ABSTRACT

Title of Document: "YOU AIN'T MESSIN' WIT MY

                                                                   DOUGIE": BLACK MASCULINITIES

                                                                   IN POST-MILLENNIAL HIP-HOP

                                                                   SONG AND DANCE

                                                                   Jason Nichols, Ph.D., 2012

Directed By: Professor Nancy Struna, American Studies

Black masculinities displayed by the hip-hop generation have received quite a bit of attention in academia for the past decade. However, the analysis often begins and ends with an examination of rap lyrics. Bodies communicate concepts like masculinities and femininities, so it is shortsighted to exclude them from an analysis of hip-hop and Black masculinities.

This dissertation attempts to complicate and nuance black masculinities post-2000 by viewing them through the lens of rap music, hip-hop dance, movements, and kinesic imagery. Historically, Black Dance has been monitored, controlled, and appropriated because of its ability to build communities and inspire subversion. Hip-Hop is an important mass medium that reifies power relations and hip-hop dance is another element that has been used to substantiate assumptions about Black masculinities.

This dissertation argues that the larger implications of hip-hop dance instruction songs are that they can be used to distract from rebellious sentiments, and legitimize patriarchy, consumerism, and violence as authentically Black and male.

Many of the case studies in this dissertation involve songs that describe dances, both in instruction and purpose. Just as linguists have argued that a Hip-Hop Nation Language exists, I argue for the existence of a Hip-Hop Kinesic Language (HHKL), in which body movements are a discourse used by hip-hoppers to communicate concepts such as masculinities.

This dissertation utilizes Laban Movement Analysis, which provides a language with which to describe the movements used by artists. The song/dances are also connected to the masculine histories and social contexts of the regions out of which they come. The song/dances I selected all received major radio and video play and were recognized in the hip-hop communities as mainstream. The three regions from which the song/dances came from were the East Coast (New York), West Coast (California), and the South (Georgia).Using LMA, the videos of the artists performing the dances and songs were analyzed.

This piece reflects larger relationships between the white supremacist state and African Americans, and means by which the latter have subverted the former's desires to dominate them. The state, in an attempt to control African American nationalism and economic and social independence, has co-opted Black art and media including dance. Hip-Hop dance and dance instruction songs have followed this trajectory, but still have the power to inspire and possibly foment resistance. Historically, African slaves in North

and South America have used song and dance to strengthen communities and disguise

insurrectionary activities. Hip-Hop dance contains the same potential

"YOU AIN'T MESSIN' WIT MY DOUGIE": BLACK

MASCULINITIES IN POST-MILLENNIAL HIP-HOP SONG AND

DANCE

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Preface

My interest in the subject of hip-hop and body movement first arose when a fan of mine forwarded me a recording of one of my live performances. As I watched, I noticed I was moving my body in certain patterns that I probably could not have recreated if I tried. The movements were often sharp and accented. I started to think more about how my own body aided me in my performance of masculinity, which was in many ways different than the performances of the masculinities I embody at work or in a place of worship.

I was excited to have found a destination for my research and to have emerged from academic limbo. However, I had a destination, but no road map for how to arrive there. There is a dearth of literature on hip-hop dance, particularly on how it relates to masculinities. Big named scholars and public intellectuals, some of whom had no prior connection to hip-hip culture, had jumped on the bandwagon and written tired, essentialist narratives about young Black men and hypermasculinity. I was in danger of being another person in that line, only less famous. There were scholars doing interesting research, such as H. Samy Alim, who did linguistic research on rap music and wrote of the existence of a Hip Hop Nation Language. Around this time rap music had fully transitioned into a period where dance instructions songs dominated urban radio.

I began to pay attention to the lyrics and think about how they paired up with the movements. I wanted to know what these artists were communicating with their bodies and decided to make that the focus of my research. I became convinced that if there is a

Hip Hop Nation Language, there must also be a Hip Hop Kinesic Language which utilizes body movements. I told my advisor Nancy Struna of my idea of looking at Hip Hop from a dance perspective. . I expressed to her that I felt limited by language, and not knowing how to describe dances. She told me that Laban Movement Analysis might give me a systematic language for describing Hip Hop dance, and put me in contact with Karen Bradley, a professor in the Dance Department at the University of Maryland, and a LMA specialist.

After meeting with Karen several times and reading more books on dance history, LMA, and dance anthropology, I began to see the world differently. There are so many more things being communicating beyond the spoken word that are context specific. Deconstruction and deciphering body language can never be an exact science, which is why it is so fortunate to have the lyrics to the songs and the music videos to set the context. I gained an immense amount of respect for Laban Movement Analysts through this process. I would watch the same videos several times, and still not pick up on many things that Professor Bradley observed in one sitting.

I am very much aware that this research needs to be continued and expanded. In the true African communal spirit, I invite other scholars to take what I have laid the groundwork for, and build upon and improve it.

Dedication

Bismillah ir Rahman ir Rahim:

Para mi Frijolita, eres mi mundo, mi sol, y mis estrellas, y sobre todo, mi motivacion para triunfar.

For my Father, whose undying and unconditional support was my fuel to continue.

For my Mother, who despite our occasional bumps in the road, never once said "It's taking too long".

And lastly in true hip-hop form, I have to dedicate this to all the teachers (I could name you, but that would be in poor taste) who, in so many words, told me I would never amount to anything…

IT'S ALL GOOD BABY-BABY!!!!!

Acknowledgements

I would like to acknowledge and thank every member of my committee. Each one of you took time to not only read my work, but to meet with me personally and offer me advice and resources. My chairperson Professor Nancy Struna somehow maintained faith in me when I was close to being another graduate student casualty. I must acknowledge Jared Ball for not only just being a friend, but showing me that this feat can be done and that this process has an end. Dr. Ball always responded to every email I sent him and commented on every draft. Professors Joseph Richardson and Williams-Forson both have provided me with insight about this work and ways in which it can be expanded in the future. Karen Bradley has helped me to begin to understand a field I have no previous knowledge or experience in, taking time out of her busy schedule to sit down with me and analyze music videos for hours. She even had me in her home when I'm sure she would have rather been resting. When I entered graduate school I had no funding and was working two jobs to make ends meet. Dr. Sharon Harley and Val Skeeter have been my employers and mentors for several years. Without the opportunity they provided me, I almost certainly would have left graduate school. I also acknowledge Sharon Anderson, who helped me by keeping me on track when I forget to look at an email or do my book orders. My good friend and editor, KarlenaWalker was always

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"You Ain't Messin' Wit My Dougie:"

Black Masculinities In Post-Millennial Hip-Hop Song and Dance

Introduction

Babysitting my two teenage nieces was always a learning experience. Of course, I picked up on some of the elements that comprise a good parent, but more than that it was a tutorial in popular culture. Though I still consider myself somewhat knowledgeable about what is "hot," it is impossible for a man in his early thirties to keep as current as a high school-aged girl. I often tried to sound cool, but without fail I would always have to ask, "Who is that?" "What song does she sing?" or "What movie was he in?"

One evening, dancing, listening to music, and dishing celebrity gossip, I came armed with specific questions. There was a song on the radio by a new artist named Soulja Boy Tell 'Em, whose hit "Crank That" dominated the airwaves. He started the song off by stating that he "got this new dance for y'all." During the song he bragged about his material possessions and his propensity for violence. I became interested in the movements that accompanied his claims, since I had never seen the dance. I asked my nieces to teach me the movements, and we began following the routine on YouTube.

First, I noticed how explicit the original version of the song was in comparison to the edited version. Then I reflected on how hip-hop had changed. When I first became a fan, dancing was all but mandatory. Not only could Big Daddy Kane rap circles around the competition, but he could also wax them on the dance floor. However, around the time that I truly came of age in the culture, dancing was no longer considered masculine behavior.   Rappers simply posed and grimaced menacingly at the camera or from the stage. As I developed as an artist, I followed this model.

However, as hip-hop has expanded to different regions of the country, rap artists have chosen to express their masculinity through physicality and kinesic imagery. I eventually watched YouTube footage from my performances and saw that I consistently made movements that coincided with particular lyrical content. From then on, I realized that bodies indeed matter, and that movement is a language that compliments the spoken word.

This dissertation endeavors to complicate Black masculinities, by using hip-hop dance, movement, and kinesics imagery, as well as the rap lyrics that compliment them, as a lens through which to examine its recent evolution.[1] Black masculinities have been a

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[1] By using the term Black, in this context, I am referring to African Americans, though I acknowledge that Continental Africans and Afro-Latinos are no less Black. I also capitalize 'Black' when referring to Black people, as a symbolic political statement. Lower case words are de-emphasized and less powerful than uppercase words. By capitalizing 'Black,' I am attempting to make the word prominent and restore power to it. Also, I am willfully breaking established Eurocentric grammatical rules by doing so, which is a small but important act of resistance against a white supremacist system that disempowers

subject of interest and scholarly inquiry since the mid-1990s.[2] It has also become fashionable to incorporate hip-hop into one's work as well. Scholars have looked at hip-hop and its gender implications, with varying degrees of success. Often the published work begins and ends with an analysis of rap lyrics. Dance, in hip-hop studies and other disciplines, "has occupied a marginal role in academic thought" (Thomas, 1995, p. xiii). This approach limits the discipline of hip-hop studies and gender for several reasons. First, it conflates hip-hop (sub)culture with rap music. Second, it discounts other modes of expression and non-verbal communication, such as kinesic images, that reflect masculine and racialized ideals. Lyrics and dance often work in tandem to convey and support a masculine ideal. The body is a political entity, a site where power is manifested (Jackson, 2006, p.2). For this reason, I have elected to look at hip-hop dance and lyrics as means of expressing masculinities,, as they often introduce and explicate the rationale behind a particular movement.

The essence of this dissertation is an analysis of how body movement conceptually expresses gender and race, and how those expressions are contained,

Black people in our political, social, and cultural worlds. Written and spoken words are how we understand, frame and shape those worlds, so the spelling of Black is significant.

[2] I define a masculinity as a socially constructed aggregate of qualities that make someone (regardless of sex) a 'man' or man-like (Halberstam, 1998, p.1). I used to the word 'man' rather than 'male' to illustrate the female masculinities exist (Halberstam, 1998, p.1). Halberstam also speaks about multiple female masculinities and gives evidence of their existence. -

controlled, and contextualized for mass consumption. The body is political, and the key component of politics is power. David Held (1989) states that anything political is "about power, that is to say, it is about the capacity of social agents, agencies and institutions to transform their environment" (p. 1). Dance is a medium through which gender and race are conveyed and understood. Dance can thus support patriarchy, white supremacy, and capitalism, or it can assist in liberation. I discuss the regional and historical context out of which each dance was born. However, ever present is the existence of state power and its modes of control, i.e. patriarchy, white supremacy, classism, and capitalism. The state is a "legally circumscribed structure of power with supreme jurisdiction over a territory" (Held, 1989, p. 11). I believe in linguistic relativity, "that the particular language we speak influences the way we think about reality" (Lucy, 1997, p. 291). The same can be said of body language working in concert with spoken word. For this reason, I introduce a language of hip-hop dance.

Hip-Hop dance and movement is a language that I call Hip-Hop Kinesic Language (HHKL) and is my primary theoretical contribution to the canon. Just as any language expresses concepts such as masculinity, HHKL is no different. HHKL is comprised of a pattern of movements that convey meaning. It is ever evolving (much like spoken language) and may differ based upon the background of the dancer. It is closely tied to the Black Dance and movement tradition but not analogous. The major difference is that not all Black Dance is hip-hop dance.

Scholars in the past have often focused on dance as a means of catharsis, but have stopped short of discussing what emotions particular dances are meant to convey (Spencer, 1985, p.2). Hip-hop dances and movements are not solely emotive. According to Giurchescu and Torp, "dance has been considered a nonverbal means of expression (a symbol), in the process of communication within a well-defined sociocultural setting" (Guirchescu and Torp, 1991, p.4). They remind us that "dance never functions in isolation, but in the makeup of a message" (Giurchescu and Torp, 1991, p.5). Thus, recent trends in the field of dance study have adopted the "basic principles of linguistic analysis" and have "led to the symbiosis of the choreological perspective to the anthropological one" (Giurchescu and Torp, 1991, p.5). I find it ironic that hip-hop and masculinity scholarship both have steered clear of dance when "our bodies provide an emotional mapping of who we are and how we have been shaped by the dominant society" (Shapiro, 1998, p.12). This dissertation exposes meanings and context in hip-hop movement and kinesic imagery while integrating choreology by applying Laban's Movement Analysis (LMA) to commercial hip-hop.[3] Laban's theory makes connections between dances and what they intend to express, by providing verbiage for the movements and spacing. I must also make clear that this dissertation seeks to complicate masculinities, not find universal rules. HHKL is not a meant to be an equation that can explain or simplify all hip-hop dance moves.

[3] I am defining commercial hip-hop as widely distributed hip-hop released on major labels, with one notable exception of Lil B. Lil B has garnered the same volume of attention as a major label artists, particularly on the web, and is distributed by "major indie" label, Amalgam Digital.

Though this document includes a short history of hip-hop dance and its early influences, it will not attempt to create a comprehensive timeline or continuum of Black masculinity as expressed through hip-hop dance.[4] The focus of this research is primarily post –millennial. I do recognize that Black men expressing masculinity through dance can be traced back to African cultures in which men dance in preparation for war and other gender specific activities (Hanna, 1988, p.vx). African American song/dance combos or dance instruction songs have existed in popular culture since the minstrel era which began in the antebellum period (Ukpokodu, 2000, p.73). After the Civil War, African American performers formed their own minstrel companies (Ukpokodu, 2000, p.73). According to Paul Gilroy in his important cultural studies book, *The Black Atlantic*, African American performers have continued the minstrel tradition well into the second half of the 20th century, even referring to rock legend Jimi Hendrix's on-stage antics as incarnations of minstrel performance (Gilroy, 1993, p.93).

As Hanna states in her seminal work, *To Dance is Human,* "Dance is cultural behavior: a people's values, attitudes and beliefs partially determine the conceptualization of dance as well as its physical production, style, structure, content and

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[4] Just as I am not looking to find or create universal, unchanging rules, t no narrative for the foundation of styles, dances, or music is finite. There can be several stories or histories behind much of what is discussed in this dissertation. The birth or birthplaces of hip-hop and rap music have been debated from the beginning and these discussions have led to several adjustments in the narrative. As one of the earlier academics to write on subjects such as snap dancing, I suspect that the historical narrative may very well change.

performance" (Hanna, 1988, p.3) Undoubtedly, if one understands that "hip-hop culture is one key social medium in which many young men and women of colour construct their gender," (Munoz-Laboy, Weinstein, and Parker, 2007, p.617) research on hip-hop and masculinity is extremely important to the future canon of masculinity studies and masculinized discourse. Thus masculinities are both constructed for people and involve self-construction. Examining masculinity in a theoretical vacuum is far less useful than looking at the masculinization of material discursive practices (Hearn, 1998, p.214). I have chosen to complicate masculinities rather than propose to come up with finite answers because masculinities are ever-evolving, and Black masculinities are both a result of Black male agency and reclamation, as well a product of Black male subjugation by commodity capitalism and white supremacy. Black masculinities in hip-hop have been full of interesting contradictions. In its attempts to counter the minstrel image, hip-hop has often just updated the very image that it loathes.

This dissertation includes case studies of three hip-hop dances/songs/performers. These case studies involve diagnoses of the lyrics and the accompanying movements based on LMA. There is some brief discussion on the creators of these movements and their initial masculine intentions, versus the "copycats" and what the copycats intend with the movements (if anything at all).[5]

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[5] There are some limitations and assumptions that this study makes that cannot be proven. Firstly, the study assumes that the artists who perform the songs are the conceptual creators and authors of the music and the dance. Hip-hop artists have a long tradition of using ghost writers, and those writers

Research Questions

The following research questions are answered in subsequent chapters of this dissertation. The combination of body, dance, and lyrics serve to complicate masculinities. I avoid the claim of defining masculinities because of the ever-evolving nature of masculinities.

How do the elements of LMA (body, effort, space, and body part usage) combine with lyrics to form HHKL and to express masculinities?

Are there consistencies or inconsistencies in the elements of LMA in hip-hop dances? Can a true language of hip-hop dance and masculinity expression be built using LMA?

Are both masculinities and the movements used to convey them localized or regional, and what are the significant local/regional patterns and differences, if any?

Is the performer essential to the masculine expression or is this expression static within the performance? When a Black man performs a dance, are the masculinities of the originator replicated, or does it depend up the dancer and his environment?

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often receive a nominal fee in lieu of a writing credit. The ghost writers are often paid not to disclose their identities. Jay-Z stated that he receives a significant financial incentive not to tell who he pens music for (Arnott, 2008).

What do bodies, lyricism, and movement contribute to the performance of

    masculinities?

What do movement and dance "add" to our understanding of masculinities?

Can hip-hop dance instruction songs show the existence of multiple masculinities?

What is the relationship between Black dance and US state power, capitalism, and

    empire, both historically and contemporarily?

Methodology

       There are three methods for this dissertation: the utilization of Laban

Movement Analysis, a dissection of lyrical content, and in-depth textual reading of

relevant scholarship and primary source materials. There are three in-depth case studies

in this dissertation. However, in these case studies, I stop short of linking Alim's

language propositions to particular movements. Spoken language and dance are not

analogous, so this linkage is not possible.

      According to Judith Hanna, there are several ways in which spoken and written

language are distinct from dance. The first is that while spoken language depends upon

the "vocal/auditory channel", dance relies upon the "motor/visual-kinesthetic-auditory-

olfactory-proxemic-tactile channels" (Hanna, 1977, p. 114). Also, dance involves "three

dimensions in space, whereas language does not (Hanna, 1977, p 114). These case
studies uses Laban Movement Analysis to find commonality between dances. This
document is not the first to attempt to dissect dance as a language. Matteo published a
dictionary and reference manual on *The Language of Spanish Dance* in 2003, and there
were others before him. However, in developing a language of hip-hop dance, I am
primarily focused on locating expressions of masculinities. Thus, this dissertation is not
as comprehensive as Matteo's work. This dissertation follows Royce's anthropological
research model, in that the hip-hop movement analysis will consist of "observation,
description, and analysis" (Royce, 1977, p.36) of particular movements, in parallel with
lyrical analysis.

The three case studies incorporate dance/songs from one of three regions of the
United States. : the East Coast, the South, and the West Coast. LMA provides a
vocabulary for the movements to go with the analysis of the lyrics. I examine if there
exist regional consistencies in the masculinities that are expressed through hip-hop song
dance combinations.

This dissertation utilizes the three primary elements of LMA: Body, Space, and
Effort. Body explains which body parts are moving (Bradley, 2009, p.94). Effort deals
with "communication, listening, adapting, attuning, and expressing clearly" (Bradley,
2009, p.127). Effort captures how the body is moving. Effort includes sub-categories
such as flow and weight. There are two basic types of flow: bound and free. Free flow
describes the "continual flow of movement." Bound flow refers to movements which the

mover is "capable of stopping at any moment" (Bradley, 2009, p.102). Effort can also be

direct or indirect, strong or light, sustained or quick. Space encompasses where the body

is moving. Under the category of space, there is the kinesphere and the dynamosphere.

The simplest way to explain the difference is the kinesphere is the space surrounding

someone, while the dynamosphere is how the space is being used. Denney, Lovell, and

Mitchell explain the kinesphere as the "combination of body and space" (Jean Denney).

They state that when one moves, one's "kinesphere goes with them" (Jean Denney).

Since I am observing music videos, it must be acknowledged that the camera

itself (and the person working behind it) frames kinesthetic space for the viewer. The

dynamosphere however, bring together "effort and shape" and is based upon a "mover's

intuition, intention, expression, and persuasion and is bound by the empirical limits of

smell, taste, touch or hearing" (Jean Denney).

I chose to examine songs/artists/videos based upon several criteria. All of the

artists/songs, with the exception of Lil B's music, charted within the top 100 on *Billboard*

Hot 100. Though Lil B has no major hits to date, he has become a media sensation,

garnering coverage by the *New York Times*, the *Huffington Post*, and *MTV News*.[6] The

reason I elected to examine popular music is because of the potential power of widely

circulated media to reach large masses of people and to reify ideas about race, gender,

and class. I did not include a section on the Midwest, because despite the emergence of

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[6] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lil_B

artists such as Twista, Kanye West, and Lupe Fiasco, they have little to no representation as far as dance instruction songs in commercial hip-hop.

The lyrics of these songs are dissected for their masculine and capitalist attributes, as well as their descriptions of the meanings behind the dances. I perform a textual analysis using relevant scholarship on masculinities, all the while putting the lyrics in their regional and historical context. Generally, I will be dissecting the lyrics of the song whose video I am addressing, At times, I will include small references to other lyrics by that particular artist where those lyrics illustrates a pattern of masculine performance.

The methodology I will be employing in addition to LMA, will follow Gyorgy Martin's concept of the stages of dance analysis, which includes "analysis of content and function, analysis of the music, independently and in relation to the dance, and analysis of the dance form" (Giurchescu and Torp, 1991, p.4). LMA can work in combination with Martin's analysis. LMA fulfills the first stage which is an analysis of the content of the dance. My masculinities analysis will discuss the function of the movement and the content of the music.

HHKL is rooted in African American Dance traditions which can also be structured into a nonverbal communication system or language. Though some historical context for HHKL is necessary and will be done in Chapter 2, a thorough investigation is outside the scope of this research. However, I briefly reference studies done on other cultures and their masculine dance rituals. For example, in northern Kenya, the Samburu sing and dance in order to celebrate the passing in to manhood symbolized by a

circumcision (Spenser, 1985, p.141).   The use of Laban Movement Analysis is

critical in this project. The Laban/ Bartenieff Institute of Movement Studies website

states that Laban Movement Analysis "provides a vocabulary and analytic framework for

the description of human movement." However, LMA stops short of interpreting

movements for social or anthropological implications. According to Hamburg, "LMA is

based on a system of basic movement principles and exercises (Labanists prefer the term

"fundamentals") that ring true, no matter what movements we analyze - specialized dance

or sport skills, everyday work actions, or conversational gestures". Laban Movement

Analysis (LMA) also "provides an endlessly useful structure for planning, teaching, and

assessing dance experiences"(Davis, 1995).[7] When LMA is put into practice, it is about

the development of a "movement vocabulary" (Bradley, 2009). However, LMA "is not a

systematic way of interpreting movement as signs or symbols of particular meaning"

(Bradley, 2009).[8] HHKL is an attempt to take that bold theoretical leap. Through HHKL,

I am attempting to decipher what the original performers of the song/dance are

attempting to convey through their movements.[9]

    Movement is almost always performance and does not always mean the same

thing in every context. Meaning depends upon personal and cultural aspects, as well as

"contextual clues" (Bradley, 2009, p.89). Thus, this dissertation will focus on the

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[7] See Davis, Jacqueline, (1995)

[8] See Bradley, Karen Kohn (2009) *Rudolf Laban*. New York: Routledge

[9] The 'original performer' is to be understood as the person to who the song is credited to.

original performer's intentions by dissecting lyrics in connection with the movements. Also, I acknowledge that audiences often revise these movements to fit their own aesthetic tastes and experiences.

Primary source material for this dissertation includes music videos and songs. These provide visual representations of the movements and lyrical content that will be analyzed. The selection of the song/dances is based on region, popularity, and time of release. I evaluate songs from three different regions, including the South, the East Coast, and the West Coast.[10] The songs have been commercially released and have a widely circulated music video. All of the songs have been released post-millennium. I also use some popular magazines that describe the dances and movements being performed.

Since popular culture media are utilized, there is a discussion of how the bodies in this dissertation are scripted. According to Ronald L. Jackson II (2006), being scripted means that the body is "socially understood and treated as a discursive text that is read by interactants" (p.2). Jackson further states that it is not that the body passively accepts these negative inscriptions, but even in its strongest resistance to them, if this image-

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[10] I acknowledge that other regions are producing dance instructions songs. For example, Chicago (the Midwest) has "Jookin", Washington, D.C. (Mid-Atlantic) has Go-Go dance instruction songs as well. However, these genres are not hip-hop. In addition, they are not attached mainstream or commercial songs, so they are outside of the scope of this project. The regions this study focuses on have produced the most popular mainstream hip-hop dance instruction songs.

making is institutionally sanctioned and fortified via electronically and digitally

reproduced omnipresent stereotypes that are consumed en mass, it becomes virtually

impossible to interrupt the cycle of despair" (Jackson, 2006, p.7). He asserts that it

would require reframing and overhauling the systems of domination that have subjugated

colonized people and made them see the world and themselves through the lens of white

supremacy before one can begin to have a serious discussion about agency on a large

scale. Jackson's research is attached to the larger implications of this dissertation, in that

what is seen in these videos and heard in these song affects "everyday looking relations"

and the way Black male bodies are scripted in social, public, and private spaces (Jackson,

2006, p.2).

      In this HHKL, there must be room for variables in meaning. As Bradley

states, "every little movement does not have a meaning of its own, but every little

movement means something to the mover, and therefore resonates (or does not resonate)

for the audience" (Bradley, 2009, p.89). It must be acknowledged that "interpretation is

often tricky because as observers, people impose personal and cultural perspectives and

beliefs onto the observation" (Bradley, 2009, p.89). With HHKL, the analysis of lyrics

helps to explicate the performers' intentions for certain movement. But at times universal

commonalities between similar movements performed by different artists will be difficult

to establish. However, I show that bodies matter in the expression and performance of

masculinities by establishing a correlation between the rap lyrics and the bodily

movements of hip-hop dances.

Theory/Framing

I utilize Bourdieu's concept of habitus to frame some movements and the context in which they are performed. Bourdieu states that habitus is produced by "structures constitutive of a particular type of environment" (Bourdieu, 2004, p.107) and is a foundation for a "series of moves that are objectively organized as strategies without being the product of a genuine strategic intention" (Bourdieu, 2004, p.108). In other words, movements we believe to be "unconscious", spontaneous, or improvisational are nothing more than a lack of awareness of context and history (Bourdieu, 2004, p.114). According to Osumare, "habitus is the accumulation of cultural and individual learned patterns that are unconsciously enacted" (Osumare, 2002, p.38). The patterns are expressed through movement and can be related to masculinity. At the same time, habitus is affected by the field, which Bourdieu explains are "the various social domains in which the individual has to interact" (Osumare, 2002, p.38). Osumare stated that the "most important of the social domains is the market place."

I would argue that the social domain in hip-hop is the virtual location of the proverbial "hood." The hood is both a virtual and material location filled with custom vehicles, money, sex, and gang violence.[11] Hence, the hood is a field that has bred the

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[11] Though flashy displays of wealth are made in visual representations of the 'hood', ironically, these displays are juxtaposed with impoverished back drops This contrast could be interpreted as the artist trying to convey that he (or in some cases, she) can succeed despite enduring the harshest of

"money dance," the "motorcycle dance," and the "Crip walk." I acknowledge that habitus is not a perfect theoretical fit for my project. Though hip-hop dance is filled with mimicry of everyday movements, rappers perform them consciously. However, I would argue that many masculinities are performed consciously.

Bourdieu has revised his view of habitus, now conveying that gender is "the primary symbolic determinant of habitus" (Lissel, 2006, p. 26).[12] In other words, gender is the driving force behind these unconsciously enacted, environmentally driven movements. Initially, he focused on class as "the defining material factor of the habitus" (Lissel, 2005, p. 26). Both of these factors play a role in this investigation. Masculinities are expressions of gender. Most of the rappers whose songs I refer to use class, capital, and gender as major themes in their music. I am theoretically operating under the premise that "social structures … organize how social practices are performed" (Lissel, 2005, p.26).

Many of the songs that I examine mention wealth, particularly in the context of the 'hood.' The hood, in reality reflects the spatial limitations of internal colonization, which is a result of decades of residential segregation along with economic and political inequity (Hind 1984, p. 584). However, images that show wealth in the hood deny the

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circumstances. I also call the hood a virtual location because the hood is now on websites and other media.

[12] Lissel, Susan Lindsay (2006) The Body Habitus: Teenage Girls' Experience of Hip-Hop Dance.
  (Doctoral Dissertation) Available from Dissertations and Thesis database.
  MR07994

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existence of capitalist exploitation and the limited opportunity for advancement that accompany being held in an internal colony. Just as Soweto was/is a colony of South Africa, so too are Inglewood, Bankhead, and Harlem in a U.S. context. According to Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), "black people in this country form a colony and it is not in the interest of the colonial power to liberate them" (p. 5). The aforementioned communities are examples of residential racial segregation, which leads to poor education and poor health. This phenomenon is essentially a result of institutional racism, which to Carmichael and Hamilton is simply colonialism by another name (Carmichael et al., 1967, p. 5). Thus, hip-hop song and dance are often used as a mass-mediated smoke screen for imperialism.[13] Those who desire that the images of masculinity in hip-hop change must encourage young Black men to be self-reflexive and recognize themselves as both an oppressed group and one guilty of the domination of women. Class (or the illusion of wealth) and gender are two of the elements of habitus that keeps young Black men identifying with hegemonic masculinity and hypermasculinities (Lissel, 2005, p.32).

This dissertation does not challenge but expands the catharsis theory of dance. Langer points out that in other artistic realms, the artist is said to be detached from the emotion he or she is conveying and that dance can at times be no different (Spencer, 1985, p.7). I agree that the creator may or may not have been feeling the particular emotion, but the performer is often times creating "an illusion of emotions"

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[13] See Ball "Hip-Hop As Mass Media: Cultural Imperialism, Commodity, and the Politics of Economy and Image"

(Spencer, 1985, p.7). Dance can even result in the inverse of catharsis, by conjuring up the emotions within the performer rather than serving as a release (Spencer, 1985, p.4). I am only saying that there usually exists another meaning for which the original performer is attempting to convey.

This document also utilizes Jan Assman's concept of cultural memory to explain how certain movements and social formations have found their way into more contemporary hip-hop dance. According to Assman, there are fixed points or "fateful events of the past, whose memory is maintained through cultural formation (texts, rites, monuments) and institutional communication (recitation, practice, observance)" (Assman, 1995, p. 129). Assman further asserts that "cultural memory works by reconstructing, that is, it always relates its knowledge to an actual contemporary situation" (Assman, 1995, p. 130). I will introduce historical facts and circumstances that are in many ways unique to the particular region I am addressing, so that one can reasonably view them as cultural predecessors to the hip-hop dances discussed in this document.

According to Patricia Hill Collins in her seminal work *Black Feminist Thought*, "every social group has a constantly evolving worldview that it uses to order and evaluate its own experiences"[14] My argument is that movement and kinesic imagery are a means of expressing an individual worldview. Collins states that historically

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[14] Collins, Patricia Hill (2009) Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment. New York: Routledge.

oppressed groups in particular have their own critical social theory or social thought

which "can take the form of music, poetry and essays" (Collins, 2009, p.11). These social

theories "aim to find ways to escape from, survive, and/or oppose prevailing social and

economic injustice." bell hooks claims that the worldview of many Black men has

evolved from integrity and work ethic being paramount to money and possessions being

the most significant indicator of success and by extension, a man's worth.[15] Collins

theorizes that Blacks developed their own social theories because they were segregated

and spent most of their time in all-Black institutions. Thus, as legal mandates for

segregation fell, Black social thought evolved to include more of the capitalist

worldview. Exploitive elements of capitalism are present in many of the song/dance

combinations I will explore.

