical Methodologies	5
Continuum	5
Contexts	5
Clothing and Textiles Research Journal	5
Leisure/ Loisir	3

Despite their distinctions, it's important to note that all the journals here have overlapping aims and scopes to some degree. With questions of power and culture come questions of neoliberal identities arising from power relationships and how they are (re)produced in everyday practices of meaning-making that might involve gender, class, race and ethnicity, sexuality, disability, and other macro or micro sites of political struggle. Leading journals examine how culture, in its

many understandings and forms, informs the ways that people move through life, and this is the foundational premise for my research. The journals can be further categorized by their attention to either youth cultures and/or Black cultures, which are inseparable in many ways, especially for the purposes of this trace or if they take a more interdisciplinary approach.

Cultural Studies

Cultural Studies journals like *Continuum* are interested in investigating the relationship between media texts and wider questions of culture and identities (*Continuum*, Aims and Scope, 2022).

For over two decades, it has focused on publishing works that develop new agendas and enquiries into Media and Cultural Studies. It is aimed at those scholars who are involved with both researching and teaching Media and Cultural Studies. Questions relating to identity and culture are particularly important for this journal.

Popular Music and Society (founded in 1971, right about the time hip hop was invented) reveals much of itself in its name and is open to a variety of historical, theoretical, critical, sociological, and cultural approaches to popular music. Throughout its publication history, it has published over 300 articles that researched hip hop in some meaningful way. Some of the most important conceptualizations of hip hop have been explored in this journal. In fact, one of the earliest articles on rap music specifically was published here in 1990 (“Rap music, self-concept and low-income Black adolescents” by Venise T. Berry). Inherent in the journal’s orientation towards the “popular” is a focus on the masses/the people. The key in connecting music to culture, history, and sociology is recognizing that society has an important role to play, and therefore, identity construction is a main theme in its articles.

American Behavioural Scientist positions itself as interdisciplinary and focuses on exploring critical issues that “challenge our thinking” and “affect our world” (Aims and Scope,

2022) through an examination of communication, media, racial studies, and politics. This vague call allows for a range of articles to be included. I discuss this journal here because it has published articles on hip hop as a creative culture that challenges the thinking on American (Black) politics.

Black Cultural Studies

Many of the journals considered here are attuned to Black popular cultures, including for example, the *Howard Journal of Communications*, the *Journal of Black Studies*, and *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*. For the *Howard Journal of Communications*, the experiences of young Black and racialized youth come into pristine focus as articles discuss ethnicity and culture while providing a space and voice for persons and ideas that would otherwise be silenced. For 50+ years, the *Journal of Black Studies* has been the “leading source for dynamic, innovative and creative” approaches on the Black experience. Publishing six issues per year, this journal leads the conversation with important and intellectually provocative articles regarding Black issues and politics (Aims and Scope, 2022). *Social Identities* is also concerned with race, nation, ethnicity, and the emergence of new forms of racism as discriminatory practice, while at the same time pushing for a transformation of cultures with postmodern and postcolonial conditions; their aim is to “furnish an interdisciplinary and international focal point for theorizing issues at the interface of social identities” (Aims and Scope, 2022).

The documents included in these journals are often the most generative works in the field because hip hop has a special relationship to Blackness and the study emerges out of Black scholarly traditions.

Youth Cultural Studies

Cultural Studies focuses heavily on youth since so much media culture is informed by youth culture and aimed at young audiences. Cultural productions for and by young people become a forum for discussion for journals like the *Journal of Youth Studies*, *YOUNG*, and *Youth & Society*. The documents I have chosen do not use young people incidentally as the research sample but instead are centrally focused on youth experiences and take a “critical perspective” on the way that “social, economic, and political processes and institutions shape the meaning of, and narratives about, youth” (*Journal of Youth Studies*, Aims and Scope, 2022).

These journals publish papers that investigate young people’s lives in a range of contexts including education, the family, and the labour market, with respect to various research themes like subculture, identity, politics, citizenship, consumption, leisure, media, crime, etc. Their focus on creating new possibilities takes on an important perspective when positioned in relation to young people in this context. The journal *YOUNG* has far and away published the most on youth and hip hop culture. Their aim to bring young people’s experiences to the centre of analysis in multidisciplinary, contemporary, and historical ways makes a special space for hip hop since it has been the prevailing youth (sub)culture for 40 years.

Youth & Society is a multidisciplinary journal focused on global adolescent populations. This journal is published eight times a year and is a hub for youth research publications at the forefront of a variety of fields from public health to psychology to communications to political science. Its aim is to provide educators, counselors, researchers, and policy makers with the latest research and scholarship in dynamic fields of youth research (Aims and Scopes, 2022).

All the journals here are highlighted because they are among the top journals publishing the most relevant articles about hip hop and youth culture, according to my data. This means that

they focus on youth behaviour in relation to the consumption, engagement, or production of hip hop or any one of its elements, which is a key element in my trace. Furthermore, an overarching theme that can be traced throughout all the journals is their orientation towards the nature of power, institutionalization, and the construction of identity. The practice of Cultural Studies that centres on youth behaviour is based on certain values, and those values have implications not only on the ways we teach and do research, but also on how others beyond our institutions think about politics. Taking an interdisciplinary approach to deconstructing these topics means that the range of ways to discuss the topics is vast and can be looked at through feminist, anti-racist, and/or decolonial ways.

Key Framework Categorization

Identity (74.1% of the dataset)

Although a seemingly basic tenet of research on culture, it was important to trace the use and understanding of Identity as a key framing concept in all the documents mentioned here. At times, this term has been so ubiquitous across the scholarship that it almost gets ignored as scholars progress through their educations and careers. To uncover identities and sort through the messiness of who we are is often assumed to be the reason behind research. Derridian scholar Vernon Cisney (2018) states that identity is the foundation for philosophy (p. 17). The concern with the politics of identity, the struggle over identity and difference, is a dominant model for academic inquiry in Cultural Studies. As Stuart Hall teaches us, identity is always in part a narrative kind of representation. On one hand, identity is “not something that is formed outside ourselves and then we tell stories about it. Rather, it is that which is narrated in one’s own self” (Hall as cited in Hall & Schwarz, 2019, p. 70). At the same time, analysing identity through a Derridian lens allows for an understanding that the nature of identity fluctuates depending on

who is looking, thereby revealing a world where, theoretically, identity is multiple and immaterial. It's a complex and ever-changing compromise between how we define ourselves and how others define us, and it is this complexity that takes up the intellectual space and time of most Cultural Studies scholars. I am not interested in arguing whether this is a worthy endeavour, but rather, I am more concerned with defining the discourse of identity more specifically (Foucault, 1969). In accordance with what Foucault instructs in *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1969), this section is about defining the discourse itself as a practice that obeys certain rules (p. 31). What is a hip hop identity? How do young people gain an identity? What are the implications of this understanding?

This section is a systematic description of identity as a discourse and how it has impacted academic notions, understanding, and theories of who people are. I outline how identity is deployed in youth-focused hip hop research, and how it has shifted over the years, expanding in form to include (1) gender (Masculinity), (2) geography (the Urban), and (3) politics (Resistance).

The Deployment of Identity in the Dataset

“Through the gaze of the Other, I am born in the visual, given an identity beyond my moral body.” (Derrida)

Generally speaking, the documents in this set believe that hip hop provides a reflective and transformative space for young people. For example, Priscilla Nyawira Gitonga and Aletta Delport (2015) in their article, “Exploring the Use of Hip Hop Music in Participatory Research Studies that Involve Youth” published in the *Journal of Youth Studies*, argue that the “communicative capabilities embedded in Hip Hop music add significant value to [research] when used by youths who strongly identify with this genre and then used as means through

which they can tell their stories” (p. 985). Those (of us) who engage and align with hip hop’s forms feel embraced by it, and as Gitonga and Delpont argue, it encourages young people to confront the unknown, to aspire to something beyond the given circumstance. In their study, young South African girls were prompted to compose hip hop lyrics that described their identity. The findings revealed that, in general, hip hop music empowered these adolescents, “awakening in them the desire for personal and material success” (p. 992). The researchers found that hip hop artists like Jay-Z were seen as role models, inspiring the participants to achieve their envisioned success through endurance and hard work. In effect, hip hop music afforded these young people the space to imagine a utopian view of society and the moral order they wished to project (p. 995). With these findings, the researchers framed a narrative about how the girls came to understand themselves as intertwined with hip hop, success, and utopian imaginings.

The function of hip hop in the Gitonga and Delpont paper is to provide a framework to say certain things about young people. Identity relies on popular culture and is understood to be related to and informed by hip hop, allowing hip hop to surpass the realm of popular culture and become an identity marker, a personality trait. Identity work in this way reduces people to a particular set of “modernist logics” where such markers can be used as a form of fighting political and social struggles such as class and gender (in this context, aspiring to being a wealthy woman).

“Keepin' It Real: Black Youth, Hip-Hop Culture, and Black Identity” by Andreana Clay was published in *American Behavioral Scientist* in 2003. The article examines how Black youth interact with one another and how these interactions work to legitimize who they are. Clay relies on Bourdieu’s theory of cultural capital (1977) to articulate how Black identities are authenticated in a specific way, asking how does cultural capital help Black youth construct

legitimate racial boundaries in predominantly Black settings. In particular, she investigated how Black youth incorporate hip hop culture into their interactions with other Black youth, so the question of hip hop's ability to motivate and speak to Black youth is central in the article. Based on ethnographic data collected from a data center in Northern California, Clay seeks to explain how Black youth use hip hop, and she found that through constructing a cohesive identity with one another, Black youth created a community: hip hop. This community was created through performance, but at the same time it also created real and imagined relations between people (p. 1349).

Clay's article displays a variety of important academic tropes that have come to define the field and guide how scholars understand culture. First, using Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital to frame her argument, Clay aligns with a slew of Cultural Studies scholars who theorize how people organize themselves in society through popular culture. An integral part of a person is their culture, this theory argues, and people are in a constant process of evaluating their own and other people's capital to decide where they belong in society, with the amount of capital one holds in any given setting determining one's identity. When looking at hip hop scholarship in general and Clay's article in particular, we can see that cultural capital is a way to discuss what kind of art has value and who is authentically entitled to engage with it and why; this is fundamentally a question of identity.

Clay's article is important to the scholarship as she highlights how Black youth have imbued hip hop with subcultural characteristics. The research builds on Gilroy (1997) who suggests that hip hop is "the very Blackest culture...one that provides the scale on which all others can be evaluated" (p. 85) and is an overwhelming representation of what it means to be a Black young person. There is a unique and unwavering relationship between Black youth and hip

hop, a point that should not be lost in this discussion. At the same time, when identities are solidified in this way (i.e., through popular culture), they are also bound to the structures of white supremacy, which organize and stratify society, thus preventing equal access of resources to all people. Accumulating cultural capital in this space is not only tied up with race and gender in ways that imply that all Black youth must adhere to them to be accepted as authentically Black¹⁸, but is also potentially limiting in how Black youth both define themselves and get defined by others. As a result, youth cultures often have to manipulate the resources within their reach; in Clay's study, the research participants manipulate fashion, gestures, language, and music as a way to mark themselves as part of something larger.

In his article, "Method in the Madness: Exploring the Boundaries of Identity in Hip-Hop Performativity" (2010), Christopher Holmes Smith wrote: "Identity construction and the vigorous enactment of that identity remains the most fertile source of artistic creativity within rap music, dating back to the genre's inception in the ghettos of New York City in the late 1970s" (p. 345). Rap music is an expressive artistic outlet and historically, marginalized young men have gravitated to it as both consumers and creators, the article tells us. For Holmes Smith, the ways that people enact a 'Hip Hop identity' is of particular interest. So he discusses the long held hip hop concept of "representin'", writing that "[t]o 'represent' is to provide up-to-the-moment answers to the following questions: What do you stand for? Where do you come from? With whom do you choose to associate? How pleasurable is the life that you are living?" (p. 347).

Using a combination of storytelling and textual analysis, Holmes Smith sees representin' as a tactical manoeuvre. Representin' is a physical, visual, and verbal act all displayed within seconds of interacting with someone else who aligns with the culture, someone else who is

¹⁸ As the theory has evolved, the unique intersectional experiences have been included in ways that were long missed.

representin'. As established in other scholarship, like Clay (2003), fashion, slang, and body language all work together to represent a hip hop identity in any given space; they are displays of cultural capital. Representin' essentially means people become walking signifiers, embodying a larger hip hop value system (Holmes Smith, 2010, p. 347). To research the concept of representin' is to highlight how identity is performed, communicated, and received in hip hop; this is crucial to understanding not only how the culture is maintained, but also how it is ritualized and materialized. For Holmes Smith, representin' rituals constitute the subject and allow marginalized young men to galvanize a sense of purposeful presence in a world where they may have previously only experienced "shame, despair, and an urge to fade away" (p. 349).

To understand the weight that representin' holds, we also must understand that many rituals of Black popular culture only exist because they were excluded from the cultural mainstream for many years. As we learned from Stuart Hall, rituals of Black popular culture are about recovering something from the past; the ritual of representin' is actually about recovering a lost dialogue, one lost with every iteration of oppression and stripping of Afro traditions over time. This is what Kobena Mercer (1988) calls the "necessity for a diaspora aesthetic"¹⁹. The act of representin' is radical in that it can be seen as a disruptive practice emanating from a space that has been marginalized through structural inequalities, enacted in a way that allows people to conceptualize alternative ways of living and connecting to each other (hooks, 1989).

Interestingly, the documents discussed above helped usher in the rise and use of the idea of masculinity. Performing hip hop has been documented as happening in masculine spaces, among young Black men who do not have the room to do it anywhere else. This framing gives us insight into the perspectives of researchers and their framing around who comprises hip hop

¹⁹ "Mercer, K. (1988) Black Film British Cinema. London: ICA Documents." Excerpt From Black Film British Cinema II Clive Nwonka

culture. The emergence and discussion of masculinity that follows tells us certain things about research framing, and knowledge privilege.

Masculinity (21.7% of the dataset)

Within this dataset, I am interested in seeing how scholars understand young men's lives, especially considering how race and ethnicity intersect with the social construction of masculinity. How does the concept of masculinity get deployed? How do the documents deal with 'hierarchies of masculinities'? And how are young men's identities made into a grammar for whole worlds of meaning?

The concept of 'masculinity' emerged as a natural progression from feminism and identity studies in the Humanities. Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities (CSMM) has developed significantly over the last 50 years. Tim Edwards (2006) refers to a three-phase, or wave, model of CSMM. It is no coincidence that there is an adjacency with the three waves of feminism, given the immense degree of indebtedness that studies of masculinity owe to feminist theory.

The key emphasis of the studies in the first wave of the movement was to demonstrate the socially constructed nature of masculinity and its reliance on socialization, sex role learning, and social control. The second wave of CSMM emerged in the 1980s, and during this time, seminal thinker R.W. Connell developed the concept of hegemony as it applies specifically to questions of masculinity, coining the concept 'hegemonic masculinity' (Connell, 1987). Hegemonic masculinity provided a link between growing research in the field of men's studies, including popular discourses about men and boys, feminist accounts of patriarchy, and sociological models of gender (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity was distinguished from

other subordinated masculinities in that it embodied the most honoured way of being a man and required all other men to position themselves around it (Donaldson, 1993). The third wave, like the third wave of feminism, was influenced by the advent of post-structural theory, particularly as it related to gender in terms of questions of normativity, performativity, and sexuality (Butler, 1990; Simpson, 1994).

We are now entering a new stage in masculinity studies where differences among men are seen as central to understanding men's lives. Despite the inherent advantages men have in just being men, there is also a critical need to consider how race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and physical ability intersect with the social construction of masculinity. Oftentimes, much of the criticism comes down to the fact that masculinity has been framed within a heteronormative concept of gender that simplifies male–female differences and ignores these difference and exclusions that are inherent in a binary gender structure.

The writings of Black men in North America have traditionally emphasized the role of racism in the development of masculinity. It has been argued that due to their exclusion from satisfying paid work, most Black men do not expect to attain the benefits of white masculinity (Hare, 1972; Turner, 1984; hooks, 2004). These particular representations have served the interest of racism, which ignores the positive aspects of Blacklife in particularly racist and sexist ways. This is the context in which this selection of documents should be viewed. These studies discussed below focus on the racial oppression of Black men and boys in education, un/underemployment and cultural behaviours and on how hip hop culture has been positioned in helping young men orient themselves, connect to one another, and build their lives.

The Deployment of Masculinity in the Dataset

Fifteen formal plus many informal interviews were conducted with young male students for the 2008 article, "Cultural meaning and hip-hop fashion in the African-American male youth subculture of New Orleans," by Vern Kenneth Baxter and Peter Marina. Most of the youth interviewed fit the designation of "studio thugs" but even the distinction between 'real' and 'studio thugs' does not completely capture all internal dimensions of the subcultural status order. The interviews were supplemented with extensive field notes based on personal observations. This analysis of subcultural behaviours includes a discussion of fashion as a display of 'male toughness'. Specifically, the authors discuss prison-inspired hip hop styles like Black sagging pants and oversized T-shirts, fashion manipulations that are emblems of the inner-city New Orleans Black youth subculture.

The idea that young Black men are marginalized and demonized by the authorities was the central framing argument for this project. Young Black men are (impossibly) tasked with navigating between capitalist media that promote hip hop fashion trends, school officials who reject these choices, and peer pressure to express commitment to the community, thus creating a breeding ground for the invention of new styles and identities for these young men (Baxter & Marina, 2008, p. 109). To pledge allegiance to hip hop, the men believed they had to act like real thugs, dress like thugs, and portray a defiant masculinity and hardness.

Construction of identity and status between conflicting normative orders allows for the embrace of individualist and consumptive values in tune with the mainstream but embraced with a nonconformist twist to defy authority (p. 110). The sometimes-limiting elements of fashion are made into whole worlds. Identities are formed through an interplay of media consumption, societal institutions, and peer pressure, Baxter and Marina argue. As a result, people often resist their environments and band together through a conformation to stylistic and behavioural

expressions. This resistance becomes a labelling process for outsiders who reduce people to their expressions, so that in effect their stylistic and behavioural choices often become the entire language for who they are. These elements of identity are how they communicate who they are.

Diana Hernández, Hannah Weinstein, and Miguel Muñoz-Laboy examined two sets of narratives with young men and women, aged 15 to 21, involved in hip hop culture in New York City for their 2011 article, “Youth Perspectives on the Intersections of Violence, Gender, and Hip-Hop”. In their analysis, they examined the interconnections between gender and hip hop culture through youth accounts of street and interpersonal violence. Their findings suggest that youth involved in hip hop culture often view violence as entertainment or a means to gain respect, pointing to hip hop lyrics and videos that often narrate stories of violence, especially Gangsta rap and Reggaeton. As a result of hip hop’s depictions of violence, it has often been blamed in popular discourse for the prevalence and persistence of violence in urban, low-income communities. This article discusses youth definitions of violence and the level of congruence between perception and actual behaviour, and concludes by examining ways to deconstruct violence within the discourse of hip hop that will lead to potentially effective social action to reduce violence among youth (p. 588).

The research team conducted in-depth interviews with 45 self-identified heterosexual youth (aged 15–21). To qualify, young people had to be familiar with hip hop culture, with their participation in the culture ranging from past to current participation (p. 591). The justification for using hip hop culture as the point of analysis is because many young people living in inner American cities identify with “urban Hip Hop culture” (p. 588). The team found that youth violence has strong, visible effects on the socioeconomic fabric and mental health status of urban communities, especially in relation to young men. The results were complicated, but in essence,

while the participants' definitions of violence varied in content, many offered concepts of violence that were influenced by their notions of gender roles. For instance, the young men said violence was said to be unacceptable with girlfriends, and yet, when placed in upsetting situations or situations perceived as disrespectful (i.e., their girlfriend grinding on another man), their beliefs and behaviour came into conflict with each another (p. 595). At the same time, violence in hip hop was perceived as a form of exaggerated reality, as a marketing tool to engage viewers and provide entertainment to an audience fascinated by violence.

Hip hop is an articulation of the realities that not only depict but also reify daily experiences for young Black men (Alim, 2006). Males are found to hold more aggressive attitudes in dating situations, and these sexist attitudes help justify more violent behaviour. Adopting these roles is not necessarily optional, but rather, they are forms of involuntary performance based on socially acceptable expressions that are decided and specifically tailored to different communities (Butler, 1999). When thinking about the deployment of masculinity, the research team here chose to explore gender and hip hop through the perspectives of heterosexual, cis-gendered youth. In choosing their study participants, there was an adherence to a binary concept of gender; the normative understandings of masculinity were not interrogated, but instead solidified by the methodological decisions made. Furthermore, the topics that emerged through the process dealt with binary articulations of said identity markers, and through this, some of the 'one more time' understandings of young Black men were further reified.

