Rebel Without a Pause:
Discovering the Relationship between Rap Music and the
Political Attitudes and Participation of Black Youth

by

Portia Rae Hemphill

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Doctoral Committee:

       Professor Vincent L. Hutchings, Co-Chair
       Professor Mary E. Corcoran, Co-Chair
       Associate Professor Robert W. Mickey
       Assistant Professor Melanye T. Price, Rutgers University

DEDICATION

I dedicate everything that I am and anything that I will be to:

God, from whom all blessings flow

My ancestors, who toiled the lands, hearts, and minds of this country with Christ-like fortitude

And to my mother, Sharon Lanette Hemphill, who is the exemplar of grace, fashion, care, and

confidence

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Wow, how refreshing it is to have a space in the dissertation that acknowledges the people who have gotten me to this point. If my Chicago brother-rapper, Kanye West, can have a 12-minute biographic song of thank-yous (Last Call on the College Dropout album), so can I! First, I want to thank my Almighty God for being my Confidante, my Supporter, my Strength, my Source of Wisdom, and my Provider.

Next, I would like the grace and care given to me by my mother to be etched in ink for the duration of time. My mom was a single mom who sacrificed a lot for my sister, brother, and me over the years. Although she sometimes ruled the house like a dictator in heat (ha!!), she molded us into remarkable human beings and I could never thank her enough. My mother could not have been more of a protector and caregiver. She has always been my #1 supporter and will ALWAYS be my favorite girl! My mom stands with the best, and it brings tears to my eyes knowing that I was able to make her proud. I continually aim to make her proud of me.

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unwavering support helped to get me to the finish line and I'm forever grateful for her love and sistership. We in here!!!

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I realize that I've been thanking folk for five pages so let me get to the friends! Thanks to LaTrenda Harris, who has been a tremendous source of support and friendship for me over the years. Much love to her.

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I wrote this in a bit of haste, so it bothers me that I might have left someone out. Don't take it personally- a chick was just stressed! Thank you to all of you who have touched my life in one way or another. I appreciate you all.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX

CHAPTER 1: "Allow Me To Reintroduce Myself"

"[Hip-Hop] is one of the most important cultural phenomenons in the second half of the
twentieth century. We would be remiss if we did not treat it as such."
- Dr. Henry "Skip" Louis Gates, Jr. (2003)

Overview

The tradition of Black music has been known to discuss, overtly and covertly, racial

iniquities in America.[1] Rap music extends that tradition. Rap music also addresses a new era of

institutional racism masked as race neutrality. More and more politicians are joining hands with

hip- hop artists with the hope of activating political attitudes and civic engagement amongst

youth, especially youth of color. In this dissertation I investigate if and how the consumption of

rap music is associated with Black political engagement.

Rap music was born in 1979 in the belly of Bronx, NY, a predominantly low-income

Black and Brown community (Chang 2005). Despite its humble origins, rap music has changed

considerably in the ensuing years. For example, it has expanded globally and many rap musical

artists are wealthy and widely known celebrities—complete with record shattering album sales

and endorsements. Some critics (McWhorter 2008, for example) argue that due to the changing

landscape and global success of hip-hop culture, rap music has been corporatized into a general

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[1] Black music here is defined as: music that, upon its inception, was primarily generated by
Black artists to primarily Black audiences

youth phenomenon. Another critique is that rap may now have equal influence on youth of all races, or to the contrary, offers little political influence at all.

In this dissertation, I first use the 1993 National Black Politics Survey (NBPS) data to assess the theory that during its golden era (late 1980s and early 1990s), rap music has an association with the political behavior of Black youth. I have three findings from the NBPS analyses: (1) there are strong associations between consumption of rap music and certain political sentiments, such as endorsements of gender equality and mistrust of authorities (2) there are strong associations between consumption of rap music and particular forms of dissident participation, such as protests and petitions and (3) individuals who listen to rap music and/or consider it a source of political information typically report political attitudes and behaviors that are in strong alignment with the political messages of rap artists in the early 1990's. Associations are particularly strong between political attitudes and considering rap music an important source of political information. Respondents who consider rap music an important source of political information are also inclined to provide strong support of many progressive attitudes. These ideas were major messages in the rap music of the early 1990's (Kitwana 2003).

I then use the 2005 Black Youth Project (BYP) survey data to assess whether relationships between consumption of rap music and political outcomes were different in 2005 than in 1993; to test whether global and corporate reach have wholly diminished any distinctive influence on Black youth's political attitudes and behavior. I also compare Black youth respondents to White and Latino youth respondents with respect to political attitudes, participation, and rap music consumption. Although many White youth listen to rap music (albeit fewer than Blacks and Latinos), the consumption of rap music does not have the same strong relationships to political participation and political attitudes for White youth as compared to

2

Black youth listeners. Using regressions and cross tabulations, I find that the effects of regularly listening to rap music are associated with greater support of political attitudes sympathetic to marginalized groups amongst Black youth. Such attitudes are in tandem with the explicit and implicit political rhetoric espoused in the popular rap music of the time period. Like in 1993, listening to rap music was strongly associated with disapproving opinions regarding the police and government authorities. Compared to 1993, listening to rap music was not strongly associated with the female empowerment variables or any of the forms of political participation. However (unlike in 1993), listening to rap music was strongly associated with coalition building with other non-White racial groups.

Finally, I conducted interviews with three Black leaders who have had large success in mobilizing Black youth. These leaders have also supported using the elements of hip-hop culture (DJing, MCing, dancing, and graffiti art) as outreach tools. Specifically, I inquired about these leaders' opinions of rap music's impact on Black youth political development in addition to asking about the ways in which their organizations have effectively utilized aspects of hip-hop culture to galvanize young Black constituents.

Although the culture and content of rap music evolved between the 1993 and 2005 surveys (discussed in the later chapters), there were still strong associations between rap music consumptions and youth political attitudes and participation. In the 2005 study, the effects were more salient for Black youth than for Whites and Latinos.

From Jim Crow poll taxes to the threat of cross burnings, institutional and social barriers historically have blocked Black Americans from conventional forms of political participation. In response, forms of civic engagement outside of the traditional scope of political participation have emerged. The creation and dissemination of protest music represented one alternative form of political participation (Nketia 1973). Songs, such as "Say it Loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud" by James Brown (1968) and "Alabama" by John Coltrane (1963) served as responses to the systemic racism faced by African-Americans. Song methods steeped in African traditions (such as call and response) also offered measures of mobilization for freedom. Music has long been considered a defining hallmark of the African-American experience. For Black Americans, Black musical traditions can be considered a mouthpiece to air frustrations with political oppression. To the dominant group, Black musical traditions can serve as a lens into the life of marginalized group.

Black musical traditions (from Negro spirituals to jazz to rhythm and blues music) has been a rallying cry of African- Americans' quest for freedom. Protest songs were a key part of the political protests at home and abroad, and, in effect, helped to gain the support of outside observers (UMBC 2014). The Civil Rights Movement is one such example of a movement characterized in part by Black musical traditions. As characterized by Smith et al. (2009), "From the spirituals and work songs to the later forms of blues, jazz, R&B, and gospel, African American music from the time of slavery to the climax of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s and 1960s has inspired protest and progress." In many ways, Black musical traditions have been the soundtrack to the struggle for African American political progress in the United States.

The Civil Rights movement resulted in significant policy gains for Black Americans and other marginalized groups. Explicit racial epithets and prejudice became societally frowned

4

upon. These improvements in social norms (in addition to the dismantling of the COINTELPRO[2]) changed the scope of the political agenda for several Black activist groups. According to famous civil rights activist and performer, Harry Belafonte (during his 2014 MLK lecture at the University of Michigan) the focus became more centered on assimilating into traditional structures, such as gaining seats in Congress and serving as mayors of major cities. Many Americans concluded that African- Americans received a decisive measure of justice and led the charge to a post-racial America (Bonilla-Silva 2001). However, many Blacks were still impoverished. In this political landscape, rap music was born.

During the early post-Civil Rights era, rap music bore the weight of a post-Civil Rights America; an America that viewed racial injustice as largely a thing of the past. According to pioneering political rapper Chuck D, rap music (much like its soul music predecessors) acted as "Black America's CNN" (Chang 2007). That lens sought to capture the life of the ontological other-- the Black underclass (King 2014). One such example would be KRS-ONE's 1993 hit, "Sound of Da Police." For context, KRS-One is a widely respected rapper who has made a series of Black empowerment records. "Sound of Da Police" is widely regarded as one of the top political rap songs of all time (Robertson 2014). Here is one verse:

> Take the word "overseer," like a sample
> Repeat it very quickly in a crew for example
> Overseer
> Overseer
> Overseer
> Overseer
> Officer, Officer, Officer, Officer!
> Yeah, officer from overseer

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[2] COINTELPRO is the Counter Intelligence program, active from 1956-1971, initiated and executed under former FBI Director Edgar J. Hoover, which sought to put an end to racially motivated "disturbances". It acutely (and negatively) impacted Black, Latino, and Native American protests and protestors (Drabble 2007).

You need a little clarity?
Check the similarity!
The overseer rode around the plantation
The officer is off patrolling all the nation
The overseer could stop you what you're doing
The officer will pull you over just when he's pursuing
The overseer had the right to get ill
And if you fought back, the overseer had the right to kill
The officer has the right to arrest
And if you fight back they put a hole in your chest!
(Woop!) They both ride horses
After 400 years, I've got no choices!
The police them have a little gun
So when I'm on the streets, I walk around with a bigger one
(Woop-woop!) I hear it all day
Just so they can run the light and be upon their way

Unlike its musical predecessors, rap music had to face a new task. It had to dismantle America's amnesia and delusion regarding racial integration, collaboration, and race neutrality. In summary, rap music extends the tradition of Black soul music and its relationship to racial iniquities in the American context while battling a new post-civil rights era of institutional racism masked as race neutrality.

Recent literature has explored the relationship between rap music, politics, and constituents (Dawson 2003; Harris-Lacewell 2004; Cohen 2010; Spence 2011). This dissertation builds on that research by exploring the associations between exposure to rap music, political attitudes, and political participation of Black Americans using the 1993 National Black Politics survey, the Black Youth Project Survey, and interviews with the leaders of political organizations that use hip-hop as a means of engaging Black youth.

A Brief Summary of the Political and Industry Climate of Rap Music, 1993 and 2005

The sociopolitical climate in the early 1990s was a source of frustration and alienation for Black youth. According to the Population Bureau of Research, "After a recession in the early 1990s, the overall U.S. poverty rate fell from a high of 15.1 percent in 1993 to 11.3 percent in 2000."

Poverty was still high for the Black community in the post-Civil Rights era. The Civil Rights movement promised the potential of equality. However, as posited by LaVeist (1993), there appeared to be class-based inequality in nearly every realm pertaining to reaching the American Dream (employment, safe communities, quality education, and quality health care). Low-income youth still felt the effects of Reaganomic trickle-down economic policy agendas of the 1980s (Manning 2000). Police brutality and homicides within major urban communities were reaching record limits (Recktenwald 1991). Crack and other drugs had flooded into the communities. The loom of the fictional Black welfare queen ran rampant (Demby 2013). Under this backdrop lay what NPR referred to as "Hip-Hop's Golden Year" (NPR 2013). That golden year was 1993. The rap music of 1993 conveyed the frustrations felt by Black youth and the wider Black community.

Here are two excerpts of rap music songs that reached #1 on the Billboard Rap/Hip-Hop list that represent the frustration of the youth:

"Throw Ya Gunz"- Onyz (1993)

Ah, I hate your fucking guts, and I hope that you die
Sticky Fingaz, the name, and my life is a lie
Cause I'm having a bad day, so stay out of my way
And we're the pistol packing people, so you better obey
Just in the nick of time, I commit the perfect crime
Rip my heart from my chest, put it right into a rhyme
I don't feel pain cause it's all in the mind

7

And what's mines is mines and, yours is mine
Don't fucking blink or I'mma rob yo' ass blind
Onyx, is ripping shit, I got the Tec-9
So what the bumba clot boy buck-buck-buck-buck
It's like a catastrophe, fucking with me, G
I'm a bald head with a knife
I want your money or your life
So, so, so, so

"It Was a Good Day"- Ice Cube (1993)

I was glad everything had worked out
Dropped her ass off and then chirped out
Today was like one of those fly dreams
Didn't even see a berry flashin those high beams
No helicopter looking for a murder
Two in the mornin got the Fatburger
Even saw the lights of the Goodyear Blimp
And it read, "Ice Cube's a pimp" (yeah)
Drunk as hell but no throwin up
Half way home and my pager still blowin up
Today I didn't even have to use my A.K.
I got to say it was a good day (shit!)

Several popular rap songs of the time highlighted the gritty means of survival that was an
all too familiar reality for urban Black America. Its raw emotion attracted fans worldwide. As a
result, hip-hop began to blossom on the global scene.

"We have never let the media define us, so why are we doing that now? – Talib Kweli

(2006)

In some ways, the 1993 climate contrasts with the climate of 2005. In 2005, hip-hop was
a global phenomenon, with comfortable placements on Billboard Top 10 (Billboard 2005). Most
of the thriving independent labels of the 1980s and 90s had been bought out by large

corporations like Viacom (PBS 2007). With more Whites listening and purchasing songs than ever before, there became an apparent shift in popular lyrical content. Many of the songs on the Billboard 100 were often songs about partying and fun. The connection to Black American life was strained. The opulent lifestyles displayed in popular rap music songs did not appear to reflect the realities of the underclass of Black America- the group that birthed hip-hop. While Black youth were enrolling in college at higher rates and attaining more wealth (including home ownership), compared to earlier generations, African-Americans were far from realizing the American Dream. Black Americans had been disenfranchised in Florida and other swing states, particularly in the 2000 controversial presidential election (Wood 2012).[3] The prison industrial complex was more alive than it had ever been (Alexander 2012). Moreover, the educational gap still disparately impacted Black Americans (NAACP 2009). In the face of global success there was pressure to be able to relate to multiple audiences. Rap music artists became constrained by the corporate interests and entities that made them successful.

There were still songs that spoke to adapting a "hustler spirit" (the desire to thrive no matter the odds) toward actual solutions to problems facing the Black community. However, those sorts of songs were not often chosen by record companies to be singles. As Talib Kweli (rapper) noted in his 2013 NPR interview:

"You could find a hip-hop song dealing with any subject matter, but the stuff that's being promoted and marketed and the corporations are spending major money on is the decadent stuff, which is mostly about drug use and sex. That's why people get a skewed perspective of hip-hop. Hip-hop fans themselves aren't even listening to that stuff. Most hip-hop fans aren't listening to mainstream hip-hop. It's people from other walks of life and genres who don't have anything

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[3] In this election, Al Gore won the popular vote. However, George W. Bush won the presidency due to winning the most Electoral College votes. It is one of the most controversial and contested elections in American history. It was that people of neighborhoods with high Black populations (particularly in Florida) were being wrongly disenfranchised or their votes were counted incorrectly, if at all. (Wood 2012)

invested in hip-hop, who are pop listeners or who listen to whatever's trendy, that are driving that. But when that stuff is not trendy anymore, you'll start to see clearer what the subject matters of hip-hop are and how diverse they are."

Some of the tension Kweli discussed can be heard in the music during what he refers to as "the rock and roll period of hip-hop." This is a period in which rap artists became popular by delivering lyrics that spoke to individually overcoming social problems in the 'hood in order to reach a financially secure lifestyle. Here are two excerpts of rap music songs that were on Billboard's Top 10 of 2005:

"Soul Survivor"- Jeezy ft. Akon (2005)

If you lookin' for me I'll be on the block
With my thang cocked possibly sittin' on a drop (Now)
'Cuz I'm a rida (Yeah)
I'm just a Soul Survivor (Yeah)

'Cuz er'body know the game don't stop
Tryin' to make it to the top for your ass get popped (Now)
If you a rida (Yeah)
Or just a Soul Survivor

[Verse 1 (Young Jeezy):]
(Let's get it) Tonight I can't sleep--we livin' in Hell (Yeah)
First they, give us the work then they throw us in jail (Ayy)
Road Trip ya--I'm trafficing in the white
Please Lord don't let me go to jail tonight (Yeah)
Who Me?? I'm a Soul Survivor
Ask about 'em in the street, the boy Jeez a rida (Jeez a rida)
A hundred grand on my wrist, yeah life sucks
Fuck the club, dawg, I rather count a million b

"Hate It or Love It"- The Game ft. 50 Cent (2005)

Comin up I was confused my momma kissin a girl
Confusion occurs comin up in the cold world
Daddy ain't around probably out commitin felonies
My favorite rapper used to sing ch-check out my melody

I wanna live good, so should I sell dope for a fo-finger ring
Money and them gold ropes
Santa told me if I pass could get a sheep skin coat
If I can move a few packs and get the hat, now that'd be dope
Tossed and turned in my sleep at night
Woke up the next morning niggas done stole my bike
Different day same shit, ain't nothing good in the hood
I'd run away from this bitch and never come back if I could
Hate it or love it the underdog's on top
And I'm gonna shine homie until my heart stop
Go head' envy me
I'm rap's MVP
And I ain't goin nowhere so you can get to know me

In mainstream rap music of 2005, there were we see fewer descriptions of communal actions tied to overcoming societal ills. Instead, lyrics were often laden with descriptions of "rags to riches" stories due to individual accomplishments. As scholar John McWhorter notes in *All About the Beats: Why Hip-Hop Can't Save Black America* (2008), rap artists often made profitable jingle music that connected to the struggles of African-Americans. This represented a shift from the golden era of hip-hop in the 1980s and 1990s when artists were often more community driven. They were more often likely to educate about Black history on a single by describing the political agenda that created the perils of the community, all the while describing the process and progress of overcoming the current conditions. This dissertation will detail how the shift in rap artists' focus could have potentially been associated with an extension or shift in political attitudes and civic engagement amongst Black youth in 2005 as compared to 1993.

Having discussed the political climate of the time period to be studied, I would like to define some of the key terms central to the pending dissertation.

Key Terms

Many of the definitions of key terms used in this study are not without controversy. For many, the literature has not pinned down one definition with a high level of consensus. Below, I define some of the key terms as they are used in the context of this study:

- **Hip-hop**: The definition of hip-hop has been known to include everything from street, urban wear to a global art form. I use the hip-hop's pioneer, Afrika Bambataa's definition that hip-hop is a cultural art form composed of four basic elements, known as the four pillars: DJing (the art of a disc jockey scratching and mixing popular songs for an audience), MCing (master of the ceremony: the rapper), breakdancing (dance style), and graffiti writing (an urban style of visual art). Popular rap music tends highlights the MCing element.

- **Rap music**: Following Bambataa's definition of hip-hop, rap music is a component/pillar of hip-hop culture in which there is usually one MC (master of ceremony) who rhymes over a consistent beat.