Collin's work also discusses intersectional oppression, and much like the work of

Frank Rudy Cooper, I use an intersectional framework when discussing how Black

heterosexual men are subordinated by hegemonic masculinity. According to Cooper, "an

intersectional analysis of representations of Black men finds that the predominant images

depict us as either completely threatening Bad Black Man or the fully assimilationist

Good Black Man" (Cooper, 2006, p. 857). With this framework, I look for multiple

masculinities and ultimately for moments of transgression. When I do an intersectional

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[15] Hooks (2004), p.18 I find hooks' assessment of Black men of the hip-hop generation to be

limited and essentialist. Also, in praising the Civil Rights generation and juxtaposing it with hip-hop, she

fails to do the critique of sexism, capitalism, and imperialism of the other generation that made her famous.

analysis of Black masculinities, I am attempting to move past the idea of double and single oppression. I consider this model of oppression dated and does not take into account the complexities of gender and gender oppression, and often excludes the element of class. When discussing double oppression, one is taking emphasis off of the point of intersection. The men of Inglewood and Bankhead would be doubly oppressed by definition, since those communities are largely underdeveloped.

In addition, this dissertation looks at how black men are not only scripted, but 'othered'. In a sense, it also takes into account Black men's group knowledge and individual standpoints. What we are getting in part in these men's lyrics is their reaction to exclusion from some of the patriarchal benefits that are reserved for wealthy heterosexual, white men.[16] The result is a verbal expression of their standpoint on race, gender, and class.

Lastly, I theorize masculinities as performative, so one man can embody several masculinities (Gutman, 1997, p. 386). Despite the existence of several masculinities, they are still put into a hierarchy, all trailing hegemonic masculinity (Dalley-Trim 2007). This dissertation avoids searching for definitive answers regarding masculinities because as Dalley-Trim states, "masculinity is to be viewed as fluid rather than fixed, as uncertain and unstable" (Dalley-Trim, 2007).   Masculinities embody "something that we do at

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[16] See Majors

specific times and in specific circumstances as opposed to something we have" (Dar, 2010).

Using actual performance through song and dance is an effective means for examining the performance of Black masculinities. In order to convey a message in 4 minutes, sometimes the performance is ostentatious and more conspicuous than if the performer were in another setting. In addition, at times in this dissertation movements are spoken of generally as being 'masculine' or 'feminine', These observations are based on the idea that "people are quite adept at applying gender stereotypes and in particular the attributes of 'masculine' and 'feminine', to a wide range of objects that are not literally male or female" (Winter, 2010). In other words, we ingest contextual clues as to what we attribute to masculinity and femininity, and certain elements of movement also do this.

SPACE (AND PLACE)

Theorizing the concepts of space and place are essential to this analysis. Thomas F. Gieryn breaks his description and explanation of place into 3 categories: 1) Geographic Location, 2) Material Form and 3) Investment with meaning and value (Gieryn, 2000, p. 464). With regard to geographic location, Gieryn states the following:

> A place is a unique spot in the universe. Place is the
>
> distinction between here and there, and it is what allows

people to appreciate near and far. Places have finitude but

they nest logically because the boundaries are (analytically

and phenomenologically) elastic. A place could be your

favorite armchair, a room, building, neighborhood, district,

village, city, county, metropolitan area, region (Entrikin

1989, 1991), state, province, nation, continent, planet – or a

forest glade, the seaside, a mountaintop (Gieryn, 2000,

p.464).

Understanding that place has a material form can be explained with phrase "place

is stuff" (Gieryn, 2000, p.465). Places are "a compilation of things and objects at a

particular spot in the universe" (Gieryn, 2000, p.465). However, according to Gieryn,

without receiving recognition from people, such as being given a name, "a place is not a

place" (Gieryn, 2000, p.465). Places are both physically and social constructed. Many of

the artists included in this dissertation represent and imagine places in their lyrics.

Consider how Young B names places in Harlem, and frames Harlem as a whole. The

videos and whoever is controlling the images presented is also interpreting places like

Harlem, Bankhead, and the Poole Palace visually.

Place is often confused with space, but the two concepts are very distinct, though

closely related. Space is comprised of "abstract geometries (distance, direction, size,

space, and volume) detached from material form and cultural interpretation" (Gieryn,

2000, p.465). Thus, the kinesphere itself is a conceptual space, the club or park where

people go to dance is a place. According to Gieryn, "place is space filled up by people,

practices, objects, and representations" (Gieryn, 2000, p.465). Eva Hornecker, however, states that "we seldom encounter and experience pure structural, geometric relations – real space is not an abstract, geometrical space of coordinates and lines, but a natural habitat filled with life" (Hornecker, p.1). Hornecker refers to this as "real space", which is then makes it place. (Hornecker, p.2). The body is the "central reference point" for space. For example, whether some object is near or far depends on bodies and their relation to the object in question (Hornecker, p.2)

Rap artists are quite aware of the spatial limitations of the poor urban ghetto. Many have described the 'hood as a place in which they are 'trapped' or 'stuck,' a clear acknowledgement of the ghetto as a place in which the most vulnerable and despised among us are contained. The one key to freedom is economic empowerment through unbridled capitalist pursuits. The only other alternative is to dominate one's spatial environment. To dominate 'the streets' is to be ultra-masculine, because they are known as the most dangerous locus in society, a "haven for criminals, the mentally ill, the socially rejected" (Kapsis, 1979, p.1214). The streets are a place where young Black men are socialized differently than "conventional institutions of socialization" (Oliver, 2006, p.918) such as churches, schools, and family. In a society where the ideal hegemonic masculine image is utterly unreachable by Black men, and one in which Black men are socially and spatially confined, African American men have been forced to construct a Darwinian masculine identity in which "toughness," wit, sexual conquest, and the ability to hustle other men for money and women for sex (and money) are paramount. Even when a Black man claims to have escaped this environment, he must maintain his ties to

the community and be respected in it. Environmental mastery is key. Dances are used to express domination over space and turf as well.

The term hip-hop has at times made the importance and distinctions between places difficult to discern. According to b-boy pioneer Popin' Pete, dances there were distinct styles of urban youth dance being born on the streets of Los Angeles and New York City between the 1960s and the 1980s (Klopman, 2007). Afrika Bambataa, who created the Universal Zulu Nation, used the term "hip-hop" in an interview for a magazine in 1982. The media latched on to the term, and no longer distinguished between the cultural products youth were producing on either coast. Scholar Todd Boyd states that in addition to authenticity, identity in hip-hop is driven by the "politics of location".

However, according to Boyd, "there is a longstanding and documented regional difference between East Coast and West Coast hip hop, which has been increasingly augmented lately by the an equally distinct southern style"(Boyd, 2004). The media, especially after the so-called "East Coast/West Coast beef" of the mid 1990s, has promoted regional differences rather than conflate and homogenize them under one hip-hop umbrella. Boyd is correct to say that the most visible regions have been the South, East Coast, and the West Coast. For this reason, these are the three regions I focus upon for this dissertation.

The major reason I took the time to theorize place and space is that this dissertation addresses space in terms of how people move and place in terms of where rappers are located and where the movements developed. This reason is why the case

studies are split into places, namely the East Coast, West Coast, and the South. In

addition, space and place shape behavioral possibilities which are often repetitious in

nature. For example, O'Donoghue states that "certain masculinities are shaped, played

out and performed in certain places", which highlights the fact that gender performance is

often dependent upon setting (O'Donoghue, 2007, p. 64).

Power

This dissertation involves dance and music and their relation to power, so power

must first be theorized. Power always involves a relationship or interaction between

people or objects. A society without power relations can only be conceived of in

"abstraction" (Foucault, 1982, p.208). According to Judith Hanna, "The body is the

simplest and earliest form of human power" (Hanna, 1977, p. 113). In some Africa

societies, the power a body possesses can be "equated realistically or symbolically to

power in other domains" (Hanna, 1977, p. 113).   Thus, body movement can demonstrate

physical power over adversaries, sexual power over gendered subordinates, or the

cessation of power to others. For example, Marlon B. Ross suggests that the USA

Olympic basketball team symbolized American domination over other, presumably

weaker nations (Ross, 1998, p. 599). Consider what falling on ones knees in front of

another person symbolizes as far as power. Or the complex power dynamic between

exotic dancers and their customers.

Though the words nation and state are often used interchangeably, it is of value to

distinguish the two, for the purpose of showing that Africans in the United States

comprise a nation colonized by an imperialist state (Reis, 2004, p. 253). Some refer to hip-hop as a nation. African Americans can be conceived of as a nation, because nations can be colonized and ruled by empires, either internally of externally. Nations are essentially groups of people whose interests are linked socially, racially, or culturally. Thus, every nation does not have a state of its own. There are many examples I could present which illustrate this fact, from Palestinians to Native American nations on North America (Gottlieb, 1994, p. 101). States often utilize media in order to spread the falsehood that nations give rise to states in all cases, and that the interests of the elites are tied to those of the poor in an altruistic sense. Ball refers to the US as an empire, which has shaped the Black communities into internal colonies (Ball, 2011, p. 19). He continues by explaining that states or empires "reduce nations" and deprive them of political sovereignty or economic independence (Ball, 2011, p. 20). Throughout history, African American colonial subjects have had a unique association to the state, in that their images and "cultural products", including music and dance, are commandeered for "the purpose of capitalist expansion" (Semmes, 1992, p. 111). Meanwhile, according to Clovis Semmes, Black economic activity is curtailed and constrained (Semmes, 1992, p. 111).

Literature Review

This dissertation engages the existing and canonized literature in masculinity studies, gender studies, hip-hop studies, African American Studies, American Studies,

dance studies, and is a part of what I believe to be a fledgling field, hip-hop dance studies

There will be some, though limited, use of media studies. The literature provides a

foundation from which to discuss Black masculinities, hip-hop, dance, capitalism, and

power. This literature review also is dedicated to locating this study, since few, if any,

have embarked on scholarship which discussing the language of hip-hop dance in the

context of Black masculinity.

This dissertation is not the first to discuss what we understand as body language.

Robert Hinde edited an important work on non-verbal communication in 1972. In it,

McKay posed questions on what exactly qualifies as non-verbal communication. He

comes to the conclusion that it is the ability of the subject to receive information without

speaking   Thus, are we communicating with our cars in the morning when we tap the

steering wheel? In this case, according to McKay, one is signaling rather than

communicating (Hooks, 2004, p.6). Of course information is being transmitted, but is

"not affecting the organizing system of any recipient" (Hooks, 2004, p.6). Many scholars

believe that dance was "the first form of communication" man ever entered into

(Keali'imohoku, 2008, p.17). This dissertation further challenges the assumption that

what we do with our bodies is natural (Thomas, 1995, p.4). Thomas highlights what she

calls physical culture as a non-verbal communicative system (Thomas, 1995, p.4). Dance

follows physical culture as the "second stage of this process – a schema, an abstraction or

stylizing of physical culture" (Thomas, 1995, p.7). One can easily observe how people

from different places and of different cultures use their bodies differently, but too many

observers persist in putting bodily movement outside the realm of culture and cultural

expression (Thomas, 1995, p.5). Since the early 1970s in this country, progressive

scholars have understood "not only that cross-culturally variable but that such behavior is

also, and more importantly, a key component of human expressive and communicative

systems" (Thomas, 1995, p.6)

In Pieck's article, "Dance as Communication: Messages Sent and Received

Through Dance," "dancing is a form of nonverbal communication" and "approximately

60-65% of social meaning is derived from nonverbal behaviors" (Pieck, 2005, p.1).

Dance is the "stylization of everyday movement qualities." One may ask where

gender comes in. According to Thomas, "dance – the distillation of culture into its most

metaphysical form – always embodies and identifies this gender-generated division of

cultural realities" (Thomas, 1995, p.11).

Hip-Hop, Dance, and Gender

Lemelle briefly discusses rap music as a part of a Black musical

continuum dating back to rhythm and blues, "African narrative," and the "call-and -

response ritual" (Lemelle, 1995, p.31). Rap music inherited its opposition to the

American value system from rhythm and blues (Lemelle, 1995, p.31). The mainstream U.

S. media have claimed that hip-hop inspires its patrons to dance or commit violent acts.

 In both cases, the allegedly evoked behavior involves physicality (Lemelle, 1995, p.32).

Rappers who create song and dance combinations can be said to be signifying, which is a

form of communication in which the communicator uses verbiage and/or bodily gestures that seek the agreement of the audience or subjects. The subjects then respond by "cosigning," which usually consists of words of encouragement and agreement or physical gesturing that at times can even mimic that of the signifier (Lemelle, 1995, p.44).

According to Roberts in his book *From Hucklebuck to Hip-Hop: Social dance in the African American Community*, the "Black vernacular dance tradition has been impacted by social, political and economic conditions faced by African people in the United States and by the dance traditions of other cultural groups with whom they have interacted with over time"(Roberts, 1995, p.11) . Thus, Black vernacular dance and kinesic expression have not existed in a cultural vacuum, and the struggles which Blacks have endured have affected them.   The so-called "frustrated masculinit(ies)" that have come from centuries of marginalized and suppression at the hands of white male patriarchs has been and continues to be expressed through dance and movement (Oliver, 2006, p.921). Thomas also addresses the historical continuum out of which hip-hop dance was born and evolved. African American Rock-n-Roll dances, such as the Twist, introduced the idea that dances could be done without a partner (Thomas, 1995, p.23). Early hip-hop dancers credited James Brown's "good foot" with being a major influence on the development of b-boy styles. Hip-hop was both influenced by and a reaction to Disco, which became a fad in the 1970s. While Disco could at times be "in gender terms, quite sexless," hip-hop dance was dominated by males and expressly masculine (Thomas, 1995, p. 24). McRobbie thought men dancing was a thing of the past when she published

"Dance and Social Fantasy" in 1984 (Thomas, 1995, p.22). Being a skilled dancer was not seen as a masculine characteristic. The post-millennium period has changed that sentiment with southern rappers finding ways to navigate the delicate balance of hip-hop generation Black masculinities and movement. Part of their desire to incorporate dance and music into their masculine performance is cultural. According to Nadia Lesy in her dissertation entitled "The Evolution of Hip-Hop Dance and The Music Video in the Era of MTV," "Music conveyed through the body is the hallmark of African American culture" (Lesy, 2008, p.16). Though I think that Lesy has overstated her point, I do agree that music expressed through dance is a Black community staple. Also, masculinities are complicated by the fact that dances can be done alone, as well as in groups and the same dances are at times performed by women.

In Linda Gail Tucker's 2001 dissertation "Lockstep and Dance: Containment and Resistance in African American Men's Lives and Representations of Them," she categorizes much of the music I will be analyzing as "recreational rap," a concept she borrows from Bakari Kitwana (Tucker, 2001, p. 93). Recreational rap "tends to focus on themes of sex and love, and frequently provides a forum for artists to engage in acts of boasting, bragging, signifying and the dozens" (Tucker, 2001, p.93). It is often successfully blended into commercial radio play lists as "dance music" (Tucker, 2001, p.93). The information in Tucker's piece is dated, and she offers up examples such as The Fresh Prince and MC Hammer. The artists that I am investigating specifically make dance music, and most thematically privilege sex over love.

Recreation is within the realm of African American performance history. Annette Saddik, author of "Rap's Unruly Body," explains how rap music is not outside the historical continuum of African American performance. However, rap is balanced by a "centrality of authenticity" and what she calls an "ironic performance of the real" (Saddik, 2003, p.111). She also describes the importance of bodies to hip-hop's expression of masculinities. The image of "the threatening, half-naked, screaming and sweating muscular body of the gangsta rapper" is resistive to white hegemonic norms (Saddik, 2003, p.121). Miller-Young would agree; in her investigations of the symbiotic promotional relationship between hip-hop and porn, she states that the hypermasculinity of both porn and hip-hop allow for "black men to define themselves through and against dominant discourses of black masculinity that render black men powerless in relation to white patriarchal hegemony" (Miller-Young, 2008, p.272) . However, according to Miller-Young "hip-hop femininities and masculinities are subject to market concerns of white supremacist, patriarchal, multinational, corporate capitalism and are positioned as marginal to the means to material production and institutional political power"(Miller-Young, 2008, p.272). Michael Eric Dyson in his article "Gangsta Rap and American Culture" argues that rappers are not simply pawns of the industry, and that they indeed have agency and some amount of control over the images they present (Dyson, 2004, p.413)

The images presented by rappers have also differed or been unique according to the region the rapper comes from. Since my study includes regional boundaries, Darren E. Grem's "The South Got Something to Say: Atlanta's Dirty South

and The Southernization of Hip-Hop America" is an appropriate resource for investigating the southern region's hip-hop expression. Grem discusses how southern rappers and producers developed a soundscape that was uniquely southern, by sampling Stax records instead of the Parliament Funkadelic of the west coast and east coasters' predilection for Jazz (Grem, 2006, p.59). Grem also states that "Dirty south hip-hop was a bold statement from rappers who felt estranged from Atlanta's economic and social progress and excluded by their southerness from competing in a rap-music market dominated by New York and Los Angeles" (Grem, 2006, p.56). Grem focuses on Atlanta, which is the epicenter of commercial Southern hip-hop. An argument can also be made for New Orleans or Miami, but most of the song/dance combinations come from Atlanta-based artists such as Yung Joc, Soulja Boy, Dem Franchize Boyz, Young Dro, and DJ Unk.

Whether in Atlanta, Los Angeles, or Harlem, Black Dances moved and evolved based upon surrounding environment. Katrina Hazzard-Donald explains the evolution of hip-hop dance in her piece, "Dance in Hip-Hop Culture." African American secular dance has been closely related to patterns of migration (Hazzard- Donald, 2004, p.505). The great migration resulted in many African Americans moving from the rural, agrarian south to cities in both the north and south. Dance styles followed suit as the steps began to mimic urban realities (Hazzard-Donald, 2004, p.506). Hazzard-Donald states that while "the rural dances were marked by flat-footedness, bent or crouched postures and group dancing rather partnered couples," urban dances were characterized by "less flat-footedness" and gendered couple dancing (Hazzard-Donald, 2004, p.506).

According to Hazzard Donald, "hip-hop dance is masculine in style" (Hazzard-Donald, 2004, p.508) She claims that hip-hop dance began with pop-locking which was previously known as "wack dancing" (Hazzard-Donald, 2004, p.508).

Hip-Hop dance has been largely ignored by hip-hop scholars for several reasons. Many elements of hip-hop dance have evolved, disappeared, and then reappeared. It often defies universal coding, especially in terms of gender. Lis Engels wrote a piece entitled "The Body Poetics of Hip Hop Dance Styles in Copenhagen," in which she states that in hip hop culture, one "can find very strong polarities of traditional masculine and feminine gender roles." It is important to note, as Torp does in "Hip Hop Dances: Their Adoption and Function among Boys in Denmark from 1983-84," that hip-hop dances are descendants of African fight/dances such as Capoeira (Torp, 1986, p.30). Hazzard Donald establishes a link between hip-hop dance and gender in her article "Dance and Hip Hop Culture" when she states that "hip-hop dance is masculine in style, with postures assertive in its own right as well as with a female partner" (Hazzard-Donald, 2004, p. 508).[17] However, she is forced to acknowledge that when it comes to movement, men and women perform the same dances (Hazzard-Donald, 2004, p.355). The gender roles are not as clear as with other dance styles. Of course this statement refers to b-boying, which is almost completely obsolete in mainstream hip-hop. Hip-hop club dancing however is extremely gendered and patriarchal, with men grabbing women and grinding upon them sexually (Munoz-Laboy, 2007, p.626). The dances that I am

investigating rose to prominence in the 21st century and are often performed alone or in large groups.

LaBoskey also engages in the discussion of gender in hip-hop dance and made an important leap that has served as a springboard for this dissertation.   Though it was a brief part of her article, "Getting Off: Portrayal of Masculinity in Hip Hop Dance in Film," she says that youth "found their voices through their bodies" and "they built up a large vocabulary of hip hop moves to communicate a wide variety of emotions and messages" (LaBoskey, 2001, p.112). Among the concepts they were communicating were "competition and domination, sexuality and libido, and hero worship" (LaBoskey, 2001, p. 112) LaBoskey describe dance as a realm where these poor Black and Latino male youth, spurned or ignored by most elements of society, had complete control. She also asserts that hip-hop dance "has provided the area for the expression and affirmation of masculinity" (LaBoskey, 2001, p.112). At times the "battles" feature "obscene gestures" or verbal challenges that can lead to physical altercations (LaBoskey 2001, p.114). The gestures often had sexual overtones that were meant to humiliate one's opponent. The movements sometimes consisted of pulling "their pants down" and aiming "pelvic thrusts" that simulate sex towards an adversary (LaBoskey, 2001, p.114). Improvisational b-boy sessions were even referred to as "getting off" (LaBoskey, 2001, p.114). LaBoskey describes b-boying as an "unfeminine" art form. Despite the presence of a few b-girls, the gender role assignment for women was often "observer" or "trophy" (LaBoskey, 2001, p.114).   B-boying, according to LaBoskey, was so masculine that freezes imitated childhood masculine icons such as superheroes. One of the dances in my

study (Souljah Boy's "Crank Dat" 2007) does the exact same thing, so it falls on the historical continuum of hip-hop dance and African American dance in general.

In a patriarchal, heterosexist society, men's erotic or sexual desires, or even the possibility that they could be provoked must be eradicated (Burt, 1995, p.46). Men are permitted to express physicality and show their bodies in the context of conquest, either through fighting or sport (Burt, 1995, p.3).

DeFrantz explained that there were two categories of Black social dance; the celebratory ones created for fellow Black slaves, and the ones created to entertain whites. He describes Black dance as dualistic in the DuBiosian tradition. DeFrantz also discusses the "rich nature of Black social dance and its ability to celebrate and protest simultaneously" (DeFrantz, 1995, p.3). The hip-hop dances that will be studied in this dissertation at times protest the hegemonic gender norms and as well as celebrate the attainment of power without conforming. According to DeFrantz, "black social dances are constructed like verbal games of rhetoric such as toasting and signifying which simultaneously celebrate and criticize" (DeFrantz, 1995, p.3). He validates the necessity for HHKL by stating that "all African diaspora dance, including Black social dances, may be likened to verbal language most in its conspicuous employment of "call and response" with the body responding to and provoking the voice of the drum" (DeFrantz, 1995, p.3). Thus, he establishes that Black social dances are communicative and conversational. Another important concept that DeFrantz provides is that of corporeal orature. He explains concept in the follow manner:

Corporeal orature aligns movement with speech to

describe the ability of black social dance to incite action. In

this articulation, social dance may contain performative

gesture which cite contexts beyond the dance. These

citations are read and acknowledged by other dancers who

respond in kind with actions or decisions about, at least, the

efficacy of the dance gesture. Black social dance thrives

within a structure of corporeal orature that presumes the

possibility of efficacious per formative gesture (DeFrantz,

2006, p.4).

DeFrantz also discusses the elements that comprise Black expressive culture,

specifically music and dance. He cites Gottschild who "explores the intangible essence

of performance through concepts which stress its theoretical hallmarks" (DeFrantz, 2006,

p.7). These concepts include "1) Conflict (a precept of contrariety), 2) high-affect

juxtaposition ("mood, attitude or movement that breaks that omit") 3) ephebism ("power,

vitality, flexibility, drive, and attack") 4) the aesthetic of the cool" (DeFrantz, 2006, p. 7).

Many of these elements are seen in the song/dance combos that came out of the early

2000s. Another component particularly found in hip-hop dance is something DeFrantz

has termed "the bounce" (DeFrantz, 2006, p.12). The bounce displays "body power"

drawn "from the illusion of weightiness, of neediness, of the voracious consumption of

space" and "aggressive physicality" (DeFrantz, 2006, p. 12). DeFrantz also uses some LMA terms though not explicitly. He explains that in hip-hop dance "the body is held 'tight'… with strong weight, and capable of explosive suddenness" (DeFrantz, 2006, p.13). At times, "isolated body parts pop out in unexpected phrasing" (DeFrantz, 2006, p.13). Hip-hop dance moves are "fundamentally concerned with controlling the body, holding it taut, making it 'work' in a fragmented manner which echoes the sampled layering of hip-hop music" (DeFrantz, 2006, p.13).

Where I disagree with DeFrantz is in his assertion that "dance which is designed to please or rouse an audience is different from dance of protest or personal experience" (DeFrantz, 2006, p. 10). This statement creates a binary and is an oversimplification of hip-hop dances. Dances depend on context, just as other modes of communication do. Also, put quite simply, dances can be performed in order please an audience in protest.

Hip-hop is an excellent lens by which to view Black masculinities, since as Ogbar states, the hip-hop "style is rooted in the historical, social, cultural, and economic experiences of Black men" (Ogbar, 2007, p.76). Hooks gives credit to Muhammad Ali for creating an image that challenged patriarchal standards for manhood. He showed both strength and vulnerability. He was playful in a way that most men would have previously thought unmasculine (Hooks, 2004, p. 22). He even used words like "pretty" to describe himself. Ali is recognized by many as a predecessor of hip-hop (Rose, 1989, p. 37, Ogbar.2007, p. 75). It is shocking that not many have taken the time to study Ali's movements inside and outside of the ring.

Judith (Jack) Halberstam complicates masculinities and gender in general when she describes the drag king scene in New York and London in "Macdaddy, Superfly, Rapper: Gender, Race, and Masculinity in the Drag King Scene." In Butler's *Bodies that Matter*, she attempts to clear up bad readings of her earlier work by stating that performance of gender did not mean searching through the closet for which gender to put on (Halberstam, 1997, p.108). However in Halberstam's study of drag kings, that is almost exactly what they did. Thus, gender and masculinities cannot be confined to one space, nor assumed to be too complicated at all times.

Though my work deals with masculinity as performed by males, I realize that gender is not the "rightful property of sex" (Butler, 1993, p.306). Butler's work is also useful because she makes it clear that gender and sexuality are "never fully 'expressed' in a performance or practice; there will be passive and butchy femes, femmy and aggressive butches" (Butler, 1993, p. 306). Thus, this dissertation will stop short of drawing finite conclusions. The purpose, as stated earlier is to complicate masculinities, not to fall into the trap of '"naturalizing" them (Butler, 1993, p.312). Carla Stalling Huntington divided hip-hop dance into two distinct categories: commercialized and uncommercialized. She claims that uncommercialized hip-hop dance is not sexist and misogynistic, as most elements of hip-hop are often portrayed. Unlike European traditional dances such as ballet, there are not always specific movements or performance roles for men and women. In ballet, "men are dominant while women are weak" (Huntington, 2007, p. 93). In hip-hop dance the gender differences are far more subtle, as women often perform the same movements as men. However, according to Huntington, "commercialized hip hop

dance does engage in portraits of patriarchal misogyny" (Huntington, 2007, p. 93). The major point is that hip-hop dance, though not viewed as high art, is in many ways more complicated and thus worthy of study than some traditional Eurocentric dance styles. Developing a lens like HHKL through which to examine hip-hop dance can be helpful in giving us a fuller understanding of gender and masculinities in our culture(s).

Men's Studies

This dissertation is part of the next evolution of men's studies. According to Alsop, Fitzsimmons, and Lennon, there are a few ties that bind men's studies. The element that links men's studies various theories is the belief that masculinities (as well as femininities) are socially constructed (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p. 131). Additionally, there is the idea that the "gender order oppresses and inhibits men as well as women." Thus, the ultimate goal is to "rework gender relations on a more equitable basis" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p. 131). Men's studies sees "masculinity as varied, dynamic, changing; indeed the move from masculinity to masculinities underpins the men's studies genre" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p. 136). The concept of plural masculinities is essential to this dissertation. I am, at the very least, open to the possibility that the movements and lyrics we will be studying express more than a vague hypermasculinity that many scholars relegate all hip-hop masculinities to.

Early, though problematic, sex role theory was important to the development of men's studies because it presented different and distinct "constructions of masculinity across time and between cultures." This fact served as the foundation for

belief in multiple masculinities rather than one essential masculinity (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.137). However, the problematic side of this issue is that the "plurality of Masculine roles has been explained in terms of difference between cultures and not upon difference within cultures." This point of view leads to the men who do not fulfill the conventional modes of masculinity being ostracized and "written off as deviant" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.138).

Shortcomings

Most of the scholarship that qualifies as men's studies is created by men. There exists a belief that men can provide an "additional perspective to the study of men (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.131)." Even though men's studies claims part of the social constructionist tradition, it still contains a "residual essentialism in that a division between men and women and the assumption that masculinity belongs to men and femininity to women unquestioningly underpin analysis" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.132). Queer studies has challenged this assumption and gendered binaries. (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.160) For this reason, I have included the work of female scholars and engage some queer theory. Also, I think it is impossible to discuss men and masculinities without a limited discussion of the roles of women in hip-hop spaces. I also intend not to fall into the trap of believing I have answers because I am an emcee and am deeply immersed in hip-hop culture.

Halberstam corroborates Judith Butler's assertion that masculinity is the

performance of "a set of culturally recognized acts that can be achieved by all individuals

regardless of their sexed body" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p. 160). By

separating masculinity from the maleness, Halberstam shows masculinity to be a social

construction (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p. 160). I would argue against many

scholars that claim that this makes the body less significant to the concept of

masculinities. Maleness is not the only issue to consider with regard to the performance

of masculinities, but bodies do indeed matter. Physical strength and virility are important

concepts in some masculinities, whether performed by males or females.

British cultural studies scholar Paul Gilroy states in *The Black Atlantic*

that "the oral character of the cultural settings in which diaspora musics have developed

presupposes a distinctive relationship to the body" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002,

p. 73). Jimi Hendrix's "overt sexuality" hinted at the idea that he was an authentic Black

male, thus "wild, sexual, hedonistic, and dangerous" (Gilroy, 1993, p. 93). This image is

closely tied to the body itself. Eric Clapton, a white "rival" musician of Hendrix, stated

that English audiences loved Hendrix because they believed that all "spades (blacks) have

big dicks" (Gilroy, 1993, p. 93).

Connell's work was foundational to the concept of the plurality of

masculinities. He/she asserted that in every institution and organization, gender relations

are present. Connell states that one can examine gender composition through "three key

structures – labour, power, and cathexis" (Alsop et al., 2002, p.138). Connell

acknowledges that these three work in tandem, and that they "are not the only structures that may exist" (Alsop et al., 2002, p. 139). Another one of Connell's theoretical achievements is pointing out the problems with sex role theory, primarily its "inability to illustrate adequately how gender is internalized" and how gender become part of one's personality (Alsop et al., 2002, p. 139). According to Connell, the structural conditions of life and individual personality are not mutually exclusive (Alsop et al., 2002, p. 139).

In essence, Connell articulates that gender is a "feature of subjectivity as well as social structure." (Alsop, 2002, p.140). Thus, nothing about gender is predetermined.

Black Masculinities

Black masculinity is known as a "subordinate masculinity" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon 2002, p.150). The dominant images of Black men, born of racism and colonialism, portray them as "absent fathers, lazy, violent, sexually and physically dominant" and often include a "fixation with the Black male body" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.150) . Our societal belief in binaries dictates that, "Dominant discourses equate whiteness with the mind and therefore rational action" and "blackness with the body and therefore irrationality" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.150). Negativity being ascribed to Black men is "integral to white men's construction of self" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.151).