Rashad Shabazz wrote "Masculinity and the mic: confronting the uneven geography of hip-hop," which was published in *Gender, Place & Culture* in 2004. The article explores the uneven gendered geographies of rap music, arguing that:

Black men's blocked access to culturally dominant masculinity, vis-a-vis access to public space – and the resulting containment of Black men within Black communities – has produced an overly compensatory form of masculinity, for which access to and control of the public domain within Black communities is essential for access to hegemonic masculinity. (p. 370)

The article examines the consequences of power asymmetries in hip hop – particularly its geography. Shabazz discusses the spatial politics of rap, which were built on “uneven gendered geographies” that advantaged young men and marginalized everyone else, but also narrowed articulations of masculinity. As a result, an ideological link between rap music and hegemonic performances of masculinity was built and strengthened over time. The early innovators of hip hop – men who were “thrown out of work” and thus put their talent, time, and energy into the youth culture – remade public space in ways that allowed them some kind of freedom in their overwhelmingly abandoned, segregated, and spatially disempowered neighbourhoods (p. 370).

Using both a historical and a Cultural Studies approach, Shabazz was able to locate the emergence of hip hop and position it in the social context of Black young men, resulting in the historicization of the culture and of men's place (and not others) within it. The location of women and LGBTQ+ people was not necessarily considered, despite their obvious location in this context as well. The constant remaking of hegemonic masculinity within the music and other forms of the culture meant that others continued to fall by the wayside. The documentation of their existence is further and further obscured as more research reiterates similar points – there is a certain man who gets accepted into hip hop; there is a certain man who makes and engages with hip hop – linking the legacy of hip hop culture even more to a kind of masculinity that erases women and LGBTQ+ people in an effort to wholly claim hip hop as constructed by young

Black men who were shoved out of mainstream spaces. While this is something that is certainly one of the core facts of hip hop culture, this culture would not have been possible without the support and presence of women, nor does this aggressively masculinized take on hip hop say anything about gay and trans people as existing in the same spaces. The hierarchies of masculinity are playing out in this reification as cis-gendered, heterosexual Black men are imagined to be the ideal hip hopper.

Urban Music (50.7% of the dataset)

There is a through line in this dataset that connects gender to place when it comes to *who* the imagined hip hop consumer is. All the documents discuss hip hop's beginnings in New York City and conceptualize hip hop creators and consumers as inner-city young people. Baxter & Marina discuss the New Orleans ghetto; Hernández, Weinstein, and Muñoz-Laboy limit their participants to those from one of four New York City boroughs: East Harlem, Inwood, South Bronx, and Washington Heights, since these places are where hip hop is lived; and Shabbaz discusses the geographies where young people actually started hip hop. All these papers are very much about the neighbourhoods and the streets people were gathering in. So here I am wondering: How are young people controlled in their environments? How does the 'urban' space work to define and determine youth identity?

The 'urban' is defined as "a geographical area that is densely populated in comparison to areas around [it]" (Foster, 2007, p. 771). Generally, that means census blocks that contain 50,000 or more residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017) in the United States and 400 or more people per square kilometer in Canada (Statcan.gc.ca, 2016). Urban is understood in opposition to 'rural,' which is defined as anywhere at least 15 minutes away from a city or town of 10,000 people and an hour away from a city or town of 50,000 or more (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). This

distinction is important for policy makers, social scientists, and popular media figures who ascribe attributes to urban and rural areas and influence not only popular understandings, but more crucially, how resources are allocated by governments and the inevitable inequities that exist as a result (Bennett et al, 2019; Davis, 2006). Furthermore, as Davis states, this geographic categorizing actually constructs the ‘urban’ as a place where Black people and other minorities live and therefore are impacted by this unequal material distribution.

The Deployment of Urban Music in the Dataset

Joy White’s 2017 article, “Controlling the Flow: How Urban Music Videos Allow Creative Scope and Permit Social Restriction” was published in *YOUNG* and discussed ‘Grime,’ a subgenre of hip hop. To explore the importance of music videos in the urban music scene, White interviewed 40 people who were involved in one or more roles in the urban music economy. Grime music draws its influences from the sound systems of Jamaica, filtered through the last few decades of hip hop, drum and bass, and UK garage. It has its origins in the hybridity of Jamaican reggae, American R&B and hip hop (Bradley, 2000). Grime allows creators to narrate stories about their lives, asserting “Black urban identities” by spitting lyrics that “articulate urban worlds” (White, 2017, p. 409). Many young Grime artists use street corners and housing estates of East London, England, (as well as New York City streets) in their ‘road’ or the ‘hood’ videos; the location is a central component to the music scene (p. 408). White argues that young people from impoverished backgrounds may become categorized as troublemakers as they create their Grime art, mainly because performance in the public sphere is deemed to be problematic and a cause for concern. White shows how “broad applications of legislation and local policies to protect [public (read: urban) space] leads to the criminalization of everyday life” (p. 408).

The people who get together in East London are usually young Black men from poor neighbourhoods who congregate on street corners. White outlines that the criminal justice system disproportionately controls and regulates impoverished areas under the guise of crime prevention; however, these regulations are developed in the context of broader social issues such as “the removal of universal benefits, mass youth unemployment, the casualization of work” (Kelly, 2012) and institutional racism (Younge, 1999, as cited in White, 2017, p. 413). The creative practices of young Black men are inherently troublesome, and they are punished for it through laws and policies put in place by governments (p. 413). This is an example of how young people are regulated and disciplined in their environments by policy initiatives.

“Can't hold us back! Hip-hop and the racial motility of aboriginal bodies in urban spaces” by Bonar Buffam was published in a 2011 issue of *Social Identities: Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and Culture*. This article examines how Indigenous youth in Canada experience and engage with geographic racism that circumvents and circumscribes the movement of aboriginal people in Edmonton, Alberta. The article contributes to the now well-established scholarship on young Indigenous Canadians and their interactions and associations with hip hop culture. Buffam used ethnographic fieldwork to document the different ways Indigenous youth use hip hop to contest their “subjection to immobilizing racisms” (p. 337), Paying particular attention to how “urban indigenous youth” negotiate and transgress racism through a “practice of a distinctly aboriginal Hip Hop” (p. 337), he found that through their daily practice of hip hop, “the Indigenous youth...subvert these racisms as they refashion themselves as politically efficacious, indigenous social actors” (p. 338).

“From the Rotten Apple to the State of Empire: Neoliberalism, Hip Hop, and New York City’s Crisis” by Lisa B.Y. Calvente was published in 2017 in *Souls: A Critical Journal of Black*

Politics, Culture, and Society. The article highlights how hip hop has become a focal point of “urban racial and class crisis through media representation, which helped mask the urban landscape’s neoliberal transformation” (p. 126). Calvente discusses the relationship between neoliberalism and anti-Black racism and how the efforts to “develop” New York City in the 1970s led to practices that disproportionately harmed Black and Latino communities, contributing to the creation of hip hop. Looking specifically at hip hop, she discusses the genre as a representation of the communication practices of “local urban youth of the Black diaspora” (p. 126). Hip hop became emblematic of Black criminality and the “urban moral crisis” in New York at a particular time. The 1975 fiscal crises left Black and Latino youth on ‘the streets’ where they came together using new technologies that isolated them from their parents, but in the process, creating new sounds derived from their experiences (p. 129), which stemmed from the material historical conditions of their environment. In the process, hip hop culture became the scapegoat of neoliberal racist practices criminalizing young Black diasporic men. The image of Black Diaspora urban youth was synonymous with hip hop, which in turn was synonymous with violence. Hip hop fell victim to neoliberal logics as its representations of young Black men were used to justify the expendability of them.

These images of Black youth were paired with the images of burning buildings across the Bronx, which were seen across the continent. With streets literally on fire, these images epitomized an urban space in crisis, a wasteland stricken with crime, poverty, and drugs (p. 127). The response to these represented pathologies was more policing, surveillance, and containment in the urban neighbourhood.

It is important to consider how what Murray Forman calls the “spatialized youth practices” of urban Black men become tied to the motivating attitudes among the hip hop

generation (Forman, 2014, p. 300). The white supremacist structures that imbue the urban space with all kinds of significations become solidified as fact in our constant narrativization of hip hop. The urban Black male becomes a caricature of a person who lives in (and destroys) cities, and their deteriorating environment becomes the justification for further policing and surveillance. Continued use of the term ‘urban’ throughout popular culture, education spaces, and, I argue, academic spaces has solidified its meaning in such a way that obscures its origin and weaponization; it gets thrown around as description without interrogation. Much of the research included in this section does not interrogate the reification of the term, but instead uses it to aid in describing hip hop as youth culture, a music genre, and a tool for music education. Identities are made through existing in the urban space as well as engaging with the particular culture made in urban spaces: hip hop. This is problematic because the concepts of urban music, urban spaces, urban children are already imbued with racist limitations that constrain popular understandings of who and where the hip hop creator and consumer is.

Resistance (44.9% of the dataset)

I now trace how “Resistance” is used to explain how young racialized people confront the realities of their existence by pushing for political change, combatting ideological power dynamics, and engaging in counter-hegemonic culture-making in anti-racist, post-colonial, or feminist ways (and at the intersections of all). Resistance is a foundational concept of the field of Cultural Studies. Stuart Hall articulated that more and more of our everyday lives are caught up in forms of exploitation, oppression, and marginalization (Hall, 1989b), and he understood the proliferation of resistance organized around the trappings of everyday life (p. 130). Edward Said (1978) similarly investigated the construction of cultural identities as related to colonialism and how subjects produced in these conditions discover resistance from the cusp, the periphery.

Angela McRobbie (1981, 1994, 1996) shone light on how layers of historical discourse combine to construct subjects and sensibilities, especially for young people, and on the behaviours involved in subverting these constructions.

The different maps of identification and belonging built into the field outline how individuals fit into the world, and therefore also deal with questions of subordinate identities and the possibilities of resistance. At the same time, resistance and redeployment strategies inform the world of Black theatre, performance, and theory (Iton, 2008). Scholar Mark Anthony Neal (1998) framed Black popular culture, particularly music, as an African American cultural product that was a central and pivotal element of the Civil Rights Movement. Richard Iton employed the term “the Black fantastic” to, in part, address the counter-hegemonic cultural production of 20th century Black Americans (2008). Hip hop, from its birth, has reflected a culture of resistance that started out as an overall critique of urban planning, racism, American policing, and the violence of being Black in America. The first hip hoppers – the generation born between 1965 and 1984 (Kitwana, 2002) – were adamant about creating a new world for themselves, drawing on their own lived conditions as the fuel to strive for something new. “Hip Hop was not just a ‘Fuck you’ to White society, it was also a ‘Fuck you’ to the previous Black generation as well” (Stephney in Gutierrez, 2008, p. 73). Hip hop activities from dance to emceeing to graffiti have been sites of resistance since the 1970s, sites “as potent as the social realism or protest discourses” in the 1980s and 1990s (Dimitriadis, 1996, p. 180). However, these discourses have also been fetishized and ignore the ways people have been constrained, limited, and narrativized.

This section traces the state of resistance in the field as it relates to young people using hip hop as their motivating force. How is resistance built into the culture? How can hip hop help young marginalized people act out resistance? Are there any resistive spaces left in hip hop?

The Deployment of Resistance in the Dataset

“Beware of the Frustrated...: The Fantasy and Reality of African American Violent Revolt” was published in the *Journal of Black Studies* in 2006 by Donn C. Worgs. This project is an analysis of how African Americans understand violent revolt. Throughout Black Americans’ struggle for liberation, there have been incidents of violent revolt, and this is also a recurring theme in Black American artistic productions: literature, music, film, etc. Worgs outlines the images of violent revolt present throughout hip hop’s existence from Public Enemy’s (1988) depiction of a prison riot in their 1989 anthem *Fight the Power* to Ice Cube’s 1991 album *Death Certificate* to Nas’s (2002) “Revolutionary Warfare” in the album *God’s Son* where Nas raps a guide for young people on how to become the next world leaders. Worgs goes on to note that it was particularly in the late 1980s and 1990s that countless rappers presented images of violent revolt in their artistic expression: riots, political assassinations, paramilitary operations, violence against the police, etc. These fantasies playing out through art are juxtaposed against national reports of riots in the late 1980s in New Jersey and Virginia Beach and the 1992 LA riots, which Worgs claims that Ice Cube predicted in 1991: “put your n**** on a diet/Cause this is Watts Riot 1991/I’m ‘a get my gun and put an end to the devil.” Young people listening were, according to Worgs, taking cues as both catharsis and instructive: “Beyond that, the fantasies offer insights into what makes violent revolt a legitimate strategy” (p. 40). The juxtaposition of examples of riots alongside “fantasies of violent revolt” suggests that violent uprising has always been a part of

Black political thought and that young people, through their media consumption, have come to understand revolt as a means of achieving goals of retribution and vengeance.

“Art Crimes: The Governance of Hip Hop Graffiti” was written by Kara-Jane Lombard and was published in the *Journal for Cultural Research* in 2013. This article asks the question: How has governance in relation to graffiti changed? It examines how graffiti, as an act of resistance, has been problematized and controlled. The increasing support and acceptance of graffiti are the effect of the rise of a neoliberal form of political-economical governance (p. 255). The graffiti that emerged in the 1970s and 1980s was disseminated by young people in New York who “threw up” on trains and public buildings (Rose, 1994). Young Black and Latino writers got together in “crews” to tag their stylized crew names across urban spaces, riding trains and “hitting” as many cars as possible.

Hip hop graffiti was once characterized as a “public menace or plague of epidemic proportions” (Prial, 1972, p. 39) and a “malicious, obscene, and offensive activity” (*New York Times*, 1972), and has even been described as a terrorist act (Iveson, 2010). The nature of graffiti has been subversive-space work from its earliest iteration, resisting urban control. More recently, however, Lombard (2013) wrote that in the 21st century, there has been a shift, a gradual softening of graffiti policy coupled with less government intervention with graffiti, which has opened the door for graffiti to become part of the mainstream. Images that were once signifiers of resistance are now co-opted, appearing in advertisements, museum exhibitions, government-sponsored youth programs, and events where youth can engage in “legal aerosol art projects” (p. 256). The way to disarm graffiti’s resistive nature is... through graffiti programs. Anti-graffiti youth programs are usually conducted by ex-graffiti writers and are meant to teach various skills like project management, graphic art, crime prevention, and giving back to community.

Messages to young people in these programs include: “You don’t have to vandalise to be a good aerosol artist” while diverting young people from illegal to legal “spheres of aerosol art” (p. 272).

However, the incorporation of graffiti into the mainstream, Lombard argues, encourages graffiti writers to reproduce neoliberalism. The development of graffiti into aerosol art has disrupted notions that equate crime with authenticity and means that graffiti writers have had to redefine notions of authenticity. Graffiti has been stripped of many of its resistive roots, roots that had been growing deep and strong in hip hop culture, as we know. Like other elements of hip hop culture, the claims for resistance have long passed their due date.

“First Nations youth redefine resilience: listening to artistic productions of ‘Thug Life’ and hip-hop” was published in 2015 in the *Journal of Youth Studies* by Carolyn M. Brooks, Mitch Douglas Daschuk, Jennifer Poudrier, and Nicole Almond. The project draws on findings from two community-based projects developed with the Battleford Agency Tribal Chiefs First Nations in Alberta, Canada. Researchers and participants used arts-based and mixed-methods to discuss youth resilience, a term closely aligned with resistance. The researchers take the position that pathways to resilience and resistance must build inter-generational bridges between youth and community members (p. 707). At-risk ‘unreachable’ youth who are not in school and who are not interested in connecting with their traditional cultural identities and community programs need to be addressed in ways that engage them in an artistic way; the article focuses specifically on those youth not in school who harbour a distinct interest in elements of Black American hip hop culture, and specifically, Tupac’s artistry.

Tupac’s notion of “Thug Life” (“The Hate U Give Little Infants Fucks Everybody”) not only speaks to the root causes of how Black people suffer, but is also a way to understand

individual resilience, resistance, and community revitalization writ large. A thug is an underdog who overcomes all obstacles and holds their head high with pride (Shakur, 2003). The researchers discuss the ways that First Nations youth are attracted to Shakur's rapping and how it became an important avenue for them to think about resilience, strength, and resistance. Rap and its artistic production of self-imagery allows students who are not in school to express themselves, the research states, to tell alternative stories, and to discover their own pathways for healthier and less violent lives (p. 720). In relation to Shakur and hip hop music more generally, young First Nations people were asked to create artistic pieces that exemplify a place of belonging for times when they experience a lack of belonging. The researchers found that the young people not in school lacked the ability to express their inner realities and thus relied on hip hop to get their thoughts out, tell a story of self-transformation, and ultimately resist the racial marginality of their environments (p. 716).

Hip hop and notions of Thug Life speak to the form's resistance vernacular and both can be used as a celebration of self-determination and self-definition, the keys to resilience and resistance (p. 721). Here, resistance is closely tied to the concept of resilience where community members are experts in their own lives and places and focus on community strength and rebuilding strategies (p. 707). It's a practice employed to investigate how marginalized youth populations develop strategies to ensure their own survival in difficult situations (p. 721).

"Good Kids, Mad Cities: Kendrick Lamar and Finding Inner Resistance in Response to Ferguson, USA" was published in *Cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies* by Bettina L. Love in 2016. Looking to Kevin Quashie, a professor of English at Brown University, and Kendrick Lamar, an American hip hop artist from Compton, California), Love asks: "What does it mean for a generation of youth who are coming of age under the loud publicness of Hip Hop,

racism, state violence, and domestic terrorism to know that resistance also can be found in the act of stillness?” (p. 320). The reality for many people of colour is that resistance comes in the form of just waking up in the morning. Love’s short paper ends with the following quote:

At this moment in time, Hip Hop will be the soundtrack for youth as they use their bodies, skin tone, and physiognomy to commit to the publicness of protest, but if these good kids in mad cities do not love themselves and balance what is public and intimate, they will be constantly, restlessly resisting forever. (p. 323)

It is important to note the state of culture Love is drawing upon in this piece. *Good Kid, M.A.A.D. City*, Lamar’s debut album, was released in the fall of 2012, a month after Jordan Davis was murdered, a month before Trayvon Martin was killed, and two years before both Eric Garner and Michael Brown were killed at the hands of police. Love is looking at Kendrick’s art in the wake of these tragedies to understand how young people can resist the direct violence of the state. Similarly, Love leans on Quashie’s 2012 *The Sovereignty of Quiet: Beyond Resistance in Black Culture* as the foundation for discussing how Black “bodies” in hip hop can represent resistance in their quiet stillness, while at the same time looking to Lamar to analyze how protest through music has long been a part of Black culture. The critical consciousness brought forth by Lamar represents a resistance that is central to the young people on the frontlines of human rights (p. 322). Love states that as youth hashtag their pain and take to the streets, they also need to know that they are resisting simply by living (p. 323).

For rappers and fans, rap music becomes a form of cultural resistance, Love postulates, by creating a connection between lyrics, performers, and listeners. Hip hop then is the soundtrack for young people who are putting their bodies on the line in Ferguson, USA, to

protest white supremacy in a way that points to the tragic fact that defending justice and resisting oppression will always be the responsibility of Black culture (Love, 2016).

“‘They Can’t Take Away the Light’: Hip-Hop Culture and Black Youth’s Racial Resistance” was published in *Youth & Society* in 2020 by Nkemka Anyiwo, Daphne C. Watkins, and Stephanie J. Rowley. The project examined associations between Black youth’s engagement with hip hop culture and their sociopolitical development (SPD) through critical social analysis, critical agency, and anti-racist activism (p. 611). Participants included 499 Black adolescents recruited from across the United States through an online survey panel. Through this survey panel, the researchers examined how Black youth’s engagement with and perceptions of hip hop relate to their racial resistance; resistance here is defined as “youth’s social awareness and actions to contest racism” as well as the “process by which individuals become aware of and respond to sociopolitical systems that shape privilege and marginalization” (p. 612).

Despite hip hop’s social justice roots, there has been little scholarly effort to understand hip hop’s sociopolitical influence on its creators and on one of its largest consumer bases, Black youth. Taking a multimodal approach, the researchers examined the impact of hip hop on Black youth SPD by assessing hip hop culture as it is reflected in rap (music) and other related media (blogs, social media, radio shows). Their results found that, in fact, rap music was not associated with youth’s SPD and that their engagement was not necessarily positively associated with activism. Youth consuming more hip hop blogs and radio shows did have a higher awareness of racial inequities and a greater sense of agency in engaging in activism and resistance, but this impact was not the same when looking at rap music specifically. The researchers uncovered some nuances around youth behaviour in that there was evidence that young people are capable of simultaneously extracting empowering and misogynistic themes (p. 627). The research team

ultimately concluded that (1) hip hop figures and media content can play a significant role in young people's beliefs and behaviours to dismantle racism and that often, youth are critical listeners of rap music; (2) young people's sociopolitical experiences shape how they select and interpret media content, and different communities are impacted differently by the music; and (3) despite hip hop's resistive roots, the ways that young people incorporate the music into their social justice behaviours needs more work.