- **Political socialization**: Political socialization literature is one of the forefathers of public opinion literature. The literature describes the processes by which individuals (as a microcosm of the general public) are socialized to into their adult political attitudes and ideologies (Jennings and Niemi, 1981).

    It has been demonstrated that from the time children are able to reason, they are politically influenced by their surroundings via implicit and explicit cues (Easton and Dennis, 1969; Greenstein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967). Socializing agents are considered the means by which the individual receives such cues. Common socializing agents include parents, peers, religion, and region. Race and gender also belong within

12

political socialization as one's race or gender can be a socializing agent (Trevor, 1999; Engstrom, 1970). This dissertation aims to expand what we consider as viable agents of political socialization.

- **Civic engagement**: It has been argued that we face a crisis in the United States with respect to low levels of civic participation, particularly amongst the youth (Putnam, 1995, 1997, 2000). Putnam combines many various forms of acts under the banner of civic engagement- from traditional forms of political participation to social networks. However, Putnam did not engage the ways in which cultural art forms can influence political involvement, action, and engagement. Since there is not one single universally accepted definition of civic engagement (Adler and Goggin, 2005), I build on the often-cited definition of Putnam: that civic engagement is a series of intentional or unintentional actions (by and for individuals and interest groups) that inform and aid citizens in molding their views of political involvement and action. Forms of civic engagement with respect to political participation are a central concept of this dissertation.

- **Political participation**: Like, civic engagement, many political scientists offer different definitions of political participation (Milbrath, Goel 1977, 2; Kaase, Marsch 1979, 42). Early, Verba and Nie described a four-pronged typology under which most political participation falls: voting, campaigning, contacting public officials, and cooperative/ communal activities focused on the local community (Verba, Nie 1972, 56-63). Later, Verba, et al. offers one of the most cited definitions: "By political participation we refer to those legal acts by private citizens that are more or less directly aimed at influencing the selection of governmental personnel and/or the actions that they take (Verba, Nie,

Kim 1978, 1)." Verba et al. appear to define "legal acts" as those typically viewed as the traditional methods of political activity. In this dissertation, I will define "political participation" in the same manner.

- **Political attitudes**: As a foundation, I use Richard LaPiere's oft-cited definition of a social attitude [4] in which he describes it as "A social attitude is a behavior pattern, anticipatory set or tendency, predisposition to specific adjustment to designated social situations, or, more simply, a conditioned response to social stimuli." (LaPiere 1934, 230) Many political scientists use this definition as a foundation, as they typically consider political attitudes to be under the branch of social attitudes.

- **Counter-socialization**: In *Invisible Politics* (1985; 40-53), Hanes Walton defined counter-socialization as the "nonpermanent, changing, alternative forms of political socialization and subsequent participation of Black Americans, given the hostile pathway to conventional forms of socialization and participation." Examples of such counter-socialization agents are: Black peer group, Black media, Black church, Black family, Black school, Black sociopolitical movements. Examples of such counter-socialization acts are: boycotts, sit-ins, marches, demonstration, and mass meetings.

Literature Review

Scholars have long studied political socialization and its relationship to political participation. One subset of this body of research analyzes how American youth, at large, are socialized and how they view (and manage) their role in the political process. The literature

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[4] This definition is often cited by social scientists as a prelude to a plethora of definitions concerning political attitudes and actions

shows American youth as having overwhelmingly low levels of political participation relative to other age groups (Putnam 2000).

Unfortunately, much of the existing work has focused on middle aged Whites or White youth (Owen 2009). Less research addresses the political socialization and participation of people of color. In fact, nearly all of the past political socialization research omitted Blacks from their studies (Merriam 1931; Hyman 1959; Greenstein 1965; Hess and Torney 1967). Nearly all of these studies were motivated by the idea of the good, model citizen (voting, writing elected officials, attending community meetings, etc.). Researchers measured political socialization by the motivation and desire to engage in conventional methods of political participation. However, such projects were often completed with little mention of the Blacks or their barriers to such forms of participation.

Blacks, under both formal Jim Crow laws and informal communal fear tactics committed by their White neighbors, were not formally introduced into such conventional political participation until much later. Myrdal's seminal work, *An American Dilemma* (1944), unfairly represented Black political socialization as dysfunctional due to Blacks' inability to be socialized into participating in such conventional forms of participation due to institutional roadblocks that were not present for White Americans. Unfortunately, Myrdal's assessment negatively colored the perception of Blacks in the political socialization and action process, perhaps stunting the interest in such work (Walton and Smith 2010).

The behavioral work regarding youth could be expanded as well. Contemporarily, youth are criticized as apathetic, self absorbed, and casual about politics (Putnam 2000; Dalton 2008). Although much of the research on socialization has spotlighted youth, there has been no consensus on the evolution of socializing agents beyond the original set (family, peers, school,

religion, etc.), or whether socializing agents have evolved at all. Some scholars consider parents as the most influential agent (Hyman 1959; and Greenstein 1965), while others consider school and peers the most salient agents (Hess and Torney 2005). Similar to the Myrdal argument made for Blacks, social scientists promoting such critical views appear to be looking at a new evolution of political socialization and engagement with an old lens. Social scientists may, in fact, be presenting an unrealistic picture of the millennial youth's political climate and the new socializing agents that may come with this climate. For example, Shea and Green (2007) view teens' obsession with cell phones and other electronic devices as potential distractions to their political socialization, but that could be an unfair criticism. What teens view on those devices may very well be political communications. I argue that as society evolves and technology advances, the ways in which youth are socialized evolves and advances. While some of the socializing agents can stand the test of time (family, peers), the scholarship may very well be out of date with respect to analyzing new agents that may politically socialize youth.

Until recently, most previous work on Blacks and youth strongly supported the argument that youth of color (particularly Black youth) overwhelmingly participate less in almost every form of politics when compared to White youth—e.g. voting, campaigning, donating, and the other forms of participation. Black youth and young people in general were often considered the groups least responsive to campaigns, traditional forms of political socialization, and conventional forms of political participation (Cohen 2007).

There are several new methods of political communications that are thought to be emerging forms of political socialization (smartphones, the internet, and social media, for example). I propose that the political socialization literature be reawakened and extended. I contribute to this reawakening and extension process by exploring a potentially understudied

socializing agent (rap music) as a politically socializing force for Black youth. By focusing a closer lens on the role and nature of political socialization in the post civil rights American context, I propose to explore a new area within the emerging literature on the relationship between rap music and politics. In the rest of this section, I describe the historical connections between Black Americans and music. Finally, I summarize the emerging literature on Blacks, hip-hop culture and politics.

"It is only in his music that the Negro in America has been able to tell his story."

- James Baldwin

Historically, Black music has become a transformative tool in inciting civic engagement among African- Americans. An exhaustive body of literature across history, sociology, and ethnomusicology describes the deep relationship between Black Americans, music, and politics. As described by Southern (1997) and Fischlin and Heblin (2003), history concludes that the subjugation of Blacks during the Middle Passage and in slavery created a counterculture of alternate forms of political expression, with music being one of the key agents.

As an enslaved group of individuals, Blacks held no constitutional rights regarding their full personhood. [5]   The process of gaining these rights has been a long struggle. The marginalization of Black Americans and concurrent desire for political progress led to alternate forms of resistance, also known as *counter-socialization* (Walton 1985). Counter-socialization

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[5] The Three-Fifths Compromise is found in Article 1, Section 2, Paragraph 3 of the United States Constitution: "Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons"

existed for Black Americans when the right to participate in traditional forms of political participation was still being hard fought (Verba et al. 1995; McAdam 1982; Russell-Brown 1997). Working under a system of policed behavior and mental and physical coercion, Slaves often created "Negro spirituals" in order to pass messages coded in song to others.[6] Mary Ellison's *Lyrical Protest* (1989) describes spirituals as distinct forms of political communication used to incite specific political actions that were not yet legal.

Post-slavery, Negro spirituals were heard throughout the Reconstruction era and in some of the most bitter racial protests in American history, including Martin Luther King's demonstrations (Meacham 2003). In *What the Music Said*, Neal (1999) asserts that Black popular music tradition has served as a primary vehicle for communally derived critiques of the African American experience. Music was (and continues to be) used as a code; a therapeutic tool; an unmitigated communication piece; a fight song, and as a vehicle by which alternate forms of political participation can manifest in the African American community. Black music in this country is deeply rooted in inducing Black political participation (Sullivan 2001).[7]

Considering the lineage of various Black musical genres, what makes rap music distinctive relative to other forms of music in motivating and mobilizing Black citizenry? The answer is: political climate, reach, and explicit lyrical bluntness for impact.

One obvious distinction between rap and other Black musical genres is that rap music was the first genre born out of the Black experience in the post-Civil Rights Movement era; the first time in U.S. history in which there were significant institutionalized efforts to "get beyond race" (Johnson 1965). Rap music flourished and contradicted the notion that all is well with race

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[7] "Black music" in this context recognizes and speaks to the segregation of Black artists from mainstream music channels; it speaks of artists who were Black and made music for predominantly Black audiences

relations. As Patricia Hill-Collins notes in her seminal work, *From Black Power to Hip- Hop* (2006), hip-hop was born at a time post-Counter Intelligence Program COINTELPRO) when the nation superficially celebrated being a melting pot while simultaneously upholding the traditional institutional hierarchical racial order to political access, agency, and acceptance.

Soon after the United States entered the post-Civil Rights era, the U.S. also entered a new era of technology. While rap music began in low-income Black and Brown communities, the technology of syndication (syndicated radio and television programs) allowed rap music's reach to go much further than had prior types of Black music.[8] By the late 1980s, rap music became mainstream with MTV (a station with a predominantly White youth viewership) featuring the first rap music program: "Yo' MTV Raps." In *Black Noise* (1991), Tricia Rose appropriately states, "...rap's cultural politics lies not only in its lyrical expression but in the nature and character of its journey through the institutional and discursive territories of popular culture." Such media promotion allowed rap music to be a booming and far-reaching voice of agency for Black Americans to voice frustration with institutional racism and its particular impact on African- Americans (Boyd 2003). It is important to note the distinctive post-civil rights political landscape under which rap music became popular—and how rap music's unique position in mainstream media helped to shift the dominant culture's understanding of the perils of Black life in America. However this claim is not without controversy.

Rap music is also distinct from other forms of Black music in that it bluntly details violence, misogyny and homophobia. In G.P. Ramsey's (2003) historical account of Black music, he notes how Black music was previously often laden with double entendres and coded

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[8] Namely the birth of MTV and BET to introduce videos to a national audience. Rap music became so popular in the early 1990s that MTV started a TV show especially for rap music, Yo' MTV Raps 1988-1999 and BET did the same (Rap City – 1989 2008).

words in lieu of bold language. Some scholars view the shift to the harsh language of rap music as troubling, at best, and counterproductive at worst (Watkins 2005; McWhorter 2008). However, as Imani Perry notes in *Prophets of the Hood* (2004), rap music allowed for Black thought, frustrations, and feelings to be unveiled by rap musicians in their entirety. Honest and raw, rap music helped to open the gates for wider discussion of these thoughts, gaining a wider reach into the mainstream (Dollarhide 2001; Powell 1996).

Several scholars (such as Kitwana 2002; Ogbar, 2007; and MK Asante, 2008) have pushed the academic community to look beyond the superficial layer of rap lyrics in order to see rap's contribution to a new wave of social movement protest in which the Black youth emerged as the "new swing voter" (the voting bloc that could potentially decide an election), as Goff asserts in *Party Crashing* (2008). Kitwana (2002) describes rap music as a defining political paradigm shift for African-American youth- with real political contribution and consequences.

Recently, several political scientists have begun investigating relationships between hip-hop and Black political participation. In 2004, Melissa Harris-Lacewell broke ground with her award-winning book, *Barbershops, Bibles, and BET*. Using a mixed methods approach (statistical analyses, ethnographic studies, and focus groups), Harris-Lacewell demonstrated how informal social networks (in this case, barbershops, churches, and rap music) inspire and influence the public opinion and ideology of Black constituents, particularly Black youth. Using a four-pronged ideological framework (Black Nationalism, Black Feminism, Black Conservatism, and Liberal Integrationism), Harris-Lacewell gauged how informal in-group communications in communal spaces helped to develop these ideologies amongst Black youth in North Carolina. This study suggested other informal avenues of political socialization and counter socialization, namely Black television programming, the Black church, and barbershops.

However, Harris-Lacewell was constrained by her reliance on the 1993 National Black Election Study Survey, as the Black Youth Project survey was not yet released. She complemented the study with focus groups of Black students from North Carolina Central University, but still fell short of making a more precise comparison to her survey results in the questions she facilitated, as the same questions of the 1993 NBPS survey had not been followed upon in her focus group, nor did she demonstrate similarities between the two periods of hip-hop culture studied. Nevertheless, she found these informal Black social networks (fostered in the Black church and hair parlors) to be associated with political attitudes and behavior in the Black community, particularly for Black youth.

Cathy Cohen, motivated by the increasing rate of Black youth political participation in spite of registering higher levels of skepticism and political alienation when compared to other racial groups, developed the 2005 Black Youth Project survey (BYP 2010). The BYP survey mirrored many aspects of the 1993 National Black Politics Survey, but added more comprehensive questions on a wide range of attitudes and participation, particularly those related to African American health and LGBTQ issues. In *Democracy Remixed: Black and the Future of American Politics* (2010), Cathy Cohen discusses rap music as a primary topic of investigation. She found that Black youth consume rap music more than Whites and Latinos, but was also very critical of its exploitation of women. She also found that young Black Americans still do participate in some forms of new counter-socialization, such as buycotts. While Cohen's survey brought a much-needed refocus to the study of Black youth political engagement and potential socializing agents; the study is now ten years old and several key events have occurred, including the election of the first Black president who was endorsed by several high profile hip-hop artists.

Harris-Lacewell and Cohen focused, in part, on the receivers of the political messaging via rap music. In *Stare into Darkness: The Limits of Hip-Hop and Politics* (2011), Lester Spence focused on the messenger—the hip-hop elite and the themes of their songs. Spence (like Boyd) addresses the leadership capabilities of rap artists and their impact as Black neo-leaders. However, Spence adopts a position in opposition to scholars such as Bakari Kitwana and Imani Perry who portray rap music as an innovative lens into the plight of young African Americans in the current political landscape. Spence concludes that current rap artists simply spew the neoliberal aesthetic of the elite within the dominant group. Spence defines neoliberalism as the dismantling of the state, privileging of markets over all other institutions, and relentless catering to corporate interests. Spence concludes that hip-hop has been culturally revolutionary but has not been politically revolutionary in either its message or its impact.

However, Spence empirically did not capture a comprehensive scope of rap lyrics or artists. In particular, he does not take into full account rap music video viewership (visual impact) or implicit messaging in the music. Sometimes the political nature of the lyrics may differ from the images in the video content. One such example is Lil' Wayne's, "How to Love", in which the rapper explicitly raps about a woman loving after being previously being heartbroken. The video, however, tackled racism, gender inequality, and poverty by explicitly showing the personal and institutional framework that trapped a young Black girl to a point of survival. Rap musical artists can and do make statements in several ways outside of their music, all of which can potentially socialize Black youth. However, before such artists can have such personal impact, the rapper most often is considered a trusted source through their mastery of emceeing and delivering the pulse of the street. In my project, I explore associations between the rap consumption and political behaviors and attitudes of its listeners. I also attempt to gauge (via

22

Black television programming and qualitative assessments of grassroots mobilizers) ways in which hip-hop culture can be politicizing outside of the lyrics.

Assumptions

My dissertation proposal makes three assumptions widely accepted as fact: (1) Black Americans have been (and are) one of the most marginalized groups in the US; (2) historically, Black Americans have uniquely created musical styles and genres that strongly reflect their political context at the time, and (3) Black Americans historically have had to respond to different primary stimuli for civic engagement than whites.

1. **Black Americans have been and still are one of the most marginalized groups in America in a variety of areas, including political representation.** The most commonly used standard of measurement for studying one's quality of life is the internationally known Human Development Index (developed by the United Nations Development Programme), which combines life expectancy, education, and standard of living (2013). According to those measurements, Blacks rank amongst the lowest in health indicators, access to quality education, and access to social and financial capital. This context makes for less incentive for politicians (whose typical primary motivation is reelection) to rally and work hard to maintain the Black vote. With little substantive representation, this makes for Blacks being one of the most politically marginalized groups in the country, as Robert C. Smith asserts in his seminal text, *We Have No Leaders* (1996).

2. **Historically, Black Americans have created musical styles and genres that strongly reflect their political context at the time.** Music, a sacred staple of the West African

23

tradition, was one of the only aspects of life less regulated during slavery. African-American music became an act of sustenance, tradition, and resistance. From slavery to 21st century police brutality protests; from Negro spirituals to rap music, Black music has been created to speak out against social injustices that burdened Blacks at any given time. Although the argument can be made that Blacks created "music" rather than "Black music", I argue the contrary. Most often, music written by Black artists was performed by Black performers in front of Black audiences. Although explicit institutional racism is now frowned upon, I believe that Black artists and their Black audiences are still wrestling with such a wider fan base while keeping the authenticity of the original Black artist-Black listener relationship (Stephens 1991).

3. **Black Americans historically have had to respond to different primary stimuli for civic engagement than Whites.** One major consequence of slavery and Jim Crow was the lack of an inclusion of Blacks into the conventional political process. This realization was the backbone of the Civil Rights movement. According to the Leadership Conference on Civil and Human Rights (2014), the Voting Rights Act of 1965 was fought for and won by African- Americans acting upon alternate ways to affect legislative change without much use of conventional means of participation such as voting, calling local representatives, etc. From the double entendres of Negro spirituals to the recognized necessity for sustained political protest, Blacks have had a different socialization process to civic engagement than Whites and are still realizing the power (or lack thereof) of conventional forms of political participation as their White peers (Walton 2010; 57). In *Invisible Politics* (1985), Hanes Walton illustrates the counter-socialization agents most used by African- Americans. They are: Black peer groups, Black media,

24

Black church, Black family, Black school, and Black socio-political movements. In his book, *African American Power and Politics: The Political Context Variable* (1997), Walton points to the gaping hole in the discipline when discussing Black Americans' alternate forms of political socialization not in relation to the dominant group. In *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* (2010), Walton includes music a socializing tool as well. Black political progress in this country has often times been the result of a hard fought physical battle by Black Americans. Blacks' introduction into the American political process was through a lens of dire injustice.

Having defined the assumptions, I bring to focus the four hypotheses.

Hypotheses

1. The level of conventional forms of political participation will be lower amongst Black youth in 1993 than in 2005 (such as voting, contacting public officials, etc.), as it correlates with popular rap messages in 1993 versus 2005.

2. There will be higher levels of dissent participation (namely protests) in 1993 than in 2005 considering the correlation it has with the political climate and salient issues amongst Blacks during that time period that were discussed in popular rap songs.