In the attempt to justify and legitimize white supremacy, white men invented stereotypes of Black men with which to juxtapose themselves and to be reified in the media. The two major images of Black males are contradictory. One depicts Black males as less masculine, a childlike, cowardly Sambo. The other portrays Black males as hypermasculine, with an insatiable libido (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.150). Black men have become the "repository for sexual fantasies, deviances" of white men (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.151). I believe hip-hop dance does encompass the hypermasculine image and the largely unattainable hegemonic masculinity.

The primary discussion with regard to Black masculinity is its "relation to hegemonic masculinity" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.152). Black men have not had the opportunity to take advantage fully of the privileges of white male patriarchy. Black men reclaimed "control" or power over others and one's environment through performing masculine roles such as the "street wise hustler" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.152). Also, they have used exerting power over women and LGBT communities.

Black masculinities are constructed as the other in relation to white masculinities. The over-sexualization of Black men normalizes white masculinities and "a representation of white heterosexual femininity as under threat and in need of protection and surveillance by white men" (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.151).

Not only are some Black masculinities in resistance to white hegemonic masculinity, but also serve to alienate some Black men (Alsop, Fitzsimmons, Lennon, 2002, p.153).

Clyde Franklin's applies Connell's theory of the multiplicity of Black masculinities in his piece entitled "Men's Studies, the Men's Movement, and the Study of Black Masculinities: Further Demystification of Masculinities in American." He gives several categories for Black masculinities such as "(1) conforming Black masculinity, (2) ritualistic black masculinity, (3) innovative Black masculinity, (4) retreatist Black masculinity, and (5) rebellious Black masculinity" (Franklin, 1994, p. 280). Most hip-hop based scholarship focuses on innovative Black masculinities. Innovative Black masculinities at times glorify "heinous means of achieving material success, including Black-on-Black homicide, drug dealing, theft and various forms of deviance" (Franklin, 1994, p.280). Some of these innovative Black masculinities appear in future chapters through the analysis of lyrics.

In addition to explicating the origins of masculinity studies, Howson adds that situation is key to the performance of masculinity. Black men have constantly had to react to hegemonic masculinities, which are characterized by the following: "whiteness, location in the middle class, heterosexuality, independence, rationality and education, a competitive spirit, the desire and ability to achieve, controlled and directed aggression, as well as mental and physical toughness" (Howson , 2006, p.60). Obviously, Black men could never completely fit this ideal. Thus they have had to carve out their own

masculinities, though sometimes using white supremacist hegemonic masculinities as a foundation.

Howson states in his book *Challenging Hegemonic Masculinity*, that "situation represents the structuring of social relations at both the personal and collective reality to produce configurations of practice, which in turn organize the human action and consciousness across time and space" (Howson , 2006, p.35). Thus, the manner in which I perform masculinity at work is different than how I would perform it at a nightclub or on the basketball court. He also discusses the concept of onto-formativity, which is "the idea that people and their relations to other people and things are at the core of construction of social phenomena such as masculinity."(Howson, 2006, p.39). Frank also discusses gender relations and masculinity, as well as the valuable concept of "masculinizing practices" in her article "Just Trying to Relax": Masculinity, Masculinizing Practices, and Strip Club Regulars" (Frank, 2003, p.67). Most importantly, Frank reiterates Connell's assertion that masculinities are born of "social interaction," and without it they are nonexistent. (Frank, 2003, p.70). In other words, masculinities are performative. Masculinizing practices are "practices that are governed by a gender regime, are embedded in social relations, and work to produce masculinities in particular setting and by certain institutions" (Frank, 2003, p.67). Oftentimes these masculinizing practices involve "toughness and physical hierarchy," such as sport, fighting, or military drills. However, when it comes to dance, masculinity can be expressed through representation rather than action. Women are often the dancers while men voyeuristically observe. As stated earlier, dance can be used as catharsis or to

conjure an emotion, while for many men, "stoic masculinity maybe idealized" (Frank, 2003, p.70). By simply observing women dance (sexually), men maintain a position of dominance and idealized masculinity without ever having to prove their physical prowess (Frank, 2003, p.72).

Throughout this dissertation, the artists that are discussed strike a "cool pose", both with their lyrics and with their bodies. Coolness, according to Majors and Bilson, is a strategy for coping with exclusion from hegemonic ideals for manhood (Majors, 1992, p.2).[18] Majors and Billson state that "Unique patterns of speech, walk, and demeanor express the cool pose" (Majors, 1992, p.2).

I would add dance to that equation. Though the cool pose "suggests competence, high self-esteem, control, and inner strength" (Majors, 1992, p.5), it is a "mask" that can often obscure true "self-doubt, insecurity, and inner turmoil" (Majors, 1992, p.5).[19] As this dissertation does draw on a historical continuum, Majors and Billson assert that coolness dates back to ancient African cultures. The sixteenth century Yoruba performed a version of coolness when they did certain traditional dances (Majors, 1992, p.57).

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[18] Coolness can be synonymous with 'swag' or 'swagger'.

[19] Majors and Bilson also state that the cool pose is "designed to render the black male visible"(Majors, 1992, p.5). Visibility is a theme that is very present when examining masculinities, particularly in commercial hip-hop.

In "Gangstas, Thugs, and Hustlas: Identity and the Code of the Street in Rap Music", Kubrin expands upon Elijah Anderson's theory of the Code of the Street and applies it directly to rap music lyrics. He states that rap lyrics explicate urban street violence and "how to understand the identities of those who participate in (or avoid) it" (Kubrin, 2005, p.367). Rap lyrics also serve to localize the code of the streets (Kubrin, 2005, p.367). Rap lyrics are essential to this project because they work in much the same way in this investigation. They at times serve to translate identities and intentions behind body movement.

Ronald L Jackson II contribute significantly to the canon with his work, *Scripting the Black Masculine Body*. Rather than having a discussion purely about agency versus capitalist, White supremacist control, he states that many Blacks are "willing participants" in the commodification of their bodies. He refers to this as "complying with the illusion" (Jackson II, 2006, p. 63). The stereotypes surrounding Black male bodies are illusions "not because they are completely false but because they are literally figments of the American or more accurately, popular culture producers' imagination" (Jackson II, 2006, p.63).

With respect to this dissertation, the question arise of 'who is behind the camera?' How is illusion being presented in the videos that I analyze? Who is the director? The editor? The recording company? Does the artist have final cut? Though these questions are difficult (if not impossible) to answer, they must be problematized.

This dissertation is organized by region, and hypothesizes that masculinities differ based on geography and location or rather, place.[20] Mathew C. Gutmann points out that anthropologists have studied masculinities in different regions of the world and shown how masculinities are not static concepts and that they indeed expressed differently based upon culture and location.

Thomas DiPiero assists this work with his book *White Men Aren't*, by stating that the body and race are integral to masculinities. White men have often positioned themselves as the epitome of masculinity, thus viewing the bodies of non-whites as lacking manhood. For example, white men throughout history have viewed men of color as "less than fully masculine" because their beards were not full (DiPiero, 2002, p.120).

Though women are not the primary focus of this study, they are very present in the videos. Rana A. Emerson's study "'Where My Girls At'": Negotiating Black Womanhood in Music Videos" addresses how Black female performers (rappers, singers, and also but to a lesser extent, video models and dancers) utilize popular culture and specifically music videos to "express independence, self-reliance, and agency" (Emerson, 2002, p.115). Emerson's study is realistic in the sense that she avoids the pitfall of simply emphasizing how Black women's images in music videos are hijacked and reinforce White supremacist and sexist stereotypes or on how agency and how Black women carve out their own autonomous identities (Emerson, 2002, p.116).

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[20] Place is theorized in further detail in chapter 2.

Media Studies

This dissertation is significant because its original research analyzes a medium that is influential, especially for Black children.[21] According to Ward, Hansbrough, and Walker, children gather a great deal of information about gender, masculinity and femininity by the tender age of five (Ward, 2005, p. 143). However, as gender is not a static concept, the process of learning gender continues throughout life, especially as "children enter adolescence and initiate sexual relationships" (Ward, 2005, p.144). Television is a major socializing mechanism in the United States. Children watch "3 to 4 hours of television each day, spending more time across the course of a year than in a classroom or interacting directly with their parents" (Ward, 2005, p.144). According to Victoria Johnson, music videos provide a particularly narrow view of gender, based on their truncated length in comparison to other films. Characters are not developed; instead videos depend upon cultural markers and gendered stereotypes to establish roles. Coupled with the fact that music video production is a male-dominated field, they are successful in indoctrinating children into having patriarchal views of gender. Women are relegated to being mere "decorative objects," while "portrayals of masculinity heavily emphasize the importance of virility and strength, both physical and emotional". (Ward, 2005, p.145) Among college age youth, "music video exposure" was

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[21] When I say Black in this dissertation, I am primarily referring to African Americans, broadly defined. The research for this document uses American artists and is limited to a United States context, though I think many of the implications extend far beyond our borders.

a determinate of their attitudes toward gender roles. According to Ward, undergraduate men who were exposed to a lot of music videos were more likely to have "more traditional gender role attitudes and stronger support of dating as a game" (Ward, 2005, p.146). Studies have found the following to be true:

Short-term exposure to music videos has been found to be influential. Students exposed to sexual and sexist music videos (as labeled by the experimenters) were more likely to offer support of premarital sex (Calfin, Carroll. & Schmidt, 1993; Greeson & Williams, 1987 in Ward et al), to endorse the notion that sexual relationships are adversarial (Kalof, 1999, in Ward et al), and to be more accepting of teen-dating violence(Johnson, Adams, Ashburn, & Reed, 1995, in Ward et al) than were students without this exposure. Moreover, evidence indicates that laboratory exposure to stereotypical music videos can alter viewers' impressions of real-world people observed in similar contexts, often making neutral behavior appear more sexualized and making actions that fit stereotypical gender schemas seem more favorable (Ward, Hansbrough, & Walker 146).

Black children watch a mean of 5 hours of television per day as compared to 2 hours and 47 minutes by white children, thus making their exposure more likely. Evidences showed that "60.7% of the videos on Black Entertainment Television (BET) were found to have sexual content compared to 26.3% of videos on MTV" (Ward, Hansbrough, Walker,2005, p.147). Ward, Hansbrough, and Walker's study is significant

for this project because it shows why it was important to use official videos from mainstream artists. These videos are influential, so it is important in formulating the views on gender and sex.

Chapter Outline

First, allow me to say that African American dance, and hip-hop dance specifically, has a unique location in dance history. It is a kinesic reflection of the Du Boisian concept of double consciousness. Scholars dating back to the great Leopold Senghor have antagonized dance theater (Western dance) and ritual dance (African dance). HHKL is a hybrid of these two styles. It can be improvisational, even spiritual and "metaphysical representations of reality," much like African Dance (Castaldi, 2006, p.54). Dancers simulate sex acts, fighting, even working heavy machinery. However, some elements of HHKL are purely for aesthetic purposes and contain the flow of a dance theater composition. I intend to show that hip-hop dances created within the last decade are themselves texts which reveal masculinities. The dances and performances chosen will primarily be from popular/mainstream artists.

Chapter Summaries

This chapter will include a literature review of canonized works on masculinity theory, hip-hop studies, media studies and dance theory. I will discuss the importance and limitations of this particular study to the aforementioned disciplines. This examination is important to this dissertation because there was a period where dance lost, and then regained its popularity among African American male youth. They started to believe in Norman Mailer's idea that "Tough Guys Don't Dance." A limited engagement with some elements of queer theory is necessary to explain the fluidity of masculine expression. How is it that the act of dancing can be connected to queerness at one point in hip-hop history, with rappers making clear that they do not dance, and then be masculine/normative at others? Black (youth) masculinities are an interesting combination of both queerness and normativity. They represent many of the elements of marginalization that would fall under the rubric of queer theory. However, often it is connected to normative pursuits of capitalist power and sexual dominance. These masculinities often express both frustration and content with being the "other." According to Oliver, "the cumulative effects of intergenerational exposure to historical and contemporary patterns of racial and gender oppression directed at Black males has served as a catalyst leading many marginalized Black males to socially construct masculine identities that place emphasis on toughness, sexual conquest, and hustling"(Oliver. 2006, p. 921). This so-called "frustrated masculinity" is very apparent in mainstream hip-hop and will undoubtedly be very prevalent in the somatics of HHKL.

However, I will actively search out different masculinities being express in hip-hop dance.

When I mention masculinity theory, I must also clarify that the theory includes some feminist theories as well, as I believe the two subjects are not mutually exclusive. There have been two major schools of thought about masculinities and gender. One calls for the total eradication of gender and masculinity, which is known as the "degendering strategy" or the "feminist degendering movement." Degendering society to the point of androgyny would be a very daunting task, as gender has permeated institutions and individual psyche, sexuality and identities (Gardiner, 2002, p.3). Other feminist scholars believe gender and masculinity can be "restructured so that it does not depend on male dominance over women" (Gardiner, 2002, p.3). I intend for this dissertation to foster more discussion on the many locations where gender politics are found. I believe gender needs to be further complicated before it can be fully restructured and divorced from centuries old patriarchy.

This thesis also works from the assumption that patriarchy has "structured representations of men's bodies" and will attempt to expose some of the ways in which bodies and kinesic imagery express masculinities (Gardiner, 2002, p.5). Traditionally, feminist scholars have been concerned with how patriarchy affects women's bodies. The significance of this dissertation is that it will employ feminist body critiques and use them for men's bodies. It will be part of the larger feminist dialogue and add to feminist discourse. As Lehman states, "the silence surrounding the sexual representation of male

bodies is itself totally in the service of traditional patriarchy and that critical work by

men can complement, rather than displace or silence, feminist women's voices (Gardiner,

2002, p.5).We cannot afford to ignore male bodies and the intentional actions they make

for the purpose of ending patriarchy. In fact, we must first center male bodies and

acknowledge different patriarchal masculinities in order to decenter them (Gardiner,

2002, p.6).

This dissertation investigates whether other Black masculinities are reflected in

hip-hop's mass-mediated images of the Black male bodies that people imitate their

kinesic movements in the streets. However, I do not necessarily challenge Jackson's

assumption that the majority of mass media images of Black male bodies have "negative

inscriptions associated with the Black masculine body as criminal, angry, and

incapacitated" (Ronald L. Jackson, 2006 p.2).

Chapter 2 is devoted to establishing a historical continuum for Black Dance, as

well as establishing how Black music and movement relate to, and have been regulated

by the state.   This chapter is not the primary focus and does not include original research,

but is necessary for establishing the context for the remainder of the document.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to an in-depth, original analysis of the lyrical

content of rap music that is centered around a dance or movement in the southern region

of the United States. It will employ the masculine theoretical concepts discussed in the

previous chapter. Much of the case studies with encompass primarily artists from

Atlanta, because they were leaders in the renaissance of southern hip-hop. However,

artists such as the GS Boyz, who hail from Arlington, Texas, will also be examined. The case studies will focus of Souljah Boy's hit song "Crank That" and "Lean Wit It" by Dem Franchize Boys.

The artists often tell you what they implore the listener to take from the song and dance. I propose that this message often conveys a masculine ideal that has been crafted for young Black men. Elements such as hero worship must be discussed when examining hip-hop dances and the lyrics that describe them. Soulja Boy Tell 'Em's 2007 hit "Crank That" was especially aimed at male dancers, instructing them to "Super Man these hoes." Early b-boy freezes also included imitations of superheroes.[22]

For example, one song and accompanying dance that is worthy of investigation is "Lean Wit It Rock Wit It" (2006). This was also known as snap dancing/music. One need only look at the lyrics to see the masculinization of the movements through the description of the lyrical content. There are allusions to physical confrontation and violence, sex, gangsterism, thinly veiled references to drug selling, and boasts of wealth. The dance describes bound flow, as when one of the rappers said "freeze before your fingers pop" (Bradley, 2009 p.102). You also hear one artist comparing dancing to fighting, when he states "watch me make your face beat up my hands."   Another alludes to Rocky, the fictional movie character who was a boxer. He equates sex and fighting,

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[22] (Laboskey 2001)

and uses this dance as a metaphorical, functional tie that binds. The functionality and expression convey a hypermasculine sentiment (Bradley, 2009 p.91).

There also must be some examination of why many of these song/dance combinations came out of the south. The aforementioned snap music and the lean wit it" come from a hole-in-the-wall nightclub called "The Pool Palace" in the gritty Bankhead section of West Atlanta, Georgia.[23] Snap music and dances were specific vernacular movements born in nothing more than a modern day juke joint. Slave plantations in the south were the home to dances such as the snake hips, which according to Gordon-Hazzard, is the foundation for many African American dances such as the "jerk" and "pop-locking,"[24] and presumably the "lean wit it" as well.

Yet the references to wealth attainment show how African American expressive culture is also hybrid with American culture and its capitalist leanings.

Chapter 4 includes a case study and contextualiztion of hip-hop dances born on the West Coast. The Crip walk is different than the aforementioned dance because it is not associated with one hip-hop song, and developed out of Los Angeles gang culture. However, it has been adapted by hip-hop artists because of the close

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[23] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Snap_music

[24] See Gordon, Hazzard (1990) *Jookin': The Rise of Social Dance Formations in African American Culture*. Philadelphia: Temple.

proximity of gang culture and hip-hop communities.[25] At times, gang dances such as the

Crip walk can represent a particular affiliation with a street organization. However, gang

dances also engage in what's called "writing" (Phillips 2009, p.70). According to

Phillips, "in dance the feet become primary media of written production as gang members

spell out affiliations, nicknames, enemies, and memorials to the dead" (Phillips 2009,

p.70). Thus, I am examining the Crip walk because it is used in hip-hop, and it is literally

a language written with movement. This chapter first will attempt to establish the

importance of dance in anthropological study. It is my contention that "all dances reflect

the cultural traditions (or cultural understanding and worldview) within which they

developed" (Keali'inohomoku, 2008, p. 16). Ogbar's research shows that gang culture

has always been closely tied to hip-hop culture, dating back to the Ghetto Brothers and

Black Spades of the South Bronx in the 1970s (Ogbar, 2007, p.3).

Dance also reflects the gender perceptions of a particular culture or society.

Dance facilitates marriage and is an important aspect of courtship and sexual bargaining.

Hip-hop dances, such as crumping, with its improvisational spasms which are performed

while standing chest to chest with an opponent in a battle, are aggressive and would

appear to the casual onlooker as a fight. The creators of the dances which I will be

investigating are men. So it makes sense to deconstruct what it is they are attempting to

say with these movements. However, the dances I choose to discuss come from artists

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[25] It is well known that some of the pioneers of West Coast rap were members of

street gangs.

who have disavowed aggressive gang culture. The Dougie and Cooking come from artists who are simply fun loving, or in the case of Lil B, simply strange and difficult to categorize. I will discuss how the surrounding context for West Coast hip-hop influenced these dances and their accompanying lyrics.

Each chapter will include recounting footage of the dances being performed, and doing a movement analysis based on the principle set forth by Rudolph Von Laban. This analysis will serve as an introduction to the specific case studies. However, as stated earlier, Laban Movement Analysis stops short of trying to find meaning in movement (Judith Lynn Hanna, 1988 p. xiv). Hanna has found "six devices and eight spheres of encoding in the webs of significance people spin in kinesic images." The study of dance and cultural anthropology are compatible, so looking at the masculine implications of kinesic imagery and movement for Black male youth is a sensible endeavor (Judith Lynn Hanna, 1988 p.6). Dance is more than just a system of movements; it is a "system of meanings" (Judith Lynn Hanna, 1988 p.7). Disco saw its demise for being attached to gay male masculinities, such as those displayed by the Village People. Hip-hop dance was decidedly hypermasculine, as it "has provided the area for the expression and affirmation of masculinity" and has been a vehicle for the communication of themes like "competition, and domination, sexuality and libido, and hero worship" (Kimmel et al p223).

My theoretical contribution to the canon is, just as there is an AAL, as established by Remes and later by Smitherman, which is the impetus for what Alim calls the HHNL,

there is also what I refer to as Black Kinesic Language which has given birth to a Hip Hop Kinesic Language (Alim 2009, p.5). All of the aforementioned linguistic styles are based upon Black street culture, and HHKL is no different. As Alim states both colloquially and eloquently "language is never neutral," it espouses concepts, ideas, and a worldview. This dissertation is attempting to present and complicate (not necessarily explain) some of the masculine notions which HHKL conveys. One cannot doubt that movement is a major element in the expression of masculinity. I can remember seeing Spike Lee's biographical film about Malcolm X, where Denzel Washington depicted a young, zoot suited Malcolm Little doing an exaggerated pimp-like strut. There was a masculine message he was trying to express with that particular free flowing, strong weighted movement.

Chapter 5 deals with one particular dance instruction song, called "The Chicken Noodle Soup". Hip-hop dances that are born in the Northeast (primarily New York City) are often a means of expressing hegemonic masculine concepts. The Chicken Noodle soup is specific to the Harlem section of New York. Its history can be traced back to early vaudeville performers, and to the masculine statement that is made by commanding space in a city that is spatially full. New York City is often regarded as the financial capital of the world, so it is not surprising that the masculinities that come out of that region would be based on material wealth.

Chapter 6 will be the space in which I compare, contrast, and synthesize my findings. I do expect many similarities, but as I stated early, I will stop short of making universal claims about Black masculinities and hip-hop dances.

This dissertation will answer Butler's fundamental question and provide a link between the materiality of the body and the performativity of gender and masculinities.[26] In other words, the manipulation of material bodies is essential to this expression of masculinities. I will aggregate all of my findings and try to determine which movements or elements of LMA coincide with specific aspects of masculinity, effectively building the basis for HHKL.

Socially, I believe that a hip-hop dance could potentially promote a progressive masculinity; we just have not seen such a dance on a large scale yet. In a sense, hip-hop dances challenge traditional expressions of hegemonic masculinity in dance. They are not coupled dances, so there is no (male) lead. Also, women and children perform the same dances as men. Generally hegemonic masculinities focus on supposed biological differences between men and women, which result in hierarchies and gendered roles. However, gendered roles are challenged slightly in the world of hip-hop dance because men and women perform the same general movements (although they are interpreted differently).

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[26] (Butler, 1993)

The power of hip-hop dances and music is undeniable. Both are literally created

for the purpose of repetition (dance even more so), often by youth. Oliver states that "the

streets" are "an alternative site of Black male socialization" (Butler, 1993, p. 918). I

would argue that the street(s) is now a virtual location and place found in mass media

outlets such as television and internet. Thus, young Black males are being socialized in

part by kinesic imagery and hip-hop lyrics. That fact makes this dissertation important

and has widespread social implications.

Significance to American Studies

This dissertation not only utilizes many canonized texts in American Studies, it

studies hip-hop which is a sub-culture which is a cultural evolution of Jazz, which was

the first music, dance and aesthetic popular cultural form uniquely born on United States

soil. So while Henry Nash and others were looking for an "American" quality in

literature, African Americans and Caribbean immigrants were producing genuine

American popular culture. This dissertation also deals with race, gender, class, and

sexuality, which have become major foci in American Studies since the social

movements of the 1960s (Lipsitz, 2001, p.xv, p.25). Though this work is not

ethnographic, I do locate myself within the work as a hip-hop fan, scholar, and

practitioner. Hip-Hop Studies is fast become a field under the umbrella of American

Studies for the aforementioned reasons. Also, as Lipsitz explains in *American Studies in

a Moment of Danger*, American Studies scholars "came to see the importance of

oppositional, resistant, and negotiated cultural practices among subcultures,

countercultures". Place and Space are also constructs which American Studies has

engaged, and this dissertation adds to the literature. Re-envisioning the potential of place

and space and its role in constructing a more egalitarian society is part of this work and a

goal for many American Studies scholars. Lipsitz states the following:

"In order to combat the ways in which the new realities of social space have given

management and investors the upper hand, we now need to think about places not only as

specific geographic and physical sites but also as circuits and networks of

communication, physical movement, and commodity circulation."

Jason Nichols

Chapter 2: The Movements of the Movement: Black Dance, State Control of Black Bodies, and Resistance History

Historically, there has been an effort by the state to control the ways in which Blacks congregate, build communities, and pass messages and ideas. Black dance and music have been media by which African Americans accomplish those concepts, and therefore, have liberatory potential. Music and dance can encourage awareness and resistance to oppressive regimes. For example, Black religious music played a role in the Civil Rights Movement (Ramsey, 2003, p. 204). This chapter discusses how the state has feared and regulated the autonomy of Black bodies and artistic expression and thus, controlled the mass-mediated images of Black masculinities. The chapter also discusses ways in which Black people have resisted these efforts by the oppressive state/empire. The issues that hip-hop faces have clear historical, spatial, and contextual precedents.

History

One cannot hold a serious theoretical discussion of hip-hop dance outside of the context of Black Dance and its history. Hip-hop dance educator and choreographer

Rennie Harris began his hip-hop dance course by discussing slavery.[27] In establishing a

short continuum of black dance, one must define what Black Dance is and explain why

hip-hop dance fits within its realm. For many years, African American scholars shunned

the term hip-hop, viewing it as limiting and as a means of ghettoizing dance created by

black people (Gottschild, 2003, p. 5). However, in the 1960s, following the lead of Black

musicians who proudly accepted the term "Black music," choreographers and scholars

began to embrace the idea of Black Dance (Gottschild, 2003, p. 14). For this body of

work, I will use Sean Curran's simple definition, which is that Black Dance is any dance

created by and performed by black people (Gottschild, 2003, p. 14). This definition can

be problematized, as Black Dance "is not a monolithic construction" (Craighead, 2006, p.

18). Also, it is worthwhile to note that dances created by Black people are not monolithic,

because Blackness is not a monolithic identity. The Black Dance construction, according

to Craighead, also creates a Black/white dichotomy in the field of dance, and "promotes a

racist legacy which supports the dominant hegemonic discourse(s) operating within

contemporary global society through the process of setting up an oppositional discourse

of 'the other'" (Craighead, 2006, p. 20). While I understand and agree with some of

Craighead's concerns about the label 'Black Dance,' I believe that in a white supremacist

society, Blacks are often not recognized for their contributions to both high and (low art)

popular culture. Black Dance as a category keeps the genesis of many important

[27] Ziv, Stan (Friday January 1, 2011) "A Hip-Hop History: Rennie Harris Puremovement" The
Stanford Daily. In Cynthia Haven's article (March 9, 2011), Harris says the beginnings of contemporary
black culture were on slave ships, where Africans danced (or were forced to dance) to stay healthy.

contributions from becoming footnotes in history and going through a process of

historical whitening. Employing Afrocentric discourse would dispel the Eurocentric

high/low art dichotomy.[28] Granted this dissertation does not use many Afrocentric

sources, however, I do agree with the discourse in that those sources stress the dissolution

of white supremacist hierarchies. This discourse also show that there is value in

vernacular dance, and that it is worthy of study. Black Dance has been referred to as a

"cultural melting pot," meaning it does not exist in a cultural vacuum. White dance is

much the same, incorporating a wide range of cultural influences. Though hip-hop dance

has influences from Latino and Asian cultures, it still fits firmly within the Black Dance

tradition.

It is important to point out that that there is nothing natural about Black

Dance, that it is a learned tradition, one that can be learned by anyone. Though many

black children are unconsciously taught to "feel rhythmic subtleties," however, the idea

that all Black people are born with rhythm and a propensity toward dance skill is a

laughable fallacy (Gottschild, 2003, p. 83). One need only watch President Barack

Obama dance on the *Ellen DeGeneres Show* to see proof of this. Dancing is solely a

matter of acculturation.[29]

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[28]   See Manning Marable "Black Studies and Multiculturalism"

[29] See Hazard-Gordon (1985), who recounts the fact that Malcolm X (El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz)
spoke in his autobiography as if dance was something that came to Backs naturally and was a marker of
racial identity.

Also, African American dance moves cannot all be traced directly back to the African continent. As mentioned earlier, Black Dance could include only diasporic dance traditions, but this dissertation focuses on African Americans. For example, The Cakewalk, predecessor to such moves such as the 'Cripwalk,' according to Stearns "turned up no worthy African counterpart" aside from the improvised steps of the individual dancer (Stearns, 1968, p. 11). [30]

Though I am attempting to create a quick historical continuum of African or Black (vernacular) Dance, according to Gottschild, "most forms of traditional African Dance are neither linear nor narrative" (Gottschild, 2003, p. 15). Barbara Glass, however, suggests that there are at least "ten culturally-based characteristics of African Dance that can be seen in dance forms of the African diaspora" (McCarthy-Brown, 2010, p. 305). Some of these elements include "circle and line formations, polyrhythm, competition, and the importance of community" (McCarthy-Brown, 2010, p. 305). Some of these characteristics can be seen in the dances discussed in this dissertation. For example, a virtual community has been built around Lil B's cooking dance. People share their videos online of them cooking on YouTube and Lil B's website, basedworld.com. I recently watched a video of R&B/Pop star Chris Brown engaged in a Dougie competition/battle with NBA player John Wall. Thus, the dance leaves room for

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[30] Also see Emery (1972)

One element that can be traced back to Africa is the banjo (banza, banja, or bonjour), a stringed guitar-like instrument that accompanied Black dances on slave plantations, especially after the drum was banned. Even the notoriously racist Thomas Jefferson admitted to the banjo's African origin.

competition. Other dances are syncopated, which can be traced back to West Africa. Snap dancing ("Lean Wit It") finds its roots indirectly in the earlier hip-hop dances such as popping and locking.

Pre-colonial Africa had many warrior dances performed by men which conveyed both group and individual status, virility and sexual prowess, "Physical preparation for war", and "affective readying for violent encounters", as well as "political behavior"[31] (Hanna, 1977, p. 128). The aforementioned Samburu of East Africa used song and dance in converting young boys into warriors. The young boys and their parents view this as a step toward gaining the revered status of warrior or 'moran.' The moran themselves practice certain dances such as the "nkokorri." The nkokorri is practiced by women and young boys as well, but is symbolically masculine. It often culminates in the men making a shivering motion, which symbolizes a bridled aggression and desire to fight (Spencer, 1985, p.146). In this setting, women are either ignored or seen as sexual objects. Some of these same elements are seen in contemporary Black dance, particularly in hip-hop dances performed by men and boys. Though one cannot definitively draw a direct link with pre-colonial western and southern African warrior dances, the possibility is open.

Craighead states that within the Black Dance tradition, first there was "plantation dance," then came the "minstrel dance," out of which the "happy negro"

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[31] Politics and dance are further discussed later in this chapter.

stereotype arose. Many of the nation's greatest dancers fulfilled this stereotype, including Bill Robinson and Bert Williams.

Physical shape and size are far less important in African or Black Dance and hip-hop dance than in "Europeanist forms of concert dance" (Gottschild, 2003, p. 33). One can remember the thick, muscular thighs and curvaceous hips of famous hip-hop dancers Leslie 'Big Lez' Segar and Rosie Perez, and recognize instantly that they would never have been eligible for stardom in ballet. Big Lez and Perez are both noted choreographers and performers. The latter's curvy frame was on display during the opening credits of Spike Lee's classic film *Do the Right Thing* (Guthrie, 2003, p.177).