All of the articles mentioned here rely on a consistent narrative about hip hop, which tells us that its roots in 1970s New York City are planted in civil rights and social commentary, and that the genre exposes and critiques critical issues affecting people of colour on regional, national, and global scales (Love, 2016). Hip hop is positioned as resistance culture, which informs and shapes social images, communicates Black politics, and shifts Black political attitudes (Spence, 2011). The overwhelming amount of the research focuses on rap music and generalizes that for rappers and consumers, hip hop creates a form of cultural resistance through a connection between lyrics, performers and listeners (Rose, 2008). In this way, hip hop is a site of opportunity for people to tell their distinctive realities to others. However, because the bulk of the scholarship focuses on rap music as the epitome of hip hop culture, it ignores the resistive potential of the other elements of hip hop culture; graffiti and breakdancing were enormously counter-hegemonic in the ways they took up and manipulated public space, but they do not get analyzed, used, and discussed in the same way as rap. This might be because the original hip hop scholars who took up music as their problematic rose to be the giants of the field, establishing the foundations for hip hop study in their own particular ways. This has left a certain impression that hip hop's potential resistive capabilities are limited to the emcee. There are many limitations that come along with this assumption, including scholars often ignoring the neoliberal nature of

popular music and the incorporation of resistance, which stifles efforts made on behalf of youth activists set on political and social change.

Key Concepts/ Phrases

In identifying key frameworks and keywords, I am both tracing the field and highlighting theoretical underpinnings and political consequences. This process is not about diminishing or undermining the importance of certain terms and the scholars who use them; however, I am questioning the assumptions made in terms of their usage. There are certain long-held assumptions in Cultural Studies when it comes to “identity,” ideas that we as cultural scholars generally hold as foundational in our research. One of these assumptions is that popular culture provides powerful images and scenes for identification that can influence behaviour, action, morality, style, and, of course, identity (Kellner, 2020). Kellner goes on to point out that our cultural artifacts are appropriated and used to produce individual identities in everyday life and therefore our identities are mediated by mass-produced images in contemporary media society. In choosing individual cultural meanings and style, young people in particular struggle within a system that always involves the embrace of one marker of identity and the rejection of another. This often takes place as a struggle within popular culture (Hall, 1992b, 1997a; Derrida, 1978; Grossberg, 1996; Rojek, 2000; Kashope Wright, 2015; Kellner, 2020). Throughout the history of Cultural Studies, scholars have investigated different subcultures and their appropriation of the different images and styles that provide the basis for youth identities. At the same time, much of the scholarship in my dataset positions Black youth as fixed within hip hop culture, and I argue that this is the result of certain voices as privileged over the young people themselves.

The theoretical progression to understanding gendered, racial, and sexual identities took place within the field in the 1980s and early 1990s (Davis, 1983; Butler, 1990). How scholars

understand young men's lives, especially considering how race and ethnicity intersect with the social construction of masculinity, is particularly important, given its insights into how young people create relationships with themselves and with each other. The writings of Black men in North America traditionally emphasize the role of racism in the development of masculinity. It has been argued that due to their exclusion from satisfying paid work, most Black men do not expect to attain the benefits of White masculinity (Hare, 1972; Turner, 1984; hooks, 2004). As prevailing definitions of masculinity imply power, control, and authority, these attributes are seen as being denied to most Black men (Staples, 1986).

bell hooks sparked the debates that continue today around the particular experiences of Black men in North American patriarchal culture in her 2004 book, *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity*. When race and class are put in focus along with patriarchy, then Black males endure the worst impositions of gendered masculine patriarchal identity (p. x). hooks writes that traditionally, Black men who have been constructed in white-supremacist capitalist patriarchies have had “no real dramatic say when it comes to the way they are represented” (p. x). Instead, there is a tendency to paint damaging images of Black men as “animals, brutes, natural born rapists, and murderers” (p. x). The negative social implications of these representations and the fact these same men are “indexed as touchstones of hipness, coolness, and social rebellion celebrated through imitation” appear highly contradictory (Snorton, 2003).

These particular representations have served the interest of racism, which ignores positive aspects of Blacklife in particularly racist and sexist ways. With this understanding, scholars like bell hooks (2004), Rinaldo Walcott (2009), Marlon Ross (2004), and Riley Snorton (2003) argue that the dominant images of Black manhood are always at the service of ideological purposes, especially at the cost of advancing Black communities (Ross, 2004). With the reductive

hypersexualized and hypermasculine images that float through the mainstream, Black LGBTQ people and disabled people are effectively silenced as many people become far too comfortable speaking about a “Black community” as a discursive unit (McBride, 1998, 2005).

Part of understanding cultural constructions of masculinity includes identifying the cultural artifacts that are said to shape young people. “Urban” is a key concept that comes up throughout the documents discussed here, particularly as it is positioned in conjunction with music. The term ‘urban’ was discussed earlier as it pertained to Cultural Education Studies, and I am continuing this discussion with the term ‘Urban Music,’ which appears throughout this dataset. This term originated in the New York radio industry in the 1970s. In an attempt to attract a larger (White) audience and thus advertisements, radio stations catering to primarily Black audiences replaced the term Black with the term Urban. Urban thus became a term to describe a set of cultural, and in this case, musical practices. At the same time, the term became a profitable marketing tool for Black music genres across the board. Murray Forman (2000) wrote that rap music and hip hop culture have a strong association with the ‘urban’ as a certain space, and this is in part because, as Tricia Rose has pointed out, the postindustrial city “provided the context for creative development among Hip Hop’s earliest innovators” (Rose, 1994, p. 34). This terminology spilled over into the academy as hip hop scholarship began to take shape. The linking and intertwining of ‘urban’ and ‘music’ involve an understanding not only of policy and marketing, but also of the association between hip hop and the city, ‘urban music’ being code for hip hop.

Tricia Rose (1994) has described the economic and spatial violence experienced by poor Black and Latino New Yorkers in the late 1970s (p. 31). In particular, the construction of the Cross Bronx Expressway in the late 1970s disrupted multiple neighbourhoods and forced more

than 170,000 residents to relocate, thus destroying their social ties (p. 31). This, of course, was positioned as ‘urban development’ but it resulted in a new kind of poverty for Black Americans as both income and race-based segregation combined with “spatial and social isolation that barred access to the legitimate economy” (Wilson, 1987). Early hip hop was a direct response to this economic and spatial violence and to the destroyed ‘urban spaces.’ DJ Afrika Bambaataa organized block parties in the South Bronx as a response to the violence around him, Grandmaster Flash made *The Message* (1982) to retell ghetto stories and illustrate the meaning of Blacklife in the hood (Forman, 2002). At the same time traditional Black ‘urban spaces’ were being destroyed, the term ‘urban’ was introduced as a way to describe Black music to make the genre palatable to White audiences and to in effect erase race from the art; the term is essentially a marketing tool used to propagate a narrow set of images and ideas associated with (obscured) Blackness (Jhally, 2007).

This use of the term ‘urban’ has been adopted and reified throughout popular culture, education spaces, and, I argue, academic spaces. Much of the research included in this section does not interrogate the reification of the term, but instead uses it to aid in describing hip hop as youth culture, a music genre, and a tool for music education. This is problematic because the concepts of urban music, urban spaces, urban children are already imbued with racist limitations that constrain popular understandings of who and where the hip hop creator and consumer is. Murray Forman (2014) states:

Hip Hop scholars in particular...address the details of space and place-based identities and the ineluctable role of ‘the ‘hood’ in rap and Hip Hop. Working through the ideas of spatial theorists, cultural geographers, and critical urban studies scholars, space and place were nominated in Hip Hop studies as key themes for examination. (p. 300)

Indeed, young Black men, because of a range of social conditions, were less likely to be employed and more likely to be able to spend time outside late at night and are thus historicized and narrativized as the real creators of the culture. They are also thought to be the ones (re)making the sexist and violent conditions that still characterize the culture.

Geography and urban space now became a marker of identity. Zeus Leonardo and Margaret Hunter (2007) suggest that while it is certainly helpful to think about the urban as “real insofar as it is demarcated by zones, neighborhoods, and policies . . . it is imagined to the extent that it is replete with meaning, much of which contains contradictions as to exactly what the urban signifies” (p. 779). Despite many of the positive depictions of the urban (cultural progress, diversity, lively, young, energetic), it is also imagined as a dangerous place where racialized poor people live (in decaying, impoverished, criminal, dirty, gang-filled, drug-filled environments). Leonardo and Hunter (2007) also discuss the ‘urban jungle’ as a further signifier of the city spaces, and the racist implications are clear as people imagine the urban jungle as being filled with “Black, Brown and Yellow [people] who are poor, dirty, criminal and dangerous. Gangs, violence, and drugs are closely tied to any image of the urban for most people” (p. 789). This concept corresponds to representations of urban music that perpetuate the idea that, according to Leonard and Hunter, “Blacks are a rap video, complete with the accompanying expectations that they should behave in such a manner” (p. 786). This signification of the urban is artificial, constructed, and myopic, yet it is also widespread and pervasive. Not only does this impact representations of young people in popular culture, but it also impacts how communities, educators, and policy-makers view young people in particular places, and how the narratives around conditions contribute to their actual livelihoods (p. 789). Once again, the narrative that emerges from this research is that Black youth make music videos on the street corner because

they have nothing else to do with their time, and furthermore, through interviews with them, the implication is that these young people understand pervasive institutional racism only through conversations on music and music videos.

What is important to consider about this work is how scholarship on marginalized youth continues to construct the hip hop consumer and creator as one who has a fraught relationship with their environment. As the end receivers of spatial and economic racism, the young people mentioned throughout the research are left with no other choice but to find their voices through hip hop music and art. Hip hop enters the realm as empowering and a way through.

We also must consider how this concept has shaped a narrative about who engages with hip hop. In reality, 70% of hip hop's consumers are suburban, middle-class White teens (Kitwana, 2005; Morgan J, 2002; Yousman, 2003). Hip hop's broad fan base has continued to grow until in 2017, hip hop overtook rock music as the most popular music genre in North America (*Billboard*, 2018). Because of the genre's expansion, hip hop scholars need to find ways to reflect the state of the culture, but instead, many have struggled to find ways to discuss its in-group/out-group distinctions, the role of the White consumer, and the current reality of where hip hop lives.

It is important to consider how, what Murray Forman calls the “spatialized youth practices” of urban Black men get tied to the motivating attitudes among the hip hop generation (Forman, 2014, p. 300). The white-supremacist structures that imbue the urban space with all kinds of significations become solidified as fact in our constant narrativization of hip hop. The urban Black male becomes a caricature of who lives in (and destroys) cities, and his environment becomes the justification for continued policing and surveillance. Continued use of the term ‘urban’ throughout popular culture, education spaces, and, I argue, academic spaces has

solidified its meaning in a way that obscures its origin and weaponization; it gets thrown around as description without interrogation. Much of the research included in this section does not interrogate the reification of the term, but instead uses it to aid in describing hip hop as both youth culture and music genre, as well as a tool for music education. Identities are created through existing in the urban space as well as engaging with the particular culture made in urban spaces: hip hop. This is problematic because the concepts of urban music, urban spaces, urban children are already imbued with racist limitations that constrain popular understandings of who and where the hip hop creator and consumer is.

Through this trace, the connections between *who* hip hop consumers are and how they *use* hip hop have become a clear thread tying this field together. Some 185 documents in this dataset discuss ‘resistance’ narratives embedded in hip hop culture; scholars refer to rap music, graffiti, and breakdancing as tools of resistance for young Black people. Resistance here can mean asserting personal realities, pushing for political change, and/or combatting ideological power dynamics. Resistance can include “conventional participation geared toward social influence (e.g., joining political parties, voting) and activism geared toward social transformation” (Anyiwo et al, 2021, p. 611). In addition, I trace how the term ‘resistance’ is used to talk about young people confronting the fact that they are required to act a certain way, speak with a specific tone, adhere to grammatical standards, etc. How does the scholarship understand cultural resistance as Black culture in general, and hip hop culture specifically? How has the notion of resistance shifted and changed with neoliberal times?

All of the articles mentioned here rely on a consistent narrative about hip hop, which tells us that its roots in 1970s New York City were planted in civil rights and social commentary, and that it exposes and critiques critical issues affecting people of colour on regional, national, and

global scales (Love, 2016). Hip hop is positioned as resistance culture that informs and shapes social images, communicates Black politics, and shifts Black political attitudes (Spence, 2011). One of the goals of hip hop is to provide artists with a way “out of the hood” where they can resist the structures working to keep them in poverty. As a result, scholars tend to romanticise the ‘resistance’ of disadvantaged, exploited, and oppressed groups, while at the same time overstating the cultural power of youth in the sphere of consumption.

The overwhelming majority of the research focuses on rap music and generalizes that for rappers and consumers, hip hop creates a form of cultural resistance through the connection between lyrics, performers, and listeners (Rose, 2008). Thus, hip hop is a site of opportunity for people to tell their distinctive realities to a group of people. However, most of the scholarship focuses on rap music as the epitome of hip hop culture and thus ignores the resistive potential of the other elements of the culture. Graffiti and breakdancing were enormously counter-hegemonic in the ways they took up and manipulated public space, but they do not get analyzed, used, and discussed in the same way as rap does. This might be because the original hip hop scholars who took up the music as their problematic rose to be the giants in the field, establishing the foundation for research in particular ways. This has left a certain impression of hip hop’s potential resistive capabilities that limits it to the emcee. There are many limitations that come along with this assumption, including often ignoring both the neoliberal nature of popular music and the incorporation of resistance into it, a situation that in turn stifles efforts made on behalf of youth activists set on political and social change. In this, hip hop is also reflective of dominant social practices and constitutive of social identities. Therefore, hip hop itself in many ways fails as a resistive, radical genre for young people as long as it continues to perpetuate and reproduce

structures of whiteness, devaluation, and degradation. Mein Cremieux (2013) stated that consequently:

[w]hen Hip Hop either becomes co-opted by or coterminous with the dominant culture, the distinction between the center and the margins may grow ambiguous, leaving us to theorize about who and what reifies hegemonic notions as well as who and what resists them. (p. 183)

These orienting principles lead me to highlight the fact that these understandings are not neutral; they are always privileged in some way. This chapter is about uncovering those privileges when thinking about youth culture, hip hop culture, and Black popular culture. In particular, the organizing principle for me lies in foundational Black Studies, which tell us that when Black life is fixed and static, this drives the kind of research that gets done. Our knowledge of each other and our different life worlds is contingent on how we interact and engage with one another (Jackson, 2012; Elliot, 2014), and this is why it is crucial for me to interrogate academic research.

The constructions of academic research in these fields hails people into place as social subjects. Hip hop culture, as both a youth identity marker and a discourse, is yet another subjectivity through which certain people are constructed in academic spaces. Here I am reminded of the foundation-shifting words of Rinaldo Walcott and Idil Abdilahi (2020) when they point to the function of the university institution and say: “Institutions must produce modes of knowing or knowledges that support the continuing justification of wasted human lives and possibilities – what we might call the sagging pant syndrome” (p. 31).

The sagging pant syndrome refers specifically to poor Black youth in contemporary North America and the West, where the “moral panic concerning street crime” can be seen as the

strawman, where instead of discussing the “ethics of making a life livable” for Black poor and working poor youth, they are treated as disposable (Walcott & Abdilahi, 2020, p. 32). As scholars and intellectuals, we must pay particular attention to the ways that we generate classificatory systems (Wynter, 1995) where young Black males are perceived and therefore behaved towards (p. 13). Finally, in Walcott and Abdilahi’s brilliant analysis of Blacklife, they point to Wynter who states that “[t]hey [Black male youth] are the truth. It is we who institute this ‘truth.’ We must now undo their narratively condemned status.” (Wynter as cited in Walcott & Abdilahi, 2020, p. 19).

Methodologies Used

“Research is always a construction, rather than a representation... involving a range of selective devices, such as highlighting, editing, cutting, transcribing, and inflecting.”

(McRobbie, 1991, p. 69)

While there is no uniformly approved method of research, traditionally discourse analysis, textual analysis, and ethnography have been popular for investigating relevant topics of culture. In fact, early Youth Cultural Studies projects relied on ethnographic, experiential, and autobiographical methods due to a strong empiricist bias among scholars. Researchers like Paul Willis (1977) and Stanley Cohen (1972) used “lived experience” to their advantage in studying mods, skinheads, Rastafarians, and the workings of subculture. As the 1980s approached, there were rising concerns that ethnographic methods were too subjective and atheoretical. It was then that there was a shift towards the ideas of Althusser (1970), de Saussure (1916), and Barthes (1957), giving rise to a heavy reliance on text and discourse, which contributed to much of the research of the 1990s and 2000s, which is when hip hop scholarship began to proliferate in the academy. Scholars like Tricia Rose (1994), Joan Morgan (2000), Bakari Kitwana (2003),

Gwendolyn Pough (2004), and Jeff Chang (2004) were at the forefront of this wave, writing about the formation of hip hop and the racial and gendered discourses that surround it.

However, as scholarship progressed during the mid- to late 2000s, there was a turning back to ethnography and mixed-methods where the goal is to include youth voices in a variety of ways – interviews, workshops, surveys, and observation (Baxter & MarinaI, 2008; Emdin, 2008, 2012, 2016; Kendall, 2016; Penny, 2012; Powell, 2016). The return to populist sentiments is important to note. Research on youth culture and popular cultural consumption has, since its emergence in the 1970s, had a certain populist underpinning, aimed at studying ‘ordinary people’ and owing much of its beginnings to American sociology of deviance. Jim McGuigan (1992) stated that “[w]orking-class Subcultures of ‘resistance’ - teds, mods, rockers, skins, punks, etc. were read politically as symbolic challenges to the dominant culture, not as signs of social pathology” (p. 90). In effect, according to McGuigan, Cultural Studies was now caught in something of a trap, “caught between the power points of official academic discourse and... its populist political sentiments” (p. 12).

In the 1970s, the Birmingham Centre sought to link youth culture to the social relations of production, leisure to work, and class structure, and as a result, those young people who were questioning working conditions or flat out refusing to work were considered delinquent. Generally, young people have long been constructed across two separate but sometimes intermingling discourses: trouble and fun. This is important to highlight here because its validity depends on who is doing the constructing. News media, politicians, and oftentimes researchers typically paint youth as highly resistive, whereas advertising and entertainment discourses characterize the youthful consumer as harmless and classless. Part of my concern, and what this

section is about, is how reading sign systems in a particular way structures and positions people, not necessarily accurately, into *ideal* subjects.

Following scholars like Carla Rice, Elisabeth Harrison, and May Friedman (2019), tracing the genealogy of methodology is a way to shine light on the divide between Cultural Studies scholarship, which theorizes, and methodologically driven research, which deploys the construct in practice (Rice et al, 2019, p. 410). The point here is that different approaches to research set up particular patterns in research outcomes.

Some of the popular methods used in the 194 articles considered in this section of my dataset include critical discourse analysis, textual analysis (lyrical analysis and visual method), ethnography/auto-ethnography, and mixed-methods.

Critical Discourse Analysis

The critical discourse analysis (CDA) used in 85 of the documents generally focuses on representations of young people and their behaviours. In this, questions about how power dynamics are reproduced through youth actions and behaviours or how we can make sense of young people's language, cultural capital, and general interests through analyzing their popular cultural consumption are the leading frameworks. As Ainsworth and Hardy (2004) discuss, there is a particular value in adopting a CDA to study cultures, people, and identity (Ainsworth & Hardy, 2004, 225). A CDA acknowledges that "all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices" and the construction of human interactions (Crotty, 1998, p. 42). Research that employs a CDA framework generally agrees that aspects of how we understand each other are constructed and as such, addresses the collective meanings and contingent nature of identity. The critical element emerges through the researchers critical

perspective to interrogate social phenomena beyond the micro level of language use – which is characteristic of a discourse analysis.

For example, Shabazz (2004) discusses the spatial politics of rap music and the ideological links between rap, hegemonic masculinity, and the “uneven gendered geographies of rap music” (p. 370). He articulates the connections between hip hop, masculinity, and the power asymmetries of geography. The power dynamics of white supremacist neoliberal capitalism are the breeding ground for masculine representations of hip hop figures. Shabazz analyzes the struggle over gender and public space through popular culture artifacts like Boyz N the Hood (1991), *Organic* (a documentary) (2000), and Black Girls Rocks (BGR), the NYC-based organization. All these examples centre on young Black people and their associations with hip hop culture in various ways.