3. White and Black youth will strongly diverge on political attitudes, but White youth who listen to rap music the most will diverge less and be more favorable to multicultural coalition building than other White youth.

4. Political attitudes amongst Black youth regarding authority will be more unfavorable in 1993 than in 2005. While not causal, I believe that the endorsement of such political attitudes will be correlated with 1993 rap-- when rap artists spoke more unfavorably of

25

the police and government officials. Also, the Hip-Hop Caucus and artists highlighted conventional forms of political participation and backed candidates more in 2005.

In this section, I outline the analyses of each substantive chapter: 1993 NBPS, 2005 BYP, and the qualitative interviews.

Chapter Analyses

Chapter 2: 1993 National Black Politics Study Analyses

Recent literature has explored rap music's influence on the political attitudes of youth. As many of the hypotheses compare 1993 to 2005, I must develop the case for 1993. Using the 1993 National Black Politics survey, this chapter builds on the research by using OLS regression models to examine the associations between exposure to rap music, political attitudes, and political participation amongst Black Americans. I have three findings: (1) that there are strong associations between consumption of rap music and progressive political attitudes (namely, particularly the support of Black female leadership and mistrust of the police and other authorities) (2) there are similarly strong associations between the consumption of rap music and participation in protests and (3) that those who listen to rap music and/or consider it a source of political information are more likely to also support Black Nationalist ideas (particularly Black separatism and racial pride). These political attitudes and behaviors are similar to the ones espoused by rap artists and songs at the time. I find that the associations are particularly strong for Black youth who consider rap an important source of political information versus those who consider it a destructive force; those respondents strongly support the attitude variables (Black officials representing Black issues better than others, Black women should be able to equally

share in the work of the Black community, and the police officers seem to be another gang to fear) that were especially correlated with popular rap music at the time.

Chapter 3: Black Youth Project Analyses

For purposes of the comparisons discussed in my hypotheses, it is important to understand the associations between consumption of rap and endorsement of certain attitudes and behavior in 2005. The Black Youth Project is a multifaceted research and action organization that focuses on analyzing (primarily via the Black Youth Project survey results and interviews) the thoughts, attitudes, and civic engagement of African- American youth. Founded and directed by Cathy Cohen at the University of Chicago, the Project uses various survey instruments and research tools to gauge the political thoughts, attitudes, political participation and cultural consumption of Black youth (though she also surveys White and Latino youth). The Black Youth Project began in 2005 and meets the youth where they are- from the frontlines of school reform marches in Chicago to the fight against police brutality in Ferguson. Fortunately, BYPS contains similar questions as the 1993 NBPS. BYP also asks more detailed questions regarding technology, rap music, health, and civic engagement that seek to probe today's Black teenager in today's political environment.

I chose many of the standard political participation variables as outlined by Verba and Nie (1972). I also chose some variables that would hint at the Black peer group socializing agent that Walton described in *Invisible Politics*: "petition", "protest", "boycott", and "buycott". After all, the culture of hip-hop began as a counter response to the dominant narrative of peace and prosperity for all.

27

I run three analyses of the 2005 survey. First, I compare and contrast the 1993 and 2005 dataset with respect to the attitudinal and participation variables of interest. The methodology will closely follow that of the 1993 NBPS data set. Next, I use the 2005 BYP survey to construct crosstabs of political attitudes and behaviors by race and rap music consumption. Finally, I run multivariate models to compare how rap music consumption is related to civic engagement and attitudes for Black, White, and Latino youth.

For Black youth, consumption of rap music is strongly associated with many of the attitudinal variables; those associations are not present for the participation variables. Consumption amongst Whites was often not associated with the variables of interest. However, for Whites, Blacks, and Latinos, consumption of rap music is associated with endorsement of the opinion that police overwhelmingly discriminated against Blacks.

Chapter 4: Seen Through The Eyes Of Leaders
Black Leaders' Perception of Black Youth Hip-Hop Consumption And Political Action

Chapters 2 and 3 rely on cross-sectional survey data analyses. In this portion of my project, I directly ask leaders of several multiethnic youth organizations across the United States about their views of rap music (and hip hop culture more broadly) and its relationship to Black youth and politics. Qualitative analyses are thought by many scholars (Lin 1998; Rubin and Rubin 1995) to complement quantitative social projects by filling in gaps that survey methodology cannot fill as well. Since the quantitative data used in this dissertation are between 10 and 22 years old, I wanted to complement the study with the assessments of leaders who work with Black youth.

28

After interviewing three Black leaders who work with Black youth, I coded their responses into eight themes of interest: "Youth Needs", "Political Participation", "Political Attitudes", "Methods of Youth Outreach", "Youth Political Action", "Youth Influences", "Hip-Hop and Politics", and "Hip-Hop as a Business."

I organize the data of the themes into a grounded theory; a logical story that seeks to highlight the conditions under which Black youth participate in politics and the ways that they receive political messaging.

I found that the participants often revered the "golden era" of hip-hop (which occurred in the late eighties into the early/mid 1990s) for its effective use of rhyme to incite political knowledge, community building and political action. They were less enthused by the lyrics of many of the popular rappers today, although they lauded the mobilization success of local rap artists. They often described Black youth as being more receptive to various forms of counter-socialization as a result of feeling invisible in the standard political fare. They reasoned that Black youth need more access to robust education with respect to the histories of oppression social movements as well as theories of marginalization. Such access began with mentorship.

Chapter 5: U.N.I.T.Y.

The goal of this dissertation is to gauge the effects of rap music consumption and their association to political action (comprised of political attitudes and political participation) of Black young adults in the United States over time. In this chapter, I compare the political attitudes and participation of Black youth across three different time periods: 1993, 2005, and 2015 (the interviews of Black leaders). I also explore various content themes and the political climate of rap music during those time periods. I found that there were some parallels between

29

Black youth attitudes and participation in both 1993 and 2005 and the lyrical mentions of such attitudes and participation.

Chapter 6: The Conclusion

Black youth appear to feel on the margins with respect to visibility and representation in politics. They often feel marginalized and exploited by institutions of authority (police, politicians, and the educational system, for example). Often, Black youth do not appear to overwhelmingly participate in conventional forms of politics. However, when racial tensions run high, we do see an increase in various forms of counter-socialization and protest politics.

Conclusion

Chapter 1 summarized the purpose and contributions of this dissertation with respect to rap consumption and the political attitudes and participation of Black youth. It offered a comprehensive review of the literature upon which this dissertation stands. It also summarized the intent and methodology of each chapter.

Chapter 2 explores those areas during one of the most momentous eras of hip-hop culture: 1993. Chapter 2 places the attitudes and actions of Black youth against a context of heavy political rap music and highly racial political climate. Although not causal, Chapter 2 makes a strong case for associative relationships between the political attitudes espoused in popular rap music and the attitudes and actions of Black youth during that time period.

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CHAPTER 2: "Don't Sweat The Technique":
Rap Music's Association with Black Political Attitudes and Political Participation in 1993

"[Hip-Hop culture] has brought more people together than all the politicians on Earth put together."
-Afrika Bambaataa (2013)

Introduction

The year is 1993. Dr. Dre's "The Chronic" (now heralded as a classic hip-hop album) could be heard blaring across the country in the midst of its reign as one of the top selling albums of the year.[9] "Nothin' But a G Thang" peaked at #2 on the Billboard's Hot 100. As NPR notes, "Over the 12 months of 1993, the Wu-Tang Clan, Snoop Dogg, A Tribe Called Quest, Queen Latifah, Tupac Shakur and more than a dozen other rap groups all released albums that helped change the sound of America" (NPR 2013). At the top of the box office were Black movies (helmed by Black directors) that described the hardships of life in impoverished Black America. One example is "Boyz in the Hood" (1993) directed by John Singleton,

This is the cultural backdrop under which social scientists Michael Dawson, Ronald Brown, and James Jackson collected 1206 telephone interviews (with a 65.1% response rate) from a national sample of Black Americans from November 20th, 1993 through February 20th, 1994.

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[9] Hip-hop is defined here under Afrika Bambataa's, who coined hip-hop as the four pillars/elements: DJing, MCing, breakdancing, and graffiti writing. Rap music highlights the MCing element.

This survey, known as the National Black Politics Study (NBPS), is the one of few large-scale studies in which one of the primary objectives is to discover the relationship between cultural consumption, Black political attitudes, and political participation (Dawson 2003). The period in which this study was conducted is particularly significant. 1993 is also widely regarded as one of the most important years in hip-hop history with respect to an ideal balance between authenticity, rawness, and mainstream visibility (Rose 1994).

This chapter uses the 1993-1994 NBPS to explore associations between Black political attitudes, rap music listenership, and political participation. Below, I describe the current bodies of literature that have shaped the questions posed and analyzed in this chapter.

The Marriage of Political Science and Hip-Hop Culture

"Our main difference is we use hip-hop as a portal. Hip-hop artists probably have more influence than politicians. It's a lifestyle. We're making voting cool again."
-**Benjamin Chavis**, President and CEO, Hip-Hop Summit Action Network

Marrying the classic socialization works with classic hip-hop literature has largely been left undone. However, classic works in other disciplines have pointed to the political frustrations that bore hip-hop. As discussed in Chapter 1, such works begin the process of discussing Black Americans' historical use of music in protest, the ways in which the hip hop generations' political thoughts diverge from the Civil Rights era, and (to some degree) the participatory role of rap elites in political campaigns and issues concerning the Black community (Perry 2004; Asante 2008; Goff 2008; Hill-Collins 2006; Ogbar 2007; Ellison 1989, Kitwana 2002). As mentioned in Chapter 1, many of these works attempt to theorize the political attitudes of youth who are attached to hip-hop culture. However, many of the pieces are theoretically based. They

have not shown (in great empirical detail) the ways in which rap elites have the potential to influence the political attitudes or behavior of the hip-hop generation. Neither has such literature expanded upon the ways in which politicians have attempted to capitalize on that influence. Although many have claimed that rap artists affect the hearts and minds of the hip-hop generation, few have shown evidence for it. While not a causal study, my study attempts to show associations between consumption and certain attitudes and behavior by quantitatively analyzing the political attitudes of the hip-hop generation more broadly, but also with particular emphasis on variables that demonstrate support of Black Nationalism.

To recap, there are several limitations on the political science and socio-cultural research previously mentioned. First, the political psychology literature has not told us how popular music, on its own merit, can even potentially prime and impact voters. Second, the Black cultural politics literature has done a credible job of telling us how music has been involved in the everyday political lives of Black Americans, but has not told us the mechanics behind that influence. Finally, a few qualitative studies have demonstrated the link between rap and political attitudes and participation. These studies have told us about the ways in which Black youth (the "hip hop generation") may see politics differently, but has not told us "why." This discussion leads the way to my project, which seeks to understand the potential psychological impact that rap music may have on Black listenership and how such consumption is associated with forms of political participation. How do those who listen to rap behave differently (politically than those who don't? These questions, and others, will be answered soon in the study and methods sections).

Keeping the extent of the previous research in mind, I develop four hypotheses: the level of conventional forms of political participation will be lower amongst Black youth in 1993 than

in 2005; there will be higher levels of dissent participation (namely protests) in 1993 than in 2005 considering the correlation it has with the political climate and salient issues amongst Blacks during that time period that were discussed in popular rap songs; White and Black youth will strongly diverge on political attitudes, but White youth who listen to rap music the most will diverge less and be more favorable to multicultural coalition building than other White youth; and political attitudes amongst Black youth regarding authority will be more unfavorable in 1993 than in 2005.

To be clear, I am defining Black Nationalism as described by Melanye Price in *Dreaming Blackness: Black Nationalism and African American Public Opinion* (2009): support for "black self-determination through control of homogeneous black institutions, support for black economic and social independence in the form self-help programs, psychological and social disentanglement from whites and white supremacist notions of black inferiority, and support for a global or Pan-African view of the black community."

Methodology

In order to test these hypotheses, I examine empirical data gathered in the 1993 National Black Politics Survey under the direction of Michael Dawson, James Jackson, and Ronald Brown. Comprised of telephone interviews from 1993-1994, this study was created to gauge Black thoughts and attitudes regarding the current state of American politics. As previously mentioned, it is unique; it is the only study to include questions about Black culture in conjunction with political attitudes and political participation. With a sample size of 1,206 and a response rate of 65%, this national sample survey is designed to represent the thoughts of adult African Americans throughout the country. Relying primarily on ordinary least squares or

40

logistic regression analysis, I build upon the body of knowledge regarding the potential link between rap music and politics in a way that pushes empirics to the center of the conversation. I use an assortment of dependent variables that include political attitudes, civic engagement, and culture.

The ages of the "youth" range from 18 through 34. While I would have liked to use the 15-25 age group for strict comparison to the 2005 data, the survey did not seek responses from youth under 18 years of age. Also, the amount of youth under 30 was so low that I decided to include those under 35 years. I controlled for: gender (female), religion ("churchinfluence"), urbanicity ("urbanicity"), union status ("union"), income ("income"), race of the interviewer ("raceiwer"), college attendance ("college"), and residence in the southern region ("south"), as all of these have been known to affect political socialization and political attitudes.

Dependent Variables

I analyzed dependent variables that measure various political attitudes and forms of participation. I recoded the variables so that 1= Yes/affirmative/positive, 0= No. For the political attitude variables, there was a third recode: .5= both. Each column represents a separate OLS regression.

There are six dependent variables measuring political attitudes used in the analyses. I decided on these variables because they directly assessed the polarizing political attitudes in which I am interested: those that hint at various aspects of Black Nationalism and the Black Power movement with respect to gender relations, coalition building, and views on institutional authority (police and politicians). These variables include those that measure Black feminism ("blkfeminist"), building political coalitions ("coalitionbuilding"), political representation

41

("bestinterests"), opinions on police ("policegangs"), and gender equality ("underminemales"). The dependent variables of interest with respect to political attitudes are listed in the Appendix A: 1993 Political Attitude Variables.

The survey asks about many forms of political activity, but I only included those that could have viable participation from all of the respondents. For example, I did not choose to analyze the variable that asks about voting in the last election, as some of the younger respondents were not able to participate in the last election due to the voting age requirement.

Specifically, I included variables regarding petitioning ("petition"), protesting ("protest"), contacting public officials ("contact"), marching ("march"), and talking about politics with family and friends ("talkpolitics"). Details about the participation variables can be found in Appendix B: 1993 Political Participation Variables.

Independent Variables

The purpose of these analyses is to gauge how different the political attitudes and levels of political participation are amongst those who listen to rap music as opposed to those who do not. Thus, the variables of primary interest are those concerning rap music listenership and receptivity. In these analyses, "RAPLISTEN" and "RAPINFO" are the two main independent variables. RAPLISTEN asked respondents, "Have you in the past week: Listened to rap music?" RAPINFO asked, "Do you consider rap music an important source of political information?" An affirmative answer describes rap music as an important source of information regarding what's going on in the Black community. A negative answer considers the art form a destructive force to the Black community. Yes/no answers were analyzed while refusals and "don't know" responses were excluded from the analyses. While RAPLISTEN is not an absolute with respect

42

to listenership, as it only asks about the previous week, it is the strongest indication in the survey of listenership.

Analyses

To gauge how the respondents feel toward rap music, I created a few descriptive tables.

Table 2.1 Listenership and Perception of Rap Music, Youth Respondents vs. All Respondents

Respondents' Listenership and Thoughts of Rap Music as a Source of Political Information

	Have you in the past week: *Listened to rap music?*		*Do you consider rap music an important* *source of political information?*	
	Youth	**35 and Over**	**Youth**	**35 and Over**
Yes	71% (288)	36% (287)	62% (203)	27% (173)
No	29% (118)	64% (513)	38% (127)	73% (458)
N	406	800	330	631

Note: "Do you consider rap music an important source of political information?" is one portion of a two-part question. The full question asks, "(Please tell me which choice is most true for you…) 0: Rap music provides an important source of information about what's going on in the Black community. OR 1: Rap music is a destructive force in the Black community." In this table, responses coded as "0" were translated to "Yes" and "1" as "No". Other answer choices ("Both", "Neither", "Don't know", and "Refused") were not included.

Table 2.1 shows the count of respondents who've listened to rap music in the past week (as opposed to those who do not) and a separate count of those who consider it a source of political information (as opposed to those who do not). It also compares the percentages of those respondents who are considered youth (18-34 years old) and the remainder of the respondents (respondents 35 and over) with respect to those who have listened to rap music in the past week (as opposed to those who did not) and the same for those who consider it a source of political information (as opposed to those who consider it a destructive force). Nearly three-quarters of

the youth listened to rap music as opposed 36% of respondents 35 and over who do the same. Nearly two-thirds of youth considered rap music an important source of political information while nearly three quarters of Black respondents over 34 years old consider it a destructive force. This signals polarization of listenership and receptivity regarding rap music as viable music form and source of political information.

Controlling for gender, religion, urbanicity, union status, income, race of the interviewer, college education, and region, I estimated a multivariate regression to gauge the relationship between rap listenership, rap as a source of political information, and their effect on the political participation variables (petition, protest, contact, march, talkpolitics). I will discuss the effects of rap music consumption on the variables of interest in three ways: the log odd coefficients shown in the tables, odds ratios, and the accompanying predicted probabilities (the tables detailing these results are located in Appendices C and D).

TABLE 2.2: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THOSE WHO LISTEN TO RAP MUSIC OR CONSIDER IT A SOURCE OF INFORMATION, 1993

	Petition	Protest	Contact	March	Talkpolitics	Petition	Protest	Contact	March	Talkpolitics
Female	0.09	-0.41*	-.47*	-0.25	1.0***	0.02	-.47*	-0.4	-0.26	1.06***
	(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.30)	(0.37)	(0.25)	(0.26)	(0.27)	(0.27)	(0.38)
Religion	0.08	-.01	-0.28	-0.13	0.06	0.03	-0.05	-0.27	-0.10	0.18
	(0.18)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.20)	(0.28)	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.21)	(0.21)	(0.30)
Urbanicity	-0.07	-0.04	0.00	-0.17	0.24	-0.06	0.01	0.01	-0.17	.26**
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.14)
Union	-0.89	-0.39	-0.06	0.21	-0.73	-0.77	-0.29	-0.09	0.23	-0.71
	(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.32)	(0.54)	(0.31)	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.33)	(0.54)
Income	-0.01	0.07	.09*	0.01	0.17	-0.01	0.07	0.08	0.02	0.16
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.09)
Raceiwer	-0.36	0.10	-0.35	0.25	-0.20	-0.25	0.16	-0.30	0.36	-0.30
	(0.28)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.32)	(0.43)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.31)	(0.30)	(0.45)
College	.87*	0.67***	.60**	0.21	0.67	1.03***	.84***	0.64**	-0.15	0.60
	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.49)	(0.30)	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.17)	(0.49)
Region	-0.27	-.28*	0.05	-0.17	-0.05	-.27***	-0.24	0.00	-0.15	0.02
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.24)	-(0.15)	(0.16)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.24)
Raplisten	**0.40**	**.70***	**0.13**	**0.40**	**0.21**	---	---	---	---	---
	(0.25)	**(0.29)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.30)**	**(0.38)**					
RapInfo	----	---	---	---	---	**.48***	**.96***	**-0.11**	**.47***	**0.12**
						(0.26)	**(0.30)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.30)**	**(0.40)**
Constant	1.70	-0.59	-1.20	-0.85	0.77	1.5**	-1.10	-0.94	-1.10	0.62
	(0.69)	(0.72)	(0.75)	(0.76)	(1.05)	(0.70)	(0.80)	(0.77)	(0.79)	(1.06)
Log Likelihood	-227.80	-208.80	-196.60	-193.40	-114.20	-212.70	-191.40	-185.70	-179.10	-107.90
N	362	362	362	361	362	339	339	339	338	339

Notes: * $p < .1$; ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$ for two-tailed test. All variables are coded 0-1. .
Controls: gender, religion, urbanicity, union membership, income, race of the interviewer, college education, and region.