According to Emery, music and dance were basic elements of pre-colonial African societies (Emery, 1972, p. 2). African dance was used both in religious and secular settings to complex African rhythms whose "structure have yet to be equaled" (Emery, 1972, p. 2). Whereas in European society there exists a "dualism … between mind and body," dancing was an essential part of religious worship and celebration in pre-colonial West Africa (White, 1999, p.178). Robert Farris Thompson stated that "traditional cults are danced faiths, worship converted into sound and motion, performed in open air" (Thompson, 1999, p.72). Today, many African American church-goers continue this tradition through "off-beat clapping and swaying, in holy dancing, in the synchronic waving of outstretched hands, in the rhythmic patting of feet" (White, 1999, p.179).

West African dances focused on maintaining a "cool" aesthetic and community building. Coolness is behavior that conveys "pride, strength and control" and

"hides self-doubt, insecurity and inner turmoil" (Majors, 1992, p. 5). Without keeping

"cool," attempts to build community would be futile, as chaos would prevail (Thompson,

1999, p.73). The dancers would often have frozen facial expressions to convey coolness,

"patience and collectedness of mind" (Thompson, 1999, p.73). Some of the dances that

will be discussed in this dissertation also depend upon coolness, such as the Dougie.

In a few cases, "dance was used … to entice the native Africans to board

the white man's ships" (Emery, 1972, p.3). It was believed by some slave traders that

dancing could prevent slaves from succumbing to "both scurvy and suicidal melancholy"

(Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p.7). While the slave traders believed their African captives

danced because they were naturally jovial and happy, in fact, slaves danced to express

their misery and "to evoke deities who could assist them in revolt and escape" (Hazzard-

Gordon, 1990, p.12). Black music and dance has the potential to assist in liberation,

which is why they must be controlled by the threat of the lash or presently, the power of

the almighty dollar. On some slave ships such as the *HMS Brookes*, captives were

"danced" in order for them to get exercise so they would appear strong and healthy for

sale (Emery, 1972, p.6). Thus, black dances and music have been exploited for the

economic gain of others for hundreds of years.

According to Emery, the "ability to play an instrument or to dance added

value to a slave" (Emery, 1972, p.103). Slaves were expected to dance on demand, no

matter what the circumstances, for white spectators. One might think that slaves would

have grown to despise dancing since they were often coerced into it for the financial gain

of whites. However, Emery states that for Blacks, "through dance, a link was maintained

with the past, and an escape made temporarily from the present" (Emery, 1972, p.103).

For example the Ring Shout was a religious praise dance but "retained the characteristics of African sacred dance" (Emery, 1972, p.120).

Slaves also engaged in what was known as "shucking". Shucking is a style of speech and "physical movement that construct a temporary guise or façade designed to accommodate The Man" (Majors, 1992, p. 63).[32] Shucking was seen as a performance of a submissive masculinity that would "result in the black male gaining some sort of advantage" (Majors, 1992, p. 63).

Situated behind the French Quarter in a lot close to Orleans and Rampart Streets in New Orleans, sits Congo Square. [33] Prior to arrival of Europeans, Congo Square, which has had many names over the years, was used as a location to celebrate the yearly corn harvest by the Houma Indians. It was "considered sacred ground."[34] Enslaved and free Africans sang, danced, and traded goods on Sundays, but were monitored by police (Wagner, 2005, p.133). By the early 19th century, a Sunday afternoon could find 600 people on the small plot of land, and these dances lasted "well into the 1880s" (Emery, 1972, p.156). Scholars believe the dances in Congo Square began after the Louisiana Purchase. Many Blacks were traded via the domestic slave

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[32] "The Man" should be read as white men.

[33]   http://www.kumbukaafricandance.com/id4.html

[34]   http://www.kumbukaafricandance.com/id4.html

trade from the Caribbean and being brought from West Africa. They carried with them "Voodoo, with all of its secret ceremonies and dances," and Voodoo became an increasingly popular religion among Blacks in New Orleans (Emery, 1972, p.156).Whites feared that Africans could be plotting revolt and revenge efforts. In 1817, the New Orleans City Council passed a piece of legislation that banned enslaved Africans from assembling to dance on any other day than Sunday or at night (Emery, 1972, p. 157).Violators of the law were to be jailed and given "10 to 25 lashes" (Emery, 1972, p. 157). Those who were owners of land or houses who permitted such assembly and dances were also subject to the punishment. Thus, the mayor decided that Congo Square was a good site "where the slaves could be kept under careful surveillance" (Emery, 1972, p. 157). According to Hazzard-Gordon, "the establishment of Congo Square contained rather than encouraged slave dancing and culture" (Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p. 38). Africans danced the Calinda (Calenda), the Bamboula, "the Babouille, the Cata, the Counjaille, the Voudou, and the Congo" to the amusement of white tourists and spectators. It is unclear whether the dances were associated with Voodoo or other African religious traditions, but it is believed by Emery that they were not, since Voodoo rites are generally not performed in public (Emery 156).[35]

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[35] Louisiana was also home to the quadroon balls, which were specifically for white spectators and white men looking for mixed race concubines. (Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p. 48)

For slaves, dances served many purposes. They were used as education and social commentary, a medium to "comment on work and on the behavior of whites and other slaves" (Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p. 64). Invitation to clandestine slave dances was not extended to everyone, especially if one had proven him- or herself to be untrustworthy. There was a code of silence surrounding the secret dances, as whites often prohibited unsanctioned or unsupervised meetings of slaves (Hazzard-Gordon 64). If one was known to have broken the code, his/her invitation to slave dances would be rescinded and he/she would be shunned in the community. The dances were used to build and regulate the community and its behaviors.

Initially, drums played an integral part in the rhythms to which slave danced, along with hand claps and stomping (Emery, 1972, p. 80). However, slaveholders soon discovered the drum to be a medium which slaves used to pass messages across long distances and quickly banned their use on most plantations (Emery, 1972, p. 83). Slaves used the "banjo, fiddle, quills, tambourine, bones" and other instruments and sometimes even performed their music at "white folk dances" (Emery, 1972, p. 86). There were some dances such as the "Buck dance" that were exclusively reserved for men. Some dances and terminology have survived to this very day. There was the "Jig," for example. Today, one can hear and see people 'get jiggy with it.'[36]

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[36] Gettin' Jiggy Wit It entered mainstream consciousness when Will Smith (formerly known as The Fresh Prince) released a single with same the same name in 1998. The song became a #1 hit and was co-written by the classic rapper Nas. It won a Grammy Award in 1999. (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gettin%27_Jiggy_wit_It)

Rapper Cassidy encourages his audience to "get your jig on" in his 2010 independently released single "Drumma Bass." Slaveholders would even sponsor "jigging contests" (Emery, 1972, p. 90). Also, humor, "parody," and "commentary", have been a part of Black Dance since at least the period of enslavement (Gottschild, 2003, p. 44). Danced humor became extremely popular with performers such as Bert Williams, who endeared Black and white audiences alike with his clumsy, yet controlled movements (Stearns, 1968, p. 15). Humor remains essential to hip-hop dance as well.

Another dance element that has been around since pre-colonial Africa is the imitation of animal movements. According to Stearns, "African dance generally imitates animals in realistic detail" (Stearns, 1968, p. 15). The Buzzard Lope was around during slavery, the Funky Chicken in the 1970s, and in the mid-2000s, Nelly encouraged (women) to "get your eagle on" in his 2004 single "Flap Your Wings" (Emery, 1972, p. 93). They also use a great deal of improvisation, which allows for "freedom of expression" (Stearns, 1968, p.15).

The economic exploitation of Black dances continued into the Minstrelsy era, which became popular towards the end of the antebellum period. The name Jim Crow comes from a dance which was created after Thomas Dartmouth "TD" Rice allegedly imitated the movements of an old, disabled Black man by the name of "Jim Crow" (Emery, 1972, p. 188). Whites began the minstrel tradition performing in blackface as a means to ridicule black self-determination. Minstrelsy for whites was comprised of a "potent mixture of voyeurism and contempt for Black life" (White, 1999, p.119). However, it is debatable if the "Jim Crow" or many other popular minstrel dances

were authentic or indigenous to the Black community, even the ones performed by

Blacks. Many of these dances were, at the very least, based on exaggerations of Black

dances. Minstrel shows presented the image of a "happy, contented slave," which in

itself was untrue and did not portray the sentiment of the Black community (Emery,

1972, p. 197). Minstrelsy made the Black male a dancing fool, a childlike clown,

oftentimes continuing the tradition of singing and dancing for the amusement of whites.[37]

According to Emery, "Though the minstrels purported to imitate the plantation Negro, the

distortion was so great that by 1890 any resemblance between the Negro and his black

face stereotype was incidental" (Emery, 1972, p. 326). Some have likened BET to a

modern day medium for minstrelsy.   Minstrelsy had policy implications in the past and

had a hand in determining the issues of equality and citizenship for Blacks who were

recently freed from bondage (White, 1999, p.119). The shows made Blacks seem

incapable of being equal partners in society with whites.

Over the years, many questions have been raised about the integrity of the

minstrel show and its authenticity within Black culture. According to Emery (1972), the

music, speech and appearance of minstrel shows were not at all "representative of the real

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[37] It is important to note that the role of a clown or jester has been around for centuries on almost every continent, including Africa. According to Otto (2001), many Jesters in Africa did not serve one individual or monarch: rather they were they property of the village, with the exception of the Wolof and a few others. This fact raises the question, 'are the clowning roles of minstrelsy, when performed by Blacks solely coming out of the oppressive legacy of White Supremacy, or is it partially a tradition that can be traced back to the continent of Africa?'

Negro" (p. 189). However, dance in minstrel shows was the closest to what Black people created, partially due to the influence of William Henry Lane, also known as Master Juba. Master Juba was regarded by many to be the world's greatest dancer, a title he all but solidified by besting Master Diamond in a "series of challenge dances" (Emery, 1972, p. 185). Diamond was a white man who was recognized for his ability to perform Black dances. Juba defeated him decisively and joined a minstrel troupe where he was given top billing, which was virtually unheard of for a Black man touring with white performers. He was also not forced to perform in Blackface. His skillful jig dancing was praised by many including British novelist Charles Dickens.

The Black authenticity of Juba's dances can be questioned, as the jig is usually seen as a dance of Irish origin (Emery, 1972, p. 189). However, those who would raise such questions forget that African Americans are a hybridized people. Emery stated that Juba's dancing was also hybridized, and included both African and Irish elements.

The duo Williams and Walker were so popular in the late 1890s that authors Jean and Marshall Stearns called Williams the "idol of the era" (Stearns, 1968, p. 118). The two dancers "brought the Cakewalk to its peak popularity" (Stearns, 1968, p. 121). The comedic team which consisted of the skilled 'strutter' George Walker and the purposefully and ingeniously clumsy Bert Williams, was lauded by Booker T. Washington, who claimed that their phenomenal dancing helped others to understand Blacks, and was therefore a tool for racial reconciliation (Emery, 1972, p. 213). They even attempted to incorporate native African characters and culture in their act after meeting some Dahomeans in California (Emery, 1972, p. 211). However, Bert Williams

felt creatively stifled and limited by the buffoonery the minstrel stage required of him (Emery, 1972, p. 213). He desired to be regarded as a serious performer whose range would include dramatic performances (Emery, 1972, p.212). W.C. Fields praised Williams's comedy, but lamented his melancholy.

The dances of the early half of the 20th century also contained African elements. Famed scholar Melville Herskovits claimed that the Charleston had been invented by the Ashanti (Stearns, 1968, p. 13). Later in the 20 century, rock-and-roll made the Twist popular, which was merely an incarnation of movements performed in Africa and by Blacks in the antebellum south (Stearns, 1968, p. 1).

Hazzard-Gordon hypothesizes that Black Dance and the music that accompanied it has always "seemed to blend the sacred and secular elements (Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p.78). Oftentimes, the same spaces that were used for "jookin" and after hours entertainment were at some point used for religious worship. Musically, sacred music used "the same chord progressions, call-and-response patterns, implied polyrhythms, and use of falsetto and melisma" (Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p.78). The dances being performed were also often identical to the ones one might see being done by parishioners during Sunday service (Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p.78). While religious dances often were performed in a ring or circle, secular dances started to be done in a line (James, 2000, p. 143). Many hip-hop dances are now done in a line, such as snap dancing. Many popular secular Black dances are of religious origin. According to Julius Lester (1968), "The twist, watusi, boogaloo, and monkey have come from the black

community and have been appropriated by whites who have no idea that these are, in essence, religious dances, rich with sexual adumbrations" (p. 68).

The media image of Black Dance had to be depoliticized and made to appear docile and non-threatening to the existing power structure, obscure its rebellious past and emancipatory potential. Bill Robinson became a major figure of Black song and dance in the public imagination, despite the fact that he may not have been the most talented dancer around (Stearns, 1968, p.149). He appeared in several feature films, often starring alongside Shirley Temple, one of the nation's first bona fide child stars. Robinson was famous for his incredible "tap prowess and innovation" (McCarthy-Brown, 2010, p. 306).

Though it is often suggested that Bill Robinson, also known as "Bojangles," was defiant when it came to his encounters with racism in his personal life, one must consider the roles he played and how he was discovered.[38] He was discovered at age 50 in the poorly reviewed production *Blackbirds* of 1928. The show was comprised of "a series of stereotypes with Negro children eating watermelon" (Stearns, 1968, p. 151). Though critics loathed the production, it ran for 518 shows and made Bojangles "the first negro dancing star on Broadway" (Stearns, 1968, p. 151). He was often portrayed as a "good-natured avuncular black servant" and an asexual "Uncle Tom"

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[38] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bill_Robinsonhttp://black-face.com/Bill-Bojangles-Robinson.htm : Robinson is said to have carried a gun often, and would not hesitate to brandish it if someone refused him service on the basis of his race.

(McCarthy-Brown, 2010, p. 307).His image was used to rob Black men and their bodies of masculinities. Much like some of his modern day counterparts in the rap industry, Robinson was well-compensated for his subservient roles, earning an estimated $2 million in his lifetime.[39]

The dance instruction song has been another element of Black expressive culture long before hip-hop took hold as a major force within popular culture. Whites have used song to teach dances as well, but this genre "primarily comprises African American dances" and "has longer vernacular roots in the African American community" (Banes, 2002, p. 170,171). [40]   Banes and Szwed suggests that "the roots of this genre reach back to the instructions and commentary by slave musicians at both slave gatherings and white plantation balls; to the African American folk song, game, and dance tradition; and earlier to the close relationship between West African dancing and musicians' cues" (Banes, 2002, p. 172). The late 19th and early 20th century saw many dance instruction songs arise, and all-Black casts for Broadway musicals "regularly introduced new dance crazes to whites by demonstrating the steps and singing songs exhorting spectators to do the dance" in the 1920s(Banes, 2002, p. 179). Songs like "Teach Me How to Dougie" by Cali Swag District and Soulja Boy Tell 'Em's "Crank That (Soulja Boy)" are modern day incarnations of the dance instruction song. The

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[39]   http://black-face.com/Bill-Bojangles-Robinson.htm

[40]   According to DeFrantz, square dances and contra dances performed by whites were influenced by "African American games and styles of game playing" (173)

amount of instruction provided by the vocalist can vary. Some break the dance down

step by step, while others "serve as prompts or mnemonics, recalling for the listener

previously demonstrated and learned dances; some serve to coordinate ensemble dancing;

some merely praise a dance or exhort the listener to perform it" (Banes, 2002, p. 191).

Dance instruction songs reached a pinnacle in the 20th century in the 1960s with the

popularity of songs such as the Twist, but have always been around. The 1970s saw disco

bring instructions to audiences with "Do the Hustle." In the 1980s we danced "The

Peewee Herman," and the 1990s ushered in the "Tootsie Roll" (Banes, 2002, p. 196).

The new millennium just saw an explosion in a style that dates back to the pre-colonial

African continent.

James Brown was a major pioneer who laid the foundation for hip-hop, both

sonically and kinesically. Ogbar states that early hip-hoppers, such as b-boy Crazy Legs

and DJ Kool Herc, credit James Brown for being the inspiration for both rap music and

hip-hop dance (Ogbar, 2007, p. 12). Brown's comfort with himself, his body, and his

movements had the ability to make masculine characteristics that were traditionally

thought of as feminine. Gottschild (2003) stated the following:

"Brown is a forerunner of the hip hoppers who

made braids and cornrows - formerly female attributes - a

badge of masculinity. In his whole-body dancing of the

mid-1980s period - his face heavily made up (foundation as

well as eye make up), long, coiffed hair, and tight unisex

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suits in bright colors- he blurs the divisions between male

and female, allowing his anima full expression. … As in his

1960s concerts, he is not afraid to fall down on his knees, to

scream "like a woman." He makes these actions the male

domain; he owns them and allows them to empower him as

though they are the gospel truth." (p. 118)

James Brown was able to define masculinities for himself, or at the very least redefine

them. He is the predecessor to artist like Lil B and Snoop Dogg who traverse the

hegemonic boundaries for masculinities boundaries.

Brown's ability to redefine things makes him the perfect predecessor to hip-hop.

According to Gottschild, he "managed to redefine old gestures that had been tainted by

slavery" such as when he would "bend, bow, fall to his knees (oh, please, baby, please!)

in humility" (Ogbar, 2007, p. 115). He also praised blackness in front of multiracial

audiences which rappers would later do often (Gottschild, 2003, p. 115). James Brown's

movements fell well within the Black dance tradition, as he incorporated "flat-footed

dances that favor gliding, dragging, or shuffling steps," as many "vernacular dances of

African origin" do (Caponi, 1999, p.25).[41] He also expressed an interest in hip-hop by

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[41] s Brown danced defiantly in the 1970s with the release of "I'm Black and I'm Proud.", The

hegemonic forces began to readjust in the 1980s. In 1981, Ben Vereen danced in Blackface at the

inauguration of President Ronald Reagan, to the horror of many African Americans (Neal). In taking an

expressive tradition that in part dates back to early African warrior dances and manhood rituals, and

changing them into an emasculatingly clownish submissive performances, Vereen's performance reflected

teaming up with Afrika Bambaataa to make a 6-part record entitled "Unity" (Hebdige, 2004, p. 227). Brown also used elements of call and response which displayed his "total engagement with the music" (Caponi, 1999, p. 24). Call and response is portion of Black Dance and music dating back to the Ring Shout. "Teach Me How to Dougie" is recent song dance combo filled with call and response. The first line of the song has the rapper replying to the inquiries of his audience:

They be like Smoove/ What? / Can you teach me how to Dougie?

Song and dance are sharp-edged tools. They can be used to build communities and move people toward liberation. However, in the wrong hands, they can be transformed into a weapon to manipulate and harm people. , Our Jim Crow system of oppression and internal colonialism was named after a racist song and dance combination performed in minstrel shows.[42] They have the power to motivate and inspire political and social action toward racial and gender liberation, or they can be used to reify racial and gender roles. At times they can do both simultaneously. Phillip Brian Harper illuminated the fact that songs such as Lou Rawls' "A Natural Man" (1971) and Aretha Franklin's "A Natural Women" essentialize and naturalize the socially constructed categories of gender

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the ultimate symbolic victory of colonialism over resistance. 1980s B-boys were exploited and the style was commercialized, supporting big capitalist corporations like Pepsi.

[42]   http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/who.htm

(Harper, 1996, p.185). However, Franklin's vocal tone suggests autonomy and independence, which are in sharp contrast to the lyrics which cede power to a man who 'makes her feel like a natural woman' (Harper, 1996, p.186). Huntington states that hip-hop dance has been "appropriated" by the powers that be, "showing not the pain of the past, but the fictional happiness of the present" (Huntington, 2007, p.33).

HIP-HOP AND STATE POWER

Black communities have had a contentious relationship with the federal and state governments of the United States of America since its founding, the latter holding differing (yet always significant) degrees of power over the former. Africans initially were brought to the British colony of Virginia in 1619 and given the status of indentured servants, "similar to that of most Virginia colonists" (Higginbotham, Jr, 1996, p.18). However, their position quickly devolved to that of lifelong chattel slaves, with the "earliest comprehensive slave codes being drafted in 1705" (Higginbotham, Jr, 1996, p. 30). Though roughly one fourth of free families could afford to own slaves, the one who did normally owned 25 or more captives. Thus, what sociologist William Julius Wilson calls a "planter aristocracy" developed as the ruling class who used the powers of the state to protect their interests. According to Wilson, "the economic system, the political system, and the juridical system in the south were all controlled and shaped by the slaveholding elite" (Wilson, 1980 p. 25) . Law was used to reinforce the ideology of

white superiority. In 1667 the legislature in Virginia determined that God was "on the side of the master," not the slave.[43] The law put white men in a position higher than God himself. This piece of legislation specifically stated that "baptism does not alter the condition of the person as to his freedom," only a master could do that. Thus, God could not free a person, only a slaveholding white man had that power. During the colonial period, "Blacks could not gather in groups, carry weapons, or travel without the permission of their masters; white males periodically searched black quarters for weapons and kept the blacks under surveillance" (Berry, 1994, p.3). The control of Black communities was a major part of the Constitution, which received little resistance from any of the major political parties at the time. The Fugitive Slave Clause and other racist elements were "indispensable parts of the Constitution" (Berry, 1994, p. 7).

These laws codified the containment of African slaves and the suppression of insurrectionary and rebellious media. For example, David Walker's 1829 *Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, which admonished Blacks for not physically freeing themselves form bondage, was banned in several states (Painter, 2007, p. 80).[44] Despite these efforts at control, "nearly every area had its rebellions" (Emery, 1972, p.82).

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[43] Religion was also used to subjugate women during this period.

[44] http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/aaohtml/exhibit/aopart1.html, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/aia/part4/4p2930.html

The fallout following Walker's Appeal led to the prohibition of Blacks learning to read and of the distribution of antislavery literature.

According to Emery, in the early 1700s, slaves plotted the destruction and arson of New York and Boston until their plans were uncovered (Emery, 1972, p. 82).

Some laws were the direct result of slave rebellion. The Stono insurrection, also known as the Cato conspiracy, in South Carolina in 1739 "had a great influence on the dance of the Negro in the United States" (Emery, 1972, p.82). The rebels marched rhythmically and killed any whites who dared to try and stop them. The Stono insurrections motivated whites to pass laws in South Carolina prohibiting "the assembly of groups of Negroes and the use of drums of any kind" (Emery, 1972, p. 83).

After the passage of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, localities within the US passed laws known as Black Codes that put Blacks at a disadvantage socially, politically, scholastically, and economically (Painter, 2007, p.143). [45] The vast majority of publically-funded universities in the South barred blacks from admission. Black voting rights were curtailed by unfair literacy tests, poll taxes, and Draconian laws such as Grandfather Clauses. Though the herrenvolk democracy of the previous centuries was eradicated by Civil Rights legislation, a white supremacist hegemony was clearly set in place and maintained by media, including rap music.

There have been many attempts to control American media throughout this nation's history., especially art, literature and music. These efforts have come from private organizations who disagree with it allegedly patriarchal ethos, to government

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[45] Black Codes in southern states not only kept Blacks from voting, but also in some cases keep them from testifying or sitting on juries, and coerced them into certain types of labor.

entities that want to curtail piracy from DJs and consumers (Johnson, 1999, p. 598).

Ironically, around the time of emancipation, Anthony Comstock became this nation's

"first great crusader for cleaning up American literature and artwork" (Blanchard, 1992,

p.745). The 1873 Comstock Laws forbade publications deemed "obscene, lewd, or

lascivious" from being carried in the mail (Blanchard, 1992, p.748). However, Comstock

himself lobbied against materials that spoke of political acts such as Whitman's *Leaves of*

Grass, which makes references to homosexuality. Thus, it stands to reason that he and

the United States Congress were less concerned with protecting the public, so much as

they were with controlling the ideas and concepts to which it had access.

The controversial rap group 2Live Crew won a Supreme Court battle over

censorship in the early 1990s. The concern was not for how the lyrics contained within

albums like *As Nasty As They Want to Be* (1989), materially affect women or influence

sexual dominance. It was an issue of a potential domino effect. What could be next on

the horizon? Revolutionary music that promotes rebellion? An unsuccessful attempt was

made to quell what could have been a snowball of anti-establishment media.

However, de facto censorship has still occurred when it comes to revolutionary or

rebellious ideas. Songs like these are rarely heard on terrestrial radio. According to Ball,

"those interested in communicating counterhegemonic ideas, thus encouraging the

development of Sandoval's 'oppositional consciousness', which must precede

oppositional political organization and activity, cannot expect to use mainstream media to

the end" (Ball, 2011, p. 100). In other words, mainstream media refuse to be a platform

for radical ideas that could influence the public to be energized and politically active. The

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United States and the FCC have made amends with violent and sexist rap music, for as long as this music does not challenge capitalist ideology. My claim can be supported by simply looking at the I contend that the sing-a-long, simplistic lullaby-like melodies and the dances that accompanied them in the 2000s obscure the capitalist messages and make them seem more docile and harmless.

Our country's elite have always feared communications which promote alternative ideologies, believing they could lead to resistance or rebellion to the capitalist, imperialist order. Also, there has been a major attempt to either limit people's access to information or to manipulate information so that it appears in favor of the ruling ideology. Black slaves were prohibited from learning to read or write, or even using the drum because it was a medium of communication (Emery, 1972, p.83). If slaves could read their Bibles they may have understood the liberation content within the Old and New Testament, and be inspired to rise up in rebellion. However in post-millennium hip-hop, the trickery of the capitalist, imperialist order has been even more subtle. By flooding the airwaves with artists doing Africanist dance moves, it makes the Eurocentric content of the rap lyrics seem homegrown within the Black community.

Dance itself has proven to be a threat to state and local power in the past. Dance was indeed used as "a means of solidifying slave community, dance could threaten white dominance" during the antebellum period (Hazzard-Gordon, 1992, p.22). Slaves, even in North America, used dance "to camouflage insurrectionary activity" (Hazzard-Gordon, 1992, p.22). Jacqui Malone stated that "African American dance serves some of the same purposes as traditional dances in western and central African cultures: on both

continents Black dance is a source of energy, joy, and inspiration; a spiritual antidote to oppression; and a way to lighten work, teach social values, and strengthen institutions" (Malone, 1999, p.223). According to Hazzard-Gordon, "masters who permitted slave dancing did so with care, and hoping to pacify the slaves' desire to rebel" (Malone, 1999, p.22). Pacification and distraction, particularly through the control of media discourse, has long been a goal of the white supremacist power structure. Even though slaves were permitted dance in Congo Square, the location recognized as the birthplace of Jazz, they were "kept under careful surveillance for signs of plotting against whites" (Emery, 1972, p.157). Urban slave dances were required to have "the supervision of armed whites" for fear of rebellion (Hazzard-Gordon, 1992, p.36).

Music and dance were also used to pacify Black resistance during the 20th century. For example, James Brown was called upon to quell the rumblings of unrest in Boston following the assassination of Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Gottchild, 2003, p.119). The mid-1960s saw urban rebellion hit many cities across the nation as a response to "police brutality, increasing segregation between cities and suburbs, unfair mortgage lending policies, urban renewal, and deindustrialization" (Painter, 2007, p.308). However, the murder of Dr. King, largely considered America's last hope for peaceful reconciliation, sparked revolts in 125 cities (Painter, 2007, p.308). In Boston, the largely Black neighborhoods of Roxbury, North Dorchester and the South End had already seen violence and looting (Belkin, 2006). Brown had been scheduled to perform at the Boston Garden, and organizers wanted to cancel the concert fearing violence. However, Boston Mayor Kevin White feared that the word could move slow and frustrated Black teenagers

would show up at the Garden only to realize that there would be no concert. Perhaps the biggest fear was that the violence would not be occurring in the impoverished neighborhoods like Roxbury, but would be in downtown Boston. White decided to reinstate the concert and get a television station to cover it, imploring Black kids to stay in and watch the live broadcast (Belkin, 2006). On April 5, 1968, the day after King's death, "Brown was brokered as a political tool" and gave "one of the most intense performances imaginable" (Gottchild, 2003, p.119). White used Brown's televised concert, rather than a press conference at a traditional location, to address the community (Gottschild, 2003, p.119).

Even stylistically, Black Dance has been an expression of liberated spirit in the Black community. African American dance is communal. While moving, the dancer is communicating with the audience and fellow dancers (White, 1999, p.56). According to White and Cones, Black dancers express "freedom" with their movements, whereas European dance is a "slow, controlled, sedate linear pattern" (White, 1999, p.56). European dance is confining while Black Dance is free and allows for improvisation and personalization. According to Hazzard-Gordon, political resistance is one of the "four aspects of meaning" in Black social dance. Hazzard-Gordon explains this idea in the following passage:

This is the aspect of meaning engaged if one views black dance in contradistinction to white dance; for example, if blacks see themselves as better dancers, if blacks ridicule whites who attempt to "dance black," or if they make distinctions that

imply resentment, superiority, and a distaste for whites who may be attempting to emulate general aspects of black culture (Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p.47).

Though Black dance has always had the potential to build community and solidarity, in the United States Black dancers have, unconsciously or not, adopted elements of capitalism and hegemonic masculinity such as competition. As stated earlier, African slaves were made to engage in dance competitions with slaves from other plantation for the monetary gain of the slaveholder. McLeod states that competition was a large part of both early rap and hip-hop dance (Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p. 218). Today the images of African American men are used to endorse the sale of products which primarily benefit corporations and their investors

Black men with extraordinary talents are placed on television and other media outlets, which "helps maintain white male hegemony" by promoting "a narrative of social uplift that suggests to young black men the positive merits of capitalist social relations of individualism" over community.[46]

Even with dance's potential for community uplift, there is a history of Black dancers being financially exploited for their talents. Dance schools hired b-boys in the 1980s to teach their moves, and middle class white spectators marveled at the skill and acrobatic ease with which young Black and Latino dancers moved (Rose, 2008, p.206). However, the dancers were rarely being financially compensated. At some events, $8

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[46] (McLeod 221)

may be charged at the door, but the dancers left empty handed (Rose, 2008, p.206). Due to their youth and inexperience in business dealings, the dancers did not realize they were being exploited until b-boying was no longer en vogue.

As a nation we incarcerated people for being vocal about their opposition to the First World War. During the infamous McCarthy era of the Cold War people were punished for membership or alleged membership in "proscribed groups" (Cole, 2003, p.1). At the same time, the government and private entities have used mass media such as music to support their agendas. The *Source Magazine* co-sponsored a tour featuring gangsta rap acts with the United States Army.

From the time that hip-hop was in its infancy, the debate raged over what material was acceptable for mass media consumption. The Nixon administration waged a battle against material it found offensive. The Commission on Obscenity and Pornography was one of its targets, because the group called for sex education and open dialogue about sexuality rather than the banning of sexualized material (Blanchard, 1992, p.813). The Nixon administration, attempting to liken pornography to antisocial and criminal behavior, was trying to put limits on First Amendment rights and limit the public's access to things it deemed unacceptable. The Reagan administration followed its predecessor -- with help from across the political aisle from the wife of then-Senator Al Gore. Tipper Gore was one of the founders to the Parents Music Resource Center, which lobbied the music industry to regulate itself (Blanchard, 1992, p.822). What came after was something often called the "Tipper sticker," which states "Parental Advisory-- Explicit Lyrics" (Blanchard, 1992, p.826). In an era of partisan politics, members of both side of

the political aisle agreed about their desire to censor hip-hop. In addition to Gore, New Gingrich and Bob Dole pressured Time Warner and radio stations to relinquish their support for rap music and rap labels. Time Warner later sold 50% of its stock in Interscope Records (Blanchard, 1992, p.119).