Calvente (2017) is interested in representations of hip hop as communication practice and looks at how local “urban youth of the Black diaspora” fell victim to neoliberal logics. Using critical discourse analysis, which is interested in uncovering how social structures of inequality are produced through language and discourse, Calvente analyzed representations of hip hop culture in juxtaposition to the 1975 New York City fiscal crisis. Her analysis states that the crisis transformed the city into a model of neoliberal success but also laid the foundation for hip hop culture to thrive as young people were relegated to the streets with no supervision and no direction. Through news articles and TV clips, political documents, and other academic accounts of that time, Calvente creates a thread between neoliberal capitalism and young people who created the culture of hip hop.

In characterizing youth and understanding their sociopolitical contexts, the methods used can enable scholars to rely on preformulated frameworks and therefore produce an

overdetermined discursive phenomenon. This phenomenon could be implicated in certain forms of inequality assumed or imposed prior to analysis taking place. This also means that the same research processes repeatedly lead to the same research outcomes and the same discoveries.

Textual Analysis/Lyrical Analysis

Textual analysis, popular in the study of youth subcultures, approaches music and youth cultures as “texts” to be “read.” Ninety of the documents considered here use some form of textual analysis, whether it is an analysis of song lyrics, music videos, or media documents, along with looking at the form’s connection to young people. Overall, the documents that take advantage of textual analysis are interested in how young people’s engagement with and production of hip hop has implications for the construction of systems of power, race, gender, class, and age in society. How do the texts in question work to reproduce and contribute to these understandings through language?

For example, Holmes-Smith (2010) analyzed the slang of young Black people, looking at how language can be manipulated to subvert power relations in society while also (re)producing power relations within hip hop culture.

Perry’s (2008) article, ” Global Black Self-Fashionings: Hip Hop as Diasporic Space” published in *Social Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, uses textual analysis to look at hip hop movements in Brazil, Cuba, and South Africa as examples of how “transnationally attuned identities of Blackness are marshaled in the fashioning of diasporic subjects through Hip Hop” (p. 635). Through the performative lens of hip hop, Perry discusses how youth use the genre as an active site to (re)map Black political imagination. Perry looked at africanhiphop.com, BBC Radio 1, and written interviews with rappers to highlight the range of meaning-making

available within global hip hop culture. This is an important work on the global impact of hip hop and how Black youth globally interact and are affected by it. At the same time, there is a tendency, as with many textual analyses, to “explain...away” the relationship between hip hop and culture and thus take the texts of hip hop and their narratives as “a singularly rich source” for the construction of the relationship between music and culture (Bennett, 2008, pp. 420–424).

Since the publication of Dick Hebdige’s *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* in 1979, scholars have wavered back and forth on the usefulness of textual analysis. In some ways, it can offer creative ways to articulate experiences that are potentially inaccessible for empirical methods. For example, analysing slang (Holmes-Smith, 2010), song lyrics (Love, 2016), hip hop blogs (Perry, 2008), music videos (Worgs, 2006), and images of graffiti (Lombard, 2013) textually can illuminate the ways that discourses are constructed to achieve certain meanings. How is language used to carry the message? This is the key to a textual analysis that can only be achieved through a deep reading of the text itself. On the other hand, a strict textual analysis can expose the gaps between the researcher’s account and the explanations that young people would actually give in cases where the researcher reads too much into behaviour and explains attitudes that people would not recognize as their own, imbuing them with radical and philosophical significations as the values of the researcher potentially take precedence.

Ethnography/Auto-ethnography/Mixed-Methods

Ethnographic approaches, as mentioned, have strong roots in Cultural Studies and were the prominent methodology at the CCCS in its beginnings. The turn towards discourse analysis and textual analysis in the 1980s happened, in part, because critiques around ethnographic researchers being too close to their research subjects became commonplace. The critiques

mentioned above regarding discourse and textual analyses contributed to the ethnographic turn of the 1990s.

Ethnography in this field explores the everyday practices of participation in popular culture and its surrounding contexts. Unlike anthropology, where ethnography is most prominent, ethnography in Youth Cultural Studies doesn't usually involve long-term immersion in a community, culture, or group of people. The ethnographic methods found in Cultural Studies are similarly interested in a complex relationship with people, but generally involve in-depth interviews, surveys, workshops, and observations or 'hangin' out' as its scope (Alasuutari, 1999; Cohen, 1993). Through these practices, researchers hope to uncover social dynamics, experiences, pleasures, dislikes, attitudes, and/or behaviours. Through pointed dialogue and engagement between researchers and their participants, one of the researcher's goals of this method is to become an active participant in the process, especially in auto-ethnographic works, and to also create a text that becomes a version of reality true to the people who contributed to the work. When combined with other qualitative and quantitative methods – mixed-methods – the anticipated work is meant to paint a full picture of people and their identity. The 95 documents included in this section cover a range of projects that use ethnography, interviews, surveys, workshops, and observations as their methodology.

Mary Fogarty's (2012) "Breaking expectations: Imagined affinities in mediated youth cultures" published in *Continuum* uses interviews, participant observation, and in part her own perspective of youth dancers to examine how they connect with each other across international borders through the production and consumption of media artifacts like homemade videos and other online representations. Fogarty interviewed local b-girls and b-boys who had some involvement with the video-making culture to discover how their community solidified through

shared interests and the proliferation of media. This required people to remember those specific instances that made an impact in their lives. Interviewing people who experienced this moment in time firsthand allowed Fogarty to create a reality of events, coupled with an analysis of youth culture and media culture but also relied on a format that studies people outside their usual social contexts.

Also important to realize is that many of the projects using an ethnographic approach in this field are written by academics who straddle a line between the academy and the communities they are researching. Fogarty exists in this double space, as well as Saunders (2016) who studied women hip hop fans in Brazil, and Monto et al. (2012) who studied graffiti crews in Portland, Oregon. Monto et al's ethnography, "Boys Doing Art: The Construction of Outlaw Masculinity in a Portland, Oregon, Graffiti Crew," published in the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography*, focused on observations and interviews gathered during a year-long participant observation study of a Portland crew. They also interviewed local officials and gathered data from local newspapers and the internet to analyze how graffiti writers, generally young men, reflect a particular version of masculinity in "urban areas" (p. 259). To gain access to the thoughts and opinions of the writers, "the second author had to align herself with a crew known through pre-existing connections" (p. 263). Once they had built a rapport, she was on call day and night for gatherings, parties, or just to hang out, and in these spaces the interviews were framed as conversations. This relationship-building allowed the crew writers to feel comfortable sharing their thoughts on controversial topics like gender, race, and graffiti access, as well as the secret places they "threw up" their tags. They were marked as both academics and insiders.

Many ethnographers in Cultural Studies run into this problem, both as academics responsible for critical thinking and as potential hip hop heads, or insiders in an aspect of the

culture. This is especially complicated for racialized academics who must employ a Du Boisian double consciousness or an Anzalduian “Nepantla,” which represents the in-between space of multiple and overlapping worlds (Anzaldúa, 2002). Anzaldúa (2002) theorized that “living between cultures results in ‘seeing’ double, first from the perspective of one culture, then from the perspective of another. The struggle with ethnography is finding out how to exist somehow between the subjective self and the objectified other (Anzalduian in Johnson & Joseph Salisbury, 2018, p. 151).

I also want to highlight the intellectual property shared by the young graffiti writers in the Fogarty study. The article doesn’t outline if the artists were compensated in any way for their time, efforts, and thoughts. This work undoubtedly benefited the scholars’ careers as publications are an important part of CVs and portfolios. However, the power dynamics at play are impossible to ignore. Was there a similar benefit for the writers that we can see? What happens when the intellectual property of youth is used in academic ways without any attempt to pay it forward to the collaborators who make it possible? What does it mean for research to happen in one community and then get taken, shaped, and constructed to fit another community (the academic, largely white, male environment of the institution writ large)? Research must continue to move beyond objectivity and trustworthiness toward anti-colonial practices that include developing bridges to resources for participants, if they wish to partake in them. Understanding the ways that methodological and social justice can be linked is an important shift for the field. Within this context, I want to ultimately follow Azzezat Johnson (2018) and consider “[w]hat happens when the knowledge produced about [marginalized youth] is shared to a majority white audience, reaffirming the distance between racism and our racialized experiences as happening ‘out there’ rather than ‘in here’?”(Johnson & Joseph Salisbury, 2018, p. 150)

Mainstream methodologies in the field can be criticized for reinforcing oppression while also silencing the perspectives of those being researched, while conventional modes of thinking can push young people out of the picture. This dilemma is reflected in the methodologies that appear throughout the dataset. Scholars, in their efforts to understand and communicate the behaviours of Black, Latino, and Indigenous youth, fall into the racial and gendered trappings of the neoliberal university. The ethnographic practices of the 1970s Birmingham School experienced a drop from the 1980s to the mid 2010s as a result of cutbacks in higher education. The lack of research funding in the neoliberal ‘enterprise’ culture of the modern university means that critical academia has become much more market-led and at risk of reproducing colonial relationships through the research process. Ethnography is much harder and much more expensive than textual analysis and therefore a deterrence for scholars who are straddling the demands of constant publishing and doing cutting-edge research that can distinguish them in a precarious job market. This environment absolutely informs the way research is created, as well as the tools and methodologies used to facilitate this research.

Music has become not just an art form but a resource for personhood; the line has been obscured, especially when it comes to the context of Black male youth. For example, Orlando Patterson and Ethan Fosse call this context a paradox whereby Black male youth are trapped in a seemingly intractable socioeconomic crisis, yet are also among the most vibrant creators of popular culture in North America and the world (Patterson & Fosse, 2015, p. 2). As such, they suggest that this paradox requires an exploration of the cultural life of Black youth to deepen our understanding of “their social plight as well as their extraordinary creativity” (p. 2). Although this contradiction is indeed true, the making and solidifying of an ‘extraordinary’ or a ‘phenomenon’ is not only an imaginary expectation for youth development, but it also makes

young Black people inseparable from their social contexts and social configurations in ways that do not get applied to White youth. If Black youth are imagined from narrow deficient perspectives, then the strategies and organizations designed to support them will also be narrow and limited. In understanding the opportunities and limitations of Cultural Studies and methodology, this section aimed at uncovering the implications of doing research with and about young people. Highlighting the boundaries that define the field allows us to think more critically about how we have come to know certain things about each other. When it comes to issues of Black youth identity, understanding the narratives constructed has enormous implications for the functionality of the neoliberal university specifically, which will be discussed in more detail in the final chapter.

Table 8: Full list of journals investigated in this chapter

1) Amerasia Journal
2) American Behavioral Scientist
3) Clothing and Textiles Research Journal
4) Communication and Critical/cultural Studies
5) Contexts
6) Continuum Journal of Media & cultural Studies
7) Critical Arts
8) Critical Arts South-North cultural and Media Studies
9) Critical Methodologies
10) cultural Studies
11) cultural Studies ↔ Critical Methodologies
12) Dance Chronicle
13) Deviant Behavior
14) Ethnic and Racial Studies
15) European Journal of cultural Studies
16) Fashion Practice: The Journal of Design
17) Feminist Media Studies

18) Gender, Place & culture A Journal of Feminist Geography
19) Howard Journal of Communications
20) Identities: Global Studies in culture and Power
21) International Journal of cultural Studies
22) Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, cultures
23) Journal for cultural Research
24) Journal of Black Politics, culture, and Society
25) Journal of Black Studies
26) Journal of Creative Communications
27) Journal of cultural Studies
28) Journal of Media Literacy Education
29) Journal of Popular Music Studies
30) Journal of the Musical Arts in Africa
31) Journal of youth and Adolescence
32) Journal of Youth Studies
33) Leisure Sciences: An Interdisciplinary Journal
34) Leisure/Loisir
35) Mass Communication and Society
36) Men and Masculinities
37) Music Reference Services Quarterly
38) Nordic Journal of youth Research
39) Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice
40) Popular Music & Society
41) Race & Class
42) Sex Education Sexuality, Society and Learning
43) Social Identities Journal for the Study of Race, Nation and culture
44) Social Semiotics
45) Socialism and Democracy
46) Souls A Critical Journal of Black Politics, culture, and Society
47) Text and Performance Quarterly
48) The Black Scholar: Journal of Black Studies and Research
49) The Communication Review

50) TOPIA: Canadian Journal of cultural Studies ²⁰
51) Visual Communication Quarterly
52) Women & Performance: A Journal of Feminist Theory
53) Young
54) youth & Society
Total: 54

Table 9: Full list of documents investigated in this chapter

Aidi, H. (2004). “Verily, there is only one hip-hop Umma”: Islam, cultural protest and Urban marginality. <i>Socialism and Democracy</i> , 18(2), 107-126.
Akingbe, N., & Onanuga, P. A. (2018). Leveraging poetry on the airwaves: appropriating linguistic creativity in Nigerian hip hop lyrics. <i>Journal of the Musical Arts in Africa</i> , 15(1-2), 19-40.
Alim, H. S. (2006). Re-inventing Islam with unique modern tones: Muslim hip hop artists as verbal Mujahidin. <i>Souls</i> , 8(4), 45-58.
Anyiwo, N., Watkins, D. C., & Rowley, S. J. (2022). “They can’t take away the light”: Hip-Hop culture and Black youth’s racial resistance. <i>youth & Society</i> , 54(4), 611-634.
Aprahamian, S. (2019). Hip-hop, gangs, and the criminalization of African American culture: A critical appraisal of Yes Yes Y’all. <i>Journal of Black studies</i> , 50(3), 298-315.
Baker, A. M. (2015). Constructing citizenship at the margins: the case of young graffiti writers in Melbourne. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 18(8), 997-1014.
Baker, C. M., Staiano, A. E., & Calvert, S. L. (2011). Digital expression among urban, low-income African American adolescents. <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> , 42(4), 530-547.
Baker, G. (2006, November). “La Habana que no conoces”: Cuban rap and the social construction of urban space. In <i>Ethnomusicology Forum</i> (Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 215-246). Taylor & Francis Group.
Baker, R. B. (2004). “Take me to your leader”: A critical analysis of the hip-hop summit action network. <i>Socialism and Democracy</i> , 18(2), 215-219.
Baker, S., & Cohen, B. M. (2008). From snuggling and snogging to sampling and scratching: Girls' nonparticipation in community-based music activities. <i>youth & Society</i> , 39(3), 316-339.
Baker, S., & Homan, S. (2007). Rap, recidivism and the creative self: A popular music programme for young offenders in detention. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 10(4), 459-476.
Barron, L. (2013). The sound of street corner society: UK grime music as ethnography. <i>European Journal of cultural Studies</i> , 16(5), 531-547.
Baxter, V. K., & Marina, P. (2008). cultural meaning and hip-hop fashion in the African-American male youth Subculture of New Orleans. <i>Journal of youth studies</i> , 11(2), 93-113.

²⁰ TOPIA’s first issue was published in 1997 and it is the premiere Canadian journal of cultural studies. TOPIA emphasizes Canadian concerns, perspectives and traditions. The North American focus of this project demands that Canadian publications are interrogated as well.

Beaulac, J., Bouchard, D., & Kristjansson, E. (2009). Physical activity for adolescents living in a disadvantaged neighbourhood: Views of parents and adolescents on needs, barriers, facilitators, and programming. <i>Leisure/Loisir</i> , 33(2), 537-561.
Beaulac, J., Kristjansson, E., & Calhoun, M. (2011). 'Bigger than hip-hop?' Impact of a community-based physical activity program on youth living in a disadvantaged neighborhood in Canada. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 14(8), 961-974.
Belle, C. (2014). From Jay-Z to Dead Prez: Examining representations of Black masculinity in mainstream versus underground hip-hop music. <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> , 45(4), 287-300.
Bennett, A. (2008). Towards a cultural sociology of popular music. <i>Journal of Sociology</i> , 44(4), 419-432.
Betz, E. (2014, May). Polynesian youth hip hop: Intersubjectivity and Australia's multicultural audience. In <i>Ethnomusicology Forum</i> (Vol. 23, No. 2, pp. 247-265). Routledge.
Bjurström, E. (1997). The struggle for ethnicity-Swedish youth styles and the construction of ethnic identities. <i>Young</i> , 5(3), 44-58.
Bodunrin, I. A. (2019). Hip-hop and decolonized practices of language digitization among the contemporary! Xun and Khwe indigenous youth of South Africa. <i>Critical Arts</i> , 33(4-5), 174-190.
Bonnette-Bailey, L. M., & Brown, N. E. (2019). Do the ladies run this mutha? The relationship between political rap and Black feminist attitudes. <i>New Political Science</i> , 41(1), 80-97.
Bonnette-Bailey, L. M., & Brown, N. E. (2019). Do the ladies run this mutha? The relationship between political rap and Black feminist attitudes. <i>New Political Science</i> , 41(1), 80-97.
Boutros, A. (2021). "Sounds like Haiti": Haiti as Muse in Canadian Popular Music. <i>Popular Music and Society</i> , 44(5), 504-522.
Bramwell, R. (2018). Freedom within bars: maximum security prisoners' negotiations of identity through rap. <i>Identities</i> , 25(4), 475-492.
Bramwell, R., & Butterworth, J. (2019). "I feel English as fuck": translocality and the performance of alternative identities through rap. <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> , 42(14), 2510-2527.
Brewer, D. D., & Miller, M. L. (1990). Bombing and burning: The social organization and values of hip hop graffiti writers and implications for policy. <i>Deviant behavior</i> , 11(4), 345-369.
Brewer, D. D., & Miller, M. L. (1990). Bombing and burning: The social organization and values of hip hop graffiti writers and implications for policy. <i>Deviant behavior</i> , 11(4), 345-369.
Briggs, A., & Coble, P. (1999). 'I Like My Shit Sagged': Fashion, 'Black Musics' and Subcultures. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 2(3), 337-352.
Brooks, C. M., Daschuk, M. D., Poudrier, J., & Almond, N. (2015). First Nations youth redefine resilience: Listening to artistic productions of 'Thug Life' and hip-hop. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 18(6), 706-725.
Brooks, S., & Conroy, T. (2011). Hip-hop culture in a global context: Interdisciplinary and cross-categorical investigation. <i>American behavioral scientist</i> , 55(1), 3-8.
Broughton, A. (2017). Being hippped to their hop: tapping into young minds through Hip Hop play. <i>International Journal of Early Years Education</i> , 25(3), 323-335.

Brown, A. A., & Outley, C. W. (2022). The role of leisure in the dehumanization of Black girlhood: Egypt's story. <i>Leisure Sciences</i> , 44(3), 305-322.
Buffam, B. (2011). Can't hold us back! Hip-hop and the racial motility of aboriginal bodies in urban spaces. <i>Social identities</i> , 17(3), 337-350.
Buffam, B. (2011). Can't hold us back! Hip-hop and the racial motility of aboriginal bodies in urban spaces. <i>Social identities</i> , 17(3), 337-350.
Byrne, L., O'Connell, C., & O'Sullivan, S. (2020). Rap and political participation: using rap as a creative method in research with children and young people. <i>Young</i> , 28(1), 50-68.
Calhoun, L. R. (2005). "Will the real Slim Shady please stand up?": Masking whiteness, encoding hegemonic masculinity in Eminem's Marshall Mathers LP. <i>The Howard Journal of Communications</i> , 16(4), 267-294.
Calhoun, L. R. (2005). "Will the real Slim Shady please stand up?": Masking whiteness, encoding hegemonic masculinity in Eminem's Marshall Mathers LP. <i>The Howard Journal of Communications</i> , 16(4), 267-294.
Calvente, L. B. (2017). From the Rotten Apple to the State of Empire: Neoliberalism, Hip Hop, and New York City's Crisis. <i>Souls</i> , 19(2), 126-143.
Campbell, M. (2004). 'Go White girl!': Hip hop booty dancing and the white female body. <i>Continuum</i> , 18(4), 497-508.
Campbell, M. V. (2014). The politics of making home: Opening up the work of Richard Iton in Canadian hip hop context. <i>Souls</i> , 16(3-4), 269-282.
Campos, R., & Simões, J. A. (2014). Digital participation at the margins: online circuits of rap music by Portuguese Afro-descendant youth. <i>Young</i> , 22(1), 87-106.
Chang, J. (2001). The Hip-Hop Generation Can Call For Peace©. <i>Amerasia Journal</i> , 28(1), 167-171.
Cheuk, M. K. C. (2021). The politics and aesthetics of featuring in post-2017 Chinese hip hop. <i>cultural Studies</i> , 35(1), 90-109.
Clay, A. (2003). Keepin'it real: Black youth, hip-hop culture, and Black identity. <i>American behavioral scientist</i> , 46(10), 1346-1358.
Coleman, M. N., Butler, E. O., Long, A. M., & Fisher, F. D. (2016). In and out of love with hip-hop: Saliency of sexual scripts for young adult African American women in hip-hop and Black-oriented television. <i>culture, Health & Sexuality</i> , 18(10), 1165-1179.
Cummings, M. S., & Roy, A. (2002). Manifestations of Afrocentricity in rap music. <i>Howard Journal of Communication</i> , 13(1), 59-76.
Dao, L. (2014). Refugee representations: Southeast Asian American youth, hip hop, and immigrant rights. <i>Amerasia Journal</i> , 40(2), 88-109.
Dawson, A. (2002). 'This is the Digital Underclass': Asian Dub Foundation and Hip-Hop Cosmopolitanism. <i>Social Semiotics</i> , 12(1), 27-44.
Dedman, T. (2011). Agency in UK hip-hop and grime youth Subcultures—peripherals and purists. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 14(5), 507-522.
Dimitriadis, G. (1999). Hip hop to rap: Some implications of an historically situated approach to performance. <i>Text and Performance Quarterly</i> , 19(4), 355-369.
Dimitriadis, G. (1999). Hip hop to rap: Some implications of an historically situated approach to performance. <i>Text and Performance Quarterly</i> , 19(4), 355-369.
Dixon-Román, E., & Gomez, W. (2012). Cuban youth culture and receding futures: hip hop, reggaetón and pedagogías marginal. <i>Pedagogies: An International Journal</i> , 7(4), 364-379.