45

As the Table 2.2 suggests, listening to rap music is significantly associated with one political participation variable: protesting. With respect to protesting, for every one-unit increase in rap music listenership one would expect a .70 unit increase in the ordered log-odds of participating in protest participation, all other variables in the model held constant. Put another way, listening to rap music is associated with .66 likelihood in supporting protesting. There are no significant associations with respect to contacting officials, marching, or talking about politics to friends and family.

Those who consider rap music a trusted source of information are more likely associated with all of the dissenting/protest acts of political participation (petitioning, protesting, and marching) than those who are not. The considering rap a source of information is associated with .59 likelihood in signing a petition. Considering it a source of information is also strongly associated with .77 likelihood in protesting. Finally, considering it a source of information was associated with a .68 increase in marching. The associations between considering rap a source of political information and the other two behavioral variables (contacting public officials and talking about politics with family and friends) were not significant.

There appears to be stark differences in the political attitudes of those who listen to rap or consider it a source of political information as opposed to those who do not.

TABLE 2.3: POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO LISTEN TO RAP MUSIC OR CONSIDER IT A SOURCE OF INFORMATION, 1993

	Blkfeminist	Coalition building	Underminemales	BestInterests	Policegangs	Blkfeminist	Coalition building	Underminemales	Bestinterests	Policegangs
Female	0.12	.67***	.2	-0.1	-0.12	.14	.67***	.23	-.03	-0.12
	0.25	0.25	.32	.25	.24	.26	.25	.33	.25	.24
Religion	0.54	-0.1	.51	-.39⁺	.14	.49**	-.12	.53*	-.37**	.18
	0.21	0.19	.29	.19	.18	.21	.20	.30	.19	.18
Urbanicity	0.06	0.03	-.06	.09	-.13	.04	.06	-.08	.11	-.09
	0.1	0.1	.12	.10	.10	.1	.10	.13	.10	.10
Union	-0.59	0.05	-0.14	0.1	-.25	-.68**	.03	-.04	.06	-.28
	0.32	0.29	.41	.29	.28	.33	.30	.41	.30	.29
Income	-0.02	-0.12**	.12	.01	-.12**	.01	-.14***	.12	.00	-.13
	0.06	0.05	.07	.05	.05	.06	.06	.08	.06	.05
Raceiwer	0.22	-0.45	.28	.48*	-.12 **	.01	-.49*	.40	.29	.51
	0.29	-0.16	.35	.27	.05	.30	.29	.36	.29	.29
College	0.3	.16	.18	-.24 *	-.10	.22	-.22	.09	-.28	-.17
	0.29	.28	.38	.27	.26	.29	.28	.39	.28	.27
Region	0.04	.04	-.17	.01	-.10	.04	.04	-.15	-.03	-.10
	0.16	.15	.20	.15	.15	.16	.16	.20	.16	.15
Raplisten	**0.24**	**0.05**	**.59***	**.52***	**.56***	---	---	---	---	---
	0.27	**0.25**	**.32**	**.25**	**.25**					
RapInfo		---	---	---	---	.56**	-.35	.70**	.24	.40
						.27	.26	.34	.27	.26
Log	-231.12	-235.80	-165.90	-247.70	-782.45	-219.03	-221.90	-156.30	-231.10	-238.43
N	335	339	358	345	349	316	321	336	326	332

Notes: * p < .1; ** p < .05 *** p < .01 for two-tailed test. All variables are coded 0-1. .
Controls: gender, religion, urbanicity, union membership, income, race of the interviewer, college education, and region.

As shown in Table 2.3, listening to rap music is associated with a .52 increase in the ordered log-odds of believing that Black elected officials can best represent the interests of the Black community. In other words, listening to rap music is associated with endorsement of the idea that Black officials are better able to represent Black interests relative to non-Black elected officials. In other words, listening to rap is associated with a .70 increase in support for Black officials.

Listening to rap music is also associated with a .56 increase in the log odds of believing that police are just like a gang. These findings run in tandem with the anti-police, pro-Black messages espoused by rap music at the time. This finding supports my hypotheses pertaining to strong correlations between Black political attitudes and rap music. In other words, listening to rap is associated with .62 likelihood of endorsement of the notion that police operate like a gang.

Finally, listening to rap music is associated with support for Black female leadership. Listening to rap is associated with .64 likelihood in support for Black women leading in politics.

When we compare those who consider rap to be an important source of political information to those who consider it a destructive force, the results are also impressive. There were significant associations between considering rap an important source of political information and both variables regarding gender. Considering rap music an important source of political information is associated with .66 likelihood of believing that Black feminist groups help the Black community by working to advance the position of Black women (.05 level); and a .66 in support of Black women sharing equally in the leadership of the Black community (also significant at the .05 level).

48

Results

In 1993, nearly half of all respondents listen to rap music and roughly one-third consider rap an important source of political information. The vast majority of youth respondents listened to rap music and consider it to be more than a musical form; they overwhelmingly consider it to be a viable source of political information. The percentage of youth who listen to rap is nearly double that of older respondents, and the percentage of youth who consider rap music to be a source of political information is more than *double* the percentage of respondents over 35 years old.

Within the realm of political participation, Black youth who listen to rap music (of which the majority is youth) is associated with petitioning and protesting at significantly higher rates than those who do not. Black youth who consider rap music to be a source of political information protest significantly more than Black youth who consider it a destructive force.

Those who consider rap music to be a source of political information were strongly associated with both Black feminism and gender equality in representing Black political interests. Those respondents also were also associated with supporting the idea that police can be considered equivalent to a gang.

Those who listen to rap music were significantly associated with political participation (albeit small in coefficient size). Listening is largely unassociated with political attitudes. Black youth who consider rap music to be an important source of political information were not associated with any of the participation variables.

As you recall, I'd developed four hypotheses: that the majority of youth will consider rap music to be an important source of political information; that consumption of rap music would

be associated with higher levels of civil dissent participation (namely protests and petition); that those who listen to rap music will exhibit higher support for political attitudes in alignment with contemporary post civil rights notions of Black Nationalism; and that those who consider rap music to be an important source of political information will exhibit the highest support for political attitudes in alignment with contemporary post civil rights notions of Black Nationalism. All of the hypotheses were supported, albeit with small differences. Listening to rap music actually was associated with support of contemporary Black Nationalism ideas. Also, considering rap music a source of political information was weakly associated with coalition building, considering the police are like a gang, and agreement with the idea of Black politicians being better equipped to handle Black political issues. However, the sample of youth was small at only 406 respondents.

Conclusion

The field of political science has yet to focus a comprehensive scholarly lens toward the political attitudes and participation of Black millennials.

There are theorized links between the consumption of rap music and varying policy attitudes, political participation, and consumption of culture amongst young Black respondents as opposed to their older counterparts. However, those links were previously not demonstrated. For the discipline as a whole, this is important news: it enriches the discipline's emerging literature that details the political manifestations of cultural consumption and identity politics more broadly. It highlights rap music as a potential socializing agent with real possible political outcomes previously understudied by our discipline.

Demonstrated in these analyses is evidence that suggests that rap consumption amongst Black youth rap is strongly associated with support of protest politics and other forms of dissent

participation. There is also a major—and important—polarization of attitudes concerning women and Black leadership that is worth noting. Blacks who consider rap music an important source of political information are shown to be much more supportive and trusting of gender equality in Black leadership. Although the associations between listening to rap and the female empowerment variables were not statistically significant in this study, there are several celebrated artists and very popular songs that celebrated Afrocentric teachings and upholding Black female leadership (Durham & Cooper 2013).

Although more research is needed, the results of this chapter are promising. For example, one theory credits hip-hop elites with the increase of Black youth mobilization (resulting in increased voting)[10] due to their voter mobilization efforts, such as Sean "P. Diddy" Combs' strong participation in the "Vote or Die" campaign or Russell Simmon's Hip-Hop Caucus (Vargas 2004). This needs to be empirically tested.

However, there has been an increase in political endorsements made by rappers, and we've seen a rise of politicians aligning themselves with hip-hop elites during important campaign times (Kitwana 2004). This is a large shift from the adverse reaction politicians gave hip-hop culture (particularly rap music and its artists) as rap emerged on the global scene in the 1990s. What is the reason for the shift? Why now? I speculate that one major reason politicians have changed their tune toward hip-hop elites is because they understand the unique relationship rap artists have with their fan bases in getting them to be civically engaged. The additional votes that hip-hop elites can influence, at times, can impact the outcome of an election. Political campaign directors seem to be ahead of the curve in understanding the potential weight the

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[10] Nationally or regionally popular hip-hop artists, or others involved in the industry (i.e. producers, label managers, etc.)

voters from the hip-hop generation can have on the political landscape. Political science, as a discipline, needs to explore this possibility.

This chapter joins the body of that emerging literature. As demonstrated, rap music appears to be associated with a powerful impact on the thoughts and political behaviors of Blacks youth. However, how has rap music changed as a genre since 1993? Chapter 3 takes a closer look at the political and social landscape of 2005. By using similar empirical methods demonstrated in Chapter 2, Chapter 3 seeks to demonstrate associations between the effects of listening to rap and the themes of popular rap music and the thoughts and actions of Black youth during that time period.

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CHAPTER 3: "First I Had They Ear...":
Rap and Black Youth Attitudes in the Early 21ˢᵗ Century

Introduction

In 1989, Will Smith and DJ Jazzy Jeff were the first recipients of the "Best Rap Music Performance" Grammy category. The joy of the moment was cut short when the Grammy's decided not to publicly broadcast the award. A protest (led by rap artist and actor, Will Smith) ensued. As described in Chapter 1, rap music struggled for respect as a genre in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The 1989 Grammys were an example of this struggle. This moment in rap music's early recognition served in stark juxtaposition to the respect shown by the Grammys to rap musicians ten years later.

In 1999, Lauryn Hill made history by becoming the first woman (and rapper) to win five Grammy awards in one night. Her classic album, "The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill" became the first hip-hop album to win "Album of the Year", one of the most coveted and respected awards in the music industry. This moment represented a monumental shift in hip-hop's national recognition, reach, and acceptance. Lauryn Hill's notable album went on to become the first hip-hop album inducted in the Library of Congress by virtue of it being recognized as "culturally, historically or aesthetically significant" (Schonfield 2015). Such accolades are the opposite of what earlier rappers received from not only the mainstream music industry, but politicians as well.

Hip-hop's acceptance by political actors has grown immensely since the early 1990s. However, the process of acceptance was not without struggle. As the elements of hip-hop culture (DJing, MCing/rapping, graffiti, and breakdancing) grew in popularity, there was an increase in political rhetoric and police surveillance to express disapproval of hip-hop culture. For instance, in 1989, many NWA (a popular Black male rap group) concert shows were cancelled due to police pressure. Even NWA themselves were detained and subjected to intrusive searches after a show in Detroit and later released (Nielson 2010).

As hardcore "gangsta rap" (defined by Encyclopedia Britannica (2013) as a form of rap music that is a "reflection and product of the often violent lifestyle of American inner cities afflicted with poverty and the dangers of drug use and drug dealing") became popular in the 1990s, several politicians spoke out against rap music's threat to society. For example, there was increased policing of social gatherings in cities like New York City and Los Angeles, particularly those attended by locally prominent DJs and MCs. In fact, Keyes (2002) notes that many earlier rappers have come forward to discuss the ways in which hip-hop parties were often shut down with no apparent merit.

"If I had my way, I wouldn't put in dogs, but wolves."
- Ed Koch, New York City mayor (1980) on his use of dogs and razor wire to neutralize graffiti artistry on NYC subway cars

There was a highly documented push by New York City mayor, Ed Koch, to quiet hip-hop youth's visible political discontentment. In a 1983 documentary entitled "Style Wars", Koch remarked that graffiti has "destroyed our lifestyle". The documentary debuted following the death of a locally acclaimed graffiti artist, Michael Stewart, who died at the hands of New York City police following an arrest for tagging (a term used for painting graffiti art on public spaces)

57

a subway station. In response, several prominent New York City rappers (Kool G. Rap and Public Enemy) released songs reflecting their frustration at city officials and local law enforcement.[11]

Breakdancing was also policed heavily under the backing of conservative politicians. Breakdancing "cliques" or "groups" rose as the popularity of hip-hop culture increased. Young Black and Brown urbanites would form groups and the groups would publicly "battle" (dance) for bragging rights. As urban anthropologist, Mercer Sullivan, contends in *"Getting Paid": Youth Crime and Work in the Inner City* (1989), politicians and police alike considered the non-violent breakdancing groups as "gangs" and often haggled the dancers and arrested them for loitering.

Some Democrats and Republicans took their discontent to the national stage. In 1992, Vice President Dan Quayle regarded (legendary rapper) Tupac's highly acclaimed first album, "2Pacalyse Now" as a "disgrace to American music" and that there was "absolutely no reason" for it to be published (Sullivan 2003). As Jeffrey O.G. Ogbar notes in *Hip-Hop Revolution: The Culture and Politics of Rap* (2007), prominent Democrat, Tipper Gore, (the wife of future Vice President Al Gore) led a public campaign against the spread of gangsta rap. She even testified against the musical genre at a Congressional hearing. As Tricia Rose writes in *The Hip Hop Wars* (2008), the politicians against rap music often felt disengagement with the art form due to its dismantling of what they considered "American values". However, many traditional "American values"- nuclear families, decency, and morality- as Rose asserts, were not created with the complexities of African-American culture in mind. I assert that the phrase "American

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[11] Kool G. Rap released "Erase Racism" and Public Enemy released "Welcome to Terrordome" in 1990.

values" was used as an implicit cue to rally support from Whites and religious groups against rap music, a musical form that serves as a Black American identifier.

As D. Marvin Jones recalls in *The War Against Hip-Hop* (2008), the message of early rap music was largely lost in translation for mainstream America. Jones explains that mainstream America tended to see the lyrics as more or less nihilistic and void of a message, while many African-American youth tended to identify with the art form. Jones attributes the variance in opinion to differences in the two groups' view of gangsta rap. Jones theorizes that while mainstream America views it simply as music, African-American youth view rap as a form of identity politics; identifying with the race, class, and sociopolitical experiences of both the rappers and their lyrics.

In the wake of its recognition as a global phenomenon, however, there has been an increase in bipartisan respect toward rap music as a genre and for its ability to attract Blacks, Latinos, and American youth to politics. As discussed in Chapter 1, several rap moguls made personal appeals to incite their fan bases to vote in the 2004 presidential campaign. Included in this list are Russell Simmons and Puff Daddy. Both were also vocal in their support of John Kerry. In spite of Kerry's loss, we saw a rise in the number of Black youth (18-29 year olds) who voted in that election (Cohen 2010). We have seen artists endorse candidates (Daddy Yankee for Sen. John McCain and Jay-Z for President Obama, for example). We have also witnessed candidates from both sides of the aisle report listening to rap music regularly (Marco Rubio and President Obama, for example). However, there have also been some tense moments between rappers and politicians.

"George Bush doesn't care about Black people."

On a National Red Cross telethon in the wake of Hurricane Katrina, Kanye West shocked media outlets and political pundits by making the highly controversial public statement quoted above. West was responding to the lack of national assistance to the victims (many of them low-income Blacks) in New Orleans, LA. At the time, President Bush had not sent government assistance to New Orleans, nor had he visited the devastated area. West spoke to the frustrations that many people on the ground voiced by the lack of action at the national level. In response, President Bush spoke out against the remark and made more efforts to assist the people of New Orleans. In his autobiography (2010), Bush described the moment as one of the worst in his presidency.

While the platform for rappers to engage political actors had increased, we also saw a shift in the content of popular rap music. As several scholars have noted, namely Powell (2000) and McWhorter (2008), there was a shift from the popular politically conscious rap music of the "Golden Era of Hip Hop" discussed in Chapter 2 to a more capitalistic and individualistic form of popular rap music in which money, notoriety, and personal success were major topics.[12] Spence notes in *Stare into Darkness* (2011), that the popular rap music of the 2000s appeared to espouse the same neoliberal aesthetics typical of conservative politicians. Spence defines neoliberalism as the dismantling of the state, privileging of markets over all other institutions, and relentless catering to corporate interests.

Although admittedly the landscape of rap music has changed, the impact of rap artists' ability to impact Black youth should not be discounted. In 2005, rap artists did call for explicit

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[12] "Popular" is defined here as the top 10 rap songs played on urban radio stations and/or listed on the Billboard Rap and R&B chart

political participation measures at lower levels than previously seen (as discussed in greater detail in Chapter 5). As Tricia Rose (1994; 2008) notes, contemporary hip-hop artists must not only be taken at the face value of the lyrics. Often, there are alternative interpretations of lyrics. Critics like Spence did not take into account what rappers have said off the microphone that may incite political action or that the lyrics themselves, as an art form, could take on multiple interpretations. To say that rap artists simply reinforce neoliberal aesthetics might be too simple, as their personas (via endorsements, television appearances, concerts) go beyond the lyrics. I argue that during those other times, they do not simply espouse neoliberalism. Rap artists make communal political statements inside and outside of their lyrics.

Under the backdrop of criticism regarding rap music's message and an increase in rap music's credibility as a political force, Cathy Cohen's "Black Youth Project" survey was born. With respect to rap music, I use the BYP survey to test Jones's theory of different messages received by Black and Brown youth versus Whites. I use the Black Youth Project survey data to compare the associations between rap listenership and various forms of political participation and attitudes across three racial groups- Whites, Blacks, and Latinos. As you recall, in Chapter 1 I described the various ways in which White youth are socialized differently than Black youth. As Walton (1985) describes, Black youth are socialized in ways outside of the standard scope of the political socialization literature. One of the most effective ways that Black youth send and receive political messaging is through music. The literature does not describe Whites as being receptive to music as a socializing agent. While I am not arguing that Whites do not have the capacity to be socialized by music, I argue that Black youth, given the differences in socialization, will be particularly receptive to rap music as a socializing agent.