The FCC has at times been a fierce regulator of content over the airwaves, and extremely lax at others. What history has shown us is that the ferocity with which the FCC polices the airwaves depends on the politics of the material and often occurs under the guise of public decency. For example, in 1987 the FCC admonished a radio station for broadcasting a play that dealt "the sexual fantasies of homosexuals" (Blanchard, 1992, p.835).

Hip-hop has been a potentially subversive entity lurking in the shadows of the American commercial and ideological mainstream. In the 1980s, especially in parts of the country outside of the New York tri-state area, hip-hop had created a true underground economy and community. College and independent radio, small performance venues, swap meets, and vehicles which doubled as retail sites made up the "underground" (Wahl, 1999, p.101). Despite being relegated to the margins, N.W.A. transgressed the limits of state acceptability when they released "Fuck tha Police" (Wahl, 1999, p.101). According to Greg Wahl, it was a song that "not only worked outside official boundaries of authority, but also took aim at the authority group charged with the preservation of those same boundaries" (Wahl, 1999, p.101). Their expression of this commonly held Black sentiment attracted the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation which wrote a letter to N.W.A.'s record label as a veiled threat (Wahl,

1999, p.101). The FBI has gets involved when the Bureau believes a threat is brewing in the Black community. The most notorious example of the FBI's invention in the Black community was through COINTELPRO, a secret program which conducted many illegal activities between 1956 and 1971.

More importantly, rather than allowing the members of NWA to exist on the margins as popular rebels, they have been co-opted by mainstream media. Ice Cube, NWA's most outspoken member, has been a pitch man for alcoholic beverages and a movie star.[47] Dr. Dre has become one of the biggest selling producers in hip-hop history

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[47] Ice Cube has done advertisement for the cheap liquor, St. Ides and more recently, for Coors Light. Despite his occasional relatively pro-Black music, he still promotes an addictive drug to Black communities. He once rapped "Get your girl in the mood quicker/ get your Jimmy thicker/ with St. Ides Malt Liquor". (http://home.earthlink.net/~ggghostie/maltliquor.html) Perhaps the most progressive mainstream rapper of all time, Chuck D, sued St. Ides for using *his* music in a radio ad. Capitalists will go to any length to de-politicize Black music for their own purposes.

Graham, Charne (Oct, 24, 2011) "St Ides & Hip-Hop: Would Today's Rappers Endorse Malt Liquor"

http://blogs.houstonpress.com/rocks/2011/10/st_ides_and_hip-hop_would_toda.php

(April 30, 2005) "A Story Without Heroes: The Cautionary Tale of Malt Liquor"

http://home.earthlink.net/~ggghostie/maltliquor.html

These cheap liquor (as well as menthol cigarette brands) aimed their products at Black audiences by advertising in *Ebony* and *Jet* magazines and Black radio. Hence, Blacks cannot trust so-called Black media and media figures to act in the best interest of the Black community. According to Ball, a program

and is also seen in advertisements for mass market products. These are examples of how "communities set to be ruled or colonized are not to be allowed a free flow of communication or cultural exchange" (Ball, 2011, p.10). Hip-hop groups like NWA and others gaining the attention of the music industry meant losing control of its distribution and ultimately content. According to Ball, "it is the fundamental relationship that these corporations have with art and artists that is the real culprit in any exploitation that occurs" (Ball, 2011, p.10). Today, many artists are given what are termed "360 deals" by record companies. The 360 deal entitles the record company who owns the artist's music to a percentage of any profit-making enterprises that utilize the artist's brand and/or music (Ball, 2011, p.11). Arrangements such as these make the artist into an indentured servant.

The music industry includes a system of payola, or pay for (radio) play. Gain access to radio play can cost up to "$5000 per song per station" (Ball, 2011, p. 92). Independent artists rarely have the financial means to pay or justify paying such a large sum to get attention. Thus, this practice, as Ball articulates, puts the determination of what is popular and gains wide spread attention squarely in the hands of the elites who have substantial resources. The implications of payola stretch far beyond hip-hop and music in general. People are only given the opportunity to be exposed to a few

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director at *WERQ* in Baltimore did not see the importance of dispensing news on his station, but Blacks can be inundated with ads for alcohol and high caffeine, high sugar energy drinks (Ball, 2011, p. 102).

representations of Blackness, or Black masculinities, ones that are deemed acceptable by the wealthy class ("the planters") who have a history of enslaving, silencing, and exploiting Blacks. This limited image of Black men can affect whether they are seen as employable, law abiding, or trustworthy. It not only affects how whites see Blacks, but how Blacks seem themselves.. I can personally remember being called "white boy" by a few of my *white* classmates. This situation occurred because I did not fit their image of what a young Black male was.

The New York Police Department developed a "rap intelligence unit" to monitor crimes that happen in connection with the music industry (Allah 2004). The concept of local policing has its foundation in the desire to quell revolts and capture runaways (Berry, 1994, p.6). Derrick Parker, the founder of the unit, claimed to have "files on everybody" that he maintained in a database. According to Parker, this NYC hip-hop monitoring operation grew to the point where he was regularly fielding calls from Miami, Los Angeles, Chicago and Las Vegas (Allah 2004). Parker's unit investigated rap labels "as if they were crime families," and recorded them with video (Allah 2004). The hip-hop police unit was located in a warehouse, a covert location. One could make the argument that the police were keeping rappers safer by making sure they were not taken advantage of by criminal elements. However, the major murders that involved rappers and their close associates remain unsolved, despite Parker's claims of omnipresence. Rosa Clemente, known hip-hop political activist and one-time vice-presidential candidate, has accused hip-hop cops of illegal profiling (Allah 2004).

According to Tricia Rose, hip-hop has been blamed for "destroying America's values" or at least having the potential to do so. This phenomenon is not limited to hip-hop, as Black secular culture has been characterized by conservative whites as morally depraved and sexually deviant (Rose, 2008, p.97). Moral crusades have always been used as effective smoke screens which obscure important issues such as economic exploitation and institutionalized inequality (Rose, 2008, p.99). There have been recent attempts to link rebellious hip-hop to terrorism perpetrated by fundamentalist Muslims. One article in the *Terrorism Monitor* likens the late Tupac Shakur to Abu Musab al-Zarquawi.[48] Tupac was an artist who had many personalities, but one of them was of a person who wanted to socially and economically uplift Black communities. America's rulers have valued taking advantage of Black workers and scapegoating Black communities. Thus, I am certain that the conservatives are correct when they assert that hip-hop is a threat to their version of America's values.

It is my belief that in order to neutralize hip-hop's transformative power, mainstream capitalism co-opted even its most rebellious artists by offering them wealth and thereby making the holdouts culturally irrelevant. In addition while many speak of free media, there are controls put on any audio and visual content that does not support white supremacy and capitalism. For example, MTV banned Eminem's video for "White America" (Yuscavage, Mar. 2011). Flavor Flav of the ground-breaking group Public

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[48] (Rose, 2008, p.99) al Zarquawi is an al-Qaeda-affiliated terrorist who is allegedly responsible for many violent acts in Iraq.

Enemy has been relegated (or relegated himself) to misogynistic buffoonery on the VH1 show *Flavor of Love*. The principle members of N.W.A. are now mainstream music producers and children's film stars. Opponents of hip-hop have always admitted that they were afraid of their children being indoctrinated with messages they did not approve of. What better way to change this than to change hip-hop itself? Why not provide for children to be indoctrinated by capitalistic rap backed by the infantile rhythms they have become accustomed to hearing since they were in diapers and combine it with movements much like the movements taught to them in kindergarten (the hokey pokey, itsy, bitsy spider, etc.). The underground hardly exists as the Recording Industry Association of America, in conjunction with local police, have raided and shut down mixtape spots and mom-and-pop stores which circulated underground material. According to noted scholar Todd Boyd, "rap is becoming the modern-day equivalent of the 1970s 'Blaxploitation' film, the earliest examples of which works of African American grassroots financial struggle turned into valuable products of the culture, were duplicated, depoliticized, and ultimately rendered devoid of all cultural significance" (Boyd, 2004, p.327).

Body Politics

The politics surrounding Black bodies is another means by which hegemonic power has been maintained. Ronald L. Jackson explains that "bodies are instruments of

institutions that only want to propagate their ideological viewpoints" (Jackson II, 2006, p. 12). White supremacy has sexualized the Black body, and especially in the case of Black males, has depicted it as something to be feared (Gottschild, 2003, p.41). In performance, at times even the most superb singing and dancing expertise is overshadowed by the physicality of black bodies. Even in ballet and modern dance, the focus and commentary is put upon the muscularity of Black dancer, rather than his or her grace (Gottschild, 2003, p.43). According to Gottschild, by emphasizing the Black body as sexualized, the Black intellect could accordingly be demoted in the white imagination" (Gottschild, 2003, p.44).

As a response to a hegemonic masculinity which excludes Black men by definition, young Black men have developed a rebellious masculinity of their own, which includes physicality and the body. White and Cones stated that, "One expresses masculine toughness by one's walk, facial expressions and body language, dress, and aggressive" (White, 1999, p.71). This reactive expression is inscribed by popular culture and mass-mediated imagery as "criminal" and "angry" (Jackson II, 2006, p. 3). Thus, when discussing hip-hop song and dance and state power, one cannot ignore agency of the performers. However, making it an issue of agency versus coercion is an oversimplification. I argue, as does Ronald Jackson II (2006), that "the scripter, the scripted, and the inscription [are] the constituent parts of the social equation that compromises corporeal politics" (p. 3). It is worthwhile to say, that though I will be discussing movement of body parts, it is not my intention to split the Black body into parts, as has been done to dehumanize Blacks.

The Black dancing body is a social construct (Gottschild, 2003, p.27). , The Black Dance has evolved emphasizing certain body parts, the hips and buttocks. According to Gottschild, "Dances that celebrate and accentuate the butt are basic integers in the Africanist affirmation of individual body parts and date back to traditional dances of many West African cultures that were brought to the Americas in Middle Passage" (Gottschild, 2003, p.166). Hip-Hop/Gogo dance instruction songs such as E.U.'s "Da Butt" (1988) show the differences in how bodies and body parts are viewed by whites and Blacks. The butt and hips celebrated in Black music and accentuated in Black dance move. Traditional European dance understates the butt and hips, and large butts are portrayed as grotesque aberrations dating back to the days of Sara Baartman (Gottschild, 2003, p. 169).[49] Black dances and accentuating the butt as desirable are elements generally reserved for women. However, Black males doing pelvic thrusts, like the famous one performed by Michael Jackson, could be viewed as emphasizing the Black male's supposedly larger than average genitalia.

Since movement can be raced and gendered, it is related to power and is therefore political. For example Congressman Bobby Rush, a former Black Panther, claimed that President Obama "taught himself to walk like a black person" for political expediency (Caldwell, 2010). Rush claims Obama did not walk in that manner when he ran against him for a congressional seat, which made him vulnerable to Rush's attacks on his

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[49] Sara Baartman is also known as the Hottentot Venus. She was promised wealth if she leave he native South Africa and travel to Britian and display her large buttocks. Baartman was made to participate in humiliating freak shows. She never was made wealthy and died penniless as a prostitute in France.

authenticity as a Black man, an attack which one could argue cost Obama the victory. Obama's movements are part of the making of his racial and gender identity, and have not gone unnoticed by many in the Black community. Black comedians such as Wanda Sykes and Mike Epps have commented on Obama's body movements and walk, the later likening it to that of a "pimp" during his 2010 stand-up routine on the Comedy Central Network.

Conclusion

In summary, Black bodies have been used, exploited, and politicized negatively for capitalist gain. All the while, the system has recognized the transformative and emancipatory power within Black Dance and music, and done whatever necessary to closely observe, co-opt, and when necessary, eradicate it. Black dance descends from warrior dances and could inspire insurrection which could potentially topple the state/empire. Thus, meanings of movements had to be changed, (de)politicized to support the US imperialist, capitalist regime.[50] It is also worthwhile to state that the scripting of Black bodies, even in the videos that will be discussed, is less about the individual (white) person who uses the music video as a medium to script Black bodies in a negative light. In the words of Ronald L. Jackson II, this is not about "pointing fingers"

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[50] There have been attempts to defeat the negative scripting of Black bodies by Afrocentric scholars. However, according to McCready, they have often conceived of an ideal that resembles their conception of pre-colonial African that is "heternormative" and "patriarchal" (McCready, p.3).

(Jackson, 2006, p. 4). Rather, the music video is another medium created by a system that has a legacy of afflicting Black bodies with negative inscriptions.

Chapter 3: THE SOUTH: A Case Study of Black Masculinities in Southern Hip-Hop Dance Instruction Songs.

History and Context

The artists and song/dances I will be describing are organized by region. I placed people in particular regions based on several criteria. First, how the artist self-identifies is important. Many artists characterize themselves as either East Coast, southern, or West Coast artists. For example, T.I., who is based out of Atlanta, refers to himself as "The King of the South." Maino identifies strongly with his New York City roots, which identifies him as an East Coast artist.

Another criterion is how they are identified by the press and general public. The well-known hip-hop website sohh.com referred to Soulja Boy as a "southern rapper." There are ongoing debates about what geographically delineates the South. A minimalist definition would be all the states that included themselves in the Confederacy (Joyner, 1999, p.12). Being a Marylander, I do not argue that the South is geographically essential. Depending on who you talk to in my native state, we are either southern, East Coast, or neither. Joyner contends that there is still ongoing debate about states such as Missouri and Oklahoma, which could also be characterized as Midwest (Joyner, 1999, p.12). More than location, the South within hip-hop is an identity and social construction.

Part of the southern identity is found in what is called "folk speech" which is based on "variations in grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary" (Joyner, 1999, p.13). The artists discussed in this chapter have distinctly southern accents and pronunciation. For example Jizzal Man of Dem Franchize Boyz refers to children as 'chillen," which would be unlikely to be heard from someone without southern roots.

The South has a distinct history as the site of slavery, Jim Crow, and agricultural economy. It has developed its own masculine identities. These masculinities differ on the basis of race, class, sexual orientation, and place. Lussana and Plath (2009) state the following:

"Furthermore, whereas Southern white conceptions of masculinity have typically involved resisting interference from outside the region, black men in the south have frequently constructed notions of masculinity 'within or against the boundaries created by slavery, segregation, and poverty.' "

In Southern history, Black men have often been positioned as victims of emasculating acts oflynching, violence, involuntary servitude and un/underemployment. Segregation mandated places a person could go. Thus, rappers endeavor to create personas who are in control, with money being the pass to freedom. However, oftentimes the place they are claiming control over is still a segregated site and the desire for 'real nigga' authenticity makes the potential victims for their propensity toward violence all but exclusively Black. This chapter will discuss several histories, because as Joyner

states, "no longer can any interpretation of the south be taken seriously without a historical dimension" (Joyner, 1999, p.2). The cultural traditions in the south have in many ways been able to sustain themselves for generations despite how other regions of the country have had their traditions diluted by the influence of popular culture (Joyner, 1999, p.2). Black southern culture is one of resistance, as well as negotiation of the position of Blacks as oppressed people. In other words, there has been a give and take, where Blacks have organized and fought oppression, but also anecdotes where young Blacks were taught how to peacefully coexist with a volatile white population and within white supremacist institutions.

Atlanta, where some of the dances I will be referring to originate, was known as the "Gateway to the South" after the Civil War. It has a reputation of being a "Black Mecca," a place where even northern Blacks could repatriate and find success. According to a 1974 *New York Times* article "significant numbers of Northern-born blacks have gone South these days, too – many of them young, ambitious, well-educated professional(s) who are fed up the hassle and danger found in some Yankee cities" (Ayres Jr., June 18, 1974).   The city has been heralded as the realization of the "new South".

With the plantation economy in shambles after the Civil War, many believed the south must reinvent itself by moving toward a more urban industrial economy.   Atlanta was hit hard by deindustrialization in the 1970s, but there is an abundance of federal government work. . Over "430 of the Fortune 500 companies have operations in Atlanta" (Bullard, 1989, p.81). However, the reality of life in Atlanta suggests a much different

picture for large numbers of Blacks. Though white collar industries grew, blue collar

workers have continued to struggle. According to Bullard and Thomas, "the facts do not

support the popular notion that blacks live better in Atlanta than anywhere else" (Bullard,

1989, p.85). Blacks were more than 3 times as likely to be poor and/or unemployed as

whites (Bullard, 1989, p.89). According to Bayor, "Race was a prime factor in the

shaping of Atlanta's institutional and physical development", impacting "politics,

housing, street and highway patterns, neighborhood formation, annexation, employment,

basic city services, park and recreation space, health care, mass transit development, and

schooling" (Bayor, 1996, p. 255).

Residential segregation continued to be strong in the 1970s and '80s.

Residents in public housing were over 90 percent Black and the housing is often

substandard (McNulty, 2000, p.709). Public housing has been a means of segregating and

spatially isolating the urban Black poor in cities around the nation, including Atlanta

(McNulty, 2000, p.710). The Techwood Housing Project in Atlanta received 10,000

housing code violations in 1981 (Bullard 80).[51] Bullard and White stated that in the mid-

1980s, "Jim Crow is alive in metropolitan Atlanta" (Bullard, 1989, p.89). According to

the *New York Times*, Atlanta had the nation's highest crime rate in the late 1980s

(Applebome 1989). Public housing projects in Atlanta and the neighborhoods that

surround them have been sites of high crime rates. However, predominantly Black areas

"further removed from public housing sites are no more likely to exhibit high crime rates

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[51] Hip Hop group Outkast mentions Techwood in their song "Ova Da Wuds" (1996)

than predominantly white neighborhoods" (McNulty, 2000, p.724). This fact is a result of

Atlanta having some strong middle class Black neighborhoods (McNulty, 2000, p.724).

Hence, many of the artists of the generation I am describing grew up seeing both the

extremes of poverty and wealth. They saw Blacks with political power and advantages.

However, they also saw areas such as Bankhead (the home of snap dancing and the

infamous "Bankhead Bounce"), where economic depression reigned. According to Roni

Sarig, author of *Third Coast: Outkast, Timbaland, & How Hip-Hop became a Southern*

Thing, "Atlanta has long had two distinct faces to its black community: There's the

upwardly mobile Atlanta – people who've moved from other places for educational and

economic opportunities – along with the established black society; and there's the 'hood,

which faces the same challenges that inner cities face everywhere" (McNulty, 2000,

p.114).

Seeing successful Blacks could lead one to believe that success is open to all, and

make one identify more with capitalism. However, an intraracial class divide also exists

in Atlanta. For example, there was a push to open Willis Mill Road, which was

originally closed to maintain neighborhood racial segregation in the 1950s. However, the

racial demographics of the healthier end had changed to include upper and middle class

Blacks. Reopening the road would improve police and fire rescue times. However, Black

elites, aided by Black city government officials, opposed the reopening for fear that it

would give poor Blacks increased access to their communities (Bayor, 1996, p. 256).

Poor Black residents were also displaced by the development of the Georgia Dome and

the 1996 Olympics.

The artists that I refer to in this case study came of age witnessing poor Blacks as Atlanta's vulnerable whipping boy, yet also as objects to be feared.[52] These young artists also must maintain their credibility in the 'hood' by transcending to the frustrated masculine ethos (Oliver, 2006, p.921).

Black Masculinities in Atlanta are complex because there is a significant openly gay Black male population. Atlanta has been referred to as the "land of a gay black man's dreams" (Jubera, Feb. 1). The city is replete with "black gay bars, black gay house parties, even black gay book clubs" (Jubera, Feb. 1). Atlanta's Black Gay Pride Celebration is the nation's largest (Spears, 2010, p. 3). However, Atlanta is also home to a conservative Black church tradition, with several lucrative mega-churches.[53] Some churches are "openly hostile" to gays (Spears, 2010). It is difficult to gauge what influence the gay Black community or the Black church in Atlanta has on the artists included in this chapter. However, we can deduce that a plurality of masculinities exist in the city.[54]

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[52] When I say objects to be feared, I am generally talking about poor Black men being perceived as violent and criminal. This perception is not limited to just whites, as evidenced by the Willis Mill Road situation.

[53] The two worlds collided when Bishop Eddie Long, one of the nation's most prominent preachers, was embroiled in a gay sex scandal.

[54] Questions can be raised whether the artists rapping are heterosexual and whether they are even referring to women in their rhymes about sexual conquest. Some have questioned Soulja Boy Tell 'Em's sexuality, but these are purely speculative rumors, the kind that are often unfounded.

Southern Field Hollers and Prison Work Songs

According to Carl Engel, "the manual labor of man as an individual and in groups, is unthinkable without adherence to rhythmic precision" (Engel, 1920, p.512). Since the antebellum period, African Americans kept the pace of their work through song and slight rhythmic movements, particularly in the Deep South and the Mississippi Delta. These songs were called field hollers and at times featured call and response element. After the era of enslavement, states such as Georgia began using prison labor, overwhelmingly African American, to build roads. The men were chained together to prevent escape, and such a group became known as "the chain gang." According to Lichtenstein, "The chain gang consisted primarily of black convicts working the roads of the Deep South embodied the brutality of southern race relations, and the moral and economic backwardness of the region in general"(Lichtenstein, 1993, p 85).

Inmates on the chain gang began singing these field hollers and converted them into prison work songs. The rhythm was key since the workers were chained together, oftentimes at the ankles. Simple movements such as walking had to be done in unison and in rhythm.

Prison labor in Georgia was a money-saver for counties. Inmates repaired highways and roads for a fraction of what it would have cost to contract workers. The inmates who worked on chain gangs were housed in camps, and by 1929 there were 140 camps in the state of Georgia. The saying amongst white Georgians was "Bad boys make

good roads" and was the mantra of the "good roads movement." Many whites, including Georgia legislator Hooper Alexander viewed the chain gang as progressive policy and "just compensation" for having to deal with the supposed natural criminality of Black citizens after slavery (Lichtenstein, 1993, p.91). Black offenders were y made into 20th century slaves. A large portion of the offenders on the Georgia chain gangs were not charged with serious crimes. Some counties sent people to work the roads who had been convicted of crimes such as "drunkenness" or "loitering" (Lichtenstein, 1993, p. 94). If one could not afford to pay a simple fine, he would be relegated to chain gang labor (Lichtenstein, 1993, p.97). As a result of the gender division of post-slavery labor, and the gender division within prisons, African American men in the South became accustomed to singing and moving in a homosocial environment.

It is reasonable to believe that southern hip-hop dances and HHKL descend from chain gang songs and motions. The "Lean Wit It" (Snap Dancing) is often performed in groups where the dancers are side by side, close together, and dancing in unison, which resembles the formation of the chain gangs. Other elements of hip-hop culture are known to have come from prison. The *New York Times* claims that sagging jeans started behind prison walls, where inmates are prevented from having belts for fear they may use them in suicide attempts (Koppel 2007). Also, it is not mere irony that the chain gangs were largely used in Georgia.

The cultural memory of homosocial singing and dancing has created an environment where dancing together with other men, even in the presence of women, is not perceived as strange. "Lean Wit It Rock Wit It" (2006) contains corporal orature,

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much like prison work songs. Chain gangs existed well into the mid-1950's, so it is not inconceivable to think that rappers in the 2000s may have had contact with a generation of chain gang workers.

Black Colleges and Stepping

In the 1940s, Black Fraternities and later sororities developed what is now called "stepping" or "blocking", a performance tradition that involves singing, dancing, "call and response, rapping, the dozens, signifiying, marking, spirituals, handclap games, and military jodies" (Fine, 1991, p.40). It began with pledges lining up and moving in lockstep as a part of their initiation ritual (Fine, 1991, p.40). Atlanta is home to several prominent Historically Black Colleges and Universities and has become a hub of Black fraternity life. Civil rights activist and politician Julian Bond claimed to have seen stepping contests when he was an undergraduate at Morehouse College in the "late '50s" (Fine, 1991, p.40). Fraternities are gender-exclusive, with males-only memberships.. Thus, stepping features men dancing and performing movement routines in lockstep and homosocially.

The predominantly Black, working class area of southwest Atlanta is home to Clark Atlanta University, Morehouse College, and Spelman College. It is possible that having Black Colleges centralized in the Black community would result in fraternal movement styles being adopted by others outside of the fraternal community. Many people from communities like Southwest Atlanta and Bankhead are excluded on the basis of class and education from becoming members of exclusive fraternal groups. In the hip-

hop and general African American spirit, the people of these communities create their own versions of the dances and groups. In addition, many step or block shows are done on the "yard" which is out in the open air and theoretically open to the public. Fraternity members also are known to perform their dances at parties and in nightclubs, in an attempt to be hypervisible. Such performances would lead to further exposure for people of all classes to men dancing homosocially.[55]

The formation of the fraternity members dancing often resembles what is seen in both the "Lean Wit It Rock Wit It" and "Crank That" videos. Frat members often perform shoulder-to-shoulder or in a well-organized phalanx as seen in Soulja Boy's video. In both videos, the men dancing can be seen wearing matching attire, much like members of a fraternity.

Hip-Hop History: ATL

Atlanta has over time been represented by a wide range of urban musicians. Groups such as Another Bad Creation, Kris Kross, and TLC flexed Atlanta's muscle within the music industry, but showed no more than a hint of their southern identity in their music. Powerhouse Atlanta-based producers such as Dallas Austin and Jermaine Dupri chose to follow a format closer to that of New York artists (Sarig, 2007,

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[55] Other cultures also have dances where men dance homosocially. For example, in South Africa, there are gumboot dancers who create a percussive sound with their boots and dance to the rhythm.

p.119). Arrested Development, which scholar Todd Boyd refers to as the "most interesting new act of 1992," was an aberration from the "b-boy' of the East Coast and the West Coast gangsta" (Boyd, 2004, p.328). Yet this Atlanta group's focus was not the South; it was on drawing a connection to the continent of Africa. Their aesthetic image was Afrocentric, with "dreadlocks and African-style clothing" (Boyd, 2004, p.328). They also attempted to display a more diasporic image by including elements of reggae in their music. In their eclectic style, they were not always identifiably hip-hop. (They did have a single entitled "Tennessee" in which the lead vocalist describes southern elements.)

Organized Noize and their breakthrough act, Outkast, made an effort to represent the South on their debut album *Southernplayalisticadillacmusik (1994),* complete with southern twang and dialect, and mentions of Atlanta neighborhoods and streets.[56] Between mixed messages of gangsterism and social consciousness, the duo would mention uniquely southern cuisine and phrases, such as "Ain't no thang but a chicken wang (wing)." The risk of being rejected by the established hip-hop North and West Coast paid off, with *Southernplayalisticadillacmusik* reaching platinum status within one year of its release date (Sarig, 2007, p.133). More importantly, it paved the way for other artists from below the Mason-Dixon Line to be true to their southern roots and culture.

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[56] Organized Noize is a production company that is comprised of Rico Wade, Ray Murray, and crooner Sleepy Brown.

However, Rico Wade, the leader of Organized Noize, and Goodie Mob member Big Gipp both talked about their initial meetings with Outkast members Andre 3000 and Big Boi. Both described their styles as being able to rival northern rappers as far as the speed of their lyrical delivery and their style of dress (Sarig, 2007, p.130).

Simultaneously a completely Southern independent rap movement was growing, led by Calliope Projects, New Orleans native Percy "Master P" Miller. Miller was an entrepreneur first, who turned to rap as a means of earning money. After spending time in the San Francisco Bay area of California and opening a record store, he learned the independent rap hustle and formed his record label, No Limit Records

P knew he could take what he had learned in California to his native New Orleans. P was not a lyrical emcee in the vein of Outkast, nor did he ever aim to be. He told simple tales of street life, ghetto hardship, and dope dealing. Master P's major contribution was that his style in the mid-1990s was not influenced by New York City emcees nor did it appear to have the gangbanging aesthetic of Los Angeles. He proudly wore gold teeth, and at times rapped at an extremely slow tempo. According to Master P, "[No Limit] paved the way … We made it cool to be country. I'm just being real. Before we really hit, you couldn't get any one radio station outside of the South to play your shit" (Poet, May 11, 2005).

Following the lead of these southern pioneers, a rash of southern rappers appeared and made the South extremely visible in hip-hop. Southern rappers are now not afraid to flash their gold "grills", speak with their slow drawls, party, and dance. Many southern rappers have said the East and West Coast gangsta period died in the late 1990s,

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leaving room for crunk, snap, and dancing.[57] An argument can be made that East and

West Coast artists now emulate the rap styles, slang, and dances born in the south.

Dem Franchize Boyz and Soulja Boy Tell 'Em are from Atlanta, Georgia, though

their music differs greatly from the music of the Dungeon Family (Organized Noize,

Outkast etc.). They are part of a different style of hip-hop that gained prominence in the

first decade of the 2000s. Dem Franchize Boyz consists of four emcees; Parlae, Buddie,

Pimpin', and Jizzal Man. They had two hit singles, 2004's "White Tees" and "I Think

They Like Me"(2005), prior to "Lean Wit It Rock Wit It" which was one of the songs

that brought snap dancing to the national forefront of hip-hop and popular culture (if only

for a moment). Soulja Boy Tell 'Em, began his career as a YouTube sensation, and then

burst on the mainstream scene with his album, souljaboytellem.com (2007). Soulja Boy

was reared in Atlanta and also lived in Mississippi, but gained prominence working with

famed Atlanta producer, Mr. Collipark.[58]

Atlanta, and specifically the Bankhead section of West Atlanta that Dem

Franchize Boyz claim as home, is significant because it was the site of the creation of one

of the first song/dance combinations out of the South to gain national prominence. In

1995, an artist named Diamond made a song with an accompanying dance called "The

[57] The strip clubs in Atlanta have been the breaking ground for many popular hip-hop records, including "Get Low" (2003) by Lil Jon (Blair).

[58] According to http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soulja_Boy, Soulja Boy (DeAndre Cortez Way) was born in Chicago, but lived in Atlanta from age 6 to age 14, a mere 3 years before he recorded "Crank That".

Bankhead Bounce." The song featured D-Roc (of Yin Yang Twins fame) and sounded much like early Miami bass music. The song itself was more of a regional success, but the dance gained nationwide exposure when it was featured in an Outkast video called "Benz or Beamers." The dance is characterized by body movement initiated in the shoulders, and features a bend at the elbows, with bound flow and strong effort. The dance also allows space for improvisation. Some simulate smoking, or holding a fishing pole. Others make facial gestures, wave their necks, or bend at their waists.

Since Diamond's song, Bankhead has been home to several popular rap artists, some of whom have created dances. Among them are T.I. and Young Dro, who created a song/dance called the "Shoulder Lean" in 2006. Since the body movement again is in the shoulders, one can presume that it is an evolution of the Bankhead Bounce.

As stated earlier, snap dancing was created at a small Bankhead nightclub called "The Poole Palace". According to a 2006 *Vibe Magazine* article, "there's nothing lavish about the place", which "resembles a small home with its homely awning and tiny red staircase" (Conway, 2006, p. 136). The Poole Palace is a modern day juke joint or jook house. Jook houses developed throughout the South as segregated leisure and dance halls (Emery, 1972, p.220). According to Emery, "Jook is the anglicized pronunciation of 'dzugu', a word from the Gullah dialect of the African Bambara tribe meaning 'wicked'" (Emery, 1972, p.220). Besides dancing, patrons engaged in other vices such as drinking alcohol and gambling.