Doerr, N. M., & Kumagai, Y. (2012). Singing Japan's heart and soul: A discourse on the Black enka singer Jero and race politics in Japan. <i>International Journal of cultural Studies</i> , 15(6), 599-614.
Domingo, M. (2014). Transnational language flows in digital platforms: A study of urban youth and their multimodal text making. <i>Pedagogies: An International Journal</i> , 9(1), 7-25.
Durham, A. (2015). _ While Black: Millennial race play and the post-hip-hop generation. <i>cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies</i> , 15(4), 253-259.
Dziewanski, D. (2022). From East Harlem to Cape Town: Tupac Shakur's legacy as a globalised oppositional repertoire. <i>Ethnography</i> , 23(2), 204-225.
Eccarius-Kelly, V. (2010). Nationalism, ethnic rap, and the Kurdish diaspora. <i>Peace Review</i> , 22(4), 423-431.
Edwards, E. B. (2016). "It's Irrelevant to Me!" Young Black Women Talk Back to VH1's Love and Hip Hop New York. <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> , 47(3), 273-292.
Eltantawy, N., & Isaksen, J. (2020). Mona Haydar: blending Islamic and hip-hop feminisms. <i>Feminist Media Studies</i> , 20(6), 847-862.
Engel, L. (2001). Body poetics of hip hop dance styles in Copenhagen. <i>Dance chronicle</i> , 24(3), 351-372.
Evans, J. M. (2019). "Deeper than rap": Cultivating racial identity and critical voices through hip-hop recording practices in the music classroom. <i>Journal of Media Literacy Education</i> , 11(3), 20-36.
Eze, S. U. (2020). Glocalisation of Nigerian contemporary hip hop music. <i>Journal of the Musical Arts in Africa</i> , 17(1), 1-18.
Fearing, A., Konkle, T. R., Laitsch, J., Pierce, H., Rater, C., Reece, K., ... & Varelis, T. (2018). Is Hip-Hop violent? Analyzing the relationship between live music performances and violence. <i>Journal of Black studies</i> , 49(3), 235-255.
Fenster, M. (1995). Understanding and incorporating rap: The articulation of alternative popular musical practices within dominant cultural practices and institutions. <i>Howard Journal of Communications</i> , 5(3), 223-244.
Fogarty, M. (2012). Breaking expectations: Imagined affinities in mediated youth cultures. <i>Continuum</i> , 26(3), 449-462.
Forchu, I. I. (2020). Rhythmic idioms in Igbo hip hop music: Phyno as exemplar. <i>Journal of the musical arts in Africa</i> , 17(1), 19-40.
Forman, M. (2001). It Ain't All About the Benjamins: Summit on Social Responsibility in the Hip-Hop Industry. <i>Journal of Popular Music Studies</i> , 13(1), 117-123.
Forman, M. (2014). Visualizing place, representing age in hip-hop: converging themes in Scarface's 'My Block'. <i>Continuum</i> , 28(3), 300-313.
Gadet, S. (2015). Hip-hop culture: Bridging gaps between young Caribbean citizens. <i>Caribbean Quarterly</i> , 61(1), 75-97.
Garpelin, A., Lindblad, S., & Sahlström, F. (1995). Yikings and hip-hoppers in the classroom—An explorative case study of cultural conflict in an educational setting. <i>Young</i> , 3(3), 38-53.
Garpelin, A., Lindblad, S., & Sahlström, F. (1995). Yikings and hip-hoppers in the classroom—An explorative case study of cultural conflict in an educational setting. <i>Young</i> , 3(3), 38-53.
Ghandnoosh, N. (2010). 'Cross-cultural' practices: interpreting non-African-American participation in hip-hop dance. <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> , 33(9), 1580-1599.

Gilroy, P. (1993). Between Afro-centrism and Euro centrism: youth culture and the problem of hybridity. <i>Young</i> , 1(2), 2-12.
Ginwright, S. A. (2007). Black youth activism and the role of critical social capital in Black community organizations. <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> , 51(3), 403-418.
Gitonga, P. N., & Delport, A. (2015). Exploring the use of hip hop music in participatory research studies that involve youth. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 18(8), 984-996.
Golpushnezhad, E. (2018). Untold stories of DIY/underground Iranian rap culture: the legitimization of Iranian hip-hop and the loss of radical potential. <i>cultural Sociology</i> , 12(2), 260-275.
Gonzalez, T., & Hayes, B. G. (2009). Rap music in school counseling based on Don Elligan's rap therapy. <i>Journal of Creativity in Mental Health</i> , 4(2), 161-172.
Grealy, L. (2008). Negotiating cultural authenticity in hip-hop: Mimicry, whiteness and Eminem. <i>Continuum</i> , 22(6), 851-865.
Greenfield, D. (2007). What's the deal with the white middle-aged guy teaching hip-hop? Lessons in popular culture, positionality and pedagogy. <i>Pedagogy, culture & Society</i> , 15(2), 229-243.
Gupta-Carlson, H. (2010). Planet b-girl: Community building and feminism in hip-hop. <i>New Political Science</i> , 32(4), 515-529.
Hafez, F. (2016). Political beats in the Alps: On politics in the early stages of Austrian Hip Hop music. <i>journal of Black Studies</i> , 47(7), 730-752.
Halliday, A. S., & Brown, N. E. (2018). The power of Black girl magic anthems: Nicki Minaj, Beyoncé, and "feeling myself" as political empowerment. <i>Souls</i> , 20(2), 222-238.
Halsey, M., & Pederick, B. (2010). The game of fame: Mural, graffiti, erasure. <i>City</i> , 14(1-2), 82-98.
Harakeh, Z., & Bogt, T. F. T. (2018). The effect of rap/hip-hop music on young adult smoking: An experimental study. <i>Substance use & misuse</i> , 53(11), 1819-1825.
Harkness, G. (2011). Backpackers and gangstas: Chicago's white rappers strive for authenticity. <i>American Behavioral Scientist</i> , 55(1), 57-85.
Harkness, G. (2012). True school: Situational authenticity in Chicago's hip-hop underground. <i>cultural Sociology</i> , 6(3), 283-298.
Haupt, A. (2003). Hip-hop, gender and agency in the age of Empire. <i>Agenda</i> , 17(57), 21-29.
Haupt, A. (2003). Hip-hop, gender and agency in the age of Empire. <i>Agenda</i> , 17(57), 21-29.
Hendricks, L. (1996). Getting Hip to the Hop: A Rap Bibliography/Discography. <i>Music Reference Services Quarterly</i> , 4(4), 17-57.
Hernández, D., Weinstein, H., & Muñoz-Laboy, M. (2012). youth perspectives on the intersections of violence, gender, and hip-hop. <i>youth & Society</i> , 44(4), 587-608.
Hernandez, J. (2014). Carnal teachings: raunch aesthetics as queer feminist pedagogies in Yo! Majesty's hip hop practice. <i>Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory</i> , 24(1), 88-106.
Hernandez, J. (2014). Carnal teachings: raunch aesthetics as queer feminist pedagogies in Yo! Majesty's hip hop practice. <i>Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory</i> , 24(1), 88-106.
Herson, B. (2011). A historical analysis of hip-hop's influence in Dakar from 1984-2000. <i>American behavioral scientist</i> , 55(1), 24-35.

Hill, J. (2017). A mystical cosmopolitanism: Sufi Hip Hop and the aesthetics of Islam in Dakar. <i>culture and religion</i> , 18(4), 388-408.
Hill, M. J., Hallmark, C. J., McNeese, M., Blue, N., & Ross, M. W. (2014). Hip hop for HIV awareness: using hip hop culture to promote community-level HIV prevention. <i>Sex Education</i> , 14(2), 128-143.
Hunter, M. (2011). Shake it, baby, shake it: Consumption and the new gender relation in hip-hop. <i>Sociological Perspectives</i> , 54(1), 15-36.
Hussen, T. S., & Ngabaza, S. (2018). “We don't really see a problem in music because that s**t makes you want to dance”: Reflections on possibilities and challenges of teaching gender through hip-hop. <i>Agenda</i> , 32(2), 93-98.
Ibrahim, A. (2003). Marking the unmarked: Hip-hop, the gaze and the African body in North America. <i>Critical Arts: A Journal of South-North cultural and Media Studies</i> , 17(1_2), 52-70.
Ibrahim, A. (2015). youth: Our new cultural theorists. <i>Jeunesse: Young People, Texts, cultures</i> , 7(2), 129-133.
Isoke, Z. (2013). Women, hip hop, and cultural resistance in Dubai. <i>Souls</i> , 15(4), 316-337.
Iveson, K. (2010). The wars on graffiti and the new military urbanism. <i>City</i> , 14(1-2), 115-134.
James, M. (2017). Negative politics: The conformity, struggles and radical possibilities of youth culture in outer East London. <i>European Journal of cultural Studies</i> , 20(2), 107-124.
Jenkins, T. S. (2006). Mr. Nigger: The challenges of educating Black males within American society. <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> , 37(1), 127-155.
Johnson, A. (2014). Confessions of a video vixen: My autocritography of sexuality, desire, and memory. <i>Text and performance quarterly</i> , 34(2), 182-200.
Jones, K. (1997). Are rap videos more violent? Style differences and the prevalence of sex and violence in the age of MTV. <i>Howard Journal of communications</i> , 8(4), 343-356.
Kalyan, R. (2006). Hip-hop Imaginaries: a Genealogy of the Present. <i>Journal for cultural Research</i> , 10(3), 237-257.
Kalyan, R. (2006). Hip-hop Imaginaries: a Genealogy of the Present. <i>Journal for cultural Research</i> , 10(3), 237-257.
Kelly, B. L., & Doherty, L. (2017). A historical overview of art and music-based activities in social work with groups: Nondeliberative practice and engaging young people’s strengths. <i>Social Work with Groups</i> , 40(3), 187-201.
Kelly, B. L., & Doherty, L. (2017). A historical overview of art and music-based activities in social work with groups: Nondeliberative practice and engaging young people’s strengths. <i>Social Work with Groups</i> , 40(3), 187-201.
Kim, H. (2017). ‘We’re just like everyone else!’ Rethinking the cultural politics of the London Asian urban music scene. <i>European journal of cultural Studies</i> , 20(2), 125-140.
Kim, H. J., & Sung, Y. (2020). Rappers as hip-hopers: the remaking of authenticity and construction of the future by Korean underground rappers. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 23(10), 1366-1380.
Kistler, M. E., & Lee, M. J. (2009). Does exposure to sexual hip-hop music videos influence the sexual attitudes of college students?. <i>Mass Communication and Society</i> , 13(1), 67-86.
Kitwana, B. (2004). Hip-hop studies and the new culture wars. <i>Socialism and Democracy</i> , 18(2), 73-77.

Klien, S. (2022). Accommodation and resistance in Hokkaido hip hop practitioners: An ethnographic analysis of Generation Resignation in post-growth Japan. <i>Ethnography</i> , 23(1), 83-103.
Kramer, R. (2010). Painting with permission: legal graffiti in New York City. <i>Ethnography</i> , 11(2), 235-253.
Lashua, B. D. (2006). "Just another native?" Soundscapes, chorasters, and borderlands in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. <i>cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies</i> , 6(3), 391-410.
Lashua, B. D. (2007). Making an album: Rap performance and a 'CD track listing' as performance writing in the beat of Boyle Street Music Programme. <i>Leisure Studies</i> , 26(4), 429-445.
Lashua, B. D. (2011). An atlas of musical memories: popular music, leisure and urban change in Liverpool. <i>Leisure/Loisir</i> , 35(2), 133-152.
Lashua, B. D., & Fox, K. (2007). Defining the groove: From remix to research in The Beat of Boyle Street. <i>Leisure Sciences</i> , 29(2), 143-158.
Lashua, B. D., & Kelly, J. (2008). Rhythms in the concrete: Re-imagining relationships between space, race, and mediated urban youth cultures. <i>Leisure/Loisir</i> , 32(2), 461-487.
Lashua, B., & Fox, K. (2006). Rec needs a new rhythm cuz rap is where we're livin'. <i>Leisure Sciences</i> , 28(3), 267-283.
Lasley, J. R. (1995). New writing on the wall: Exploring the middle-class graffiti writing Subculture. <i>Deviant behavior</i> , 16(2), 151-167.
Laybourn, W. M. (2018). The cost of being "real": Black authenticity, colourism, and Billboard Rap Chart rankings. <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> , 41(11), 2085-2103.
Lena, J. C. (2008). Voyeurism and resistance in rap music videos. <i>Communication and critical/cultural Studies</i> , 5(3), 264-279.
Leung, A., & Kier, C. (2008). Music preferences and civic activism of young people. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 11(4), 445-460.
Levy, I. P., Cook, A. L., & Emdin, C. (2018). Remixing the school counselor's tool kit: Hip-hop spoken word therapy and YPAR. <i>Professional School Counseling</i> , 22(1), 2156759X18800285.
Levy, I., Emdin, C., & Adjapong, E. S. (2018). Hip-hop cypher in group work. <i>Social Work with Groups</i> , 41(1-2), 103-110.
Lewis, T., & Gray, N. (2013). The Maturation of Hip-Hop's Menswear Brands: Outfitting the Urban Consumer. <i>Fashion Practice</i> , 5(2), 229-243.
Liadi, O. F. (2012). Multilingualism and hip hop consumption in Nigeria: Accounting for the local acceptance of a global phenomenon. <i>Africa Spectrum</i> , 47(1), 3-19.
Light, E. (2018). Aesthetic ruptures: viewing graffiti as the emplaced vernacular. <i>Communication and Critical/cultural Studies</i> , 15(2), 179-195.
Light, E. (2018). Aesthetic ruptures: viewing graffiti as the emplaced vernacular. <i>Communication and Critical/cultural Studies</i> , 15(2), 179-195.
Little, S. (2018). Women, ageing, and Hip Hop: discourses and imageries of ageing femininity. <i>Feminist Media Studies</i> , 18(1), 34-46.
Lombard, K. J. (2012). Social entrepreneurship in youth culture: Morgans, Russell Simmons and Emile "XY?" Jansen. <i>Journal for cultural Research</i> , 16(1), 1-20.
Lombard, K. J. (2013). Art crimes: the governance of hip hop graffiti. <i>Journal for cultural Research</i> , 17(3), 255-278.

Lombard, K. J. (2013). From subways to product labels: The commercial incorporation of hip hop graffiti. <i>Visual Communication Quarterly</i> , 20(2), 91-103.
Lombard, K. J. (2013). From subways to product labels: The commercial incorporation of hip hop graffiti. <i>Visual Communication Quarterly</i> , 20(2), 91-103.
Loots, L. (2003). Being a 'bitch': some questions on the gendered globalisation and consumption of American hip-hop urban culture in post-apartheid South Africa. <i>Agenda</i> , 17(57), 65-73.
Loureiro-Rodríguez, V. (2013). "If We Only Speak Our Language by the Fireside, It Won't Survive": The cultural and Linguistic Indigenization of Hip Hop in Galicia. <i>Popular Music and Society</i> , 36(5), 659-676.
Love, B. L. (2016). Good kids, mad cities: Kendrick Lamar and finding inner resistance in response to FergusonUSA. <i>cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies</i> , 16(3), 320-323.
Luo, M., & Ming, W. (2020). From underground to mainstream and then what? Empowerment and censorship in China's hip-hop music. <i>Critical Arts</i> , 34(6), 1-12.
Lusane, C. (1993). Rap, race and power politics. <i>The Black Scholar</i> , 23(2), 37-51.
Maira, S., & Soep, E. (2004). United States of adolescence? Reconsidering US youth culture studies. <i>Young</i> , 12(3), 245-269.
Malone, C., & Martinez Jr, G. (2010). The organic globalizer: The political development of hip-hop and the prospects for global transformation. <i>New Political Science</i> , 32(4), 531-545.
Mattar, Y. (2003). Virtual communities and hip-hop music consumers in Singapore: Interplaying global, local and Subcultural identities. <i>Leisure Studies</i> , 22(4), 283-300.
Maxwell, I. (1994). True to the music: authenticity, articulation and authorship in Sydney hip hop culture. <i>Social Semiotics</i> , 4(1-2), 117-137.
May, C. (2013). 'NOTHING POWERFUL LIKE WORDS SPOKEN' Black British 'Femcees' and the sampling of hip-hop as a theoretical trope. <i>cultural Studies</i> , 27(4), 611-649.
May, C. (2013). 'NOTHING POWERFUL LIKE WORDS SPOKEN' Black British 'Femcees' and the sampling of hip-hop as a theoretical trope. <i>cultural Studies</i> , 27(4), 611-649.
Mays, K. T. (2016). Promoting sovereignty, rapping mshkiki (medicine): a critical (Anishinaabeg) reading of rapper Tall Paul's 'prayers in a song'. <i>Social Identities</i> , 22(2), 195-209.
Mays, K. T. (2019). Decolonial Hip Hop: Indigenous Hip Hop and the disruption of settler colonialism. <i>cultural Studies</i> , 33(3), 460-479.
McArthur, S. A. (2015). Intergenerational engagement with hip hop: Parents as mediators of African American adolescent consumption of popular culture. <i>Journal of Negro Education</i> , 84(3), 491-506.
McDonnell, J. (1992). Rap music: Its role as an agent of change. <i>Popular Music & Society</i> , 16(3), 89-107.
Menon, B. (2013). The blazon call of hip hop: Lyrical storms in Kerala's musical cultures. <i>Journal of Creative Communications</i> , 8(2-3), 231-250.
Miranda, D., & Claes, M. (2004). Rap music genres and deviant behaviors in French-Canadian adolescents. <i>Journal of youth and adolescence</i> , 33(2), 113-122.
Miranda, D., & Claes, M. (2004). Rap music genres and deviant behaviors in French-Canadian adolescents. <i>Journal of youth and adolescence</i> , 33(2), 113-122.
Miszczynski, M., & Tomaszewski, P. (2014). 'Spitting Lines–Spitting Brands': A critical analysis of brand usage in Polish rap. <i>European Journal of cultural Studies</i> , 17(6), 736-752.