In Chapter 2, I discussed the associations between rap consumption and the political attitudes and participation of Black youth in 1993, contextualizing the associations with the political and rap musical context of the time. Although not causal, it was shown that among Black youth, there are some strong links between rap consumption, and certain political attitudes and forms of political participation. To summarize, rap music consumption amongst Black youth in 1993 is correlated with higher levels of petitioning and protesting. As it relates to political attitudes, Black youth listeners or those who consider it an important source of political information exhibit higher levels of support for notions of Black feminism, coalition building, and mistrust of the police.

Several scholars and journalists (Hill 2009; Watkins 1999; Chang 2005, 443) have spoken about hip-hop culture—and rap music more specifically—losing its punch since the "Golden Era" of hip-hop that ended in 1994. Like Lena (2012), many laud the roots of hip-hop culture as homegrown in its nature and production. However, several scholars like Bakari Kitwana (2003), have discussed its corporatization, and the negative implications that corporatization has had on the authenticity of the voices of rap artists and the types of rap artists that become popular. The current shift to the individualistic, capitalist popular rap music has some artists and academics alike raising the question, "Does rap music still resonate with Black people in the same ways it once did?"

In this chapter, I posit that rap music, for better or worse, still has the ear of Black youth, and more so than any other racial youth group. I explore Jones's theory of rap being a form of identity politics for Black youth by demonstrating that those Black youth who listen to rap music are also inclined to express a high attachment to their racial group and exhibit pride in their group relative to other racial groups. While I agree that the political messages in popular rap

62

music are not as explicit as it was in 1993 and, at times, rap music puts forth contradictory messages. However, I also test Jones' theory that seeing and hearing African- Americans in music that relates to the lived experiences of Black youth may impact Black youth above and beyond the lyrical content. Currently, rap music is the most pervasive Black musical genre. I expect to find a higher sense of racial pride and heightened criticism of the politics within the rappers' lyrics during that time.

Hypotheses

H1: Blacks who listen to rap music will adopt more sympathetic political attitudes toward marginalized groups

H2: I anticipate that White youth, even those who listen to or watch rap music regularly, will not adopt political attitudes sympathetic to discrimination affecting marginalized populations (particularly Blacks)

H3: Given the lack of explicit political messaging of rap music of 2005 with respect to dissident forms of political participation (contacting officials, petitioning, talking about politics, protesting, and marching), respondents who listen to rap music, regardless of race, will not significantly differ from those who do not listen with respect to the conventional political participation variables

Methodology

The Black Youth Project (BYP) is a national telephone survey conducted in 2005 that gauged the thoughts and practices of American youth surrounding issues of racial discrimination, health, religion, civic engagement, and rap music. With the 1993-94 National Black Politics Study as a pioneering influence, Cathy Cohen sought to replicate and expand the survey and its respondents. With a national sample of 1,590 of youth 15-25 years old (567 Whites, 633 Blacks, and 314 Latinos) and an unweighted overall response rate of 62.1%, the 2005 Black Youth Project survey is a three-prong (national, oversample, Chicago) random digit dial survey is designed to represent the thoughts of White, Latino, and especially African American youth (ages 15-25) throughout the country.

The BYP survey asked the group of racially diverse youth more questions than the 1993 NBPS survey with respect to varying aspects of political socialization, cultural consumption, and civic engagement. Although the youth of eight racial groups were in the sample, the majority of the respondents are Black, White, or Latino. My analyses focus on those three racial groups, with Whites and Latinos serving as the comparison groups to Black youth.

Demographics of the Black Youth Project Sample

In order to understand the scope of the data, included are several tables that describe the demographics of the respondents. The tables are broken down by sample type, age group, and sex.

Table 3.1 Respondents by Sample Type and Age Group

Sample Type	Age Group			Total
	15-17 yrs	18-21 yrs	22-25 yrs	
National	258 (46%)	239 (40%)	193 (44%)	690 (43%)
Oversample	285 (51%)	336 (57%)	237 (54%)	858 (54%)
Chicago	12 (2%)	18 (3%)	11 (2%)	41 (2%)
Overall	555	593	441	1589

Table 3.2 Respondents by Sample Type and Sex

Sample Type	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
National	328 (44%)	362 (43%)	690 (43%)
Oversample	401 (54%)	457 (54%)	858 (54%)
Chicago	17 (2%)	24 (3%)	41 (3%)
Overall	746	843 (53%)	1589

As shown in Table 3.1, the plurality (37%) of the youth is between 18-21 years of age. However, the group of 15-17 year olds represent over one third of the sample. The overwhelming majority of respondents are from the national sample and oversample. For the record, the oversample includes a majority of Black youth, with Latino youth as the second largest group.

As Table 3.2 shows, a narrow majority (53%) of the respondents are female. The women are heavily represented in the oversample, comprised largely of Black and Brown youth. As a note, one respondent refused to answer these demographic questions. Therefore, the total for

both tables is 1,589 respondents instead of the 1,590 that are represented in the Black Youth Project survey data.

Analysis Strategy

Relying primarily on logistic regression analyses in a similar fashion as demonstrated with the 1993 dataset, I examine the potential link between rap music consumption and political thoughts and action. First, I describe how rap music consumption varies by race. I use logistic models to analyze the determinants of political participation, and ordered logistic regression models to analyze predictors of political attitudes. Secondly, I investigate the significance of associations between rap music and the attitudes, participation, and engagement of Black, White, and Latino youth. I anticipate a stronger association between the effects of rap consumption and political attitudes for Black youth then for the other two racial groups.

Dependent Variables

I constructed thirteen dependent variables— eight measures of political attitudes and five measures of political participation. I recoded the variables so that 1= Yes/affirmative/positive, 0= No. For the political attitude variables, there was a third recode: .5= both.

Dependent Variables- Political Attitudes

Five of the eight dependent variables closely matched the five variables of interest used from the National Black Study survey (NBPS) from Chapter 2. Specifically, the five variables that closely compare to those used in the NBPS gauge gender relations ("malesupport"), Black female political agenda priorities ("RaceoverGender"), coalition building ("coalitionbuild"), and

66

views on institutional authority ("policediscriminate" and "govtbiginterests"). While the first four of these variables listed assess thoughts on authority figures, racial attachment and camaraderie, I included the "govtbiginterests" variable as a way to test an element of neoliberalism. I believe that despite less explicit references to progressive attitudes in lyrics in 2005, there are implicit references. As a result, I hypothesize that (similar to 1993) listening to rap music will still be strongly associated with progressive political attitudes.

As mentioned, the BYP survey included more variables than did the 1993 NBPS. As a result, I included three additional variables that would add to the robustness of the study. I included the variable "racepride" in order to gauge respondents' racial group attachment. I also added two variables to further gauge respondents' attitudes toward specific marginalized groups: gays ("gaymarriage") and discrimination against young Blacks ("DiscAgainstYoungBlacks"). Detailed descriptions of each political attitude dependent variable are listed in Appendix E: 2005 Black Youth Project Political Attitude Variables of Interest.

Dependent Variables- Political Participation

I have included five political participation variables that mirror those used from the NBPS: petitioning, protesting, contacting officials, boycotting, and talking about politics to friends and family. The details of the five variables are also listed in Appendix F: 2005 Black Youth Project Political Participation Variables of Interest.

As was the case for NBPS analyses, I only included those participation variables that could have viable participation from all of the respondents. For example, I did not choose to analyze the variables that ask respondents about voting in the last election, as the respondents

under 18 years old (comprising a large percentage of the sample) were not able to participate in the last election due to the voting age requirement.

Independent Variables

The purpose of the analyses is to determine the associations between Black, White, and Latino youth who consume rap music and various political attitudinal and participatory variables. The thoughts and actions of Black youth are of primary interest, with White and Latino youth serving as comparison groups. The primary independent variables of interest are "raplisten" and "rapwatch". In similar fashion to the "raplisten" variable in the NBPS, this variable gauges how much one listen to rap music. The results of the 2005 BYP version of "raplisten" variable will be compared to those of the 1993 NBPS version of "raplisten" in Chapter 5. The variable was coded dichotomously so as to be comparable to the "raplisten" of 1993.

- **RAPLISTEN**: On average, how often do you listen to rap music? (every day, several days a week, once a week, once or twice a month, rarely, never, DK/RF)

- **RAPWATCH**: On average how often do you watch rap music programming on television? (every day, several days a week, once a week, once or twice a month, rarely, never, DK/RF)

There was no (publicly available) comparable variable to the National Black Politics Study's "rapinfo" variable in the BYP dataset to gauge if rap music was considered an important source of information. However, there was another cultural consumption variable that gauges rap music programming consumption. That variable, "rapwatch", is the second independent variable of interest in the following analyses. I am interested in comparing the associations between those who listen to rap music as opposed to those who have visuals to accompany the music.

68

Controls

I used nine controls in these analyses. For parity, the controls were matched as closely as possible with those used in the 1993-94 NBPS study. The controls that mirror the previous study are: gender, educational attainment, marital status, union membership, perceived race of the interviewer, and religion.

In the BYP study I included a variable that accounted for receiving public assistance growing up as a proxy for the "income" variable used in the NBPS. The income variable in the BYP study did not account for those in high school. I found that the "publicassistance" variable accounted for more respondents in the study while delivering results on par with those resulting from the BYP's "income" variable.

Although in the 1993 NBPS survey analyses are included such variables as urbanicity and residence in the southern region of the US, there were no comparable measures available in the BYP survey. However, there were two variables that served as logical controls: first generation status ("firstgen") to control for national socialization and their guardian's interest in political affairs to control for parental political socialization. Considering that political socialization is thought to be directly influenced by parents' thoughts about and involvement in politics (Easton and Dennis 1969; Greenstein 1965; Hess and Torney 1967; Niemi and Jennings 1968), this variable would be an important new control for the study. With the exception of educational attainment ("education") and marital status ("marital"), the controls are also recoded on a 0/1 scale. For the education variable, those who had yet to graduate high school were coded as a "0", a high school graduate as "1", and so forth. For the marital status variable, singles were coded as a "0", and any other committal relationship was counted as "1". All refusals and "don't

know" answers were excluded from the analyses. Typically, less than 5% of the respondents refused or didn't know their response to one of the survey questions.

Race Differences in Consumption of Rap Music

To reflect youth rap consumption, I created two figures explained below. Figure 3.1 shows daily/several days a week rap music listenership consumption of respondents by racial group.

Figure 3.1:
Youth Rap Music Listenership, by Race
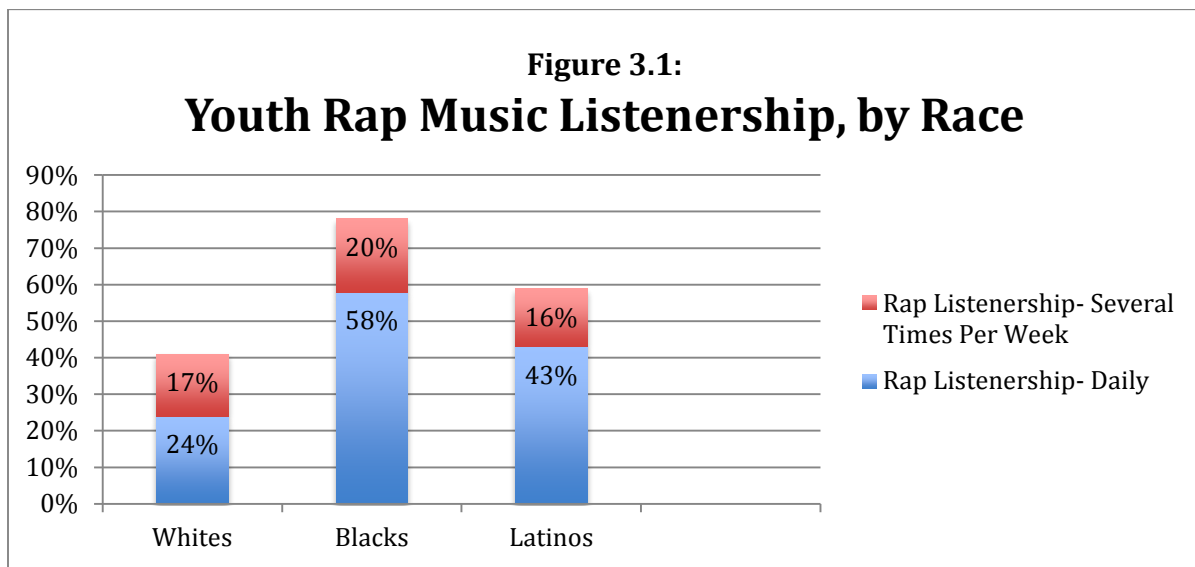
Rap listenership varies substantially by the race of the respondents. As Figure 3.1 shows, the percentage of Black youth who listen rap music daily is about 1.25 that of Latinos and nearly 2.5 times the percentage of White youth daily listeners. Black youth reported listening to rap music more than any other racial group surveyed.

When one adds in those respondents who listen several times a week, the differences in listenership by rap are even more obvious. The percentage of Whites who listen to rap music daily or several times a week totals to 41%. Among Latinos, about 59% listened to rap daily or

several times a week. However, a whopping 79% of Black youth reported frequently listening to rap music.

Less than 3% of Black youth report having never listened to rap music, compared to nearly 19% of the White youth and 12% of Latinos surveyed. In other terms, the number of White respondents who never listen to rap music (106 respondents) nearly equals that of those White respondents who listen daily (136). Black youth listen more than any other racial group surveyed while Whites listen the least. The evidence shows that Black and White youth are polarized on rap music listenership.

Figure 3.2:
Youth Rap Music Viewership, by Race
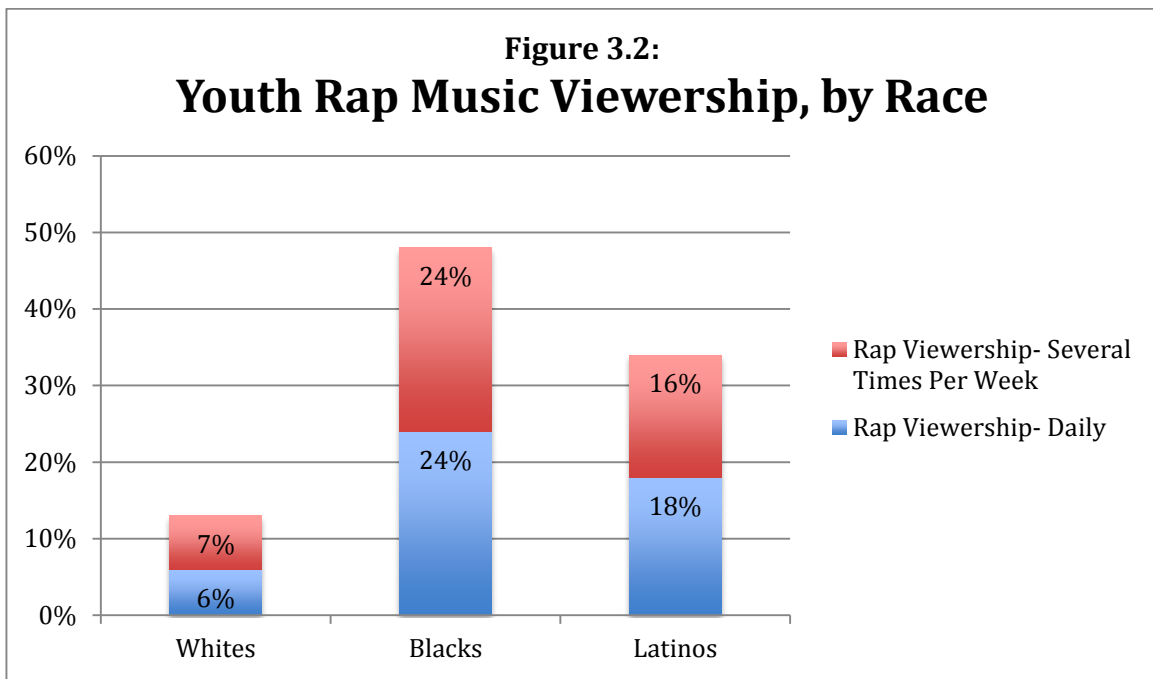
Black and White youth are even more polarized with respect to watching rap music programming. As Figure 3.2 shows, while 18% of Latinos watch rap music daily, nearly 25% of Black respondents watch rap music programming daily. Only 6% of Whites do the same.

When those who watch rap music programming several days a week are included in the descriptive analyses, the results show Whites as the racial group outlier. Nearly half (48%) of all Black youth included in the survey report watching rap music programming frequently (every day or several days per week). One-third of Latino respondents reported watching rap music programming frequently. However, less than 14% of White youth reported watching rap music programming frequently.

We see that rap music consumption varies substantially by race, with Blacks consuming the most, Whites consuming the least, and Latinos falling in between. At a minimum, this suggests that rap music is likely to exert the strongest influence on African American youth relative to young people who belong to other racial or ethnic groups. Next, I estimate several multivariate regression models separately for Black, White, and Latino youth to further explore the associational relationship between rap music consumption and political attitudes. I discuss the results in three ways: the log odds of the coefficients, the odds ratios, and the predicted probabilities of said log-odds (the predicted probabilities tables are found in Appendices G and H).

Listening to Rap Music and Political Attitudes

Table 3.3 reports the results of logistic regressions predicting the political attitudes of White, Black, and Latino youth. I estimate predictors of five political attitudes- race over gender, coalition building, male bread winner, government and big business, and police discrimination.