The jook was also the space where dances were created and popularized. Some of the dances that came out of southern jooks were the "Black Bottom" and the "Big Apple"

(Emery, 1972, p.220). The jooks were spaces where lower or working class African Americans congregated. However, there is one major dance-related characteristic that separates The Poole Palace from the post-Reconstruction jooks, and that is that in jooks, "group dance forms gave way to individual or partner dancing" (Hazzard-Gordon, 1992, p. 81). Snap dancing can be done individually, but is also performed in groups or lines, as seen in the "Lean Wit It Rock Wit It" video.

   With regard to snap dancing as portrayed in the "Lean Wit It" (2006) video, women and children dance with more punctuation, with each movement progression ending in a freeze. Women and children also perform the dance with more movements on the sagittal plane, snapping in front of the body when they freeze. The men however, move on the frontal plane, while swaying side to side with the freeze coming at the end. Both men and women use peripheral movement as a means of taking up space.

   As far as body motion, the focus is primarily in the torso, with a twisting motion in the hips. The arms are often static or have bound flow. At the beginning of the official video, Dem Franchize Boyz are dancing on top of the roof of The Poole Palace, their arms suspended in the air as they dance in a line with So So Def founder Jermaine Dupri. Some variations include a punching, pop locking motion and a bend at the knees, both of which are mention in DFB's lyrics. Rapper Jizzal Man tells listeners to "do the Matrix," at which point in the video, a woman engages in carving her body as if to avoid a slow-motion attack by ducking with her weight backward. Some of the men in the video do display as much phrasing and effort as the women, but I would argue that this is

an attempt to show strength and athletic prowess, similar to the early b-boys. Their bodies

often ended in different shapes then the women. The women's gestures imply that they

are trying to show sexiness and independence. Thus, though the movements maybe

nearly identical, the purpose and meaning behind the movements are gendered. It is also

important to note that the men never perform the dance facing one another, which would

be more similar to partnered dances which are traditionally heterogeneous. This allows

for the men to perform the sexualized pelvic thrust at the end of the movement without

the appearance of homosexual overtones.[59]

The fact that there is less effort and punctuation in the movements

performed by some of the men is indicative of the attempt to portray the

"pimp/playa/balla/high-roller" Black masculine image. The artist flash stacks of money,

despite the fact that video takes place in the impoverished Bankhead section of Atlanta.

This money-flashing action is also meant to show the mastery of the artist's environment.

The fact that he can pull thousands of dollars out in an area known to locals as dangerous

means he is either tough, or respected by his peers, or a combination of the two. The song

attempts to masculinize the dance, when Jizzal man states that it is for the "cutthroats."

The song is filled will classic 'badman' tropes of violence and the

domination of women. Hip-hop has borrowed from the African American oral and

literary tradition, which tell tales of badmen who had the "(1) willful ability to inflict

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[59] There have indeed been hip-hop dances where men face one another, one of them being the "funky Charleston", made famous by the duo Kid n' Play.

violent harm on adversaries, (2) willful ability to have sex with many women, (3) access to material resources that are largely inaccessible to others" (Ogbar , 2007, p.75).

This badman image can be traced back to African American folk legends such as Stagolee. Stagolee is a tough, impulsive bully who eventually kills his rival, Billy Lyons. In some versions of the story Stagolee is sent to hell for his crime, to which he responds by snatching the Devil's pitchfork and stating "I'm going to rule Hell by myself" (Nelson). This statement makes clear that not only is Stagolee resistant to authority, he masters his environment and space, despite it being known as the toughest location imaginable.

This sentiment is essentially what Dem Franchize Boyz are attempting to convey by constantly flashing money. They want listeners to know they are in the ghetto by choice. They make reference to violence to illustrate that they are tough enough not only to survive, but also to thrive and earn money in an impoverished community. It is one thing to be stuck in hell, but another thing to rule it.

The origins of the Stagolee legend are found in the South. According to Cecil Brown, the story "had its first expression as a field holler of former plantation slaves as they migrated to the levee camps along the Mississippi" (Brown, 2003, p.2). Incarcerated Black men in the south transformed the legend into a work song (Brown, 2003, p.2).

This dance is also interesting because of the homosocial element. The video by Dem Franchize Boys features men dancing side by side (never facing one another) in the presence of women. As I have stated, there can be subtle differences in

the ways in which men and women perform these dances, or there can seemingly be none at all. In the video, women did not dance as collectively with other women. Both racialized masculinities and femininities are scripted. Black women in the video are scripted in the Moynihan model, independent of Black men, especially in the nightclub scene inside the Poole Palace. Some of the women frown as they dance, which could be scripting them as Sapphire. Women are also sexualized in the video, which dates back to the Jezebel stereotype which is often reified in hip-hop imagery. Some of the men were clearly cooperating with one another while dancing. Part of the reason for this organization is to put the women on display, but again the display is of their sex appeal. Dem Franchize Boyz member Young Pimpin' also makes reference in the song to the Temptations, a 1960s African American singing group, comparing the "Lean Wit It" dance to the choreography they performed on stage during the Motown era. In mentioning the Temptations, he is putting the dance in historical context by referencing an earlier group who sang and danced side by side without female partners. However, Dem Franchize Boyz rapper Jizzal Man's verse is partly devoted to the many variations of the dance. He states to "do it how ya want," which is a far departure from the strictly choreographed routines of the Temptations.

Dem Franchize Boyz perform the dance with less effort in an attempt to appear 'cool'. According to Robin D.G. Kelley, coolness is "an art form expressed through language and the body" (Kelley, 1999, p.123). In the first verse, the rapper describes himself as "really loose" after drinking in preparation to go to the club. Coolness is a front that some suggest is a "peculiarly black expression of masculinity"

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(Kelley, 1999, p. 123). It is a "lie" that Black men act out in order to appear less like victims of marginalization, and more like agents who are in control of their own destinies. [60]

Soulja Boy's "Crank That" is more of a dance routine than a single dance movement. Soulja Boy introduces the song in a typical manner for dance instruction songs. According to Banes and Szwed, "dance instruction songs usually begin, almost obligatorily, with a formulaic exhortation to learn or perform the dance" (Banes, 2002, p. 182). Soulja states the following at the beginning of Crank That: "I got this new dance for yall called the Soulja Boy. You gotta punch then crank back three times from left to right".[61] Soulja expresses masculinities through HHKL with moments of bound flow, strong effort, and taking up space in the kinesphere. In the lyrics to the song, Soulja Boy stakes claim to space when he states emphatically, "Soulja Boy off in this hoe!" He refers to the space as a "hoe," which is a derogatory word used for women. Thus, he is stating that the space is something to be dominated. In the official music video, one scene shows a variation of the dance which includes a simulated fist fight. This scene shows that there is still room for improvisation in the dance and it masculinizes the video by showing a violent image.

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[60] See Kelley, (1999), p.123. I would not call it a lie so much as I would a defense mechanism. In any struggle, one does not want to allow one's enemy to be aware of how much the enemy's actions are affecting them. Thus, marginalized people laugh, sing, make jokes, and act cool and non-chalant. Majors (1992) refers to the cool pose as a "distinctive coping mechanism" (p.5).

[61] http://www.azlyrics.com/lyrics/souljaboy/crankdatsouljaboy.html

When performed by more than one person, the routine is done in a line rather than a circle. The beginning of the routine only uses leg movement with strong effort, followed by a movement similar to the "lean wit it." After a series of toe tapping movements, a breast stroke-like movement is done with free flow. All of the weight is transferred to one leg, while the other is lifted behind him. This movement is to imitate Superman flying through the air. Next is a movement similar to a bunny hop, which moves side to side, and occupies a lot of space in the kinesphere.

Kinespheric space is a metaphor for the environment for both Dem Franchize Boyz and Soulja Boy. According to Alsop, Fitzsimmons and Lennon, "ideals of masculinity for Black men in working class communities hinge on being streetwise, in part articulated via physical prowess but also through being cool, knowing and appearing in control of the local environment" (Alsop, 2002, p.142). Soulja Boy shows his physical prowess through the complexity of the dance and at times by using strong effort. Dem Franchize Boyz, on the other hand, display coolness when doing the snap dance. They use less effort and more free flow.

Soulja Boy also historicizes his dance when he states "watch me shuffle, watch me jig." The jig can be traced back to slavery and the minstrelsy that followed. Georgia had one of the more popular troupes of Black minstrels in the country.

Body Part Usage

Snap dancing as presented in the Lean Wit It official video contains gendered movements. When performing the dance, women rotate and open their

shoulders out. This movement is a display of femininity, as it presents the chest to

observers. Men however, roll the shoulder inward which displays the arm and bicep

muscle. The 'lean' portion of the dance is contralateral for both men and women.

Soulja Boy's dance is also contralateral, but both opens and rolls the

shoulder forward at different points in the routine. At the beginning, there is a drop in the

torso and sudden release into passive weight. Each movement is accented. During the

superman portion of the routine, there is an inward rotation of the forearm, as the breast

stroke motions displays far reach. "Crank That" contains several flow changes

throughout the routine.

Lyrics

The lyrics of many of the songs mentioned contain hypermasculine

imagery of toughness, wealth, and authenticity. These lyrics are consistent with the idea

that white supremacy "requires the complicity of other men" (Orelus, 2010, p.158). Black

men cannot completely absolve themselves of guilt for participating in a white

supremacist power structure, by supporting key elements of the ideology such as sexism,

capitalist classism, and homophobia. Black men's understandings of masculinities have

in part been shaped by white supremacist brutality and thus have manifested themselves

as Black on Black violence and rampant sexism. Orelus states the following:

This is partly because slaves witnessed firsthand the

form of masculinity that their slave masters acted

out in the plantations. They also witnessed other

forms of physical and psychological violence that

their white slave masters inflicted on other slaves.

Consequently, their understanding of masculinity

prior to being forcibly brought to the plantation

must have been drastically changed because of their

new exposure to the violent form of masculinity that

the white slave masters exerted on them and on

others (Orelus, 2010, p.69).

The Black masculinities expressed in the aforementioned songs are the result of

the white supremacist social construction of manhood. Hegemonic masculinity focuses

upon wealth: Soulja Boy proudly claims to wear designer clothes, such as Bathing Apes,

that others cannot afford. Young Pimpin' of Dem Franchize Boyz boasts of having

expensive jewelry and possessing enough "stacks (money)" to be able carelessly "throw

them up."

Capitalism is the economic arm of white (male) supremacy (Orelus, 2010, p.93).

It oppresses women by making work in gendered employment, then putting a greater

value on the work done by males. Its foundations in the United States are in the free

labor of enslaved Africans, the exploitation of immigrant labor, and the theft of resources

and land from Native Americans. The hegemonic masculine ideal includes being

gainfully employed and having a large disposable income. It is an ideal that few can reach and Dem Franchize Boyz acknowledge that gainful employment in Bankhead is scarce. However, they claim to participate in an illicit economy through the drug trade. This is a clear example of them both resisting and embracing hegemonic masculinity.

Dem Franchize Boyz also accept and reinforce racist stereotypes of violent Black male sexuality in "Lean Wit It Rock Wit It." They demand that females "suck a cock with it" and describe what they would do in a sexual encounter as to "break a bitch back." The myth of the Black males' supposed insatiable thirst for sexual violence permeated the South as a means to defend the institution of lynching, despite the fact that it had been proven untrue several times over (Davis 1981, p.187).

However, the myth became part of 20th century southern lore and despite changes since the civil rights movement, was still responsible for the wrongful incarceration of large numbers of Black men (Davis 1981, p.172). Angela Davis says that the myth made its way into academia, and I argue that it is still alive in popular culture. Being the geographical birthplace of the myth, it is no surprise that some southern rappers would sing lyrics that support it, even if they themselves are not sexually violent in their personal lives.

Soulja Boy promotes his own masculinity by warning his opponents of his dominating women sexually. Masculine dominance is a concern to Soulja Boy as he even states "Soulja Boy, I'm the man" (2007). It is ironic that with his preoccupation with manhood, that he would call himself 'boy.' However, by calling himself 'Soulja,' a play on the word 'soldier,' he positions himself as somewhat of a man-child. The name

Soulja also signifies a propensity for violence and a willingness to physically protect a space he claims as his own. He feminizes his imaginary opponents in 'Crank That' by referring to them as "bitch ass," a severe insult to young Black males.

Both DFB and Soulja Boy focus on visibility in their lyrics and use it as a masculinizing process. When rapper Buddy states "what the fuck you mean you aint seen Buddy on the block?" he is boasting of both his survival skill in a dangerous urban environment and of the importance of being visible in said location. Soulja Boy implores listeners to "watch me" throughout the chorus of his song.

The lyrics also include super hero worship by mentioning Superman and Robocop. One could interpret this choice as Soulja Boy, who released "Crank That" (2007) at the tender age of 17, as a juvenile expression of his immaturity. However, this idea of the Black Superman persona dates back to the antebellum period. Some have argued that Martin Delaney and Frederick Douglass "construct their thoughts regarding black masculinity around characters that take on superhero qualities" (Lussana, 2009, p.8). Rapper/Athlete Shaquille O'Neal, along with Dwight Howard, also use the superman persona. These references are allusions to indomitable strength. The urban dictionary defines "Superman that Ho" as "when you ejaculate on a girl's back then put a blanket on her so when she stands up, the blanket sticks therefore making her look like she has a cape." Soulja Boy, under scrutiny and criticism, denied that was the meaning, stating the "Superman is just a dance" (Springer, 2000). It is indeed more than a dance. It is part of a white supremacist, capitalist, patriarchal, hegemonic masculine conspiracysystem which is disseminated by mass media and undermines the liberation of

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men and women of color, regardless if that segment of the song has pornographic undertones or not. When Soulja Boy mentions Superman repeatedly, he is displaying a desire to reach a hegemonic ideal for manhood. Alsop, Fitzsimmons and Lennon state the following:

> Hegemonic Masculinity is an ideal type. It is not embodied by all men; it is not the only form of masculinity; in fact it is not regarded as the masculinity most common to men. Instead, it is the masculinity performed by popular heroes, fantasy figures, and role models.

Unfortunately for Soulja Boy, this ideal was never meant include Black men. In a sense, Dem Franchize Boyz and Soulja Boy are indeed displaying a masculine ideal based upon several other factors such as race, class, place and age. For example, Alsop, Fitzsimmons and Lennon state the following passage:

Western conceptions of masculinity generally emphasize the importance of being, and being seen as, successful as central to the attainment of manhood. If making your mark in the world through employment or educational success is unavailable to some men because of their position within the social structure, they may seek alternative ways to prove their worth and ability, crime being one such option. Alternatively, they may emphasize physical ability or sexual prowess.

Soulja Boy includes his dancing as part of his physical ability that cannot be bested. When he says "I bet you can't do it like me," he is referring to performing the

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Crank That dance. Both he and DFB are, for the most part, rapping to an intended or implied male audience. Dancing is at times feminized, so Jizzal Man of Dem Franchize Boyz makes a distinction between 'dancing' and the Lean Wit It when he states "gangstas don't dance, they lean wit it rock wit it."

Multiple Masculinities

In the two song/dance combinations and artists discussed in this chapter, the masculine performance is similar, especially as conveyed by the lyrics. The masculinities are more nuanced than explicitly different. For example Soulja Boy uses superhero imagery, while Dem Franchize Boyz choose to solidify their 'hood authenticity with tales of sex, dirty money, and violence. The differences can be seen when put in comparison with other rappers from other regions.

However, there is variation in how the masculinities are expressed kinesically. Dem Franchize Boyz use less effort, which conveys freedom and carelessness that money can afford, in addition to coolness. Soulja Boy in contrast uses stronger effort. In these performances of snap dancing and Crank That, there is also room left for improvisation by the audiences, who may choose to perform the dances differently than the artists intended. Thus, the masculine performance is not static within the dance, though those who dance it often may have similar intentions to the intentions of the performer/originator. For example there are several dances on the internet which feature men and women putting their own spin of the basic steps to Soulja Boy's routine.

Conclusion

In the South, one can see that bodies do matter when it comes to the expression of gender and masculinities in the hip-hop of the 2000s. Movements are gendered, and the explanation in the lyrics of the songs suggests that these movements are an expression of spacial and gendered dominance. The two dances analyzed in this chapter are very different, but what they are meant to convey are similar. As far as Laban Movement Analysis, space is of the most importance. Though the South was the site of slavery, the dances are performed in a line or in rows, rather than in a circle which is the slave tradition.

The lyrics contain street images and convey mastery of their surroundings, as both Dem Franchize Boyz and Soulja Boy come from urban environments in Atlanta, and the "streets" are an institution for Black male socialization. This desire to be prepared for and eventually dominate their surroundings could extend to body part usage, particularly the forward rotation of the shoulder, which could be associated with readiness for an oncoming assault. Both performers describe elements of wealth, as Atlanta is a site of both violent impoverished ghettos and upper middle class Black communities.

Nelson George, a renowned hip-hop writer, states that the materialism within hip-hop is not separate from the values of the larger American society (George, 2005, p. xiii). Hip-hop does nothing more than either recount or challenge lessons learned from a

White Supremacist society. In many cases hip-hop does both simultaneously. Those who expect more from hip-hop fail to realize that neither rap music nor the dance that accompanies it exist in a cultural vacuum.

What must not be forgotten and omitted is how the unique history of the South and Black men's relationship to it affects the movements and the lyrics of the aforementioned songs. Southern economics, gendered labor dating back to slavery, and carceral history all inform these party songs and dances. Georgia in particular, with the field hollers that came from the cotton fields, to its use of majority Black inmates to build its infrastructure and roads, to the urban poverty and crime on the streets of Bankhead play a role in the masculinities performed in by these southern rappers. The chain gangs of Georgia set the standard of men standing side by side moving rhythmically and singing.   To their credit, though not in detail, both Dem Franchize Boyz and Soulja Boy acknowledge that their respective dances are part of a historical continuum of black kinesics.

HHKL in the South is hyper masculine but also varies enough that specific conclusions can not be reached.[62] The basic element we see of HHKL is the occupation of space in the kinesphere to portray hyper masculinity. Dem Franchize Boyz and Soulja Boy show that the performer of the dance is important to the masculine performance, as they leave room for interpretation and improvisation. This openness theoretically would

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[62] Or at the very least, the performers analyzed 'complied with the illusion' of Black hyper-masculinity.

allow someone to use the basic movements to express a different masculinity. Hence,

multiple masculinities could exist by using these dances. But when analyzing the

combination of the lyrics and the movements as performed by Dem Franchize Boyz and

Soulja Boy the masculine expression was nuanced but similar.

The two dances investigated in this chapter show that there is a thin line

between resistance and acquiescence when it comes to white supremacy and hegemonic

masculine ideals. It is one of the purest examples of the Hegelian master/slave dialectic.

Dem Franchize Boyz and Soulja Boy resist white masculinist notions of ideal manhood

and claim the freedom to determine their own destinies. However, the means of

obtaining that freedom (money) and the targets of their aggression reflect the influence of

white supremacist notions of patriarchy and power. Also, the South has a history of

suppressing Black patriarchal manhood through violence. The state of Georgia in

particular saw decades of lynching and mob violence, until lynching faced stiff

opposition by 20th century social reformers (Brundage, 2003, p.209). This brutality may

have resulted in a reactionary masculine response by some Black men to create a

masculinity based upon impulsive violence and fearlessness.

There are obvious differences between mainstream white cultures and

African American ones. Cynthia Weber claims that dance is "among the most strictly

coded performances we have," and that this coding "in terms of steps, style, and genre"

make dance "easy to read" (Weber, 2003, p.4). The African American dances that come

out of the south often allow for individual expression and improvisation, making them

much more difficult to read.

Weber also asserts that mainstream (white) media portrays "dance as a feminine space, and if men dance, it is a queer space" (Weber, 2003, p.6). One could argue that because the men I have described are Black, come from humble beginnings, and dance homosocially, that they can be considered part of a queer community.   However, it is important, at least in this context, to not use whiteness as the sole point of reference. Within the Black youth community of Atlanta, dance is not feminine; to the contrary, it can be an expression of masculinity.

The historical politicization of the Black male body in the South has backed present day performers like Dem Franchize Boyz and Soulja Boy into a corner. They are coerced into portraying one particular form of masculinity. According to Alexander, "even a heterosexual man who engages in a sensitive awareness of feminist issues, and in humanistic caring alternatives performances of Black masculinity, is demonized for not being a strong, take charge kind of guy" (Alexander, 2006, p.75). This sentiment dates back to the era of enslavement when white stereotypes and rhetoric deemed Black male bodies to be "prime stock or chattel, or disembodied notions of virility and ferocity that translated into the African slave's being a good stud, a good worker, or a good fighter - but not a human" (Alexander 2006, p.85).

The South in many ways, with its debutante balls, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, powerful churches and old world agrarian aristocracy, hinges on tradition. Though some vowed to make a New South, mainly economically, many held on to its old cultural values. Montgomery County, Georgia, as of 2009 still held two proms, one for white students and one for Black students. A white student denied the

separate proms demonstrated the existence of racism. To him, "it's just a tradition" (Laub, May 2009). For this reason, we see artists expressing masculinities in much the same ways as their forefathers. Where other regions pride themselves on individuality and difference, evolution and change, pride in the South is found in homogeneity, tradition and ritual.

Chapter 4: THE WEST COAST: A Case Study of Black Masculinities within West Coast Hip-Hop Dance Instruction Songs

History and Context

California's land gained a significant African American population with the Gold Rush of the late 1840s. South slaveholders brought their slaves to assist them in mining the precious metal (Wheeler 1992, p.52). Also, free Blacks saw an opportunity to live and accumulate wealth in an area devoid of a history of racial oppression and terrorism. The press ran stories that suggested that Blacks who were already in the state were prospering (Wheeler, 1992, p.53). California attracted slaveholders and free Blacks from the north, south and mid-west, and the migrants brought their cultural traditions from those regions. Thus, California has long been a hodge-podge of African American regional cultures.

Despite the optimistic promises that brought many Blacks to California initially, these Black immigrants soon realized that the West was not paved with gold. There were white supremacist groups, primarily White Citizens Councils, throughout the state, which became more active after the landmark Brown v. Board case desegregated schools. The reaction in California was less violent, but no less impact. Black families "who sought to enroll their children in 'white' schools would find it difficult to maintain

employment, to extend mortgages, or to get credit at banks" (Wheeler, 1992, p.236).

Those who rented might be evicted without proper cause (Wheeler, 1992, p.236).

Hollywood was one of the media centers for white supremacy. Up until the 1940s, African Americans were portrayed in film as "slow-witted, eyeball-rolling, splay-footed buffoon(s)" (Wheeler, 1992, p.237). African Americans put pressure upon Hollywood to update its images of Blacks. , which they complied, realizing Blacks were movie-goers and prone to boycott injustices. However, the powers that be in Hollywood have stopped well short of showing certain images of African Americans in film, such as Black armed resistance.[63]

The Bay Area in California became the home base for the leftist student activism and the Black Panther Party in the 1960s. The Black Panther Party was founded in 1966 in Oakland. Oakland has also been a site of Black self-determination, as the Nation of Islam has set up businesses like Your Black Muslim Bakery in the community (Vick 2007). The nation's first Black Studies program began at San Francisco State College in 1968 (Anderson and Steward, 2007, p. 30).

However, in Oakland and other parts of the Bay, the streets and community activism were not always separated by a large margin. Groups like the Symbionese Liberation Army engaged in kidnapping and bank robbery to accomplish their socialist

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[63] Black armed resistance has been largely absent from film, with the notable exception of *Amistad,* which ended up portraying the white attorney as the hero.

goals (Vick 2007).[64] According to former Black Panther Flores Forbes, the Black

Panther Party extorted the criminals, who he refers to as "illegitimate capitalists" in the

Black communities of Oakland. The criminals' money was considered a "tax" levied on

behalf of the community. While one can understand this "tax" as a tactic for containing

drugs and crime, it also served to dirty the hands of a legitimate organization, sometimes

making them and the criminals indistinguishable.

Los Angeles was also a hot bed of Panther activity. The L.A. Panthers

also had ties to neighborhood gangsters. The leader of the feared street gang The

Slausons was an intelligent, charismatic young man by the name of Bunchy Carter. After

meeting Eldridge Cleaver in prison, he became a Black Panther and rose to a leadership

role within the organization (Chang, 2005, p.311).

Carter would later be gunned down, allegedly by members of the rival Black

Nationalist group, US. However, Raymond Washington, a young admirer of Carter,

formed his own set which was modeled after the Panthers and the Slausons. The gang

was first called the Baby Avenues and wore Black Panther styled jackets (Chang, 2005,

p. 312). Eventually, the gang lost all of its ties to the previous radical political groups

and became known as the Crips.

The outlaw image began to gain traction in the Black community in

Oakland with drug dealers and pimps like Felix Mitchell and Frank Ward who became

popular figures. Oakland hip-hop adopted the pimp/playa/baller image with acts like

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Rappin 4Tay and Too Short. Hollywood also released The Mack, a film allegedly based on Frank Ward and played by Max Julien, which took place in Oakland. Frank Ward was gunned down along with one of his prostitutes in Berkeley.

Max Julien's portrayal of Goldie the pimp, was interesting in terms of the performance of masculinity. Goldie was effeminate despite his profession and willingness to get into some "gangster shit." He wore furs, batted his eye lashes as he spoke, and spoke in a high pitched, soft tone. One can see this image recreated in hip-hop, especially in the West Coast rapper Snoop Dogg.

Thus, the West Coast has been more accepting of androgyny and mixtures of the feminine and masculinity. The World Class Wrecking Crew wore make-up and tight outfits on their album covers. Even L.A. gangstas in the late 1980s and 1990s wore Jheri curls, a style synonymous with the androgyny of the late 70s and 80s and artists like Michael Jackson. The styles of these 20th century Black gangstas paved the way for artists like Lil B to transgress traditional gender and masculinity lines even further.

West Coast Rap and Hip-Hop Dance: The Beginnings

Los Angeles was the birthplace of what would be a major innovation in Hip-Hop dance. A high school kid by the name of Don Campbell created a dance where he "would momentarily freeze or 'lock' up in comical pauses between moves" (Higa, 1999, p.111). In this improvisational dance, the upper body was emphasized and one could perform it with or without a partner (Higa, 1999, p.111).   The dance became

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known as the "Campbellock" and Campbell himself formed a dance group called the Campbellock Dancers. The Lockers, as they became known, worked with notable Hollywood acts such as Bill Cosby, Lucille Ball, and Frank Sinatra (Higa, 1999, p.112). As time went on the Campbellock Dancers dissolved and other L.A. groups took the style and evolved it, incorporating newer moves such as "popping, boogaloo, tickin', and backsliding (moonwalk)" (Higa, 1999, p.112). Dancers preceded rappers for the West Coast in making a name in the entertainment industry.

By the mid-1980s, rappers from Los Angeles started pressing up 12" records. Groups such as the World Class Wrecking Crew and the L.A. Dream Team gained notoriety for their party songs. Toddy Tee is credited with being the first rapper to relate his music to the harsh realities of L.A. ghetto life with the release of "OG Batterram," which was a reference to a military tank used by the LAPD to smash down crack house walls.

After this release, L.A. rap turned more toward nihilistic street tales of drugs, guns, and violence. Ice T and NWA popularized tales of West Coast gang banging in the late 1980s, to be succeeded by Death Row Records in the '90s. Feeling alienated from the New York dominated music industry, West Coast artists formed a collective identity in the 1990s. They praised California and the "Westside" and often stacked a hand symbol that constructed a "W" by interlocking the middle and ring fingers, while tucking the thumb into the palm.

Though Philadelphia emcee Schoolly D is recognized by most as the creator of nihilistic gangsta rap with 1985's "P.S.K.," the West Coast came to define the

gangsta aesthetic in the late '80s and early 1990s (Ogbar, 2007, p.108).[65] As opposed to the aggressive, up-tempo rapid fire production that backed Public Enemy and Rakim, the West Coast gangsta rap often featured a relaxed, down tempo soundscape (Forman, 2000, p.72). The funk grooves are often referred to as G-funk, in which artists sample longer loops, as opposed to the short, choppy samples of East Coast producers like DJ Premier.

According to Mayne, given "rap's spaces of creativity - Compton, Long Beach, and Lynwood - so close to Hollywood, the ultimate site for the manufacturing of violent fantasies, it is no wonder then that West-Coast rap appropriates the characters and conventions" (Mayne, 2000, p. 72).

Turf , space, and place, are very important to West Coast artists, due in part to the influence of street gangs on working class poor youth culture. Groups like L.A. Dream Team, Oaktown 357, Compton's Most Wanted, Westside Connection, and more recently, Cali Swag District claim broad turf in their names. Songs such as "Straight Outta Compton," "Real Compton City Gs," and "How to Survive in South Central," coupled with movies in the early 1990s such as "Colors", "Boyz in the Hood," and "Menace II Society," not only branded West Coast turf, but they also added to a mythology about the lifestyle of California gangstas. Gangs on the West Coast often claim turf in their names as well, such as the Eight Tray Gangster Crips, The Hoovers, and the Inglewood Family Blood Gang. These gang members have a "sartorial code"

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[65] East Coast rappers at the time were known for dancing or socially conscientious, politicized messages in their music. West Coast gangsta artists renounced the pro-Black, neo-cultural nationalism of the East Coast (sometimes explicitly) and focused on violence, crime and gangbanging.

which indicates that they are gangstas, and in some cases what neighborhood they are claiming (Forman, 2000, p.215).

Gangs also use dances such as the Crip Walk (C-walk) to claim turf, memorialize fallen comrades, spell out and cross out the names of rivals, and physically occupy space in the kinesphere (Phillips, 2009, p.71). According to Phillips, "Gang dances in Los Angeles are widespread, rich in textual potential and adaptable to a variety of gang needs and circumstances" (Phillips, 2009, p.71). Gang dances function such that they can be bodily expressions of written words or they can be representative "of abstract notions that cannot be expressed orally" (Phillips, 2009, p. 79).

Dancing is a means of gaining hypervisibility. Gang dancing is also an example of an aspect of meaning in social dance which Hazard-Gordon calls *Ingroup-Outgroup*. Hazzard-Gordon defines *Ingroup-Outgroup* as "the functioning aspect of meaning if dancing is seen as a quality necessary to enhance one's membership in a voluntary association such as a gang or a peer group" (Hazzard-Gordon, 1990, p. 47). By engaging in a gang dance, one is showing love for ones own affiliation and bravery when performing the dance in front of rivals, thereby solidifying his ingroup status.

Gang members also occupy space and claim turf through graffiti, but graffiti is anonymous in some respects, whereas movement is seen and can be a bold statement made by an individual on behalf of the gang. Gang graffiti is generally done under the name of the organization not the individual gang member. Gangs in L.A. also use a system of stacking, or using hand gestures to communicate affiliation, turf, or simple messages. Rappers across regional boundaries have also adopted a crude version of this

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practice, such as Jay-Z's 'Dynasty' sign. The ability to claim space and have a voice, meanwhile disparaging your enemies, equates to manhood to gang affiliated youth.[66]

Gang dances and stacking are movements that are actually literate. In other words, they communicate written words with the body. As stated earlier, gang dancers make three dimensional letters with their bodies or use their feet to spell things on the ground. Most hip-hop dances do not do this, and for this reason HHKL is not static or simply defined. Also, I am not claiming that gang culture and hip-hop culture are one in the same in L.A., but that they are parallel and influence one another. Many rappers claim gang affiliation, such as The Game, MC Eiht, WC, Snoop Dogg and Mac 10.