Mohamed Nasir, K. (2015). The September 11 generation, hip-hop and human rights. <i>Journal of Sociology</i> , 51(4), 1039-1051.
Mohamed Nasir, K. (2018). Hip-hop Islam: commodification, cooptation and confrontation in Southeast Asia. <i>Journal of religious and political practice</i> , 4(3), 374-389.
Moir, S. M. (2001). B-Boys and Bass Girls: Sex, Style, and Mobility in Indian American youth culture. <i>Souls</i> , 3(3), 65-86.
Moir, S. M. (2001). B-Boys and Bass Girls: Sex, Style, and Mobility in Indian American youth culture. <i>Souls</i> , 3(3), 65-86.
Moji, P. B. (2018). Divas and deviance: Hip-hop feminism and Black visibility in Lauren Ekué's <i>Ikône Urbaine</i> (2006). <i>Agenda</i> , 32(3), 10-20.
Moreno-Almeida, C. (2018). Reporting on selective voices of 'resistance': Secularism, class and 'Islamist' rap. <i>International Journal of Cultural Studies</i> , 21(4), 343-358.
Morgado, M. A. (2007). The semiotics of extraordinary dress: a structural analysis and interpretation of hip-hop style. <i>Clothing and Textiles Research Journal</i> , 25(2), 131-155.
Morgan, G., & Warren, A. (2011). Aboriginal youth, hip hop and the politics of identification. <i>Ethnic and Racial Studies</i> , 34(6), 925-947.
Morgan, M. (2016). 'The world is yours': the globalization of hip-hop language. <i>Social Identities</i> , 22(2), 133-149.
Mosley, D. V., Abreu, R. L., Ruderman, A., & Crowell, C. (2017). Hashtags and hip-hop: exploring the online performances of hip-hop identified youth using Instagram. <i>Feminist Media Studies</i> , 17(2), 135-152.
Mu'ad, N. (2004). Live, from Newark: The national hip hop political convention. <i>Socialism and Democracy</i> , 18(2), 221-229.
Muhammad, K. R. (2015). Don't call it a comeback: a full return to hip-hop Subculture in Chicago. <i>Continuum</i> , 29(6), 874-885.
Muhammad, K. R. (2015). Everyday people: public identities in contemporary hip-hop culture. <i>Social Identities</i> , 21(5), 425-443.
Mulder, J., Bogt, T. T., Raaijmakers, Q., & Vollebergh, W. (2007). Music taste groups and problem behavior. <i>Journal of youth and adolescence</i> , 36(3), 313-324.
Muñoz-Laboy, M., Weinstein, H., & Parker, R. (2007). The Hip-Hop club scene: Gender, grinding and sex. culture, <i>Health & Sexuality</i> , 9(6), 615-628.
Murray, D. C. (2004). Hip-hop vs. high art: Notes on race as spectacle. <i>Art Journal</i> , 63(2), 4-19.
Naison, M. (2004). From doo wop to hip hop: The bittersweet odyssey of African-Americans in the South Bronx. <i>Socialism and Democracy</i> , 18(2), 37-49.
Neal, M. A. (2004). Up From hustling: Power, plantations, and the hip-hop Mogul. <i>Socialism and Democracy</i> , 18(2), 157-182.
Neal, M. A. (2016). N* ggaz in Paris: hip-hop in exile. <i>Social Identities</i> , 22(2), 150-159.
Nielson, E. (2012). 'Here come the cops': Policing the resistance in rap music. <i>International Journal of Cultural Studies</i> , 15(4), 349-363.
Nuruddin, Y. (2004). Brothas Gonna work it out! hip hop philanthropy, Black power vision, and the future of the race: The new HNIC and the new HBCUS: Inter generational collaboration, internal reparations, and the establishment of communiversity leadership academies. <i>Socialism and Democracy</i> , 18(2), 231-304.

O'Hanlon, R. (2006). Australian hip hop: A sociolinguistic investigation. *Australian Journal of Linguistics*, 26(2), 193-209.

Ogbar, J. O. (1999). Slouching toward Bork: The culture wars and self-criticism in hip-hop music. *Journal of Black studies*, 30(2), 164-183.

Olson-McBride, L., & Page, T. F. (2012). Song to self: Promoting a therapeutic dialogue with high-risk youths through poetry and popular music. *Social Work with Groups*, 35(2), 124-137.

Olusegun-Joseph, Y. (2014). Transethnic allegory: The Yoruba world, hip hop and the rhetoric of generational difference. *Third Text*, 28(6), 517-528.

Onanuga, P. A. (2020). The 'street' construct and mass-mediated identities in Nigerian hip hop. *Journal of the Musical Arts in Africa*, 17(1), 61-80.

Onanuga, P. A. (2020). When hip-hop meets CMC: digital discourse in Nigerian hip-hop. *Continuum*, 34(4), 590-600.

Oredein, T., Evans, K., & Lewis, M. J. (2020). Violent trends in hip-hop entertainment journalism. *Journal of Black studies*, 51(3), 228-250.

Osumare, H. (2014). Becoming a "Society of the Spectacle": Ghanaian Hiplife Music and Corporate Recolonization. *Popular Music and Society*, 37(2), 187-209.

Ovalle, P. (2008). Urban sensualidad: Jennifer Lopez, Flashdance and the MTV hip-hop re-generation. *Women & Performance: a journal of feminist theory*, 18(3), 253-268.

Pardue, D. (2004, November). Putting Mano to music: The mediation of race in Brazilian rap. In *Ethnomusicology Forum* (Vol. 13, No. 2, pp. 253-286). Taylor & Francis.

Park, J. K., Michira, J. N., & Yun, S. Y. (2019). African hip hop as a rhizomic art form articulating urban youth identity and resistance with reference to Kenyan genge and Ghanaian hiplife. *Journal of the musical arts in Africa*, 16(1-2), 99-118.

Parmar, P., Nocella, A. J., & Shykeem. (2011). Poetry Behind the Walls. *Peace Review*, 23(3), 287-295.

Pawson, M., & Kelly, B. C. (2014). Consumption and community: The Subcultural contexts of disparate marijuana practices in jam band and hip-hop scenes. *Deviant behavior*, 35(5), 347-363.

Pawson, M., & Kelly, B. C. (2014). Consumption and community: The Subcultural contexts of disparate marijuana practices in jam band and hip-hop scenes. *Deviant behavior*, 35(5), 347-363.

Perry, M. D. (2008). Global Black self-fashionings: Hip hop as diasporic space. *Identities: Global Studies in culture and Power*, 15(6), 635-664.

Petchauer, E. (2011). Knowing what's up and learning what you're not supposed to: Hip-hop collegians, higher education, and the limits of critical consciousness. *Journal of Black Studies*, 42(5), 768-790.

Petchauer, E. (2011). Knowing what's up and learning what you're not supposed to: Hip-hop collegians, higher education, and the limits of critical consciousness. *Journal of Black Studies*, 42(5), 768-790.

Pope, H. L. (2014). Hyphy Rap Music, Cooptation, and Black Fanatics in Oakland, CA (1994–2010). *Souls*, 16(3-4), 242-268.

Przybylski, L. (2018). Customs and Duty: Indigenous Hip Hop and the US–Canada Border. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 33(3), 487-506.

Przybylski, L. (2018). Customs and Duty: Indigenous Hip Hop and the US–Canada Border. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 33(3), 487-506.

Reitsamer, R., & Prokop, R. (2018). Keepin' it real in Central Europe: The DIY rap music careers of male hip hop artists in Austria. <i>cultural Sociology</i> , 12(2), 193-207.
Richardson, C. (2011). "Can't Tell Me Nothing": Symbolic Violence, Education, and Kanye West. <i>Popular Music and Society</i> , 34(01), 97-112.
Richardson, E., & Pough, G. (2016). Hip-hop literacies and the globalization of Black popular culture. <i>Social Identities</i> , 22(2), 129-132.
Riley, A. (2005). The rebirth of tragedy out of the spirit of hip hop: A cultural sociology of gangsta rap music. <i>Journal of youth studies</i> , 8(3), 297-311.
Rodger, D. (2019, May). Forging traditions: continuity and change in the mid 2000s Australian Hip-Hop scene. In <i>Ethnomusicology Forum</i> (Vol. 28, No. 2, pp. 217-240). Routledge.
Rodriquez, J. (2006). Color-blind ideology and the cultural appropriation of hip-hop. <i>Journal of Contemporary Ethnography</i> , 35(6), 645-668.
Ross, J. N., & Coleman, N. M. (2011). Gold digger or video girl: The salience of an emerging hip-hop sexual script. <i>culture, health & sexuality</i> , 13(2), 157-171.
Rovito, A., & Giles, A. R. (2016). Outside looking in: Resisting colonial discourses of Aboriginality. <i>Leisure Sciences</i> , 38(1), 1-16.
Sachs, A. D., & Schönfeldt-Aultman, S. M. (2018). A dialogue on hip-hop, social justice and pedagogy. <i>Pedagogy, culture & Society</i> , 26(2), 265-281.
Sachs, A. D., & Schönfeldt-Aultman, S. M. (2018). A dialogue on hip-hop, social justice and pedagogy. <i>Pedagogy, culture & Society</i> , 26(2), 265-281.
Sajjani, D. (2014). Rapping in the Light: American Africanism and Rap Minstrelsy. <i>Souls</i> , 16(3-4), 303-329.
Santos, J. L. (2016). Hip-hop and the reconfiguration of Blackness in Sao Paulo: the influence of African American political and musical movements in the twentieth century. <i>Social identities</i> , 22(2), 160-177.
Saunders, T. (2016). Towards a transnational hip-hop feminist liberatory praxis: a view from the Americas. <i>Social Identities</i> , 22(2), 178-194.
Scott, J. (2004). Sublimating hip-hop: Rap music in white America. <i>Socialism and Democracy</i> , 18(2), 135-155.
Selfhout, M. H., Delsing, M. J., Ter Bogt, T. F., & Meeus, W. H. (2008). Heavy metal and hip-hop style preferences and externalizing problem behavior: A two-wave longitudinal study. <i>youth & Society</i> , 39(4), 435-452.
Sernhede, O. (2011). School, youth culture and territorial stigmatization in Swedish metropolitan districts. <i>Young</i> , 19(2), 159-180.
Shabazz, R. (2014). Masculinity and the mic: Confronting the uneven geography of hip-hop. <i>Gender, Place & culture</i> , 21(3), 370-386.
Shabtay, M. (2003). 'RaGap': music and identity among young Ethiopians in Israel. <i>Critical Arts: A Journal of South-North cultural and Media Studies</i> , 17(1_2), 93-105.
Shabtay, M. (2003). 'RaGap': music and identity among young Ethiopians in Israel. <i>Critical Arts: A Journal of South-North cultural and Media Studies</i> , 17(1_2), 93-105.
Shonekan, S. (2011). Sharing hip-hop cultures: the case of Nigerians and African Americans. <i>American behavioral scientist</i> , 55(1), 9-23.
Simões, J. A., & Campos, R. (2017). Digital media, Subcultural activity and youth participation: the cases of protest rap and graffiti in Portugal. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 20(1), 16-31.

Smiley, C. J. (2015). From silence to propagation: Understanding the relationship between “Stop Snitchin” and “YOLO”. <i>Deviant Behavior</i> , 36(1), 1-16.
Smith, C. H. (1997). Method in the madness: Exploring the boundaries of identity in hip-hop performativity. <i>Social identities</i> , 3(3), 345-374.
Sobral, A. (2012). ‘UNLIKELY MCS’ Hip hop and the performance of Islamic feminism. <i>European Journal of English Studies</i> , 16(3), 259-271.
Stadler, J. (2011). Oreo, Topdeck and Eminem: Hybrid identities and global media flows. <i>INTERNATIONAL journal of cultural Studies</i> , 14(2), 153-172.
Stanford, K. L. (2011). Keepin’it real in hip hop politics: A political perspective of Tupac Shakur. <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> , 42(1), 3-22.
Stokes, C. E. (2007). Representin’ in cyberspace: Sexual scripts, self-definition, and hip hop culture in Black American adolescent girls' home pages. <i>culture, health & sexuality</i> , 9(2), 169-184.
Stokes, C. E. (2007). Representin’ in cyberspace: Sexual scripts, self-definition, and hip hop culture in Black American adolescent girls' home pages. <i>culture, health & sexuality</i> , 9(2), 169-184.
Sullivan, R. E. (2003). Rap and race: It's got a nice beat, but what about the message?. <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> , 33(5), 605-622.
Thomas, D. L. (2016). Niggers and Japs: the formula behind Japanese hip-hop's racism. <i>Social Identities</i> , 22(2), 210-225.
Tivenga, D. R., & Manase, I. (2019). Language syncretism and the expression of youth identities in Zimbabwe urban grooves music. <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> , 50(5), 484-503.
Travis, R., & Bowman, S. W. (2012). Ethnic identity, self-esteem and variability in perceptions of rap music's empowering and risky influences. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 15(4), 455-478.
Travis, R., Rodwin, A. H., & Allcorn, A. (2019). Hip Hop, empowerment, and clinical practice for homeless adults with severe mental illness. <i>Social Work with Groups</i> , 42(2), 83-100.
Travis, R., Rodwin, A. H., & Allcorn, A. (2019). Hip Hop, empowerment, and clinical practice for homeless adults with severe mental illness. <i>Social Work with Groups</i> , 42(2), 83-100.
Vestel, V. (1999). Breakdance, red eyed penguins, Vikings, grunge and straight rock'n'roll: The construction of place in musical discourse in Rudenga, east side Oslo. <i>Young</i> , 7(2), 4-24.
Viesca, V. H. (2012). Native guns and stray bullets: cultural activism and Filipino American rap music in post-riot Los Angeles. <i>Amerasia Journal</i> , 38(1), 112-142.
Villanueva, G. (2022). You must learn: Sampling critical hip hop pedagogy in communication education spaces. <i>Pedagogy, culture & Society</i> , 30(4), 435-453.
Watkins, L. (2001). ‘Simunye, we are not one’: Ethnicity, difference and the hip-hoppers of Cape Town. <i>Race & Class</i> , 43(1), 29-44.
Watkins, S. C. (2001). A nation of millions: Hip hop culture and the legacy of Black nationalism. <i>The Communication Review</i> , 4(3), 373-398.
Weitzer, R., & Kubrin, C. E. (2009). Misogyny in rap music: A content analysis of prevalence and meanings. <i>Men and masculinities</i> , 12(1), 3-29.
Wells-Wilbon, R., Jackson, N. D., & Schiele, J. H. (2010). Lessons from the Maafa: Rethinking the legacy of slain hip-hop icon Tupac Amaru Shakur. <i>Journal of Black Studies</i> , 40(4), 509-526.
White, B. W. (2019). Franglais in a post-rap world: audible minorities and anxiety about mixing in Québec. <i>Ethnic and racial Studies</i> , 42(6), 957-974.

White, B. W. (2019). Franglais in a post-rap world: audible minorities and anxiety about mixing in Québec. <i>Ethnic and racial Studies</i> , 42(6), 957-974.
White, J. (2017). Controlling the flow: How urban music videos allow creative scope and permit social restriction. <i>Young</i> , 25(4), 407-425.
Williams, M. L. (2020). "Meditate, Don't Medicate!" an Analysis of Addict Rap, Black Men's Social Issues, and J. Cole's KOD Album. <i>Howard Journal of Communications</i> , 31(5), 415-428.
Wilson, E., Perez-y-Perez, M. V., & Evans, N. (2017). Editing hip-hop within youth work activities: an actor-network theory analysis. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 20(10), 1396-1410.
Wilson, E., Perez-y-Perez, M. V., & Evans, N. (2017). Editing hip-hop within youth work activities: an actor-network theory analysis. <i>Journal of Youth Studies</i> , 20(10), 1396-1410.
Wilson, M. J. (2012). 'Making space, pushing time': A Sudanese hip-hop group and their wardrobe-recording studio. <i>International Journal of cultural Studies</i> , 15(1), 47-64.
Wood, A. (2007, November). (De) constructing Yiddishland: Solomon and SoCalled's HipHopKhasene. In <i>Ethnomusicology Forum</i> (Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 243-270). Taylor & Francis Group.
Wood, A. (2009). "Original London style": London Posse and the birth of British hip hop. <i>Atlantic Studies</i> , 6(2), 175-190.
Wright, H. K. (2016). Stuart Hall's relevance for the study of African Blackness. <i>International Journal of cultural Studies</i> , 19(1), 85-99.
Wright, K. (2004). Rise up hip hop nation: From deconstructing racial politics to building positive solutions. <i>Socialism and Democracy</i> , 18(2), 9-20.
Zou, S. (2019). When nationalism meets hip-hop: Aestheticized politics of ideotainment in China. <i>Communication and critical/cultural Studies</i> , 16(3), 178-195.

Conclusion: What's it all About?

When I began working on my PhD, I had a completely different project in mind, one that focused on hip hop fashion and the constructions of masculinity in popular culture. Throughout every phase of my journey, I was exposed to extraordinary thinkers who pushed my understanding of what research could and should look like. In auditing a class with anthropologist Denielle Elliot in 2018, I was a part of eye-opening discussions about who gets to be researcher and who is left to be researched. This idea of studying and interrogating institutions changed the trajectory of my project. The power dynamics inherent in every research project I read after learning from Elliot sat differently with me.

Furthermore, discussions with my supervisor, Nombuso Dlamini, helped me understand the value in youth research and its importance in highlighting the lives and experiences of young people. We learn a lot about the structures in place when we consider how they impact young lives. Dlamini's research centres around young people, but she has also been honest about the dynamics at play in the environments she researches in (2012). In this concluding chapter of my dissertation, I discuss the contribution my research has made both theoretically and methodologically to hip hop and Black Youth Studies as well as presenting some of the limitations of my project, the possibilities for future research, and my final thoughts.

In introducing this work, I noted that in the process of understanding the relationship between hip hop and Black youth identity, I was also interrogating the nature of the researching institution. Here, I looked to Larry Grossberg's (2001) discussion of the comfortable position the academy teaches us as scholars to occupy. Grossberg discusses the familiar cycle whereby we take a theory and deploy it repeatedly without any effort to measure it against the nuances of

people's lives. This 'one more time' nature of research is what led me to the trace that comprises my project.

I have made clear that this work was written for other researchers interested in understanding the trajectory of the field of Cultural Studies as it relates to young people and hip hop culture. This project is not about individual scholars but instead about long-held assumptions that privilege specific ways of (re)producing knowledge. To accomplish this goal, I undertook a genealogical trace/systematic literature review, which dug through a portion of research focused on young people and hip hop, two areas I take seriously in my professional and personal lives. My research questions explored (1) how academic fields are made; (2) what kinds of narratives about young people are told through research; and (3) what kind of knowledge is privileged and (re)produced. In conjunction with my interests in youth culture and hip hop culture, I took seriously Youth Studies and Black Cultural Studies as key factions of Cultural Studies. My project deals specifically with research that deploys hip hop as a method, theme, framework, or ideology; the project's significance lies in the fact that it is the first effort to bring these fields together and create a holistic compilation of what the field looks like thus far. In taking an academic canon as my subject, I am attempting to analyze the dominant themes and trends to consider not only how scholars have concretized youth understandings, but also how scholars might be at risk of perpetuating relations of power that, yet once again, repeat cultural understandings instead of advancing them.

Chapter Summaries

Throughout this project, I have used the question "What is it exactly that we do as hip hop and youth scholars?" as a frame through which we can trace particular dynamics of the contemporary moment. In Chapter 1, I review two sets of literature that highlight the origins of hip hop culture

and its significance to Black youth. In an effort to contextualize the project as a hip hop study with a youth focus, I discuss the origins and development of hip hop as an Afro-diasporic American youth culture along with how it evolved into a critical youth movement with an identity and a political formation, which was then commodified and transformed into a global youth culture. Highlighting how the relationships between Black youth and hip hop have been developing since hip hop's inception is important for understanding the future of hip hop as an area of research. Chapter 1 also contains a review of how race, identity, and popular culture have been used and developed within Youth Studies research, a section of the chapter that is inherently about Black youth positionality and the politics of the academy.

In trying to think about the specific conditions that led to this scholarly environment, the second chapter takes seriously the ideas like *deconstruction* and the general concept of the *production of knowledge*. The production of knowledge was one of the theoretical starting points for this project since, through my initial reading and observing, I became extremely interested in how concepts, knowledge, artifacts, etc. transition to the naturalized order of culture. Hortense Spillers was a leading scholar for me in this regard as she also takes issue with how fields are built and sustained in the academy. Spillers's work led me to consider the importance of journals' mandates as a way to think about the kind of knowledge that gets prioritized and published. In my study, the journals that published the most articles on young people and hip hop took consumption, power, and identity the most seriously; identity emerged as one of the most used words in the entire dataset and as the central tenet of this area of Cultural Studies. It is simply assumed to be the reason to take on research about young people. Additionally, the concept of deconstruction emerged as a central theory, especially in relation to language practices. The only way we can really understand the world around us is through relation; to

comprehend identities, we also have to understand that we are always in the process of comparison and evaluation. The relationship between youth and hip hop culture is not outside of the system of relations, and this project traces the interpretive logics of discourses around young people and their cultural identities. Naturally, this is connected to thinking about academic discourses specifically.

Chapter 3 outlines my methodology in detail. Ultimately, this project is concerned with Youth Studies and Hip Hop Studies because I am interested in the ways young Black lives are constructed, theorized, engaged with, and researched. As I mentioned in Chapters 1 and 2, young people are always at the centre of my desire for knowing. The combination of using a review, a trace, and a thematic analysis was meant to confront and interrogate the narratives and trends that have been created and maintained throughout the 30+ years of research in my area of interest. My goal was to analyze what we have done so far to help future scholars figure out where to go from here. My heavy emphasis on tracing past scholarship and mapping out timelines was intended to create a large-scale idea of how knowledge develops.

John Law's (2004) notion that methods are always political was a spark for this chapter as I wanted to ensure my target population remained the academy, and not those young people who have been a part of research projects. The notion of tracing something has connections to archival work in that when one looks back and finds the roots of something, there is a desire to historicize and materialize it. Sorting out the webs of meaning that exist in the concept of knowledge itself requires first and foremost unpacking the very idea of knowable spaces. Academia is one space that relies on knowledge production and progression, and this is why it became the centre of inquiry for my project.