TABLE 3.3: POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO LISTEN TO RAP MUSIC, 2005

	RaceoverGender			CoalitionBuild			MaleBreadWinner			GovtBigInterests			Policediscriminate		
	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
Gender	-0.09	0.35	-0.02	0.13	-.35**	.49**	.75***	-.40**	-.84***	0.25	0	0.33	-0.01	0.04	0.34
	(0.28)	(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.25)
Education	0.03	0.02	0.08	-0.07	-.10**	0	-0.03	0	0.01	.22***	.12***	.19***	.10**	.11**	0.11
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Religion	0.06	0.4	-0.06	0.18	0.41	0.22	-1.15***	-.65**	-0.36	-.87***	0.28	0.02	-.95***	-0.12	-0.43
	(0.44)	(0.69)	(0.68)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.41)	(0.28)	(0.32)	(0.39)	(0.29)	(0.34)	(0.42)	(0.3)	(0.34)	(0.42)
Marital	0.02	0.1	-0.3	-0.04	0.03	-.20*	-0.11	0.09	-0.14	-0.01	0.16	-0.05	-0.06	0.13	0.03
	(0.14)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.1)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Firstgen	0.18	-0.02	-.98**	0.45	-0.03	0.25	0.09	.59**	0.09	0.42	0.06	0.03	-0.15	0.1	-0.29
	(0.43)	(0.54)	(0.43)	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.27)	(0.26)
Union	-0.21	0.14	-0.22	.-15	0.16	-0.05	0.32	-0.1	0	.44**	0.19	0.2	.37*	0.29	0.14
	(0.34)	(0.43)	(0.52)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.32)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.31)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.32)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.33)
PublicAs	-0.1	-.65*	-0.6	0.17	-0.06	-0.04	-.40**	-.49***	0.09	0.2	-0.01	0.08	0	0.25	-0.27
	(0.32)	(0.35)	(0.43)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.26)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.26)
	0.32	0.35	0.43	0.21	0.17	0.26	0.20	0.17	0.24	0.21	0.17	0.25	0.21	0.17	0.26
Raceiwer	0.08	0	0.35	0.04	-0.13	-0.24	0.16	0	0.2	-0.08	-.15*	-0.02	0.04	-0.08	0.24
	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.1)	(0.08)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.17)	(0.1)	(0.08)	(0.19)
	0.14	0.17	0.25	0.10	0.08	0.19	0.11	0.00	0.19	0.11	0.08	0.17	0.10	0.08	0.19
Parentpolattitudes	-0.17	-0.17	0.35	0.18	0.12	-0.06	0.28	-0.01	-0.02	-.58**	0.16	-0.31	-0.14	0.27	-0.08
	(0.45)	(0.47)	(0.6)	(0.3)	(0.24)	(0.36)	(0.29)	(0.07)	(0.34)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.35)	(0.3)	(0.24)	(0.36)
Raplisten	**-.66***	**0.63**	**-0.12**	**0.09**	**.60****	**0.09**	**0.03**	**0.17**	**-0.28**	**0.11**	**.68****	**-0.03**	**.55****	**1.22*****	**.60***
	(0.38)	**(0.64)**	**(0.55)**	**(0.24)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.34)**	**(0.24)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.32)**	**(0.24)**	**(0.29)**	**(0.33)**	**(0.24)**	**(0.21)**	**(0.35)**
Log likelihood	-240.6	-178.3	-114.8	-547.2	-606.9	-260.5	-624.4	-718.8	-340.7	-502.2	-602.2	-273.1	-560.5	-606.7	-279.8
N	447	528	249	438	528	246	461	534	253	461	524	248	457	532	251

Notes: * $p < .1$; ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$ for two-tailed test. All variables are coded 0-1. Controls: gender, educational attainment, marital status, first generation status, union membership, use of public assistance, perceived race of the interviewer, and parental attitudes toward politics.

73

As displayed, listening to rap music as a White youth results in a .66 unit decrease in the ordered log odds of choosing racial equality as the focus of Black women, all other variables in the model held constant. Put another way, listening to rap music is associated with only a 34% likelihood in believing that Black women should put racial political needs over gender needs. White respondents believe Black women should choose racial equality over gender equality as the primary socio-political focus. By choosing gender over race, White respondents appear to believe that gender politics may affect Black women more acutely than race politics. However, race remains a bigger predictor of lower health and wage disparities for Black women than gender does. Listening to rap music is associated with increased support of coalition building with other non-White communities amongst Black youth. For Black youth respondents, listening to rap music is associated with a .60 unit increase in the ordered log odds of supporting coalition building with other POC communities, all controls held constant. Put another way, listening to rap music is associated with a 65% likelihood of support in coalition building with other marginalized groups amongst Black respondents.

Although there were no significant results for those who do or do not support males being the primary breadwinner of the family, there were strong associations between listening to rap music amongst Black youth and the two final variables in the model, "govtbiginterests" and "Policediscriminate". Recall that the "govtbiginterests" variable attempts to gauge how beholden respondents are to the idea that the government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves and their friends. Black youth who listen to rap music are strongly associated with endorsement of the idea that the politicians that serve them and the nation at large are servants to themselves, their friends, and big interests. In fact, Black youth who listen to rap are two thirds more likely to be associated with support for this political attitude, compared to those who do not

74

listen to rap. As this variable assesses a component of neoliberalism, it is plausible that the finding may run counter to an extension of Spence's argument regarding increased neoliberalism in the content of rap music (2011).

Third, Black youth who listen to rap have a 77% likelihood to endorse the idea that Black youth are discriminated against by the police. While listenership amongst Black youth had the largest and most significant association with this attitude variable, the magnitude for Whites and Latino listenership were also large and comparable to that of Black youth. Listening to rap music is associated with strong support of the opinion that Black youth are more heavily discriminated against by the police for Whites, Blacks, and Latinos.

Watching Rap Music Programming

	RaceoverGender			CoalitionBuild			MaleBreadWinner			GovtBigInterests			Policediscriminate		
	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
Gender	-0.07	0.39	-0.04	0.13	-0.32*	0.48*	-0.75***	-0.39**	-0.82***	0.24	0.03	0.31	-0.02	0.10	0.32
	(0.28)	(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.25)
Education	0.02	0.01	0.08	-0.07	-0.09*	0.01	-0.03	0.00	0.01	0.22***	0.13***	0.19***	0.12	0.12***	0.11
	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Religion	0.10	0.39	-0.05	0.18	0.36	0.22	-1.15***	-0.67	-0.34	-0.89***	0.18	0.04	-0.97***	-0.21	-0.45
	(0.45)	(0.69)	(0.68)	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.41)	(0.28)	(0.32)	(0.39)	(0.29)	(0.34)	(0.42)	(0.30)	(0.34)	(0.42)
Marital	0.04	0.09	-0.31*	-0.04	0.02	-0.20*	-0.12	0.09	-0.17	-0.01	0.16	-0.05	-0.06	0.10	0.07
	(0.14)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Firstgen	0.16	-0.02	-0.98**	0.43	-0.05	0.25	0.09	0.58	0.11	0.42	0.04	0.03	-0.17	0.06	-0.31
	(0.43)	(0.54)	(0.43)	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.27)	(0.26)
Union	-0.19	0.15	-0.24	-0.15	0.20	-0.08	0.32	-0.09	0.05	0.43**	0.24	0.17	-0.37*	0.36	0.05
	(0.34)	(0.43)	(0.52)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.32)	(0.21)	(0.22)	(0.31)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.33)	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.33)
PublicAs	-0.16	-0.67**	-0.61	0.17	-0.07	-0.10	-0.39***	-0.50***	-0.03	0.22	-0.03	0.04	0.00	0.23	-0.36
	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.43)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.26)	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.26)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.27)
Raceiwer	0.09	0.01	0.35	0.04	-0.13	-0.24	0.16	-0.01	-0.20	-0.09	-0.16**	-0.02	0.04	-0.09	0.27
	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.25)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.19)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.17)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.18)
Parentpolattitudes	-0.15	-0.18	0.35	0.16	0.14	-0.08	0.29	0.41	0.00	-0.57**	0.17	-0.32	-0.18	0.29	-0.14
	(0.45)	0.47	(0.60)	(0.30)	(0.24)	(0.36)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.34)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.35)	(0.30)	(0.24)	(0.36)
Rapwatch	**0.17**	**0.05**	**0.08**	**0.13**	**0.40***	**0.47**	**-0.08**	**0.12**	**-0.75****	**-0.13**	**0.53****	**0.28**	**0.40**	**0.78***	**1.08***
	(0.44)	**(0.49)**	**(0.54)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.24)**	**(0.34)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.23)**	**(0.32)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.24)**	**(0.33)**	**(0.29)**	**(0.25)**	**(0.35)**
Log likelihood	-242.05	-178.80	-114.8	-547.20	-607.70	-259.50	-624.40	-718.80	-338.20	-502.20	-602.60	-272.70	-562.10	-610.40	-276.50
N	447	528	249	438	528	246	461	534	253	461	524	248	457	532	251

Notes: * p < .1; ** p < .05 *** p < .01 for two-tailed test. All variables are coded 0-1. Controls: gender, educational attainment, marital status, first generation status, union membership, use of public assistance, perceived race of the interviewer, and parental attitudes toward politics.

76

Watching rap music programming is strongly associated with many of the same political attitude variables as listenership amongst Black youth, albeit a bit diminished. For example, amongst Black youth, watching rap music programming is associated with increased support of coalition building for other POC groups. Amongst Black youth, rap music programming watching is also strongly associated with the endorsement of the view that the government is run by individuals beholden to big interests and their friends than the people they are to serve.

Finally, amongst Black youth, watching rap music programming is strongly associated with the idea that Black youth are acutely discriminated against at the hands of the police, albeit much less strongly than those who listened. Watching rap music programming is also strongly associated with thinking that Black youth are overwhelmingly discriminated against by the police more than their White youth counterparts.

What is fascinating about the association between viewership and thoughts regarding police discrimination analysis amongst rap programming watchers is that while watching is associated with diminished significance amongst White youth in comparison to listening to rap, the size of the effects are nearly comparable across all three racial groups.

There was another interesting association shown to be significant amongst Latinos for watching that hadn't appeared for listeners. While listenership amongst Latino youth is not significantly associated with support or disdain for the idea that males should be the main financial supporter of their respective families, watching rap music programming is associated with less support for the statement.

While the associations between rap consumption and the political attitudes shown were most significant amongst Black youth, the size of the effects were comparable across all racial groups.

TABLE 3.5: POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO LISTEN TO RAP MUSIC, 2005 (CONTINUED)

	RacePride			Gaymarriage			DiscAgainstYoungBlacks		
	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
Gender	0.07	0.14	0.07	-.74***	-.59***	-.47**	0.17	.28*	-0.07
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.26)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.17)	(0.17)	(0.24)
Education	-0.03	0.01	0.07	.09**	0.05	0.07	-0.02	-.01*	0.02
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Religion	.83***	0.29	0.21	-2.01***	-2.18***	-.75*	-.52*	.91***	0
	(0.30)	(0.35)	(0.43)	(0.29)	(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.28)	(0.33)	(0.39)
Marital	-.15*	0.03	-.21*	-.22***	-0.15	-.27**	.17*	0.06	-0.18
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Firstgen	-.54*	0.29	.45*	0.17	0.16	-0.14	0.03	-0.31	-0.33
	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.27)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Union	-0.3	-0.15	0.48	0.05	-0.11	0.27	-0.2	0.27	-0.13
	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.33)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.30)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.31)
PublicAs	-0.26	.37**	-0.31	-0.07	0.1	-0.34	0.11	0.23	0.24
	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.27)	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.24)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.25)
Raceiwer	0.03	-0.11	-0.08	0.05	0.12	-0.14	0.01	-0.01	-0.19
	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.19)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.17)
Parentpola ttitudes	0.14	.69***	0.21	0.3	0.23	0.43	-0.2	0.2	0.31
	(0.30)	(0.26)	(0.37)	(0.27)	(0.23)	(0.33)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.35)
Raplisten	**.-23**	**1.37*****	**-0.16**	**0.09**	**.66****	**0.34**	**.43***	**.90*****	**0.3**
	(0.26)	**(0.31)**	**(0.35)**	**(0.23)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.32)**	**(0.24)**	**(0.29)**	**(0.33)**
Log likelihood	-475	-531.5	-237.2	-673.6	-731.1	-366.2	-579.3	-642.3	-319.3
N	461	533	253	459	529	262	458	533	252

Notes: * p < .1; ** p < .05 *** p < .01 for two-tailed test. All variables are coded 0-1. Controls: gender, educational attainment, marital status, first generation status, union membership, use of public assistance, perceived race of the interviewer, and parental attitudes toward politics.

As previously mentioned in this chapter, I included three additional measures not included in the 1993 NBPS. I wanted to gauge how White, Black, and Latino youth were associated with their racial identity and the rights of other marginalized communities. For those who listen to rap music, only Blacks reported a strong connection to their racial identity. While listening amongst Whites and Latinos did not report a statistically significant connection,

listening amongst Black youth reported a very large association. Relative to non-listeners, listeners were 4 times as likely to indicate that they had strong racial pride.

Black youth listeners were also the only group to indicate support for gay marriage. Amongst Black youth, listening was strongly associated with support for gay marriage as those who do not listen. Considering the scholarly criticism discussed in Chapter 2 surrounding the potential negative impacts of rap music on ideas about traditional gender roles—and by implication gays and lesbians-- that may be misogynistic in nature, these results run counter to those expectations.

Finally, listening to rap is strongly associated with the idea that it's hard for Black youth to get ahead due to facing large amounts of discrimination amongst both Blacks and Whites. However, the effect sizes of the coefficients were comparable across all three racial groups. In fact, the effect sizes were comparable across all three racial groups with respect to the associations between listening to rap music and endorsing gay marriage and the idea that Black youth face discrimination in trying to progress in society.

	RacePride			Gaymarriage			DiscAgainstYoungBlacks		
	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
Gender	0.07	0.21	0.06	-0.74***	-0.53***	-0.48**	0.16	0.34**	-0.07
	(0.19)	(0.18)	(0.26)	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.17)	(0.24)
Education	-0.03	0.02	0.07	0.09	0.05	0.07	-0.01	0.00	0.02
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Religion	0.84***	0.22	0.23	-2.03***	-2.17***	-0.76***	-0.53***	0.85***	-0.01
	(0.30)	(0.34)	(0.43)	(0.29)	(0.34)	(0.40)	(0.28)	(0.34)	(0.39)
Marital	-0.15	0.02	-0.21*	-0.23***	-0.15	-0.24**	0.17*	0.05	-0.16
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Firstgen	-0.53**	0.24	0.45*	0.18	0.15	-0.15	0.02	-0.34	-0.34
	(0.28)	(0.28)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.24)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.24)
Union	-0.29	-0.09	0.47	0.05	-0.09	0.26	-0.20	0.31	-0.15
	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.33)	(0.20)	(0.22)	(0.30)	(0.20)	(0.23)	(0.31)
PublicAs	-0.26	0.34*	-0.31	-0.04	0.08	-0.37	0.13	0.20	0.21
	(0.22)	(0.18)	(0.27)	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.24)	(0.21)	(0.17)	(0.25)
Raceiwer	0.03	-0.11	-0.09	-0.09	0.13	-0.11	0.01	-0.01	-0.18
	(0.12)	(0.09)	(0.19)	(0.19)	(0.08)	(0.16)	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.17)
Parentpolattitudes	0.16	0.71***	0.21	0.21	0.24	0.40	-0.21	0.23	0.29
	(0.30)	(0.26)	(0.37)	(0.37)	(0.23)	(0.33)	(0.29)	(0.24)	(0.35)
Rapwatch	**-0.12**	**0.74***	-0.02**	**-0.18**	**0.07**	**0.47**	**0.15**	**0.57**	**0.43**
	(0.30)	**(0.26)**	**(0.35)**	**(0.27)**	**(0.23)**	**(0.31)**	**(0.28)**	**(0.24)**	**(0.32)**
Log likelihood	-475.3	-537.1	-237.3	-673.4	-734	-365.6	-580.8	-644.5	-318.8
N	461	533	253	459	529	262	458	533	252

Notes: * p < .1; ** p < .05 *** p < .01 for two-tailed test. All variables are coded 0-1.
I controlled for gender, educational attainment, marital status, first generation status, union membership, use of public assistance, perceived race of the interviewer, and parental attitudes toward politics.

Again, while the associations are a bit diminished amongst rap music programming watchers, for Blacks, watching rap music is associated with strong support of political attitudes gauging sympathy for other marginalized groups. Blacks were still the only racial group to register strong

associations to the variables gauging additional political attitudes regarding marginalized populations. For the additional variables included in the study, Black youth were the only racial group to show a significant association between watching rap music programming and racial pride and support of the idea that discrimination impedes young Blacks' societal progression. The association between listening to rap music and support for gay marriage seen in the previous table was not the case for rap programming watchers amongst Black respondents.

While watching rap programing is not associated with racial pride among Whites and Latinos, there was a significant and positive association amongst Black youth. Viewership amongst Black youth is associated with a .68 likelihood of holding a strong racial identity and pride as their racial counterparts who did not watch.

Viewership amongst Black youth is over two-thirds more likely to be associated with believing that it's hard for Black youth to get ahead due to the overwhelming amount of discrimination the group has to face in order to get ahead. Viewership is less strongly associated with the variables present when compared to associations between listening and said variables. However, rap consumption is significantly associated with many of the attitudinal variables amongst Black youth. The effect sizes for the gay marriage, racial pride, and discrimination against young Blacks were comparable across viewership amongst all three racial groups. However, viewership amongst Blacks was still more strongly associated with racial pride.

Political Participation and Rap Listenership

As demonstrated in the previous section, rap music consumption is strongly associated with select attitudinal variables that gauge thoughts on marginalized communities and feeling represented in the political process more broadly. In this section, I continue to use the Black

Youth Project survey to show relationships between rap listeners, rap programming watchers, and various conventional forms of political participation amongst White, Black, and Latino rap consumers. The political participation variables used (petitioning, protesting, contacting public officials, boycotting, and talking with friends and family about politics) are nearly identical to those used in the 1993-94 National Black Politics study. This makes for an ideal comparison between the two studies.