Hollywood and the music industry made the West Coast gangsta image ubiquitous in hip-hop in the early 1990s. Many other places adopted the slang and sartorial code. Gang culture was also spread through the crack cocaine drug trade.[67]

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[66] It must be acknowledged that there is a cultural exchange between Latino and African American gangs. It is at times difficult to determine where certain styles of gang graffiti, cars, and dress developed first.

[67] (Baker, 1989) (Webb, Aug 22, 1996) According to Gary Webb's "Dark Alliance" (Aug 22, 1996) series in the *San Jose Mercury*, cocaine made it to Los Angeles at nearly half price. The major distributor, a young man by the name of Rick Donnell Ross, would allegedly undercut rival distributors by "$10,000 a key (kilogram)". His primary clientele were gangs, mainly Crips and Bloods. The gangs were able to buy cocaine cheap in LA, and then head for less saturated markets in other cities, which helped spread the gang culture.

Thus people were stacking and Crip walking around the nation. The C-walk and other gang dances made movements more about communication than catharsis.

Eventually, the Crip Walk started to be performed people who were unaffiliated. Pop stars and child rappers like Lil' Bow Wow C-walked in videos and on stages. The C-walk was initially not a hip-hop dance, and when it became one, its essence changed. For people who were separated from the L.A. gangbanging scene, the C-walk began to lose its cultural, communicative, and masculine significance.

According to Dyson, "NWA (Niggaz With Attitudes) reflects the brutal circumstances that define the boundaries within which most ghetto poor black youth in Los Angeles must live" (Dyson, 2004, p.65). L.A. youth watched the L.A. riot/rebellion in 1992, where police did not attempt to quell the mayhem so much as contain, ostensibly protecting wealthier, white neighborhoods. Black men were routinely victims of the unruly LAPD, and most of the mistreatment could be traced along racial and residential lines. NWA was the anti-Public Enemy. Leader Eazy-E disavowed pro-Black politics and NWA's aesthetic was far different than what people saw coming out of New York. You never saw NWA dancing. I first got the Eazy-E debut album Eazy-Duz-It (1988) in the 5th grade from a friend. Even my childish sensibilities were excited by the things I heard. NWA were rebels without a cause who told funny, violent and titillating stories about the 'hood in L.A. The West Coast seemed like a fascinating foreign land where people abided by the masculine rules of the old West, where outlaws and lawmen did battle, and it was difficult to know who to root for.

Most of the styles which NWA and their successors ushered into the national spotlight can be attributed to the spatial landscape of southern California. For example, large, vintage, customized cars and car clubs would be nearly impossible on the streets of Harlem or the Bronx. These differences were made to represent each area during the media-driven East-West beef in hip-hop during the 1990s. The Dogg Pound video for "New York, New York"(2005), highlighted this issue by having low-riders and cars with hydraulics bouncing through Time Square. Snoop Dogg also has a scene where he walks through the streets of New York City, flattening its buildings. West Coast rap music used a down tempo sonic backdrop. The gritty sounds of beats sampled from James Brown by New York artists, gave way in West Coast rap to brighter beats created from elements of P-Funk.

The West Coast emerged in 1990 with a rap song/dance combination craze called "The Humpty Dance" (Tyrangiel, 1999, p.138). The Oakland-based group Digital Underground popularized the dance through the voice of fictitious character Humpty, who was actually the groups' lead rapper/producer, Shock G. Shock G would wear a fake nose (painted brown to match his skin color), eccentric clothing, and rap with a nasal tone when he was playing Humpty. Due to the fact that Shock G is in the video along with Humpty, it took me until an episode of Yo! MTV Raps to recognize that they were the same person.

The Humpty Dance was rebellious in the sense that the Humpty character refused to follow rules, even ones established within hip-hop. Humpty liked to "bite" or copy the styles and music of others, which is ironic, since Digital Underground was unlike any

group that preceded them in the mainstream. Shock G also said he would not be confined by language and would be willing to use "a word that don't mean nothing." The Humpty character did establish his masculinity by being overtly sexual in the lyrics of "The Humpty Dance." He famously claimed to have "gotten busy in a Burger King bathroom" and that in a "69 my Humpty nose will tickle your rear."

The body movement for the Humpty Dance is in the waist, knees, arms, and shoulders. The shoulders rotate inward while one does a wave to each side, while rhythmically bouncing at the knees. Weight is transferred to the side on which the wave is being done. The Humpty Dance allowing for improvisation as Shock G states in the lyrics that "no two people will do it the same." Digital Underground was one of the most original, fun-loving groups in hip-hop history. They believed in the freedom to "Doowutchyalike." But Shock G also lent his vocals and production to early songs by Tupac Shakur, which displayed racial pride and an intolerance for injustice.[68]

Digital Underground defied simple categorization. There were also groups like The Coup that were politically progressive yet reminiscent of the 1960s activism. But most Oakland rappers adopted the "pimp/playa/balla" image, and one could make a strong case for Oakland having invented it. There is a divide in California, between the Bay Area and L.A. The Bay was where the smooth pimps resided, while the latter embodied the gangbanging gangsta image..

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[68] Shock G can be heard on Tupac's classic song "Trapped" (1992).

Oakland was home to one of the most popular dancing hip-hop acts in history, MC Hammer. Hammer's up-tempo dance moves, catchy hooks, and boisterous live performances, led to him being one of the few rap acts to sell 10 million albums for Please Hammer Don't Hurt 'Em (Smith, 1999, p.230). Danyel Smith wrote that Hammer's major "sin," one that caused him to be shunned by the hip-hop community and made him an eventual laughing stock, was "his dancing" in an era when gangsta rap and gangsta aesthetics were sweeping the urban pop culture world (Smith, 1999, p.237).

After seizing the nationwide pop culture spotlight in 2006, 'Hyphy' seemed to be the next big trend in hip-hop. Oftentimes referred to as the Bay Area's answer to Atlanta's Crunk movement, Hyphy is a high energy hip-hop subculture built around "stunna shades, Bay Area themed T-shirts, rims, mixtapes, and Mac Dre bobblehead dolls" (Arnold, 2008). A style of dance called Turf dancing is often done to up-tempo hyphy songs, like rap veteran E-40's 2006 hit "Tell Me When to Go." The late rapper Mac Dre is considered the founder of the Hyphy Movement, though artist Keak Da Sneak is credited with coining the term. Mac Dre was the inventor of several dances, including his own song/dance combination, "The Thizzle Dance." Mac Dre's eccentric style is the predecessor to Lil' B.

The major element to hyphy dance moves and Turf dancing is "going dumb" or letting go, a cathartic release through dance. According to MC Hammer, "to go dumb like that is a reaction to unemployment, to feeling abandon, to feeling like there is no hope" (Hesse, Jan 2008). The same could be said of the L.A.-based style called Krumping, which was popularized by the film Rize (Hix, 2005). The founder of the Turf

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Dancing crew The Architeckz, Jeriel Bey, said that Turf dancing is tantamount to telling a story without speaking. While Krumping can be "spastic," Turf dancing is far more fluid, using more free flow in the movements (Hix, 2005). Turf dances again have a template based on the neighborhood one comes from, but much of it is invented or improvised by the dancer. Videos of Turf dancing and Krumping, for that matter, suggest that they are youth based dances, born on the streets, not in nightclubs. The links between Krumping and Turf dancing show why I have chosen at times not to separate the Bay and L.A. completely. Turf dancing also in many ways resembles the C-walk, as both include gliding, Moonwalk-style foot work. Also, both represent domination over space or turf.[69] These styles have differences, but also major similarities, as Bay Area hip-hop and L.A. hip-hop often borrow from one another.

Teach Me How to Dougie

The Dougie is not indigenous to California. It finds its roots in other parts of the country. Dallas, Texas was home to a localized dance phenomenon called the "D-

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[69] Turf dancing is said to be an acronym for "Taking Up Room on the Floor". The name was created by Jeriel Bey, who was born in LA but raised in the Bay Area. The dances told a story about where the dancer was from or what 'set' they represented.

"Turfing"

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turfing

town Boogie" (Phelps). A friend of the group attended Texas Southern University, where he learned the dance, instructed the group, and implored them to create a song about it (Alexis, June 2010). The members of Cali Swag District combined the D-town Boogie with the signature move of New York City hip-hop legend Doug E. Fresh, and called it the Dougie. Smoove from Cali Swag District states "I ain't from Dallas but I D-town Boogie" in the first verse of "Teach Me How to Dougie" (2010). The Dougie is "all about making yourself known on the dance floor, showing your swag" (Phelps, August 2010).

Ironically, Cali Swag District was discovered by former Death Row Records gangsta rapper Big Wy (Alexis). Big Wy was one of the lead vocalists on an album called Bangin' on Wax by the Bloods & Crips (2003).

The Dougie falls under the hip-hop tradition because it is built upon existing elements. Tricia Rose discusses how hip-hop does this with technology when she defines sampling as transforming "a series of independent sounds or a previously fixed configuration of rhythms or sounds, and recode them" (Rose, 1989, p.40). Hip-hop did not create the turntable, the mixer, or the sampler itself. Hip-hop took these innovations in technology and further expanded upon the purposes and possibilities for their usage. While other dances may incorporate historical dance traditions, sometimes utilizing the difficult to explain phenomenon of cultural memory, The Dougie is an amalgamation of movements from fairly recent memory.

"Teach Me How to Dougie" has two music videos. The unofficial video has plenty of spatial and environmental clues that the performers are on the West Coast.

They're at an outdoor skate park and the parking lot looks like a car show. This video has over 12 million views on YouTube, though the film quality pales in comparison to the official video.

People in the official video, especially women, are more multicultural than in the unofficial video. There is one scene where the women strut in front of in a line. The walk illustrates some slight gendered differences. The women's strut is not contralateral and their shoulders are held back, which in HHKL, generally indicates femininity. When the women perform The Dougie, their movements are contralateral, but their shoulders are not rotated forward or inward.

The movements for The Dougie start with a sway on the horizontal plane, where weight is shifted with each movement, and the flow is free. The arms move in front of the dancer and they are slightly bound. From then on, many dancers bend at the knees or arc their arms and hands above their heads, performing Doug E. Fresh's signature move. Others move their hands in front of their bodies. The Dougie is a movement template, where the individual dancer is given the opportunity to fill in the blanks. The irony of this coming off the West Coast is the fact that gang culture is so prevalent and usually demands a certain amount of conformity and collective consciousness. However, Dr. Dre of NWA told listeners to "express yourself" in the 1990s.

The Dougie is a prototypical dance instruction song. In the first verse, rapper Smoov instructs listeners to "put your arms out front, lean side to side." Yung states in the second verse that onlookers are impressed with his performance and

innovations, pointing out that "he can Dougie on the flo (or)." The lyrics of the third and final verse describe The Dougie as a unisex dance.

However, when men perform the dance it is an attempt to be seen and admired for one's individual style. Women are the only ones seen doing the dance in a homosocial line in the official video. This organization is not necessarily a regional phenomenon, but it is very consistent with hip-hop in general. When the Dougie is performed with the Doug E. Fresh move, it could be consistent with the pretty, androgynous image put forth by the West Coast pimps of 1970s like Superfly and the Mack. Dancers pretend to slick back a mane as these pimps had. Besides taking pride in their appearance, pimps are generally portrayed as lone wolves, not working cooperatively with other men or within organizations.

The Doug E. Fresh move is an example of what LeeEllen Friedland calls "social commentary" in Black vernacular dancing (Jackson, 2006, p.41). This concept is what people are trying to communicate to one another through their dances. Social commentary is found in dances where people improvise because they are often trying to communicate something specific to the setting. According to Friedland, there are three processes through which the Blacks communicate through dance: "annotation or the free-association upon or exaggeration of cultural symbols; imitation, or the ability to reproduce with uncanny precision; and subversion, or the ability to parody symbols within or outside of black communities (Jackson, 2006, p.42). In the night club, Cali Swag District is trying to communicate that they are fresh, clean, and superior to others. Through the Doug E. Fresh move, they are utilizing both annotation and imitation.

African American dance has traditionally blurred the line between "improvisation and composition" (Jackson, 2006, p.44).

Jackson relies on Murray's work on the blues to show that Blacks have used music and dance to convey their social location and standing. This idea is also tied in with masculinities. Black masculinities in mainstream hip-hop post-2000 are not always about one's social location, but rather one's desired social location. Whereas the blues dealt with masculinities in terms of one's fortitude to struggle, hip-hop deals with environmental mastery.

The Based God

Lil' B "The Based God" is one of the most interesting and original artists to appear in hip-hop. He purposefully makes his image difficult to categorize. He has marketed himself by testing the limits of masculine acceptability and hip-hop's comfort with men describing themselves using feminine terminology.

One of hip-hop's predecessors, Muhammad Ali, used a similar approach by calling himself "pretty" and referring to his physical appearance while engaging in physical combat. Lil B takes things a step further, by calling himself a "pretty bitch" and a "lesbian." His song titles include "Paris Hilton" and "Ellen DeGeneres," comparing himself to the white socialite starlet and the lesbian talk show host. Jonah Wiener describes Lil B in the follow passage:

Then there's Lil B, a brilliantly warped, post-Lil

Wayne deconstructionist from the Bay Area. He freestyles

prolifically and deftly (or, when he feels like it, gloriously

ineptly), dabbles in ambient music, extend metaphors so far

that they break down and lose any metaphorical

component, calls himself a faggot but says he's not gay,

calls himself a bitch, calls himself Hannah Montana, says

"fuck Justin Bieber" then says he's friends with Justin

Bieber, compares himself to Aretha Franklin, Matlock,

Jesus, Mel Gibson, and even your father. [70]

He has caused a controversy by titling his debut album "I'm Gay." Lil B

is adamant about not having any sexual attraction for men, claiming only to be an

advocate for the gay community and to be "happy." His coming from Berkeley,

California, a notoriously left wing Bay Area city, and home to the University of

California, is related to why he breaks hip-hop's established boundaries for masculinities

and race. His actions even provoked a response from GLAAD, who were slightly

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[70] See Weiner (Jan 2011), Weiner basically says that it is Lil B's contradictions and

unpredictability that make him intriguing.

suspicious of Lil B's motives for choosing the title.[71] He claims to have received

homophobic death threats since announcing the title.

Lil B is one of the very few rappers who establish an alternative

masculinity with his lyrics. However, one familiar element to his masculinity is his God

complex. Lil B's website, basedworld.com, has illustrated pictures of him that can be

associated with religious imagery, such as stained glass, women bowing to him in

worship, and shining halos above his head. Jay-Z often compares himself to God,

referring to himself on records as "Jay-hova." In many traditional monotheistic religions,

God is given the attributes of hegemonic masculinity.[72] God exhibits strength, power,

and knowledge, and is a disciplinarian. In other words, God is the ultimate man whom

we should all aspire to be like (but none can compare to). To compare oneself to God is

to say "I am the epitome of manhood, I embody hegemonic masculinity."

The lyrics of Lil B's music are not nearly as progressive as his image. On

his song "Wonton Soup" (2010), Lil B raps a nonsensical collage of criminal activity,

violent sexuality, and unbridled materialism. In the midst of it all, he claims to "look like

J.K. Rowling," the middle-aged white female author of the Harry Potter series. Lil B is,

in many ways, hip-hop's answer to Andy Kaufman. Just as Kaufman obscured the lines

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[71] See Iandoli (April 2011) GLAAD question Lil B's sincerity and stated they thought it maybe a
marketing ploy or gimmick.

[72] Of the 3 major monotheistic religions, none refer to God as a woman.

of masculinities by wrestling women, Lil B does so with his music, marketing strategies, and image.

In addition to his gender-bending words, Lil B has forged a community around his dance which he calls "cooking." Cooking is taking masculinities in mainstream hip-hop to a place it has never been. Cooking itself is generally known to be a form of unpaid labor considered women's work.

According to Lil B, there are three levels of cooking mastery. The novices are called "cooks," intermediates are referred to as "chefs," and advanced levels cooks are called "master chefs." People who cook are usually feminized, where being a master chef is often associated with men. Hence, Lil B has designed his dance so that one becomes more masculine as he improves the dance and uploads more cooking videos on the internet. He has a song and video for a track entitled "I Cook" (2010). The nearly unbearably repetitive song describes him as a wealthy person and implies that he may have attained that status through selling cocaine.

Lil B's cooking dance, utilizing a shrugging shape flow, is simplistic. The lower body does not move. All of the movement is done with the shoulders, the arms, wrists, and hands. Just as in the Dougie, the time is sustained. Lil B also mimes eating with a spoon while holding a bowl close to his face. He says that this is a metaphor for earning money, and does this move several times during the video for "I Cook." (The stranglehold of capitalism is so tight that even the most eccentric artists cannot escape it.) Cooks use Freidland's concept of imitation in their movements.

As an aberration from the norm, Lil B's Cooking dance does not occupy much space in the kinesphere. This fact is consistent with the fact that the dance's masculinities depend upon the dancer and his abilities.

Body Part Usage

In the Dougie, the shoulder is presented and rotated forward and inward by the men in the official video. The women in the video are not rolling the shoulder forward, though it is difficult to gauge because scenes featuring women performing the dance are few and far between. There is often a rolled forward shoulder display, as the elbow comes into the rib cage. In many of the performances of the dance in the official video, one half of the body moves at a time. The Dougie also uses contralaterality; when one shoulder moves the other leg is engaged. As the shoulder and hands cross the midline of the body, some accent the dance by looking away.

Cooking, as performed by Lil B in the video for "I Cook", is as crude and rudimentary as Lil B's lyrics. The "eating" portion of the dance includes a clockwise rhythmic circle of the hand and an inward rotation of the shoulder. The back of the hand is also presented. There is action of the forearm and the hand as a unit and the mouth gestures as if it is chewing.

The second portion of the dance includes the shoulder being rotated inward and forward. Lil B also often presents the shoulder while doing a peeling motion.

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Multiple Masculinities

Not only are there differing masculinities in the two West Coast case studies, Lil B himself shows several masculinities. There is Lil B, the gay advocate, whose dance mimes 'cooking,' which is traditionally seen as women's work. He is seemingly breaking through gendered and sexualized norms through his movements.

However, his music describes him as an armed robber who murders women and demands oral sex from them. Still, in that very same song, (Wonton Soup, perhaps his biggest hit to date), he compares himself to Andy Milonakis, the developmentally delayed white comedian. Milonakis is hardly threatening, physically stuck in a child's body, and probably sexually underdeveloped. A *Washington Post* article stated that Milonakis resembles "a Ritalin-starved 14-year-old in need of a timeout and a hobby" (Segal). Whereas rappers in the past have compared themselves to coldhearted killers, known drug dealers, and fictitious mobsters, Lil B chooses Milonakis and Frasier Crane, Kelsey Grammer's neurotic nerdy character on Cheers and Frasier. Lil B is an agent, and he chooses which (young) Black masculine rules to adhere to and which ones to defy. He also refuses to be constrained by the progressive/patriarchal binary. He is avant-garde and on the extreme on both sides, sometimes within the same stream of consciousness in his lyrics.

Though certain masculinities have been the primary focus of hip-hop and Black masculinity scholarship, multiple masculinities do exist in hip-hop, even among popular acts. I thought of creating a name for some of these masculinities, particularly the one Lil

B embodies. Several names came to mind, such as alt-hypermasculinity or emo-thug masculinity. However, I realized that the important thing about Lil B is that his masculine expression, defies simple categorization. Thus, it would be counterintuitive to place it in a category for expediency and to appease academia's insatiable desire for new verbiage.

Cali Swag District is far more traditional in their approach. Juxtaposed with Lil B, one can see that California rappers has several masculinities that can be displayed. Though they rap about their sex appeal to women and danger to opponents, they acknowledge that their dance, and by extension their identity, is hybridized, with influences coming from the south. Coming from Los Angeles, Tinseltown and home to the stars, Cali Swag District's primary masculine focus is visibility. Rapper Smoove states "I show my dance moves off and everybody trying to do me" in the first verse, to convey that he Dougies for attention. It is also important to note that Cali Swag District's members are barely out of high school, so the masculinities they embody are of young Black males on the cusp of adulthood.

Though it is not related to the gang lifestyle and gangbanging masculine image, the primary and rudimentary purpose is the same. They follow a tradition that has been a part of L.A. dancing for many years, the spectacle.

However, the Dougie is different from gang dances because it is a forum to express individuality, rather than affiliation. According to group member Smoove, "We don't focus on hardcore gangsta rap because that is not what is out in Cali right now" (Alexis, 2011). Though they are far from a gangsta group, the reality of West Coast

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gangsterism hit Cali Swag District when member M-Bone was murdered in a drive-by shooting in May of 2011 in the group's native Inglewood, California.[73]

Conclusion

The West Coast has always had its own way of doing things. Many African Americans first came to California in search of opportunities for financial and social freedom. As a destination for people from different places around the country, it has been a mix of many different traditions, which in some cases caused an overlap in masculine expression. Gangs and revolutionary groups lived in and sometimes claimed the same territory. Both expect a certain amount of conformity from members, such as a sartorial code or worldview. At the same time, California has created an image of being carefree and willing to break boundaries. In a place where young men lift weights to be physically imposing or motivated by vanity, Humpty Hump broke through in the early 1990s with pride in being "funny looking" and "skinny."

The next evolution was the dances discussed in this chapter. Cali Swag District, despite being from the tough Inglewood area and having "lost a lot of friends to the street life,", the same area dope-slinging rapper Mack 10 claims, Cali Swag District chooses to focus on partying and making people dance. They refuse to let masculine pressure direct

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[73] See Horowitz (May 2011) The motive for the shoot remains unclear, though it is believed to simply be jealousy.

them into the gangsta image. They also refuse to do what many rappers do, which is claiming to have originated things that they borrowed.

However as far as HHKL, they are fairly consistent with other male rappers, including Lil B. One can observe both acts performing the forward/inward rotation of the shoulder, which is not performed by the women in the video. [74] Cali Swag's Dougie is also contralateral. Though Cali Swag avoids gangsterism, they do still rap a pimp/playa/hustla masculinity, which includes the subordination of women and capitalistic references to wealth.

Lil B also contributes something major by showing that many different masculinities can be expressed by one artist, even in one song. The West Coast is at the forefront of Black men in popular culture refusing to be easily defined or put in categories. A refusal to be easily categorized could be seen as a reclamation of power by the artists. It is a small example of them showing agency. Lil B understands that were he to do just the opposite of the negative inscription of Black men and focus on a positive image, he would be reacting to the socially constructed image, and thus still being constrained by it. Lil B embraces the construction only to push it away, while simultaneously rejecting the construction that has been created for positive Black men.

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[74] There are no women featured in "I Cook" by Lil B.

Chapter 5: THE EAST: A Case Study of Black Masculinities within East Coast Dance Instruction Songs.

The East Coast in the hip-hop imagination primarily encompasses the Northeastern portion of the United States, with New York City being the epicenter. Murray Foreman explained how "hip hop's popularity spread from New York to other U.S. cities, most notably Philadelphia and Los Angeles but eventually more geographically marginal cities such as Seattle" and how "such developments encouraged the emergence of distinctive regional rap sounds and styles, as well as strong local allegiances and territorial rivalries, as the identities and careers of rap acts became more closely tied to the city and to its specific neighbourhoods ('hoods) and communities" (Foreman, 2000, p.66). Hip-hop's origins are in Black and Latino street gangs, which came together for neighborhood and turf protection. Black and Latino youth were sometimes subject to attack by whites who were resisting attempts to integrate the schools in the Northern Bronx. As a means of protecting themselves, Blacks and Puerto Ricans formed neighborhood gangs.

Some of these street organizations transformed into b-boy crews or rap posses that competed for similar dominance using their artistic craft in the place of violence (Foreman , 2000, p. 67). The largest example is the Zulu Nation which began with Afrika Bambaataa and his Black Spades gang formulating peace treaties and joining with other

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gangs under the umbrella of hip-hop (Ogbar, 2001, p.3). Foreman argues that the distinct

sounds that come out of different regions (Ogbar, 2001, p. 73). I would add to that that in

some cases the movements can at times also be distinct because they are mimicking the

regionally distinct rhythms.

Hip-hop was not born in New York City, specifically in the South and

West Bronx and Harlem, by coincidence.[75] The impoverished southern end of the Bronx

was once a thriving community populated by immigrants of European ancestry (Rose,

1989, p.36). Robert Moses and the city of New York broke ground on an expressway that

would raze 60,000 homes and lead to high levels of vacancy in 1959. Property was sold

quickly and cheaply to slumlords who rented to African American and Caribbean

residents. White flight soon followed, with the former solidly working class white

community moving north into Westchester County and other sections of the Bronx. The

South and West Bronx became a Black and brown, multicultural urban ghetto. Tricia

Rose conveys the effects of the condition of the community for which Moses'

expressway was the catalyst in the following passage:

The new ethnic groups who made the South Bronx

their home in the 1970s, while facing isolation and

economic fragility, began building their own cultural

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[75] As was stated early in the chapter about the West Coast, a legitimate argument can be made
that parallel movements were happening around the country as hip-hop was in its developmental stages.
LA had pop locking in the 1970s which was became an integral part of b-boying.

networks. It is the complex ethnic interaction that

developed in the Bronx combined with the post-1960s

disillusionment and alienation that provided many of the

cultural ingredients in Hip-hop, the larger subculture of

which rap is the most prominent facet. Blacks from the

Caribbean as well as North American blacks, contributed

significantly to the development of a new cultural identity

whose roots in other post-colonial contexts were

formulated in a hostile, technologically sophisticated,

multi-ethnic, urban terrain. Hip-hop developed as part of a

collective voice for those who had been condemned to

silence (Rose, 1989, p.37).

The answer to the question 'why the Bronx' as opposed to other communities is

present in the previous passage. It was more multicultural, densely populated, and

desolate than other urban areas.

From hip-hop's infancy, territory and space were paramount. Rose states

that DJs, b-boys, and graffiti artists battled for home turf. Kool Herc dominated the West

Bronx, Bambaataa took Bronx River East, DJ Breakout held the northern section, and

Grandmaster Flash ruled the South and Central Bronx (Rose, 2008, p.208). Mr. Wiggles,

a member of the famed Rocksteady Crew of b-boys, explained who turf played a role

with early breakers:

Well, I am from Longwood Ave. (South Bronx),

and kids from Brook Ave., we didn't like each other, but

we had jams right in the middle, and they know that from

my block they would be bringing Wiggles so they would

bring their kids from their avenue. While the blocks didn't

get along dancing was a good way to break the ice and keep

it from getting too crazy. We had battles of the best

dancers instead of rumbling. It was all about competing,

neighborhood against neighborhood, dancing against

dancing (Klopman 2007).

Many rappers even today mention a home and claim to dominate that particular

place.[76]

While the Bronx was the birthplace of hip-hop, rap music began in the

clubs and discos of Harlem. DJ Hollywood is often said to be the first rapper, and made

his mark DJing and rapping in discos throughout Harlem. There is a class divide

between Harlem and the South Bronx. , Harlem was the home to Sugar Hill and an

enclave for affluent urban Blacks. It was the home of the Harlem Renaissance and was

considered the Capitol of Black America.

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[76] It is less common to hear a rapper who doess not mention a street, neighbor, section, city, or region. Rappers and their fans bicker about who is the "King of the South", the "King of New York" or who is legitimately from a particular place and who is not. Thus, dominating a place and space are key elements in many hip-hop masculinities. Perhaps us a weak word. Can you drop it?

By the 1970s, drugs and crime had moved in to Harlem, but Harlem was still seen as a better area than the Bronx. Harlem is physically closer to downtown and the financial districts, whereas the Bronx is across the river and more isolated. Harlem was home to thriving, sometimes Black owned businesses, to the famous 125th Street, and to landmarks like the Apollo Theater. The South and West Bronx had no such area.

The different social and economic conditions between Harlem and the Bronx produced a divide in the style of music that came out of the two areas. The Bronx was known for early rappers like Melly Mel, who rapped about the social conditions for poor Black and brown people. DJ Hollywood, the first rapper, was, as Afrika Bambataa stated, "more like disco oriented" (George, 2004, p.51). Grandmaster Flash referred to DJ Hollywood as a "disco rapper" and stated he represented the "softer side of music" (George, 2004, p.52).

Harlem has always been a place in which residents took pride. Harlem was the epicenter of Black artistic life for many decades. According George, "countless southern migrants to New York City describe the thrill of finding themselves at the heart of a vibrant black culture in Harlem" (George, 2004, p.129). The jazz music and exciting dances that vibrated from the night clubs in Harlem in the 1920s and 1930s attracted even white patrons (Emery, 1972, p. 222). Legendary writers such as Claude McKay and Langston Hughes wrote about the magnificent dancing that was born on the streets and in the clubs of Harlem. The acrobatic Lindy Hop was "popularized at the Harlem Savoy

Ballroom" (Emery, 1972, p.234).[77] Shorty Snowden created a part of the Lindy Hop

called the "breakaway," where a dancer leaves his partner for a moment to shine on his

own then returns to the partner to continue. This move was an example of the

hybridization of traditional European couple dancing and African individual dances

(Sterns 1968, p.324). The Savoy was a place where many of the cities' finest Black

dancers gathered, making Harlem the prime location for Black dance, where dancers

watched one another and listened to the best big bands (Sterns 1968, p.322).

Despite being celebrated as America's premiere melting pot, a place

where the huddled masses from virtually every country on earth settle, live and work

together, New York City remains a city divided. A May 1, 2011 *Huffington Post* article

listed New York City as the nations' third most segregated metropolitan area. The 1980s

and 1990s were decades filled with police and neighborhood vigilantes trying to regulate

raced-based spatial boundaries.

I was a young man when I heard my grandparents, longtime Harlem residents,

lamenting over the death of 16 year old Yusef Hawkins, who was brutally beaten, shot,

and killed by white hoodlums after he got lost in the primarily Italian-American Brooklyn

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[77] Whitey's Lindy Hoppers were considered among the best ballroom swing dancers around, and got their start and training at The Savoy. Their style of dance affected generations of dancers around the globe. The troupe was made up of kids from Harlem who used dance to avoid the lure of the streets.

"Archives of Early Lindy Hop"

http://www.savoystyle.com/whiteys_lindy_hoppers.html

neighborhood of Bensonhurst. Before I heard my grandparents express their sadness and outrage about the murders, several rappers talked about the case. Michael Griffin was another man whom white thugs chased to his death for daring to transgress boundaries (Smith). Former Mayor Rudy Giuliani appointed a known racist by the name of Russell Harding to run the HDC, "an agency which was supposed to provide low interest loans for affordable housing to low income, predominantly Black and Latino Families" (Van 2002).