I present all the data from the trace in Chapter 4, which reveals the raw data and also contextualizes each document in relation to the larger dataset. The codes and parameters I set out in Chapter 2 begin to come to life in this chapter as patterns emerge. Charts and numbers paint pictures and tell stories about the literature at hand. What I was left with was a wealth of knowledge that became the foundation for further thematic analysis.

In Stage iv PT I, Chapter 5, I analyzed scholarship in the areas of cultural education or linguistics. I considered 213 documents here and found that hip hop as a pedagogical tool for young people emerged as a prevalent topic. I also found that Black youth were time and time again turned into an ethnographic phenomenon, in need of help in the form of workshops and research programs put on by scholars in the community. Critical pedagogy, culturally relevant pedagogy, or cultural literacy all served as framing concepts for this dataset. Essentially, teaching young kids of colour was most effective when hip hop was the conduit for seemingly more complicated concepts. Researchers have anchored progress and success of marginalized students to hip hop cultural education, with youth who are picked to be a part of research projects being seen as capable of understanding STEM or English primarily through hip hop.

Through a deep qualitative analysis of the 213 documents, I discovered that the overwhelming majority of the authors believed that hip hop is wholly positive in its messaging and impact. Hip hop was seen as the singular saviour for “urban students of colour,” an assertion I outlined as problematic in that it overlooks the lack of school funding, government policies, parental support, and the wider structures of racism and classism. These elements were largely missing from the studies mentioned throughout this project and indeed, from many of the works writ large. The making and solidifying of Black youth as extraordinary or a phenomenon is not only an imaginary expectation for their development, but it also makes Black young people

inseparable from their social contexts and social configurations in ways that do not get applied to White youth. If Black youth are imagined from narrow and deficient perspectives, then the strategies and organizations designed to support them will also be narrow and limited.

Finally, in Chapter 6, Findings PT II, I analyzed documents from the areas of Popular Music, Popular Culture, Communication and Media, Gender and Sexuality, Dance, and Visual Culture. I collected and analyzed 248 documents and coded them according to journal, keyword, and methodology. The findings revealed that notions of identity, masculinity, the urban, and resistance were key to the development of the scholarship. These concepts were deployed in specific ways that generally position hip hop as a conveyor of identity for primarily Black male youth living in cities across North America. Hip hop becomes a way for them to assert themselves in a society that doesn't understand them and it offers them a language to empower themselves. For scholars, hip hop's function is to provide a framework to say certain things about young people.

The identities of young Black people are anchored to popular culture in general and to hip hop in particular, especially as the genre has gained popularity and visibility in the popular cultural sphere. When Kitwana created the term 'The Hip Hop Generation' in 2002, it was attributed to Black and Puerto Rican Americans born between 1965 and 1984 who shared a specific set of values and attitudes (Kitwana, 2002, p. 4). Kitwana enlightened academics to a whole generation of young people who had never been acknowledged in their nuances and uniqueness.

At the same time, since then, as we can see in the data I have traced, scholars have taken up the importance of the hip hop generation and have anchored it to a whole population of young people time and time again, assigning hip hop as part of their identity and therefore as the way to

get through to them in research settings. As I make clear, essentializing young people will almost always result in research that falls short of its own explanatory goals. The more that scholars attempt to contain and describe a culture, the more it gets (re)invented according to how the research describes, captures, and ultimately fixes it in time and place. Hip hop has become not just an art form but a resource for personhood, and the line between these two aspects has been obscured, especially when it comes to the context of Black male youth. Using popular culture, and hip hop in particular, as a vehicle for discussing the lives of Black young people often results in the making and re-making of an ‘extraordinary’ or a ‘phenomenal’ demographic that is anchored to the culture almost exclusively.

Scholarly Contributions

Typically, this methodology is used in the sciences and nursing fields where the state of existing research is changing every day. Using a systematic literature review in Cultural Studies may not be common because it relies on an adherence to strict codes and an interpretation of those codes in a highly quantitative manner. Cultural Studies, on the other hand, tends to favour more *laissez-faire* methods that leave much more to the researcher’s own interpretation. However, through this trace, I demonstrated that there is a path to combining the rigid quantitative elements of a systematic literature review with a more qualitative descriptive analysis and that this can reveal many details about a given subject. The numbers and charts in Chapter 3 contain many patterns and trends that can be qualitatively analyzed in an interesting way.

The database created in this project can be a resource for other scholars looking to find their intellectual way into the Cultural Studies field. Understanding what has been done so far, as well as its implications, can help others figure out potential avenues for research. Additionally, my hope is that others will use my study (or a future version of it) as a pedagogical tool in

university classrooms. Instructors teaching courses about youth and hip hop might find the work useful for a number of reasons: (1) it provides a synthesis of existing knowledge; (2) it highlights key works in the field and discusses their importance; (3) it highlights key journals where scholars can publish their work; (4) it interrogates key themes that have the potential to be re-understood and re-framed by future researchers; and (5) it provides an extensive bibliography of relevant works so that others can easily find similar research to work with and rely on.

Future Projects

We are now entering the mid-point of the third decade of the 21st century, a decade that will potentially witness a massive change in the way we think about liberation, knowledge, and activism within the context of “rising fascism, white ethnonationalism, [and] transphobic and gendered violence” (Bain, 215, 2023). At the same time, as the ideas of diversity, multiculturalism, and uplifting marginalized voices become the dominant rhetoric of research on Black youth cultural production, it is a pivotal time to reflect on the space hip hop occupies in the academy and consider which direction it will go in the future. I join with scholars like Giroux (2003) who state that there is more to “be done than simply challenging the corporatization of the academy or right-wing assaults on curriculum. Now is the time to interrogate current academic practices in a way that can reveal how knowledge is constructed and built in very specific ways. When scholars explicitly state that they intend to “build upon the strengths of youth to promote positive community change,” I am concerned about the implications for exploitation. Indeed, throughout this project, I have argued that the nature of #BlackLife, as Walcott and Abdilahi call it, is one that is constantly being ‘discovered’ as traumatized, in need of resources, in need of helping, phenomenal, exceptional, special, and culturally genius.

In pointing to the exploitation of young people in youth research, the myth of the radical university has come into full view for me, especially when considering research emerging out of the Youth Studies and Cultural Studies departments. The pervasiveness of the market society has impacted universities and forced them to adopt a familiar form of reasoning that “configures all aspects of existence in economic terms” and turns everything into a conversation about value and profit (Brown, 2015, p. 17), with one of the main aims being to increase university rankings to achieve higher enrolment, funding, and reputation. To accomplish this, pressure is put on academics who are expected to maximize their own capital value and prove useful in promoting their career (and often their personal ‘brand’) by, in part, producing constant outputs (conferences, articles, citations, projects and events) (Bristow, 2012; Morrissey, 2015; Zawadzki, 2017).

Because of the trace, I have begun to think deeply about the pressures to publish, receive external grants and government funding, teach, *and* be a part of university culture. I propose that this has contributed to a shift in the kind of research that gets done. As I mentioned in my introduction to this project, scholars tend to rely on ready-made concepts as a way to reduce the time and labour going into each project, and youth become a value asset for these opportunities (Ginwright & James, 2002; Lerner et al, 2002; Delgado & Staples, 2008; Travis & Bowman, 2012). I also consider whether the cycle of more publication, more research grants, and bigger classes, combined with the limited availability of grants and funding, especially for junior academics, leads scholars to take on projects that stand out from the pile of applications, using youth and hip hop as the cultural capital needed to do so. Scholars must adapt to the challenges of employment and one way might be to propose projects that deal with hip hop in a way that

seems *cool* or *cutting-edge*; developing and offering courses on Kanye West or Jay-Z might work to gain the attention of potential students²¹.

Furthermore, I am concerned with the ways that Black youth are the subject of grant proposals for scholars looking to beef up their CV in this highly competitive and precarious environment. Echoing throughout youth research is the critical premise that youth are assets to build upon for community improvement, a concept that has been swallowed up by neoliberal university forces and weaponized to attract more funding. There is an overarching assumption that researchers and educators, both assumed to be of a different generation than their students, cannot understand these students and must resort to outside influence to reach them, the solution being more research projects, more pilot projects, and more intervention from adult experts. In reality, the roots of the problem are being sidestepped in the name of continuing research, funded by (in Canada) the same governments that have the ability to fundamentally change education, after-school programs, and funding for the arts in ways that would eliminate the need to once again propose arts-based research.

I want to align with scholars like Stern (2023) and Castro and Magana (2020) who discuss how carcerality, as an organizing logic, “operates through spaces and mechanisms of social control that are outside the physical prison (Castro & Magana, 2020, p. 816). The ways that carcerality manifests in educational spaces connects specifically to my project; surveillance cameras monitoring student activities, lock-down drills, and police as school resource officers are commonplace in North American schools, and this impacts young people of colour disproportionately. The racial disparities are glaring when we consider that more than 30% of

²¹ In 2011, Georgetown University offered a class titled “Sociology of Hip Hop: Jay-Z” and Concordia University offered a course called “Kanye vs. Ye: Genius by Design” in 2022. The development of these courses often garners a lot of media attention in youth-centric publications like Complex.com (<https://www.complex.com/music/concordia-university-will-be-the-first-to-offer-an-entire-course-on-kanye-west>).

school suspensions in the United States in 2017–2018 involved Black students, even though these students comprised only 15% of the school population (U.S. Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights, 2021). The relationship between race, culture, education, and the carceral state are questions that have yet to be fully answered in the scholarship I traced. There appears to be a gaping hole in thinking about why young Black students need research projects to intervene in their daily learning practices. Many people make wonderful careers out of studying inequities in education, yet inequities in education still exist. Throughout this trace, I aimed to highlight the role academic institutions – from universities to journal publishing houses – have played and still play in the relations of power in society. The concern with the production and legitimization of knowledge through research means that they are central to the perpetuation of truth(s) and the formation of subjectivities and identities.

Final Thoughts

It is clear by now that I focused my project on the constructions of Black youth identity. This project is of particular urgency to me, given the fact that the percentage of Black faculty at colleges and universities across the United States has been consistently low in comparison to that of White faculty (Arnold, Crawford, & Khalifa, 2016; Kelly et al, 2017; Moore et al, 2020). While academic institutions have been attempting to diversify their faculty by recruiting more women, LGBTQ+ people, and minorities, these efforts have been implemented without understanding how these populations can actually fit into the mostly White, mostly male environment that is higher education. According to the American Sociological Association and the National Center for Education Statistics, Black faculty comprise approximately 6% of all faculty in colleges and universities (2023). Eight percent of junior faculty identify as Black, but

the numbers drop as professorial ranking rises²². Furthermore, the academy tends to ignore more decolonized Afrocentric views and encourage Western epistemologies (Heleta, 2016).

As I note in Chapter 1 in accordance with Hortense Spillers, my research dictates that the responsibility to articulate Black life and contribute to Black studies should certainly not rest with Black people alone. As she notes, when Black people can comment only on their own lives, this is also a refusal to acknowledge Black people in full. In sum, despite the fact that Black faculty and varying worldviews would help us better understand the world, there is still an overwhelming power imbalance as the influence of dominant ideologies remains woven into the very fabric of the Western researching institution. Analyzing the power imbalance is the responsibility of all scholars who are committed to more equitable working conditions.

The results of my systematic literature review prove that there is a lot to be understood about the nature of academic research and the ways that we as scholars have narrativized the experiences and identities of young people, especially young Black people, in society. Grounded in deconstruction and theories of knowledge production, my project succeeded both in creating a large-scale compilation of academic knowledge and also in analyzing how we have ended up with the knowledge we have thus far. For my future intellectual work, I want to continue to think about young people as research assets. Even through progressive politics, there are damaging ways that the academy is continually marked as violent and reinforce particular kinds of relationships between researcher and researched in the context of young people in society.

²² Only 4% of full professors are Black. There has been an effort by institutions like Columbia, which has invested \$185 million USD since 2005 in an effort to diversify faculty by adding programs such as the Initiative to Support Race and Racism Scholarship, the Research Support to Accelerate STEM Cluster Hiring, the Inclusive Faculty Pathways Initiative, and the Addressing Racism Seed Grants Initiative. However, hiring and retaining Black faculty is still clearly a significant challenge.

Scholars like Denielle Elliot have provided the intellectual path for us in her quest to “study up” to institutions of privilege, power, and prestige (Elliot, 2014, p. 152). How can we attempt to combat the fact that we “trespass unevenly”? Can we do things differently? How can I personally connect with those scholars who are already doing this so I can continue this important project? At the same time, following scholars like Sara Ahmed (2017), and Azeezat Johnson and Remi Joseph-Salisbury (2018), I want to keep in mind the ways that the illusion of progress can actually impede it: “We must resist the co-optation of ourselves as academics and of our projects and political work: reflexivity is an integral component of our ability to do this” (Johnson & Joseph-Salisbury, 2018, p. 71).

Bibliography

- Ahmed, S. (2000). *Strange encounters: Embodied others in post-coloniality*. Psychology Press.
- Ainsworth, S., & Hardy, C. (2004). Critical discourse analysis and identity: Why bother?. *Critical discourse studies*, 1(2), 225-259.
- Alim, S. A. (2006). *Roc the Mic Right: The language of hip-hop culture*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Alim, H. S., Ibrahim, A., & Pennycook, A. (Eds.). (2008). *Global linguistic flows: Hip hop cultures, youth identities, and the politics of language*. Routledge.
- Ang, I. (2013). cultural studies matters (does it?): engaging inter/disciplinarity. *Inter-Asia cultural Studies*, 14(3), 432-437.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: cultural dimensions of globalization* (Vol. 1). U of Minnesota Press.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (Eds.). (2006). *The post-colonial studies reader*. Taylor & Francis.
- Aronowitz, S., & Giroux, H. A. (2003). *Education under siege: The conservative, liberal and radical debate over schooling*. Routledge.
- Asante, M. K. (2007). *An afrocentric manifesto: Toward an African renaissance*. Polity.
- Bain, B. (2023). Beyond the Capitalist, Colonial, Carceral and White Supremacist University: Radical Abolitionist Imaginings and Activism. *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies*, (aop), e20230719.
- Baker, Diawara, M., & Lindeborg, R. H. (1996). *Black British cultural studies: a reader*. University of Chicago Press.
- Bal, Mieke, and Sherry Marx-MacDonald. *Travelling concepts in the humanities: A rough guide*.

- University of Toronto Press, 2002.
- Baldwin, D. L. (2004). Black empires, white desires. *That's the Joint: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*, edited by Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal, 159-176.
- Batten. (1964). The Invention of the Teenager. *Maclean's (Toronto)*, 77(17), 12–
- Beer, D. (2014). Hip-hop as urban and regional research: encountering an insider's ethnography of city life. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 38(2), 677-685.
- Benjamin, R. (n.d.). Race to the Future? Reimagining the Default Settings of Technology & Society. AAAS Annual Meeting.
- Bannerji, H. (2013). Geography lessons: On being an insider/outsider to the Canadian nation. In *Dangerous Territories* (pp. 23-41). Routledge.
- Bannerji, H. (2000). The dark side of the nation: Essays on multiculturalism, nationalism and gender. Canadian Scholars' Press.
- Bennett, K. J., Borders, T. F., Holmes, G. M., Kozhimannil, K. B., & Ziller, E. (2019). What is rural? Challenges and implications of definitions that inadequately encompass rural people and places. *Health Affairs*, 38(12), 1985-1992.
- Bennett, A. (1999). Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste. *Sociology*, 33(3), 599-617.
- Bennett, A. (2002). Researching youth culture and popular music: a methodological critique. *The British journal of sociology*, 53(3), 451-466.
- Bennett, A. (2017). *Music, space and place: popular music and cultural identity*. Routledge.
- Bennett, K. J., Borders, T. F., Holmes, G. M., Kozhimannil, K. B., & Ziller, E. (2019). What is rural? Challenges and implications of definitions that inadequately encompass rural people and places. *Health Affairs*, 38(12), 1985-1992.

- Benoit, K. (2020). Text as data: An overview. *The SAGE handbook of research methods in political science and international relations*, 461-497.
- Bland, L (1978). *Women Inside and Outside the Relations of Production*. Women's Studies Group, Centre for Contemporary cultural Studies.
- Brah, A. (2005). *Cartographies of diaspora: Contesting identities*. Routledge.
- Brar, D. S., & Sharma, A. (2019). What is this 'Black'in Black Studies? From Black British cultural Studies to Black Critical Thought in UK Arts and Higher Education. *New Formations*, 99(99), 88-109.
- Butler, J. (1999). *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Butler, J., & Trouble, G. (1990). Feminism and the Subversion of Identity. *Gender trouble*, 3(1).
- Campbell, M. V., & Stitski, M. (2018). Archival activism: Deciphering state-sanctioned histories and reporting of Canadian hip hop. *Journal of World Popular Music*, 5(2), 229-249.
- Carrigan, Tim, Bob Connell, and John Lee. "Toward a new sociology of masculinity." *Theory and society* 14.5 (1985): 551-604.
- Castro, E. L., & Magana, S. (2020). Enhancing the carceral state: Criminal/ized history questions in college admissions. *Journal of College Student Development*, 61(6), 814-831.
- Cherfas, L., Casciano, R., & Wiggins, M. A. (2021). It's bigger than Hip-hop: Estimating the impact of a culturally responsive classroom intervention on student outcomes. *Urban Education*, 56(10), 1748-1781.
- Christianakis, M. (2011). Hybrid texts: Fifth graders, rap music, and writing. *Urban Education*, 46(5), 1131-1168.
- Collins, P. H., & Bilge, S. (2020). *Intersectionality*. John Wiley & Sons.

- Coles, J. A., & Powell, T. (2020). A BlackCrit analysis on Black urban youth and suspension disproportionality as anti-Black symbolic violence. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 23(1), 113-133.
- Connell, Robert W., and James W. Messerschmidt. "Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the concept." *Gender & society* 19.6 (2005): 829-859.
- Connell, Robert William. *Masculinities*. Polity, 2005.
- Connell, Kiernan & Matthew Hilton (2015) The working practices of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary cultural Studies, *Social History*, 40:3, 287-311.
- Crotty, M. J. (1998). The foundations of social research: Meaning and perspective in the research process. *The foundations of social research*, 1-256.
- D'Amico-Cuthbert, F. (2021). "We Don't Have Those American Problems": Anti-Black Practices in Canada's Rap Music Marketplace, 1985–2020. *Canadian Journal of History*, 56(3), 320-352.
- David Denyer and David Tranfield, 2009. "Producing a systematic review," In: David Buchanan and Alan Bryman (editors). *Sage handbook of organizational research methods*. London: Sage, pp. 671–689.
- Davis, A. (2017). "The real Toronto": Black youth experiences and the narration of the multicultural city. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 51(3), 725-748.
- Davis, A. Y. (1983). *Class and Race in the Early Women's Rights Campaign*.|| *Women, Race and Class*.
- DeMarrais, E., Castillo, L. J., & Earle, T. (1996). Ideology, materialization, and power strategies. *Current anthropology*, 37(1), 15-31.
- Denyer, D., & Tranfield, D. (2009). Producing a systematic review. In D. A. Buchanan & A.

- Bryman (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of organizational research methods* (pp. 671–689). Sage Publications Ltd.
- Diawara, Manthia. "19 Black Studies, cultural Studies, Performative Acts." *Race, identity, and representation in education* (1993): 262.
- Dimitriadis, G. (1996). Hip hop: From live performance to mediated narrative. *Popular music*, 15(2), 179-194.
- Dimitriadis, G. (2009). *Performing identity/performing culture: Hip hop as text, pedagogy, and lived practice* (Vol. 1). Peter Lang.
- Dlamini, N., Anucha, U., & Wolfe, B. (2012). Negotiated positions: Immigrant women's views and experiences of employment in Canada. *Affilia*, 27(4), 420-434.
- Drucker, P. (2012). *Post-capitalist society*. Routledge
- During, S., & Taylor and Francis EBooks - York University. (2005). *cultural Studies: A critical introduction*. London ; New York: Routledge.
- Dumas, M. J. (2016b). My brother as "problem": Neoliberal governmentality and interventions for Black young men and boys. *Educational Policy*, 30(1), 94–113.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904815616487>
- Edwards, T. (2004). *cultures of masculinity*. Routledge.
- Eisenkraft, H. (2010). Racism in the academy. *University Affairs*, 51(9), 12-19.
- Elliott, D. (2014). Truth, shame, complicity, and flirtation: an unconventional, ethnographic (non) fiction. *Anthropology and Humanism*, 39(2), 145-158.
- Emdin, C. (2011). Moving beyond the boat without a paddle: Reality pedagogy, Black youth, and urban science education. *Journal of Negro Education*, 80(3), 284-295.
- Fab 5 Freddy Love & Respect with Killer Mike - Thirteen. (n.d.).

<https://www.thirteen.org/programs/love-respect-with-killer-mike/fab-5-freddy-kberkx/>

Fenn, J., & PeruIlo, A. (2000). Language choice and hip hop in Tanzania and Malawi. *Popular Music & Society*, 24(3), 73-93.