TABLES 3.7: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THOSE WHO LISTEN TO RAP MUSIC, 2005

	Petition			Protest			Contact			Boycott			Talkpolitics		
	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
Gender	-0.12	-0.07	0.29	0.24	-0.18	-0.70	-0.08	0.43	0.42	0.06	0.66	0.23	0.15	-0.09	0.33
	(0.21)	(0.25)	(0.34)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.52)	(0.25)	(0.35)	(0.50)	(0.41)	(0.57)	(0.81)	(0.27)	(0.20)	(0.29)
Education	0.00	0.13**	0.32**	-0.08	-0.11	0.13	0.10	0.12	0.31**	0.20**	-0.24	0.70	0.16**	0.11**	0.10
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.24)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.08)
Religion	0.10	-0.28	-0.36	-0.21	0.68	0.16	-0.03	-0.21	1.10	0.24	0.28	-	0.48	0.98	0.29
	(0.34)	(0.48)	(0.55)	(0.51)	(0.73)	(0.86)	(0.39)	(0.66)	(0.89)	(0.67)	(1.11)	-	(0.42)	(0.37)	(0.48)
Marital	-0.13	0.30**	-0.32*	-0.17	0.01	-0.33	0.03	0.16	0.11	-0.41*	0.14	-0.83	-0.08	0.04	0.11
	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.12)	(0.20)	(0.20)	(0.24)	(0.33)	(0.56)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Firstgen	0.72**	0.52	-0.58*	-0.18	-0.43	0.04	0.49	0.78*	-1.37***	1.00	0.38	0.41	0.98*	0.81**	-0.14
	(0.31)	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.55)	(0.62)	(0.50)	(0.35)	(0.45)	(0.53)	(0.50)	(0.79)	(0.83)	(0.56)	(0.38)	(0.29)
Union	0.47**	0.58	0.51**	0.54	0.35	0.45	0.04	0.60	0.89	0.73	1.01*	-0.04	0.57	0.29	0.47
	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.39)	(0.35)	(0.41)	(0.57)	(0.29)	(0.40)	(0.53)	(0.43)	(0.58)	(0.93)	(0.36)	(0.29)	(0.39)
PublicAs	-0.37	-0.26	0.15	0.26	0.06	0.01	0.33	0.01	-0.01	-0.15	-0.60	2.19**	-0.69***	-0.33	-0.52*
	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.35)	(0.37)	(0.33)	(0.51)	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.51)	(0.50)	(0.55)	(1.02)	(0.28)	(0.20)	(0.30)
Raceiwer	0.02	0.05	0.04	-0.25	-0.11	-0.22	0.10	-0.06	0.17	0.13	0.15	-0.40	0.09	-0.03	-0.30
	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.19)	(0.39)	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.34)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.71)	(0.17)	(0.10)	(0.21)
Parentpolattitudes	0.84***	0.98***	0.70	-0.14	0.48	0.79	0.25	0.27	1.16	0.70	-0.57	1.55	1.75***	1.19***	1.00***
	(0.37)	(0.39)	(0.52)	(0.52)	(0.50)	(0.76)	(0.41)	(0.50)	(0.84)	(0.77)	(0.73)	(1.28)	(0.38)	(0.28)	(0.40)
Raplisten	-0.06	0.66	-0.55	0.01	-0.63	-0.44	0.26	0.57	-1.08*	0.21	0.23	1.80**	-0.33	0.25	-0.46
	(0.28)	(0.47)	(0.45)	(0.44)	(0.51)	(0.65)	(0.33)	(0.68)	(0.64)	(0.56)	(1.03)	(1.36)	(0.36)	(0.33)	(0.40)
Constant	-1.43***	-3.53***	-1.36	-1.51*	-2.48	-1.98	-2.38***	-3.87***	-4.34***	-3.96***	-4.19***	-7.13***	-0.07	-1.05*	0.61
	(0.54)	(0.79)	(0.86)	(0.86)	(1.04)	(1.35)	(0.60)	(1.11)	(1.41)	(1.12)	(1.62)	(2.56)	(0.61)	(0.58)	(0.75)
Log likelihood	-272.3	-222.7	-114.2	-146.8	-145.9	-63.8	-216.3	-131.9	-62.1	-96.3	-64	-27.8	-182.1	-305.5	-146.3
N	463	533	253	463	534	253	462	533	252	462	534	254	463	534	253

Notes: * p < .1; ** p < .05 *** p < .01 for two-tailed test. All variables are coded 0-1.
Controls: gender, educational attainment, marital status, first generation status, union membership, use of public assistance, perceived race of the interviewer, and parental attitudes toward politics.

As shown in Table 3.7, listening to rap music is not associated with petitioning, protesting, or talking about politics with friends and family (irrespective of racial group). However, amongst Latinos, listening to rap music is strongly associated with both boycotting and a reduction in contacting public officials. This runs counter to my hypothesis, as I expected null results for both Latinos and Whites on the participation variables.

The listenership amongst Latinos is associated with a .25 reduction to contact public officials than their racial counterparts who did not. Again, the effects for listening amongst Blacks and Whites were not reported to be a significant association with this variable.

Listening amongst Latino youth is shown to have a very large, significant association with boycotting. Although several cases were lost due to the omission of two controls (due to perfect predictability), Latino listeners were six times more likely to boycott goods in response to a political disagreement with the manufacturer than their racial counterparts who did not listen to rap music.

TABLE 3.8: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THOSE WHO WATCH RAP MUSIC PROGRAMMING

	Petition			Protest			Contact			Boycott			Talkpolitics		
	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
Gender	-0.12	-0.01	0.26	0.24	-0.20	-0.70	-0.09	0.51	0.38	0.05	0.74	0.29	0.15	-0.07	0.31
	(0.21)	(0.25)	(0.34)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.52)	(0.25)	(0.35)	(0.49)	(0.41)	(0.57)	(0.79)	(0.27)	(0.20)	(0.29)
Education	0.00	0.13**	0.32***	-0.08	-0.12	0.13	0.10	0.11	0.31**	0.20**	-0.26	0.66***	0.14**	0.12**	0.11
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.13)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.23)	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.08)
Religion	0.09	-0.29	-0.31	-0.21	0.76	0.19	-0.06	-0.18	1.22	0.22	0.31	-	0.48	0.97***	0.32
	(0.34)	(0.47)	(0.54)	(0.51)	(0.74)	(0.85)	(0.39)	(0.66)	(0.88)	(0.66)	(1.12)	-	(0.42)	(0.37)	(0.48)
Marital	-0.13	0.30**	-0.34**	-0.17	0.02	-0.36	0.01	0.16	0.07	-0.42*	0.16	-0.74	-0.09	0.03	0.10
	(0.11)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.27)	(0.12)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.24)	(0.33)	(0.54)	(0.14)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Firstgen	0.73**	0.49	-0.57*	-0.16	-0.40	0.06	0.54	0.79	-1.36***	1.01**	0.41	0.38	1.00**	0.80**	-0.14
	(0.31)	(0.35)	(0.34)	(0.56)	(0.62)	(0.51)	(0.35)	(0.46)	(0.53)	(0.51)	(0.79)	(0.82)	(0.55)	(0.38)	(0.29)
Union	0.47**	0.59**	0.49	0.53	0.29	0.50	0.02	0.58	0.95	0.72*	0.97	0.01	0.57	0.31	0.45
	(0.24)	(0.29)	(0.39)	(0.35)	(0.41)	(0.57)	(0.29)	(0.41)	(0.53)	(0.43)	(0.59)	(0.93)	(0.36)	(0.29)	(0.39)
PublicAs	-0.35	-0.28	0.14	0.29	0.07	0.05	0.40	0.00	0.05	-0.15	-0.60	2.10**	-0.67**	-0.34*	-0.54*
	(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.35)	(0.37)	(0.33)	(0.51)	(0.28)	(0.35)	(0.51)	(0.50)	(0.55)	(0.99)	(0.29)	(0.20)	(0.30)
Raceiwer	0.02	0.05	0.03	-0.26	-0.11	-0.24	0.09	-0.05	0.12	0.12	0.16	-0.38	0.08	-0.03	-0.32
	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.19)	(0.37)	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.32)	(0.23)	(0.19)	(0.67)	(0.17)	(0.10)	(0.21)
Parentpolattitudes	0.86**	0.97***	0.71	-0.12	0.45	0.86	0.31	0.25	1.22	0.69	-0.53	1.47	1.80***	1.20	1.00**
	(0.37)	(0.38)	(0.51)	(0.52)	(0.50)	(0.76)	(0.41)	(0.50)	(0.83)	(0.77)	(0.73)	(1.30) 0	(0.39)	(0.28)	(0.40)
Rapwatch	**-0.23**	**0.06**	**-0.31**	**-0.22**	**-0.69**	**-0.80**	**-0.84****	**-0.39**	**-1.13***	**-0.01**	**-0.62**	**0.89**	**-0.43**	**0.15**	**-0.12**
	(0.34)	**(0.35)**	**(0.45)**	**(0.53)**	**(0.46)**	**(0.70)**	**(0.42)**	**(0.49)**	**(0.69)**	**(0.64)**	**(0.75)**	**(1.00)**	**(0.42)**	**(0.29)**	**(0.38)**
Constant	-1.41***	-3.00***	-1.56*	-1.44*	-2.64***	-1.98	-1.97***	-3.21***	-4.58***	-3.82***	-3.77***	-6.22***	-0.12	-0.93*	0.39
	(0.51)	(0.70)	(0.84)	(0.84)	(1.00)	-(1.30)	(0.57)	(0.96)	(1.39)	(1.07)	(1.46)	(2.30)	(0.58)	(0.54)	(0.73)
Log likelihood	-272.1	-223.7	-114.7	-136.7	-145.6	-63.4	-214.5	-131.9	-62.1	-96.3	-63.7	-28.5	-181.9	-305.6	-146.9
N	463	533	253	463	534	253	462	533	252	462	534	254	463	534	253

Notes: * p < .1; ** p < .05 *** p < .01 for two-tailed test. All variables are coded 0-1.
Controls: gender, educational attainment, marital status, first generation status, union membership, use of public assistance, perceived race of the interviewer, and parental attitudes toward politics.

Much like Table 3.7, Table 3.8 showed no significant associations between the rap watchers and the majority (three) of the conventional forms of political participation analyzed. The large association recorded between rap listenership and boycotting amongst Latinos faded when analyzing rap viewership. In fact, rap music programming viewership amongst Latinos is significantly associated with only one variable- contacting public officials. Latino youth who watch rap music programming were less likely to contact public officials than those who listened.

White youth viewers were linked to a strong association with contacting public officials as well. Watching rap music programming were .30 less likely to be associated with contacting public officials amongst White youth when compared to their racial counterparts who did not watch.

Discussion

The analyses showed some interesting associations between White, Black, and Latino youth rap music consumption and support of various political attitudes affecting marginalized communities. Overall, both listening to and viewing rap oriented programming are much more strongly associated with political attitudes variables among Black youth respondents than Whites or Latinos. For Latinos, rap consumption appeared more strongly associated with some of the political participation variables. Rap consumption amongst White youth was not significant associated with political participation.

Below, I take a closer look at how the types of rap music consumption are associated with various attitudes and forms of participation for each racial group.

86

Unlike for Blacks and Latinos, listening or watching rap music programming were not significantly associated with political attitudes in support of marginalized communities for White youth, no matter their participation in either form of rap music consumption. In fact, White youth only showed a significant correlation with one of the eight political attitude variables used. The one statistically significant correlation for rap consumption amongst White youth showed more support for Black women fighting for gender equality over racial equality. For White youth, the effects of rap music consumption were not associated with any of the other political attitude variables. However, the effect size of the variables was nearly comparable across all racial groups, particularly for the variables detailing discrimination against Blacks. With respect to the political participation variables analyzed, viewership amongst White youth is associated with less contact to public officials.

On the other hand, rap consumption for Black youth showed large and significant associations with seven of the nine political attitude variables analyzed: the largest showing of any of the three racial groups investigated. Moreover, the results were statistically significant (on all seven variables) in one or both categories of rap consumption: listening and viewing (albeit the effects were marginally diminished for watching rap music programming). Listening to rap music and/or watching rap music programming amongst Blacks is associated with overwhelming ($p <.05$) support of six variables: building coalitions with other POC groups, thinking that that government is run by big interests, believing that police discriminate much more against Black youth than their White counterparts, having a strong attachment to and pride toward their racial group, and supporting the thought that Black youth have a hard road getting ahead due to

the overwhelming amount of discrimination they face. In addition, listening to rap music is associated with statistically significant support of gay marriage amongst Black youth.

However, amongst Black youth, consumption was not shown to be associated with any of the five conventional political participation variables and traditional forms of protest participation, including those that were shown to be significant in 1993. As previously mentioned, rap of 1993 was explicit in its mentioning of dissident forms of political participation while the rap of 2005 focused more on implicit mentions of attitudes.

Consumption amongst Latinos, on the other hand, showed strong associative support for two of the five participation variables. = Latino youth who listened to rap music were correlated with contacting public officials less than those who do not. Listening was also correlated with a .89 increase in the correlation with boycotting amongst Latinos.

Conclusion

This chapter brought about some significant findings. I find that rap consumption amongst Black youth (the primary racial group of interest) is associated the most (and often the strongest) with the political attitudes that cite institutional discrimination against marginalized groups. Consumption amongst Latinos was second. Consumption amongst Whites were correlated the least. The correlations between rap consumption and political attitudes sympathetic to groups discriminated against are strong and clear for Black youth. This is different than the other two groups analyzed, even when interacting the racial groups with the political attitudes. The associations were stronger for those who listen to rap than those who watch. However, the effect sizes tended to be comparable

across the three racial groups with respect to support of the political attitudes of interest, particularly discrimination amongst Black via the police and society.

However, with respect to supporting both conventional and unconventional forms of political participation, the effects for rap consumption amongst Black youth were generally insignificant. The effects for rap consumption amongst Black youth were not associated with any of the participation variables listed. However, this comes as no surprise. While many lyrical mentions of various political attitudes were present (this will be discussed more in Chapter 5), the political barometer of lyrics encouraging such conventional forms of political participation was low for music of the early 2000s (Spence 2011) and we see an association between the low amount of lyrical mentions regarding participation in 2005 and low levels of participation amongst the Black respondents of the BYP survey. While some rappers' speeches and projects outside of their songs were political, several of the most popular rappers of the time according to the Billboard charts (50 Cent and the Game, for example), rarely expressed the importance of voting, contacting public officials, boycotting, or discussing politics in any of their lyrics. It is a possibility that if such declarations are not explicit in song lyrics, their effects may be weakened. I will explain further in Chapter 5.

Although not present for Black youth, consumption of rap music amongst Latino youth was associated with three forms of participation. Among the associations shown to be significant, rap consumption amongst Latinos is associated with a decrease in the likelihood that one would contact public officials. However, consumption amongst Latinos was also associated with an increase in probability of boycotting. This is particularly interesting, as Black youth of 1993 reported similar associations. We might

be noticing a few things here; a divergence in the consumption of certain types of rap music, and a new wave of Latino youth rebellion in the face of more political rap music from Latino rappers. This will be discussed more in Chapter 5.

Meanwhile, rap consumption amongst Whites is usually not significantly associated with any of the variables reviewed with respect to political attitudes or participation. The evidence in the chapter lends support to the work of scholars such as Jeff Chang, Bakari Kitwana, and Tricia Rose who theorize that Black youth identify with popular American rap music more than any other racial group in the United States.

We see several strong associations between the effects of rap consumption amongst Black youth political attitudes and rap music consumption in both 1993 and 2004. In Chapter 4, I will discuss political elites' views of the current relationship between Black youth and rap music. Through the content analyses of telephone interviews with Black leaders who both respect rap music and seek to mobilize Black youth, I will explore the themes present in their thoughts of rap music and its ability to politically engage Black youth.

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CHAPTER 4: "Read More, Learn More, Change the Globe":
Black Leaders' Perceptions of Black Youth Hip-Hop Consumption and Political Action

"When you know, we been hurt, been down before…nigga
When my pride was low, lookin' at the world like, 'where do we go… nigga?'
And we hate po-po, wanna kill us dead in the street for sure… nigga
I'm at the preacher's door
My knees gettin' weak and my gun might blow but we gon' be alright!"
-Kendrick Lamar, "Alright" (2015)

Introduction

Chapter 3 gave the sociopolitical context surrounding Black youth in the early 2000s up until 2005. Since 2005, the United States has witnessed several highly publicized political demonstrations concerning racial discrimination. In 2006, six Black teenagers (known as the Jena 6) were arrested for beating up a White student in reaction to mounting racial tensions in the community. According to Sims (2009), the White students usually sat under the tree to eat lunch at Jena High School; Blacks generally sat on the bleachers and ate lunch. One day, a few Blacks sat under the tree. The next day, the Black students were faced with nooses hanging from the tree. Incensed, they staged protests around the tree site. When one of the six Black teenaged men overheard a White male student allude to hanging the nooses, the White male was beaten and suffered a concussion. The six Black teenagers (known as the Jena 6) received hefty sentencing and the White student did not. This was a rallying cry for Black youth. By some accounts, over 20,000 people (primarily young adult African-Americans) from all over the country came to Jena, Louisiana on September 20th, 2006 to protest the alleged unjust sentencing of the six young

93

men. It was one of the largest demonstrations in years. According to Sims, "Sharpton, Jackson, and King led an estimated 20,000 protesters through the streets of Jena. Protesters came from all over the country for the march. Ki-Afi Moyo, organizer of the Dallas-based Internet community 'Tx Supports Jena Six,' described the protest as a rebirth of the civil rights movement." Racial tensions were high. However, Black frustration was not met without promise; the audacity to hope for a better tomorrow.

On February 10, 2007, many Black citizens rejoiced when Barack Obama announced his candidacy for president. He led an extensive campaign complete with innovative ways to reach traditionally low-participatory groups (such as initiating $5 cell phone donations). The hope was to include low-wage citizens in monetary forms of civic engagement. He called on several hip-hop artists to support his candidacy by persuading (Black) youth to come out and vote in the 2008 presidential election.

> "A small part of the reason the President is Black/
> I told him I got him when he hit me on the jack."
> - Shawn "Jay-Z" Carter, "What We Talkin' About" (2009)

Many mainstream rappers, like Jay-Z, went to Black Entertainment Television (BET), urban radio stations, and recording studios in order to vocalize their support for then-Senator Obama. As Mark Anthony Neal noted in an NPR interview (November 7th 2008),

"Rappers like Lil Wayne, Young Jeezy, Jay-Z and Nas rallied their fans behind President-elect Barack Obama's campaign. And like their hip-hop forefathers, the kings and queens of rap preached about social justice, the economy and the power of democracy… Suddenly, recording artists don't have to go the traditional routes to get out their messages," Neal says. "They don't have to go through the traditional label structure. And if there's something they want to respond to in real time, they can do so via this new technology."

Black youth came out in significant numbers, and Barack Obama became the 44th President of the United States (Census Bureau 2009). The historic moment of electing the first

biracial Black man into the White House had some political pundits claim that the United States was a "post- racial society"; that the election of Obama somehow ushered American citizens to a point beyond where race mattered. Much to the contrary, racialized murders and police brutality have received increased media attention during President Obama's tenure.

In February of 2012, Trayvon Martin, a 17-year old returning to his father's home in a suburban Floridian community was beaten, shot, and killed by Zimmerman, a voluntary community watcher. His death sparked outrage. Nationally, racial tensions were high.

"African Americans express a clear and strong reaction to the case and its meaning: By an 86% to 5% margin, blacks are dissatisfied with Zimmerman's acquittal in the death of Trayvon Martin. And nearly eight-in-ten blacks (78%) say the case raises important issues about race that need to be discussed. Among whites, more are satisfied (49%) than dissatisfied (30%) with the outcome of the Zimmerman trial. Just 28% of whites say the case raises important issues about race, while twice as many (60%) say the issue of race is getting more attention than it deserves."- Pew Research Center, July 2013

As the July 2013 Pew Research Center poll suggests, many African-Americans felt Martin's death was based on predatory racial prejudice while a significant portion of Whites polled felt the death, while unfortunate, was not based on prejudice. In 2013, Zimmerman was acquitted of murder charges stemming from the incident.

As a response to this verdict, Alicia Garza and two other Black women started #BlackLivesMatter. What began as a hashtag on Twitter became a public rallying cry against the implicit and explicit injustices involving Black citizens. By engaging social media platforms, many citizens (particularly Black youth and allies) have used the hashtag as an organizing tool. As described by Brock (2012), the term "Black Twitter" is used to describe tweets that Black young adults create to highlight racial and cultural issues. Black Twitter has been very responsive to #BlackLivesMatter (Jones 2013). As a result, the past two years have seen several

demonstrations against police brutality including protests following the police killings of Eric Garner, Michael Brown, Rekia Boyd, and many other unarmed Black men and women.