Hip-hop dance is usually associated with its earliest incarnation, b-boying or break dancing. Sally Banes stated that "breaking is a competitive display of physical and imaginative prowess, a highly codified dance form that in its early stages served as an arena for both battles and artistic invention" (Banes, 2002, p.14). Breaking was a dance form that was born in the corners, subway tunnels, and playgrounds of the New York City, and one that conveyed the masculine code of the streets. It was a competitive dance style that was based upon "the taunt and the boast" (Banes, 2002, p.14). Breaking often appeared to be a fight to passers-by and police (Banes, 2002, p.14). The dance was a rejection of the "soft man movement of the 60s and 70s" (Torp, 1986, p. 36). Breaking, much like the hip-hop dances of today, was "inextricably tied to rapping" (Banes 2002, p.15). Though b-boying is inked to African American dances such as the Charleston and the Lindy, b-boying unique because it was born in the open air of the America urban ghetto.   Breaking eventually came to include "locking" and "popping," which were often times comedic and theatrical, much like the Chicken Noodle Soup.

DJ Kool Herc had two pantomimic dancers called the "Nigger Twins" who became famous early on for their clownish style of break dancing (Holman, 2004, p. 36). The Nigger Twins would use props, like shaving cream and a razor, and would use the "penguin walk" made famous by Vaudeville and silent movie actor, Charlie Chaplin (Holman, 2004, p. 36). Herc was also responsible for creating the first emcees. The role of emcee was more of an all-around entertainer. Herc realized it was too difficult to control the microphone and dig through records at the same time, so he included the Herculords, emcees Coke-la-Rock and Clark Kent, at his gigs. The Herculords were not limited just to rapping; they also danced in front of the DJ table. Dick Hebdige describes them as an "MC dance team" (Hebdige, 2004, p. 224).

According to Tricia Rose, B-boy crews aligned themselves to particular neighborhoods and turf around New York City (Rose, 2008, p. 204). Breakers sometimes did have actual physical fights after competitions. If one crew's insult during a battle was perceived as egregiously emasculating by the other crew, a physical altercation was all but inevitable.   The legendary b-boy Mr. Wiggles recounted "sometimes when you go to other neighborhoods (to dance) you get chased out, sometimes you don't make it out" (Klopman 2007).

Breaking in New York City was decidedly masculine, and women who engaged in its activities had negotiated their femininity. In other words, there were certain moves that the few female breakers there were would refrain from performing, lest they be shunned as "unfeminine" (Rose, 2008, p. 205). Rose states that women rarely

did head spins or hand glides because those moves transgressed the limits of what was deemed acceptable "female physical expression" (Rose, 2008, p. 205).

In the jam packed, busy streets of New York City, demands for space are even more profound and culturally significant. B-boying took up a large amount of space with its uprocking, acrobatic, and powerful maneuvers. B-boys would carve out their piece of the landscape by laying down linoleum or broken-down cardboard. Breaking was a reclamation of manhood, and young breakers in New York City "found their voices through their bodies." (LaBoskey, 2001, p.112). They were overwhelmingly poor men and boys who were expressing "machismo," through fight-like gestures and sexualized disrespect for opponents (Banes, 2002, p. 17). According to Banes, the masculinity was also found in the danger and risk of physical injury (Banes, 2002, p. 17). However, space played a big role. Dancing on a street corner or park was a claim to territory. People must walk around you. For people who are nearly invisible, the fact that they were carving out public space in arguably the most important city in the world is a statement about their masculine self-identity and demands to be seen.

New York City hip-hop went through a period where many of the major rap acts included dance routines. In the late 1980s, the group Kid 'n Play introduced the world to their famous 'kick step'. They included a dance instruction song called "Do the Kid 'n Play Kick Step" on their first full length album "2 Hype" (1988). Kid n' Play were significant because their dance instruction song described a movement to done with a partner, and the partners (often two males) faced one another when performing the dance. The kick step is also referred to as the "Funky Charleston", because it is the same motion

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as the Charleston, but done with a partner. At the end of the movement, one partner's instep touches the other's instep

, The gendered dances that b-boying introduced find their roots in Harlem as well. Rose states breaking "shares moves with the lindy-hop, the Charleston, the cake walk, the jitterbug, the flash dancing in Harlem in the 1940s" (Rose, 2008, p. 205). Thus, Harlem has always been a haven for African American artistic creativity. Famed b-boy Crazy Legs of the Rock Steady Crew is said to have gotten his moniker from the "rubber-legged way" he entered the b-boy cipher, "a move descended from the Charleston" (Banes, 2002, p. 16).B-boying had comedic elements as well, so despite its strong machismo, it is completely be removed from the Black dance continuum that includes Vaudeville.

Harlem was also the birthplace of the aptly named hip-hop dance, the "Harlem Shake," which is said to have been created by a neighborhood drunk named Albee (also spelled Al B). The dance gained notoriety in the 1990s. If asked, Albee would perform his spastic shoulder movements at local basketball tournaments ("The Harlem Shake" n.d., para.3). The dance features bound flow, and the lower body is stationary and is said to also descend from the East African dance, Eskista ("The Harlem Shake" n.d., para. 1). East Africans have had a presence in Harlem for many years, so it is possible that there is a direct link.

The song/dance combo in hip-hop started on the East Coast. Joeski Love made a rap song about a popular camp television show starring actor Paul Reubens as an asexual man-child character named "Peewee Herman." "Peewee's Dance" was release in

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1986 and gained popularity as a crossover gimmick song. The song included a dance to go along with it. Public Enemy, the most popular (and most influential) rap group of the late 1980s, had the "S1Ws," background dancers who were dressed as a paramilitary group,. However, as the hip-hop industry expanded westward and the brilliant gangsta rap group N.W.A. captured the public imagination, rappers stopped integrating partying and dancing into the music.

The 'Chicken Noodle Soup' is one of the most intriguing of all the song dance combinations with respect to gender. Firstly, the song is credited to DJ Webstar, but features a female lead vocalist/emcee by the name of Young B. Webstar refers to himself at the start of the song as the "Voice of Harlem," though his voice is really only heard during the introduction, adlibs and outro of the song. There are two separate, gendered dances that are mentioned in the song; the Chicken Noodle Soup and the Rain Dance. The dances are sometimes combined. The gender boundaries are very thin and allow room for transgression.. In the official video the biggest gender difference is the use of space. Men dominate the space, at times making clownish, vaudeville-style gestures as they dance. The times when they do the "clear it out" part of the Rain Dance, their movements look more like a breast stroke, with large movements with the arms.

The lead (female) rapper demonstrates the Rain Dance as well, but makes very small movements using minimal space, light weight and effort and free flow. The shape quality of the "clear it out" portion is opening. The Chicken Noodle Soup requires a lot more physicality and athleticism and effort, and covers far more space than the 'Rain Dance.' Despite the presence of two dances, the song bears the name of the male dance.

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The body uses the whole leg, with very slight, bound arm movements in the Chicken Noodle Soup. One man is seen combining the Rain Dance with the Chicken Noodle Soup, thereby incorporating arm and hand movements. One does a kick on the horizontal plane with each leg in rapid succession, with strong effort when performing the Chicken Noodle Soup.

The video for Chicken Noodle Soup takes place in areas that are decidedly urban and indigenous to New York City: the inside of a tenement apartment building, a street corner, an indoor and an outdoor basketball court. Harlem is famous for an outdoor basketball tournament at Rucker Park, which has featured basketball greats such as Allen Iverson and Julius Irving. Young B mentions the "Kingdome Game," a reference to the Kingdome Classic, the oldest street basketball tournament in Harlem (Caputo 2002). Hip-hop business mogul Damon Dash took over the tournament and promoted it, which lead to a resurgence in its popularity in the summer of 2007 (Caputo 2002).

Basketball courts are male gendered spaces. There are not any women or girls playing in the game during the video. Some men are shirtless and dunking, an expression of Black masculinity. According to Davis Houck, "dunking in today's NBA is largely a Black phenomenon," one which few women have mastered (Houck, 2000, p. 157). Dunking has become a violent act, meant to embarrass opponents. In the video, one can see a man dunk on another individual, pull up on the rim and make a crazed facial gesture. By doing so, he claimed that territory as his own and proclaimed, if even for a moment, himself as a masculine superior to his defender.

At their core, basketball courts are places for competition. The men in the

Chicken Noodle Soup video are shown competing, while the women and girls are shown

playing ghetto games like double-dutch that require cooperation.   Many scholars

comment on the gender division within the labor market and work, but omit gendered

leisure activities. The scene in the video on the street corner pushes the male to the

margins, as he stands in the background. He is masculinized by dribbling a basketball.

Ironically, the street scene is gendered for girls (not women). Space and place are

significant, as the rapper, Young B begins the first two sparse verses by mentioning

Harlem, New York streets and landmarks.

The Chicken Noodle Soup song uses the African American tradition of

call and response. The listener is not passive, but is pulled in as an active participant,

even during moments in the song that seem as though they are cliché filler material. For

example, Young B repeats the phrase "let's get it." By using the word "let's" rather than

"I," she is inviting the listener to take part.

One could argue that she is merely repeating a hip-hop cliché or that by "let's"

she is referring to DJ Webstar. However, by following this phrase up with instructions to

begin dancing the Rain Dance and then the Chicken Noodle Soup, Young B demonstrates

that she is speaking to the audience. Lyrically, Young B recites four 4-bar verses (many

rap songs contain three 16-bar verses). Though she does make references to wealth and

materialism, overt violence is missing. She tell listeners to look at her "chain" and that

her "wrist (is) glistening." She includes one indirect comment about her toughness when

she states "girls talk slick but they whispering." With this statement she is establishing

that her competitors are other females. Also in her first verse, she describes an encounter with a male suitor when she states "I want to mess with him".

Body Part Usage

When Young B performs the Rain Dance in the beginning of the video, she does a torso sink narrow retreat.[78] Her elbows are in and hardly moving. She does only a slight hand gesture with near reach. A man later in the video combines the Chicken Noodle Soup with the Rain Dance, but takes up far more space than Young B by performing the latter dance with far reach.[79]

Multiple Masculinities

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[78] She does this at 25 seconds into the video. Though footage of Young B performing live is scant and not really in the scope of this project, there is a clip of her performing the "Chicken Noodle Soup" song and dance at the EBC allstar game at Madison Square Garden. She performs the Chicken Noodle soup (as opposed to simply doing the Rain Dance). Her performance of the Chicken Noodle Soup was short and still did not use as much space as many people (male and female) in the music video. She performed the Rain Dance which included small motions, but more movement in the elbow than can be seen in the music video.

[79] The man does this movement at 2:21 into the video

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There are two obvious forms of Black masculinities performed in the video for Chicken Noodle Soup. The aggressive, competitive, territorial masculinity seen on the basketball court is present, as well as the clownish, vaudevillian masculinity expressed through the dances and some of the performers. These masculinities have many things in common in terms of how they are expressed. Since the lead vocals in Chicken Noodle Soup are performed by a female, both masculinities are expressive physically through sport and HHKL, and occupy an exaggerated amount of space in the kinesphere. The dunking and hanging on the rim is about conquering one's adversary. The hanging is about literally and figuratively being above the competition, one which the dunker maintains while gravity drags all others toward the ground.

The dances however, are very similar to a maneuver that could have been seen in a minstrel, vaudeville, or tap dance performance from the 1940s. These dances almost appear to be anti-hip-hop in the sense that hip-hop has always prided itself on non-conformity, rebelliousness, and threatening appearances. Even the names, The Rain Dance and the Chicken Noodle Soup convey docility. It is unlike other hip-hop dances that were intended to be performed by men, such as 'The Wop,' 'The Baseball Bat' or 'The Running Man,' which described a masculine activity or physicality in their names. We have a similarity and proximity of the Chicken Noodle Soup to Black Vaudeville and minstrelsy. Since some minstrel and Black Vaudeville performances were done for white audiences, the songs and movements could not be perceived as threatening.

Conclusion

The Chicken Noodle Soup falls within a historical continuum of Black dance and expression in New York City. The lyrics of the song are a far cry from the Harlem Renaissance political protest poetry of Langston Hughes. But Harlem has been a place that has been represented by both soft and hard, politically defiant and socially responsible and the apolitical. Having been the capital for Black art and entertainment Harlem has had a wider range of representation over the years than in other places, t making it possible to have a song and dance like the Chicken Noodle Soup within a traditionally rebellious genre like hip-hop.

B-boying, the essence and foundation of hip-hop dance, was a mix of clowning and comedic gestures and freezes, along with competition, power moves, and sexualized humiliation and emasculation of opponents. The Chicken Noodle Soup in this sense is retrospective, looking back to a moment when Black song and dance was not devoted to the reclamation of Black patriarchal masculinities.

The Chicken Noodle Soup is also for the most part unisex, performed by men and women alike. Though there are women in the video who perform the Chicken Noodle Soup uses kinespheric and dynamospheric space similar to the men, Young B is scripted in the video as the feminine lead. She is dressed in a tennis skirt, walks a poodle, has long manicured nails and straight hair, and receives a kiss on the cheek from a man, which establishes her heterosexual inscription. But some of the women who dance the Chicken Noodle Soup are dressed in jeans and shorts, and wear blown-out afros and braids, thus receiving a masculine inscription. This idea is similar to what Jack

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Halberstam conveyed when he described drag kings and queens pulling their gender out of the closet and putting it on. Though these women are not being scripted as men, they take on male masculinities to create a larger contrast with Young B.

In this video, there is a noticeable age difference between men and women. The scene in the video of men playing basketball reifies the patriarchal social dynamic of men controlling a vast abundance of kinespheric space. A woman on the stairwell dancing the Chicken Noodle Soup is using dynamospheric space, but her space in the kinesphere is limited and relatively small. Young B at times has space in the kinesphere available to her but still makes small movements.

Chapter 6: CONCLUSION

Synthesis

Julius Lester (1968) stated that the "uniqueness of black culture can be explained in that it is a culture whose emphasis is on the nonverbal" (p. 87). Black artists, according Lester, want their audiences to feel and experience the music, which is why they implore them to sing along, respond when called upon, and dance the proper dance (Lester, 1968, p. 87). African Americans are influenced and hybridized by their colonial superiors (and vice versa) thus they also emphasis the verbal through rap music. This research shows that consistencies exist between the dances studied in this dissertation despite regional and (sub)cultural differences. These consistent elements which can be described using Laban Movement Analysis terminology form a Hip-Hop Kinesic Language, which expresses concepts such as gender or masculinities specifically.

The lyrics of the rap songs and artists are important in deepening the analysis of what is being conveyed by the movements. The lyrics give listeners a point of reference from which to interpret bodily movements. So lyrics play an essential role in the establishment of HHKL, particularly when discussing masculinities. We can see how many of the movements in these dance instruction songs are gendered (even if slightly) in the videos, that bodies matter in the performance of masculinities (and femininities). Music videos are scripted, the artists and performers are on some level complicit, if not, in the scripting of race and gender. The gendered movements of the dances in the videos

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studied in this dissertation further prove that masculinities are not static within the dances, but are held by the performer and the setting. Since the masculine expression depends upon the performer and his/her gender (or perceived gender) identity, the bodies these movements inhabit are of great importance with regard to masculinities expressed through hip-hop dance. Lyrics are often privileged over dance, with dance representing the body and lyrics, the mind.

This dissertation attempts to nuance Black masculinities in hip-hop by refusing to adhere to a body/mind binary, nor privilege one over the other. , Black men have often been simplified by our white supremacist society as super masculine menial bodies, devoid of minds (Phillips, 2009, p.93). However, close examination shows that even physical activity such as dancing can convey a complex web of emotion and written literacy.[80]

To analyze this web, lyrics, image, and the oft-neglected category of movement were examined in the previous chapters. With regard to the body, there were some elements of LMA that were consistent when the artists (and others dancing in their videos) were establishing their masculinities. These visible elements comprise the rudiments of a Hip-Hop Kinesic Language through which masculinities can be extracted.

In hip-hop, as in many other things, seeing is believing. Rap artists struggle to establish and maintain their authenticity, particularly in the streets. Visible

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[80] In the *Theorizing Hip Hop Dance* chapter, Huntington states that it is said that dance is writing and thus bodies are to be read. But how the body is read is limited to the reader's cultural understandings.

representations of the wealth they claim are as important as the cleverness of the lyrics they recite. This is why in some of the videos there were images that show off the supposed wealth of the artist. The body and all that it is attempting to convey is made more visible by dance. Phillip Brian Harper, author of Are We Not Men: Masculine Anxiety and the Problem of African-American identity, states the following:

> Given this presentational mode, contemporary video dance not only inevitably refers to the masculine-oriented street-cultural forms from which it derives, it thereby actually helps constitute as 'authentic' the potently masculinist cultural presentations through which the street context is figured. By the same token and conversely, that masculinism itself functions as the seal of proof for any representation of the street context that aspires to the condition of cultural authenticity. The degree to which this is the case is best indicated not by the blatant (and now classic) manifestations of misogyny and homophobia in many of those representations, but in the very presentational terms of some of the least offensive examples. [81]

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[81] To be fair, Harper was referring videos such as Baby Got Back, Sir Mix-A-Lot's ode to Black women's butts, which were released in the early to mid 1990s, not the ones included in the case studies

The concept of visibility is very important to all of the dances in this dissertation. All of the videos either featured the dances being done publicly (usually outdoors) with scores of on-lookers and admirers, or there was an online community of performers built around the dance. A desire to be hypervisible is the result and reaction to decades of marginalization and silence. In this regard, hip-hop dance and rap music were born of the same source. While society wants to see no evil, hear no evil, artists like DJ Webstar, Dem Franchize Boyz, Soulja Boy, Cali Swag District, and Lil B are forcing it to do both simultaneously. In addition, being seen is a masculinizing process (although being seen can also be a feminizing process depending upon who is observing and who is being observed). The lyrics from DFB, Soulja Boy, and Cali Swag District all describe visibility as a masculinizing process.

Lyrically, most of the artists in this dissertation describe being visible in public, and being envied as the center of attention. Sex and dancing both are expressed as means to establish physical dominance. Not many artists have taken to showing the world what they do in the bedroom by making a video and releasing it. However, some use dance to communicate sex and mime what they are allegedly capable of behind closed doors. In these songs, even the private becomes public, as a means to shield the artist's fragile masculinities. T. Denean Sharpley-Whiting states the following:

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of this dissertation. However, I would argue that the masculinist depictions of street culture displayed in that era appear docile when compared with the decade between 2000-2010.

In an era where women are rapidly scaling the

education and socioeconomic ladders, where on average

college-educated black males earn less than men from

nearly every other ethnic group (and a mere $3,900 more

annually than college educated black women), and where

policing and prisons exert in great disparity social authority

over poor and working-class black men's lives, the

bedroom at once a private space, has become a public one

via music video, porn flicks, and music tracks. In this

space, the mythic dominance of black men and their

perfected craft of 'dicksmithing' appear uncontested by all

irrespective of race, class, and gender (Sharpley-Whiting,

2008, p.88).

Visibility relates to mastery of the environment, which is closely tied to the

occupation of space in the kinesphere. This dissertation dealt with the issue of space in

several ways, one of which was to break down the case studies by region. The history of

the particular area with regard to movement, economics and masculinities was presented.

Space, region, or territory is also part of how the colonial model is organized. African

Americans are an internal colony, and as Ball states, "territory is merely the stage upon

which these historically developed mechanisms of super-exploitation are organized into a

system of oppression" (Ball, 2011, p. 14).

Though space shows up as an expression of masculinities, it still is not a universal rule. There are times when small movements and little space are used to express a particular masculinity. For example, when Lil B pretends to eat from a bowl, the movement is small, but it is intended to convey the acquisition of wealth. Our capitalist society has made wealth paramount for men of many backgrounds and possessing wealth is a part of a hegemonic ideal. Thus, HHKL is like spoken vernacular language in that it is fluid, changing, and dependent upon region and context. I concur with Huntington when she stated the following:

> Hip hop dance and Ebonics are direct descendants
> of communication tools developed by enslaved Africans in
> America. Both language and movement vocabularies tend
> to be deemed less important than vocabularies written with
> the hand, spoken with the mouth. Texts written in
> unrecognized languages such as Ebonics and misread
> movement practices called hip hop dance, as of today,
> cannot be seriously served up in a court of law as evidence,
> cannot be seriously used to take college entrance
> examinations, cannot be legitimately used to make known
> the injustices of racism and sexism, and therefore cannot be
> theoretical and cannot theorize. Well, I and many other
> writers, hip hop dancers and rappers, disagree. Theorizing

and theories are nothing but ways we try to make sense out

of events, occurrences and observation (Huntington, 2007,

p.70).

Since these dances are intended to be visible, the masculinities they express are public masculinities. masculinities the artists are expressing are different (one would think) than the ones they express at church on Sunday or in the boardroom with executives or during tender moments with their families. At the very least, they are different performances of masculinities, if not entirely different masculinities themselves. In other words, the way a West Coast gangsta performs his thug masculinity in the club is very distinct from how he performs the thug masculinity at the funeral home visiting his dead homies.

Movement and dance provide another element of analysis when discussing Black masculinities in hip-hop. Thus HHKL acts as a compliment to the lyrics, but is far too complex for the establishment of universal rules. Determining masculine expression in hip-hop dance is not an exact science. Unlike some literate dances like the C-walk, most hip-hop dances have inferred meaning within them rather than physically spelling out words. For example, sex can be implied with a pelvic thrust, as seen in the Lean Wit It Rock Wit It, rather than spelling out the word or miming an entire sexual act.

As stated earlier, Black masculinities are often conflated. Scholars have at times neglected how they intersect with other elements of identities, such as age and region. The same conflation takes place in some analyses of Black masculinities in hip-hop.

People have deduced that hip-hop is hyper masculine, but often fail to examine how regional histories nuance masculine expression. Also, the literature available usually is limited to an analysis of lyrics. When analysts mention the body, they usually describe movement completely separately from the music, when in fact the two work in tandem to express masculinities and communicate with listeners. The case studies within this dissertation attempted to put music, dance and masculinities in historical, regional and cultural context, as well as set a framework for further study of other regions.

While hip-hop masculinities are often criticized for misogynistic bravado, there are many aspects of hip-hop dance that possess more progressive potential than tradition European dances. For example, ballet has defined roles for men and women, with men occupying the strength roles (Huntington, 2007, p.93). However, in hip-hop dance, men and women may perform the same dance with slight variations at times. Ironically, the fact that gender is not always explicitly demarcated leaves space for a progressive reimagining of the concept of gender. This dissertation attempted to point out the gendered differences in the dances, not only to show the influence of hegemonic masculinity and American patriarchy, but also to show that hip-hop dance can be a blank canvass filled in by the artist/dancer.

Violence is another physical manifestation and expression of masculine authenticity. None of the dances in the previous case studies mimicked violence (with the exception of short scene by Soulja Boy), nor was explicit violence seen in the videos there were violent images within the lyrics of some of the songs. However, when Soulja Boy pretends to fight in his video, he further substantiates the idea that body movements

reify the performance of masculinities. His body is lending visibility and credence to his

verbal claims of toughness. Sharpley-Whiting states emphatically that "hip-hop is not a

culture of violence," placing the blame on America's violent history and present. I

disagree, in the sense that hip-hop is a microcosm of America and cannot be framed as if

it is a completely separate entity. Hip-hop is a violence culture because the art form

reflects America's obsession with masculine violence. Sharpley-Whiting is right to cite

America's domination of foreign lands (space) and its violent, sexualized humiliation of

the prisoners on Abu Ghraib. Hip-hop artists do similar things on smaller scales, as they

refer to rivals as "faggots," "pussies," and "bitch ass niggas," claim turf for their own,

and occasionally turn their guns on one another.

Dance and rap are media through which ideas are disseminated. Some of

these ideas are born out of the struggle for freedom in which African Americans have

been engaged for centuries. Other ideas that are dispensed reflect the condition of being

subject to an oppressive colonial system. Ball echoes Kwame Ture's sentiment that

visibility does not equal power (Ball, 2011, p. 11). Hip-hop song and dance are devoted

to visibility. The dance adds spectacle to the song. However, we are fooled into

believing that visibility is social capital and as such is tantamount to financial capital.

Also, that giving the appearance of financial capital is important. Visibility has no power

on a large scale, but on a micro level it does. In other words, on the streets of Bankhead,

Harlem, or Oakland, visibility and the illusion of financial wealth is power. Oliver states

that Black men are socialized in the streets and learn the rules to gain social recognition

as adolescents. According to Oliver, "to learn 'the game' as it is played on 'the streets'

one had to be physically present" (Oliver, 2006, p.923). Dem Franchize Boyz, Soulja Boy, Webstar featuring Young B, and Cali Swag District all rap about being seen as if visibility is a priority and something that legitimized them.   Hip-hop has transmitted these values to the world through music and video.

Body Part Usage Findings

The body part usage findings of this dissertation are the key element to establishing the existence of HHKL. In addition to the use of kinespheric and dynamospheric space and effort, what parts of the body are moving and how they are moving is what I was searching for.

There were some consistent elements of body part usage in many of the dances when performed by men, irrespective of their region of origin. The most apparent one was the shoulder presentation and forward rotation. This usage is masculine and culturally connected to Black men. The shoulders are rolled forward and inward during many masculine acts such as fighting. When the shoulders are rolled forward and inward, the jawline and face are better protected. Black men attempting to show coolness are often said to walk with their shoulders rotated forward and inward and to move contralaterally.[82] This walk could have developed to show preparedness for whatever the environment presents, even violence. I am not suggesting that the shoulder rotation had anything to do with being prepared for violence when performed in these dances, only

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[82] B-boys often roll their shoulders forward before the engage in an uprock.

that it has become a cultural body movement staple for Black men. Lastly, the forward

shoulder rotation is a rejection of Eurocentric cultural norms for gentlemanly posture.

Instead of standing up straight, Black men for generations have slouched their shoulders

forward.[83] Contralaterality and the forward rotation of the shoulder are the most

consistent elements of LMA seen in the dances selected and comprise the masculine

expression through Hip-Hop Kinesic Language.

I also believe that there exist cultural body movements or habitus in some

of the dances this dissertation analyzed. Contralaterality and the forward/inward rotation

of the shoulder can be associated with Black male youth culture and are examples of

habitus. Just as the historical and contextual arguments were made for each dance that

was born out of a particular region, the shoulder rotation and contralaterality are part of a

Black male historical movement continuum that has made its way into hip-hop. Both

have been used as an expression of coolness, for example in the 'pimp stroll' of the

1970s. These cultural movements are a display of habitus, in that they are cultural

patterns that are "unconsciously enacted" (Osumare, 2002, p.38). The movements, along

with speech patterns and other expressive displays of culture are also the result of what

Assman calls "cultural memory" (Assman, 1995, p. 129). Though they are referencing

"tradition African music and dance", Impley and Nussbaum, state that "basic principles"

and values associated with Black Dance have remained the same, but are modified based

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[83] One example of this is the stroll that Zoot suit wearing men did, which is contralateral with
the shoulders rotating forward.

on the social reality of the performers (Impley, 1996, p.6). Somewhere during the history

of the United States, Black males have sometimes subconsciously learned that

contralateral movement and the forward rotation of the shoulder are kinesic expressions

of Black masculinities. I cannot deny scripting in these videos and the important role that

it plays. However, the fact that the sometimes subtle forward and inward rotation of the

shoulder was present in each of the videos and nearly exclusively performed by men,

leads me to believe this movement is culturally enacted.

Contribution to Hip-Hop Studies

I truly hope that dance begins to get more focus in the budding field of

hip-hop studies and dance. As Carla Stalling Huntington states, "many hip-hop dance

movements are more difficult, or at least equally as difficult, as doing pirouettes en

Pointe or tours en l'air and require years of practice and training with the best hip hop

'dancing masters'" (Huntington , 2007 p.175). Thus, hip-hop dance is worthy of study on

the same level as ballet. It has not received the same attention because that the study of

Black culture often falls victim to Eurocentric cultural hegemony and a white

supremacist, high art/ low art dichotomy. Also, hip-hop dances, including the ones in the

case studies allow for individual interpretation and expression. I chose to interpret the

masculine messages the rappers wanted to convey, but the dance could be altered by

someone who wants to express a different sentiment. In addition, I wrote about multiple

masculinities, mainly to encourage scholars to avoid essentialism when it comes to Black

manhood(s) moving forward. Some of the artists embodied more than one variation of

Black masculinity within the same 16 bar verse. Many went from wealthy

pimp/playa/baller masculinities to gangsta/thug masculinities within a few phrases. It

does the canon a disservice to narrowly conflate even two seemingly similar

masculinities, and runs the risk of stereotyping hip-hop or Black males as a whole.

In essence, bodies and the manner in which they move tell a story about

the masculinities the performer is trying to convey. The use of LMA is not uniform with

the expression of masculinity. In other words, the hypermasculinities can be express by

bound flow and weight in one dance, then free flow and light weight in another. The

lyrics of the songs provide insight into the masculine intentions of the movement, as the

songs in the case studies are all dance instruction songs. HHKL, if it has accomplished

nothing else, can present movement as more than incidental or merely cathartic. It is an

adjustable theoretical framework which can be used to nuance discussions of gender,

race, sexuality, and class in artistic expression. HHKL is also significant because

'language' is the key to putting limits upon people's world view. This reason is why

colonists often make a colonized people speak their language. Black dance and

movement, could not be eradicated, but could be contextualized to support the colonial

regime. HHKL does have, as Dr. Jared Ball would say, emancipatory potential.

Obviously, HHKL and studies like this one alone will not dismantle patriarchy or

colonialism. But however by showing that bodies matter, this dissertation broadens the

discourse about how communities are controlled and subjugated.

If there is one point I would like for readers to digest, it is that mainstream hip-

hop song and dance are trapped inside of a classic Hegelian Master-Slave Dialect, where

they are interdependent. The rapper/dancer depends upon capitalists for resources that

translate into visibility, the capitalist needs the rapper/dance to spread pro-capitalist

messages to Black communities. One the one hand, song and dance has been used by

marginalized Black communities to strengthen communal bonds, to communicate across

long distances, to assert autonomy and at times to train and prepare for revolt. However,

corporate co-optation has used these very tools as means to advertise a capitalist agenda

to the people capitalism subordinates most. Hip-hop song and dance are devices that can

be used in the pursuit of freedom as well as in the maintenance of oppressive hegemony.

Lastly, as a Black man, an emcee, and a life-long hip-hop fan, I hope to

see more variation among popular images of young Black men and their masculinities. I

am not going to use the term "positive," because it is relative and often unrealistic. One

can argue that masculinities are expressions of gender and gender is an oppressive,

pathological construction, and should therefore be eradicated. I ideally believe this

theory is true along with race, sexuality and other social constructs. However, reshaping,

reframing, and remaining existing masculinities is the best tool we currently have in our

arsenal for dismantling the existence of these constraints. Patricia Hill Collins states that

"In the United States, hegemonic ideologies concerning race, class, gender, sexuality, and

nation are often so pervasive that it is difficult to conceptualize alternatives to them, let

alone ways of resisting the social practices that they justify" (Collins, 2009, p.303). Any

masculine image that breaks free of the reigns of hegemonic expectations is a progressive

one. If Black male artists and audiences recognize that "the endorsement of subordinated

groups is needed for hegemonic ideologies to function smoothly", they can have a

significant impact on the disillusion of racism, sexism, classism, and homophobia (Collins, 2009, p. 303). I am by no means suggesting that the current culture industry will be immediately toppled if some rappers challenge accepted masculinities with songs and dances. However, I believe these artists can broaden the discussion, which is the first step to change. Carla Stalling Huntington shares this sentiment, stating that "hip hop dance can be further utilized to attack racism" (Huntington, 2007, p. 94) Though I detest Lil B's music, I hope more artists like him will step forward as alternatives to the same old song and dance.

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