Fikentscher, K. (1994). Rap Attack 2: African Rap to Global Hip Hop. *Ethnomusicology*. 38. 2. 349-351

Forman, M., & Neal, M. A. (2004). *That's the joint!: the hip-hop studies reader*. Routledge.

Foster, M. (2007). Urban education in North America: Section editor's introduction. *International handbook of urban education*, 765-778.

Freire, Ramos, M. B., Macedo, D. P., & Shor, I. (2018). *Pedagogy of the oppressed* (Ramos, Trans.; 50th anniversary edition.). Bloomsbury Academic.

Gabriel, F. (2013). *Deconstructing youth: youth discourses at the limits of sense*. Springer.

Gaztambide-Fernández, R. A. (2011). Musicking in the City: Reconceptualizing Urban Music Education as cultural Practice. *Action, Criticism, and Theory for MusicEducation*, 10(1), 15-46.

George, N. (1986) "Rhythm and Blues," *Billboard Magazine*.

Ginwright, S., & James, T. (2002). From assets to agents of change: Social justice, organizing, and youth development. *New directions for youth development*, 2002(96), 27-46

Gilroy, P. (2020). Between the blues and the blues dance: Some soundscapes of the Black Atlantic. In *The Auditory Culture Reader* (pp. 323-333). Routledge.

Giroux, H. A. (2003). *The abandoned generation: Democracy beyond the culture of fear*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Giroux, H. A. (2004). cultural Studies, public pedagogy, and the responsibility of

- intellectuals. *Communication and critical/cultural Studies*, 1(1), 59-79.
- Giroux, H. A. (2010). Rethinking education as the practice of freedom: Paulo Freire and the promise of critical pedagogy. *Policy Futures in Education*, 8(6), 715-721.
- Giroux, H. A. (2013). *Impure acts: The practical politics of cultural Studies*. Routledge.
- Goessling, K. (2017). Youth Learning to Be Activists: Constructing "Places of Possibility" Together. *Critical Questions in Education*, 8(4), 418-437.
- Goessling, Wright, D. E., Wager, A. C., & Dewhurst, M. (2021). *Engaging Youth in Critical Arts Pedagogies and Creative Research for Social Justice Opportunities and Challenges of Arts-Based Work and Research with Young People*. Routledge.
- Green, K. L. (2013). "The way we hear ourselves is different from the way others hear us": Exploring the literate identities of a Black radio youth collective. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 46(3), 315-326.
- Grossberg, L., Hall, S., & Du Gay, P. (1996). Questions of cultural identity. *Identity and cultural Studies: Is that all there is*, 87-107.
- Grossberg, L. (2010). cultural Studies in the future tense. In *cultural Studies in the Future Tense*. Duke University Press.
- Hall, G. S. (1904). *Adolescence: Its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education* (Vol. 2). D. Appleton.
- Hall, S. (1989). cultural identity and cinematic representation. *Framework: The Journal of Cinema and Media*, (36), 68-81.
- Hall, S. (2006). cultural studies and its theoretical legacies. In *Stuart Hall* (pp. 272-285). Routledge.
- Hall, S. (2018). Three What Is This "Black" in Black popular culture?[1992]. In *Essential*

- Essays, Volume 2 (pp. 83-94). Duke University Press.
- Hare, N. (1969). The case for separatism: 'Black perspective.' *Newsweek* 56.
- Harlig, A., Abidin, C., Boffone, T., Bowker, K., Eloi, C., Krayenbuhl, P., & Oh, C. (2021). TikTok and short-form screendance before and after Covid. *The International Journal of Screendance*, 12.
- Hayle, S., Wortley, S., & Tanner, J. (2016). Race, street life, and policing: Implications for racial profiling. *Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice*, 58(3), 322-353.
- Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*.
- Hegde, R. S. (1998). A view from elsewhere: Locating difference and the politics of representation from a transnational feminist perspective. *Communication Theory*, 8(3), 271-297.
- Henderson, M. G. (1994). "Where, by the Way, Is This Train Going?": A Case for (Re) Framing Black cultural Studies. *The Journal of the Midwest Modern Language Association*, 27(1), 42-50.
- Hennink, M., & Kaiser, B. N. (2022). Sample sizes for saturation in qualitative research: A systematic review of empirical tests. *Social science & medicine*, 292, 114523.
- Hesse-Biber, S. N., & Leavy, P. (2010). *The practice of qualitative research*. Sage.
- Hill, M. L., & Petchauer, E. (Eds.). (2013). *Schooling hip-hop: Expanding hip-hop based education across the curriculum*. Teachers College Press.
- Hodkinson, P. (2005). 'Insider research' in the study of youth cultures. *Journal of youth studies*, 8(2), 131-149.
- Hooks, B. (1992). *Yearning: Race, gender, and cultural politics*. Hypatia, 7(2).
- Hooks, B. (2004). *We real cool: Black men and masculinity*. Psychology Press.

- Hughes, L. (1926). The Negro Artist and the Racial Mountain. In *Within the Circle* (pp. 55-59). Duke University Press.
- Hughes, L. (1990). *The Ways of White Folks: Stories*. Vintage.
- Hurston, Z. N., Dee, R., & Villet, A. C. (1935). *Mules and men* (p. 33). New York: Perennial Library.
- Hurston, Z. N., Washington, M. H., & Louis jr, H. (1938). *Their eyes were watching God: a novel*. Greenwood Press.
- Ibrahim, A. E. K. M. (1999). Becoming Black: Rap and hip-hop, race, gender, identity, and the politics of ESL learning. *TESOL quarterly*, 33(3), 349-369.
- Ibrahim, A. (2004). The rhizome of Blackness: A critical ethnography of hip-hop culture, language, identity, and the politics of becoming. New York: Peter Lang
- Ibrahim, A., Steinberg, S. R., & Hutton, L. (Eds.). (2014). *Critical youth studies reader*. New York, NY: Peter Lang.
- Irizarry, J. G. (2009). Representin' Drawing From Hip-Hop and Urban youth culture to Inform Teacher Education. *Education and Urban Society*, 41(4), 489-515.
- Iton, R. (2008). *In Search of the Black Fantastic: Politics and popular culture in the Post-Civil Rights Era*. Oxford University Press.
- Jesson, J., Matheson, L., & Lacey, F. M. (2011). Doing your literature review: Traditional and systematic techniques.
- Johnson, A., Joseph-Salisbury, R., & Kamunge, B. (2018). *The fire now : anti-racist scholarship in times of explicit racial violence*. Zed Books.
- Johnson, R. (1986). What is cultural Studies anyway?. *Social text*, (16), 38-80.
- Khalifa, M. (2010). Validating social and cultural capital of hyperghettoized at-risk

- students. *Education and Urban Society*, 42(5), 620-646.
- Kitwana, B. (2005). *Why white kids love hip-hop: Wankstas, wiggers, wannabes, and the new reality of race in America*. Civitas Books.
- Kitwana, B. (2003). *The hip-hop generation: Young Blacks and the crisis in African-American culture*. Civitas Books.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American educational research journal*, 32(3), 465-491.
- Lao, M. G., Rehal, P., Luc, A., Jeethan, A., & Fan, L. T. (2017). Navigating Racialized Spaces in Academia: Critical Reflections from a Roundtable. *Commposite*, 19(3), 69-78.
- Leonard, K. D., & Spillers, H. (2007). First questions: The mission of Africana studies: An interview with Hortense Spillers. *Callaloo*, 30(4), 1054-1068.
- Leonardo, Z., & Hunter, M. (2007). Imagining the urban: The politics of race, class, and schooling. In *International handbook of urban education* (pp. 779-801). Springer, Dordrecht.
- Lerner, R. M., Brentano, C., Dowling, E. M., & Anderson, P. M. (2002). Positive youth development: Thriving as the basis of personhood and civil society. *New Directions for youth Development*, 95(Fall), 11–33.
- Lewis, G. H. (1992). Who do you love? The dimensions of musical taste.
- Lindsey, T. B. (2015). Let me blow your mind: Hip hop feminist futures in theory and praxis. *Urban Education*, 50(1), 52-77
- Locke, A. (1925). *The New Negro: An Interpretation*. 1925. *New York: Johnson Reprint*, 968.
- Love, B. L. (2015). What is hip-hop-based education doing in nice fields such as early childhood and elementary education?. *Urban Education*, 50(1), 106-131.

- Low, B. E. (2007). Hip-hop, language, and difference: The n-word as a pedagogical limit-case. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 6(2), 147-160.
- Low, B. E. (2010). The tale of the talent night rap: Hip-hop culture in schools and the challenge of interpretation. *Urban Education*, 45(2), 194-220.
- MacLure, M. (2011). Qualitative inquiry: Where are the ruins?. *Qualitative inquiry*, 17(10), 997-1005.
- MacLure, M. (2013). The wonder of data. *cultural Studies? Critical Methodologies*, 13(4), 228-232.
- Maira, S., & Soep, E. (2004). United States of adolescence? Reconsidering US youth culture studies. *Young*, 12(3), 245-269.
- Manuh, T., & Sutherland-Addy, E. (Eds.). (2014). *Africa in contemporary perspective: a textbook for undergraduate students*. Sub-Saharan Publishers.
- Marcus, G. (2015). *Mystery train: Images of America in rock'n'roll music*. Penguin.
- Marlow, C. (1984) *Break Dancing*, Sharon Publications: Cresskill, N.J,
- Marshall, W. (2005). Hearing Hip-Hop's Jamaican Accent. *American Music Review*, 34(2), 8.
- McLaren, P. (2007). The future of the past: Reflections on the present state of empire and pedagogy. In P. McLaren & J. Kincheloe, (Eds.), *Critical pedagogy. Where are we now?* (pp. 289-314). New York: Peter Lang
- McMillan, M. (2017). Saga bwoys, rude bwoys, and saggars: Rebellious Black masculinities. *Critical Arts*, 31(3), 72-89.
- McRobbie, A. (1978). Jackie: an ideology of adolescent femininity.
- McRobbie, A. (1980). Settling accounts with subcultures: a feminist critique. *Screen* 34(Spring):37-49.

- McRobbie, A. (1993). Shut up and dance: youth culture and changing modes of femininity. *Young*, 1(2), 13-31.
- Mercer, K. (2013). *Welcome to the jungle: New positions in Black cultural Studies*. Routledge.
- Miki, R. (2004). *Redress: Inside the Japanese Canadian call for justice*. Raincoast books.
- Miller, M., Hodge, D. W., Coleman, J., & Chaney, C. D. (2014). The hip in hip hop: Toward a discipline of hip hop studies. *Journal of Hip Hop Studies*, 1(1), 6-12.
- Mirza, H. S. (Ed.). (1997). *Black British feminism: A reader*. Taylor & Francis.
- Morgan, J. (2002). Sex, lies and videos. *Essence Magazine*, June edition, 120-124.
- Morgan, J. (2000). *When chickenheads come home to roost: A hip-hop femineest breaks it down*. Simon and Schuster.
- Morgan, M. (2020). *The real hiphop: Battling for knowledge, power, and respect in the LA underground*. Duke University Press.
- Morgan, M., & Bennett, D. (2011). Hip-hop & the global imprint of a black cultural form. *Daedalus*, 140(2), 176-196.
- Morrell, E., & Duncan-Andrade, J. M. (2002). Promoting academic literacy with urban youth through engaging hip-hop culture. *English journal*, 88-92.
- Muggleton, D. (2000). *Inside Subculture*. Oxford, UK: Berg Publishers.
- Neal, M. A. (1998). "It Be's That Way Sometimes' Cause I Can't Control the Rhyme": Notes From the Post-Soul Intelligentsia. *Black Renaissance*, 1(3), 8.
- Nelson, C., Treichler, P. A., & Grossberg, L. (1992). cultural Studies: An introduction. *cultural studies*, 1(5), 1-19.
- Niang, A. A. E. (2006). Bboys: hip-hop culture in Dakar, Senegal. In *Global youth?* (pp. 179-197). Routledge.

- Nilan, P., & Feixa, C. (2006). *Global youth. Hybrid identities and plural worlds*. London and New York: Routledge, 10, 9780203030523.
- Nocella, A. J., II, E., Parmar, P., & Stovall, D. (2018). *From Education to Incarceration: Dismantling the School-to-Prison Pipeline, Counterpoints*. *Peter Lang Publishing Group*.
- Ortiz, N. A., Capraro, M. M., & Capraro, R. M. (2018). Does it really matter? Exploring cultural relevance within a majority White classroom. *Journal of Negro Education*, 87(4), 404-419.
- Osborne, P., Segal, L., & Hall, S. (1997). Interview: Stuart Hall: culture and Power. *Radical Philosophy*, 86.
- Paltridge, B. (2020). Writing for academic journals in the digital era. *RELC Journal*, 51(1), 147-157.
- Pasque, P. A., Patton, L. D., Gayles, J. G., Gooden, M. A., Henfield, M. S., Milner IV, H. R., ... & Stewart, D. L. (2022). Unapologetic educational research: Addressing anti-Blackness, racism, and white supremacy. *cultural Studies↔ Critical Methodologies*, 22(1), 3-17.
- Patterson, O., & Fosse, E. (Eds.). (2015). *The cultural matrix: Understanding Black youth*. Harvard University Press.
- Patterson, O. (1987). The emerging West Atlantic system: Migration, culture, and underdevelopment in the United States and the circum-Caribbean region. *Population in an interacting world*, 227, 258-60.
- Pégram, S. (2011). Not condemned to fail: Examples of ‘rapped’ resistance and cultural uplift in French hip-hop. *Journal of Poetry Therapy*, 24(4), 239-253.
- Perry, I. (2004). *Prophets of the hood: Politics and poetics in hip hop*. Duke University Press.
- Petchauer, E. (2009). Framing and reviewing hip-hop educational research. Review of

- educational research, 79(2), 946-978.
- Petchauer, E. (2011). Knowing what's up and learning what you're not supposed to: Hip-hop collegians, higher education, and the limits of critical consciousness. *Journal of Black Studies*, 42(5), 768-790.
- Petchauer, E. (2012). Sampling memories: Using hip-hop aesthetics to learn from urban schooling experiences. *Educational Studies*, 48(2), 137-155.
- Petchauer, E. (2015). Back to the lab with hip hop education: An introduction. *Urban Education*, 50(1), 3-6.
- Petchauer, E. (2015). Starting with style: Toward a second wave of hip-hop education research and practice. *Urban Education*, 50(1), 78-105.
- Price-Dennis, D., & Souto-Manning, M. (2011). (Re) Framing diverse pre-service classrooms as spaces for culturally relevant teaching. *Journal of Negro Education*, 80(3), 223-238.
- Rawls, J. D., & Petchauer, E. (2020). "Be Current, or You Become the Old Man": Crossing the Generational Divide in Hip-Hop Education. *Urban Education*, 0042085920914358.
- Rice, C., Harrison, E., & Friedman, M. (2019). Doing justice to intersectionality in research. *cultural Studies↔ Critical Methodologies*, 19(6), 409-420.
- Rickford, J. R., Rickford, R. J., & Smitherman, G. (2000). *Spoken Soul: The Story of Black English. (No Title)*.
- Roberts, K. (2019). *Youth and Leisure*. Routledge.
- Rodríguez, L. F., & Conchas, G. Q. (2009). Preventing truancy and dropout among urban middle school youth: Understanding community-based action from the student's perspective. *Education and urban society*, 41(2), 216-247
- Rodríguez, L. F. (2009). Dialoguing, cultural capital, and student engagement: Toward a hip hop

- pedagogy in the high school and university classroom. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 42(1), 20-35.
- Rose, Tricia. *Black noise: Rap music and Black culture in contemporary America*. Wesleyan, 1994. book
- Ross, M. B. (2004). Some glances at the Black flag: Race, same-sex desire, and cultural belonging. In *The Black Studies Reader* (pp. 165-188). Routledge.
- Rowe, D. (2017). Birmingham Centre for Contemporary cultural Studies. *Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social Theory*, 1-5.
- Royster, P. M. (1991). The Rapper as Shaman for a Band of Dancers of the Spirit: "U Can't Touch This". *Black Sacred Music: A Journal of Theomusicology*, 5(1), 60-67.
- Said, E. (1978). *Orientalism: Western concepts of the Orient*. New York: Pantheon.
- Samy Alim, H. (2007). Critical hip-hop language pedagogies: Combat, consciousness, and the cultural politics of communication. *Journal of language, identity, and education*, 6(2), 161-176.
- Samy Alim, H., & Pennycook, A. (2007). Glocal linguistic flows: Hip-hop culture (s), identities, and the politics of language education. *Journal of Language, Identity, and Education*, 6(2), 89-100.
- Sawyer, S. M., Azzopardi, P. S., Wickremarathne, D., & Patton, G. C. (2018). The age of adolescence. *The Lancet Child & Adolescent Health*, 2(3), 223-228.
- Scherpf, S. (2001). Rap pedagogy: The potential for democratization. *The Review of Education/Pedagogy/cultural Studies*, 23(1), 73-110.
- Smith, M. S. (2017). 10 disciplinary silences: race, indigeneity, and gender in the social sciences. *The equity myth: Racialization and indigeneity at Canadian Universities*, 239.

- Sparkes, A. C. (2005). Narrative analysis: exploring the whats and hows of personal stories. *Qualitative research in health care*, 1(1), 191-209.
- Spencer, J. M. (1992). Sacred music of the secular city: From blues to rap. *Black sacred music*, 6.
- Spillers, H. J. (1987). Mama's baby, papa's maybe: An American grammar book. In *The Transgender Studies Reader Remix* (pp. 93-104). Routledge.
- Spillers, H. (2001). Uber Against Race. *Black Renaissance/Renaissance Noire*, 3(2), 59-59.
- Spillers, H. J. (2015). Art Talk and the Uses of History. *small axe*, 19(3), 175-185.
- Stahl, G., & Dale, P. (2012, October). Creating positive spaces of learning: DJers and MCers identity work with new literacies. In *The Educational Forum* (Vol. 76, No. 4, pp. 510-523). Taylor & Francis Group.
- Stern, W. C. (2023). Where Protection Meets Punishment: Public Education and the Carceral State in Urban America. *Journal of Urban History*, 00961442221142052.
- Stovall, D. (2006). We can relate: Hip-hop culture, critical pedagogy, and the secondary classroom. *Urban Education*, 41(6), 585-602.
- Striphas, T. (1998) Introduction the long March: cultural studies and its institutionalization, *cultural Studies*, 12:4, 453-475,S
- Tabi, E., & Gosine, K. (2018). Neoliberalism, Black masculinity, and Black male youth: The value of transdisciplinary studies to urban educators. *World Futures*, 74(7-8), 525-541.
- Tanz, J. (2007). *Other people's property: a shadow history of hip-hop in white America*. Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
- Thomas, D. A. (2004). *Modern blackness: Nationalism, globalization, and the politics of culture in Jamaica*. Duke University Press.

- Toffler, A. (2022). *Powershift: Knowledge, wealth, and power at the edge of the 21st century*. Bantam.
- Travis, R., & Bowman, S. W. (2012). Ethnic identity, self-esteem and variability in perceptions of rap music's empowering and risky influences. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 15(4), 455-478.
- Tuck, E. (2009). Suspending damage: A letter to communities. *Harvard educational review*, 79(3), 409-428.
- Turner, G. (2011). What's Become of cultural Studies?: The Construction of Policy Problems. *What's Become of cultural Studies?*, 1-200.
- Vaughn, C. (1992). Simmons' rush for profits. *Black Enterprise*, 67.
- wa Thiong'o, N. (2009). *Something torn and new: An African renaissance*. Basic Civitas Books.
- Walcott, R. (2020). Diaspora, transnationalism, and the decolonial project. *Otherwise worlds: Against settler colonialism and anti-Blackness*, 343-361.
- Wald, P. (1995). *Constituting Americans: Cultural anxiety and narrative form*. Duke University Press.
- Ward, B., & Responding, J. M. S. (1998). *Rhythm and Blues. Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 2.
- Watkins, S. C. (1998). *Representing: Hip hop culture and the production of black cinema*. University of Chicago Press.
- Webster, J., & Watson, R. T. (2002). Analyzing the past to prepare for the future: Writing a literature review. *MIS quarterly*, xiii-xxiii.
- Winship, J. (1981). Woman becomes an 'individual'-femininity and consumption in women's magazines 1954-69.

- Wortley, S., & Owusu-Bempah, A. (2011). The usual suspects: Police stop and search practices in Canada. *Policing and society*, 21(4), 395-407.
- Wright, H. K. (2001). 'What's going on?' Larry Grossberg on the status quo of cultural Studies: An interview.
- Yousman, B. (2003). Blackophilia and Blackophobia: White youth, the consumption of rap music, and white supremacy. *Communication Theory*, 13, 366-391.