Reactions from the hip-hop artist community have been mixed. Some artists, such as J. Cole (2014) and Kendrick Lamar (2015), have used their community work and music to explicitly voice their concerns surrounding police brutality and racial tension. Others have quietly supported some demonstrations. For example, according to writer-activist Dream Hampton, Shawn "Jay-Z" Carter and his wife, Beyoncé, paid the bail money for Baltimore protestors and have fostered a relationship with the parents of Trayvon Martin. As Baird notes in his article, "Why So Many Rappers Have Been Silent About #BlackLivesMatter", others have been surprisingly quiet. Baird goes on to argue that the process of becoming wealthy, famous cultural heroes has stifled the political agency of rappers. Unlike the earlier days of rap music, rappers have wider fan bases, including a large group of White youth who may not carry the same ideological sentiments regarding issues of race. In order to appease both the needs of major music companies who want well-balanced, well-liked rappers, many high profile rappers have become uncomfortably silent on political issues, particularly in their lyrics. The three Black leaders whom I interviewed for this chapter expressed the same sentiment.

In this chapter, I interviewed three Black leaders who have mobilized thousands of Black youth. This chapter is different from the previous two chapters. In Chapter 2, the evidence suggests that rap music consumption was strongly associated with attitudes sympathetic to marginalized groups and dissent participation (namely protests, marching, and petitioning). The evidence of Chapter 3 suggests that the e rap consumption in 2005 was still strongly associated with attitudes sympathetic to marginalized groups, but no associations were found between the effects of rap consumption and political action were present. Both surveys used in Chapters 2

and 3 helped to answer important questions surrounding the rap consumption of Black youth and their political beliefs and behavior, but were not able to answer why Black youth consume rap music as a source of political information or even if there are more effective tools to mobilize youth. Finally, the surveys gauge the political behavior of the mobilized. What the data is not able to do is assess the mobilizers themselves. Mobilization is a two way street. Often, Black youth are mobilized by activists who seek to find effective means of politically engaging the group. Given the limitations of the literature regarding Black political socialization and dated survey research with respect to understanding the mechanisms by which Black youth get engaged in politics, I found it imperative to speak with Black leaders who have a solid track record in engaging Black youth into politics. From the interviews, I hope to develop a better understanding of the processes by which Black youth are currently mobilized.

Given the nature of popular rap music and the heightened racial tensions felt by Black youth, what is the current relationship between rap music artists and their ability to potentially impact the political behavior of Black youth? Considering all that has affected the political landscape in the past ten years (President Obama in office, criticism of the hip hop elite in light of Ferguson, and continued mass protest movements fighting racial inequality, for example), what can we make of the current political attitudes and actions of Black youth? In what ways have contemporary Black leaders witnessed Black youth gather political information and participate in political action? How do Black youth leaders view hip-hop, particularly with respect to its ability to engage Black youth in politics? As Cathy Cohen noted in her latest book, *Democracy Remixed: Black Youth and the Future of American Politics* (2010), we, as scholars, should begin to pay more attention to processes by which Black teens acquire and act on political information. As Cohen notes, knowledge of these processes "may yield more significant insights

into the nature of Black politics in the twenty-first century." In this chapter, I seek to find out more about how black youth acquire political information, how it makes them feel, and what they do with it. In Chapters 2 and 3, I have shown that rap consumption is associated with political attitudes and some measures of participation amongst Black youth. I focus on hip-hop in this chapter as a vehicle of political mobilization.

Several scholars have theorized about the relationship between Black youth and hip-hop. While those theories have centered on the differing political attitudes of those who listen to rap music (more sympathetic to Black Nationalism, more misogynistic, and more "conscious", for example) (Dawson 2001; Harris-Lacewell 2004; Johnson, Adams, Reed, and Ashburn 1995), few have tested the claims using empirical evidence. Those who have tested these claims (Dawson 2001; Harris-Lacewell 2004) have primarily done so using survey research and, to a much lesser extent, focus groups. There has not yet been a scholar who has asked the Black leaders (who serve Black youth) what their assessments are regarding the intersections of hip-hop, politics, and its consumers.

Hanes Walton (1984; 2005) pioneered the theory that Black citizens engage alternative political socialization tools than Whites. While Walton considers Black music, Black churches, Black political organizations, and Black media to be powerful socializing tools for Blacks, few have empirically tested this proposition. Harris-Lacewell undertook an ethnographic study of Black barbershops and churches as alternate safe spaces for political expression. However, barbershops and churches were filled with members of the entire Black community—they were not focused on Black youth. While Harris-Lacewell conducted focus groups comprised of Black teens, the groups were small and the questions were not focused on the process by which hip-hop can mobilize the Black youth into political action.

The Harris-Lacewell study was also completed over 10 years ago. I ask in what ways do these counter-socializing tools assist today's Black youth in acquiring political knowledge? There has not been a comprehensive study on the political attitudes and cultural consumption of Black youth since the Black Youth Project study, completed in 2005. My study seeks to extend the National Black Politics Study and Black Youth Project Data by asking similar questions from a qualitative perspective.

The Black leaders interviewed in this chapter mobilize hundreds (even thousands) of Black youth on a regular basis. In the absence of being able to get such rich qualitative data from a high number of youth; I consider the Black leaders interviewed as trusted sources in the mobilization of the thoughts and actions of Black youth. After all, they have used several mobilization techniques to politicize Black youth and have been successful in several. I go to them seeking answers to questions regarding mobilization techniques used to attract Black youth. If rap music (and hip-hop culture more broadly) is one of those techniques, I would like to better understand how mobilizers use the elements of hip-hop to mobilize Black youth to effect political change.

Through qualitative analyses, I analyze hip-hop and its political impact on Black youth in this chapter. Chapters 2 and 3 primarily rely on cross-sectional survey data. This portion of my dissertation interviews Black leaders of several multiethnic youth organizations across the United States about their views of rap music (and hip hop culture more broadly) and its relationship to Black youth and politics. Qualitative analyses are thought to complement quantitative social projects by filling in gaps that survey methodology finds difficult (Lin, 1998; Rubin and Rubin, 1995).

Methodology

This section describes how I recruited the sample of Black leaders and the measures taken to place the words of the interviews into themes.

As mentioned in the introduction, the past two years have been laden by several local and national political protests, boycotts, and demonstrations following highly controversial murder cases involving suspected police brutality and unarmed (and often young) Black men and women. As a result, several leaders have emerged and heightened their attention to Black youth. I began the quest of finding potential interviewees through a five-step process: (1) by researching several news sources (CNN, MSNBC, Huffington Post: Black Voices, and The Grio) or personal contacts for the names and affiliate organizations of those Black leaders who nurture Black youth political action, (2) researching those organizations and leaders, (3) discovering which of the leaders interviewed by news sources currently work directly with current Black youth, (4) discovering which of those interviewed have spoken about hip-hop and politics, and finally (5) contacting those leaders for an interview with them or a fellow counterpart.

In order to ensure that I was gathering people who fit the aforementioned parameters, I engaged in purposeful sampling. Purposeful sampling, as described by Means-Coleman (2000) is a sampling method by which the researcher selects respondents who fit certain criteria. This is done in order to take a closer look at topics that may emerge within those criteria. While some researchers (primarily those from the positivist approach, which prefers scientific evidence, such as manipulating the subjects themselves in order to reveal the true nature of social behavior) may consider purposeful sampling a biased form of study, proponents such as Lauden (1996) often laud the sampling technique for the richness of the responses.

Subject Selection Process

I gathered the names of more than enough interviewees[13] (12) in order to ensure that I was able to secure the 3-5 desired. Given the busy schedules of the leaders, I contacted the potential subjects by email or in person. All of those contacted in person were introduced to me at "What the Bleep- Detroit" workshop by one of my interviewees, William Copeland.[14] For those contacted via email, I sent a follow-up email or phone call one week later if no response was received. In the email, I identified myself as a Ph.D. student activist who was interested in the connections between rap music consumption and the political actions of Black youth. I explained to them that I was interested in speaking to them about their work in that context. While four of my potential subjects did not respond, the other 8 did. Of the 8 who did respond, six responded in the affirmative after the initial email. The other two responded after the follow up contact. None of them asked more specifics about the study, and many were enthusiastic about the interview. Shamako Noble exclaimed, "I would be honored to do so."

The interviews were scheduled from late March until late May. The first three interviews scheduled are included in this chapter. The other potential interviewees will be reserved for a future project.

Of the three interviews included in this chapter, 2 are male and 1 is female, all are African-American, and 1 is self-identified LGBTQ. Moss is 44 years old; Garza is 34 years old; and Noble is 35 years old.

Interviewees

This chapter is based on three of the interviews I conducted in March- May 2015. In this section, I will introduce the three interviewed Black leaders who work with Black youth below.

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[13] The words "interviewees" and "subjects" are used interchangeably in this chapter
[14] As an aside, his interview is to be included in a more expansive future study discussed in Chapter 5.

Reverend Dr. Otis Moss III, Senior Pastor of Trinity United Church of Christ

Reverend Dr. Otis Moss III is the Senior Pastor of Trinity United Church of Christ in Chicago, Illinois. Before coming to Trinity, Moss served as the pastor of Tabernacle Baptists Church in Augusta, GA. He is thought to be responsible for increasing Tabernacle's membership from under 200 members to over 2,000 (comprised mostly of Black youth without a former church home). Moss then transitioned to Trinity.

Trinity UCC is a place of worship on the South Side of Chicago and has a 7,000+ member congregation. With its motto as "Unashamedly Black, Unapologetically Christian", Trinity UCC prides itself on cultivating strong sentiments of Black identity as it holds Christianity as a religion whose birthplace is in Africa. Trinity UCC has received both public acclaim and backlash during the 2008 presidential election for its role as President Obama's church for nearly 20 years. The church has strong ties to social justice of many forms and regularly promotes conventional and counter-socializing practices to politically engage its membership. Pastor Otis Moss III has been the Senior Pastor for 7 years (following the transition of Reverend Dr. Jeremiah Wright, Jr. to Pastor Emeritus). Under the leadership of Pastor Moss III, the church has a renewed focus on Black youth. It has a school (Kwame Nkrumah Academy), several youth led ministries, and is in the process of creating a self-sufficient neighborhood. Co-author of *The Gospel Remix: Reaching the Hip Hop Generation*, Pastor Otis Moss III regularly engages youth culture to connect to the Black youth of his congregation and wider community.

Alicia Garza, Co-Founder of #BlackLivesMatter

As co-founder of the Black Lives Matter movement, Alicia Garza uses various forms of social media (Tumblr, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram) to connect to Black youth and allies. Now a global phenomenon, #BLM was born in 2013 as a result of the controversial not-guilty verdict of Trayvon Martin's killer (George Zimmerman). The purpose was to increase awareness of violence against Black teens and adults and to promote alternate forms of political expression outlets: organizing meetings, protests, and boycotts. Driven primarily by young Black adults, #BLM now has formal chapters in over twenty cities across the country. In addition, Garza is a staunch advocate of lifting up the voices of vulnerable sub-communities within POC communities that are victims of secondary marginalization[15] (especially LGBTQ teens of color). Her work at National Domestic Workers Alliance supports and advocates the needs of domestic workers. She is often invited on mainstream news networks to discuss the role that #BlackLivesMatter has in shaping the social movement against police brutality and racism.

Shamako Noble, Co-Founder and Director of Hip-Hop Congress

Shamako Noble was instrumental in founding Hip-Hop Congress, an organization aimed at using alternate means of expression (spoken word, the four elements of hip-hop, and various styles of dance and art) to politically organize and mobilize young adults on college campuses across the country. Its aim is also to assist political rap artists in attaining a larger fan base. To date, there are over 20 chapters on college campuses, including one at the University of Michigan. Noble travels all over the country delivering talks and workshops on the intersections between hip-hop culture and American politics. Currently, he is initiating and promoting a "What the Bleep" series of workshops. These three-day workshops are designed to engage

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[15] Secondary marginalization is a term coined by Cathy Cohen (1999) defined as the reproduction of systems of privilege and punishment within a marginalized community to its most vulnerable members.

communities (comprised primarily of marginalized groups) on the dangerous role that corporations play in developing hip-hop artists and the mainstream hip-hop industry. He works with partners in many different community organizations that seek to aid the political socialization of American youth.

Interview Approach and Format

I sought to ground the results generated from the interviews into a testable theory. Grounded theory is a method used to develop a theory from data that is "systematically gathered and analyzed" (Strauss & Corbin 1994). In the interview, I asked eight questions that will be analyzed from a grounded theory perspective. A grounded theory, in this study, aims to better define the relationship between hip-hop culture, politics, and Black youth attitudes and participation. (See Appendix A: Interview Questionnaire). The questions touched upon Black leaders' views of Black youth political attitudes and participation, hip-hop as a mobilizing tool, the trusted sources of Black youth, and the ways in which their respective organizations have outreached in order to successfully mobilize Black youth. I also asked the leaders about their personal relationships with hip-hop culture. I placed words and phrases used by the leaders into various coding themes described in the succeeding section below.

All of the interviews were conducted via phone at the convenience of the subject. Before beginning the interviews, I continued building the rapport initiated either in person or via email. I began by thanking them for taking the time to be interviewed by me and conveyed my fascination with their work. I also informed them that, due to the nature of the interviewing process, I would speak as little as possible so as not to prime them with information. I informed them of the IRB exemption and, if necessary, they could decline any question or stop the

interview if they felt uncomfortable. I informed them that I would be recording the responses via tape recorder and taking notes by hand and asked them if this was okay. They all responded in the affirmative. Finally, I asked them if I could use their names in the write up. Again, they all responded in the affirmative.

At the conclusion of the interview, I thanked them for their time and asked them if I could reach out in the future. All of them responded positively. I offered a copy of my finished dissertation as my way of saying "thank-you". Once the interviews were concluded, the recorded interviews were transcribed by a third party source. Details regarding the questions asked in the interviews, the Human Research Subjects explanation, IRB Consent Form are found in the Appendices.

Coding Themes[16]

There are several themes in which I coded the responses of the interviewees. The eight themes described below center on the broad relationship between hip-hop and politics, perceptions of hip-hop culture and its artists, and the thoughts and actions of the Black youth. The specific coding themes and their accompanying sub-themes are as follows:

Hip-Hop as a Business: mentions of hip-hop as an industry

- *Positive:* positive references to hip-hop as an industry or its sociopolitical impact on listeners or the music

- *Negative:* negative references to hip-hop as an industry or its sociopolitical impact on listeners or the music

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[16] "Coding themes" and "themes" are used interchangeably.

Hip-Hop and Politics: mentions of hip-hop's impact on and intersection with the political process, civic engagement, or the development of political attitudes

- *General:* general mentions regarding the relationship between hip-hop culture and politics

- *New School:* all references to "new school" hip-hop, here defined as hip-hop music and artists from 1998 to present. The references were coded as either positive or negative, as most mentions were polarized

- *Old School:* all references to "old school" hip-hop, here defined as hip-hop from 1977 to 1997. The references were coded as either positive or negative, as most mentions were polarized

- *Hip-Hop as a Form of Identity Politics*: explicit mentions of hip-hop mirroring or being relatable to the racial and intersectional identities of its Black youth listeners

Youth Influences:

- *Conventional*: political socializing agents as defined by standard political socialization literature discussed in Chapter 3. These include: school, religion, family, and peers.

- *Counter-Socialization*: references to political socializing agents used. Walton (1985) defines counter-socializing agents for African-Americans. These include: the Black church, the Black family, music, media, alternate forms of education outside of the public education system, and Black social and organizational networks

  o Hip-Hop Artists as Trusted Sources

    ▪ Positive: references in which the hip-hop artist is trusted with respect to delivering political information and leads to positive outcomes with respect to political attitudes and participation

106

- Negative: mentions in which the hip-hop artist is either less trusted or s/he leads Black youth to negative outcomes with respect to political attitudes and participation
  - o Musical Artists as Trusted Sources: mentions in which musical artists are trusted sources of political information

Youth Political Action:

- *Youth Attitudes*: mentions of explicit political attitudes of Black youth, as heard from youth by any one of the Black leaders interviewed

- *Youth Participation*: mentions of explicit political actions demonstrated by Black youth, as witnessed by any one of the Black leaders interviewed

Methods of Youth Outreach:

- *Elements of Hip-Hop*: the four elements of hip-hop as defined by Afrika Bambataa[17]

  - o DJing: references to using technology and/or production as an outreach tool

  - o MCing: references to using a rapper or masters of ceremonies

  - o Graffiti/Visual Art: references to visual artistry

  - o Dancing: references to various dance forms used in outreach

- *General*: other methods to reach Black youth not defined by the elements of hip-hop

Political Attitudes:

- *Conventional*: references to the standard ways in which we develop our political attitudes. These include: school, church, family, peers, gender. Mentions here categorized as either positive or negative

- *Counter-Socialization*: references to Black-specific political socializing agents used in

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[17] Afrika Bambataa is a pioneer of rap music. He was the first to define the four elements of hip-hop.

the development of political attitudes. Walton considers such agents to be tools of political socialization for African-Americans. These include: the Black church, the Black family, music, media, alternate forms of education outside of the public education system, and Black social and organizational networks

- *Toward a Political Process*: explicit references to Black youth and leaders mentioning either conventional or counter-socializing agents with respect to the development of a specific set of political attitudes

  o Positive: positive references are those in which Black youth connect with a political leader or are receptive to a counter-socializing agent used for a specific political cause

  o Negative: negative references are those in which Black youth do not feel connected to political leaders or the political process

Political Participation:

- *Conventional*: references to conventional ways to be civically engaged: lobby groups, voting, forming civic engagement organizations

- *Counter-Socialization*: references to participation outside of the conventional ways. These are protest political organizing tools used in the development of civic engagement. These include political participation in the Black church, the Black family, music, media, alternate forms of education outside of the public education system, and Black social and organizational networks

- *Toward a Political Process*: explicit references to Black youth and leaders engaging participatory acts for an explicit political cause

Youth Needs: explicitly stated resources that leaders felt Black youth need in order to be better supported in their development of political attitudes and participation in civic engagement

The following section will further detail the process by which phrases used in the interviews were placed in the appropriate coding theme.

Coding Process

After concluding the interviewing process, the interviews were coded.[18] I employed three succeeding coding methods for this study:

Pre-Set Codes: I began with several coding themes based on the topical questions asked in the interviews. I sought to complement the 1993 and 2005 data by discovering relationships between Black youth, political action, political socializing agents, and hip-hop. Many of the preset codes complement the 1993 and 2005 data by creating codes for attitudes, participation, and gauging thoughts regarding hip-hop culture. As such, there were specific codes that would prove useful from the onset. These were: hip-hop as a business, hip-hop and politics, youth influences, political attitudes, political participation. I began the coding process using these themes.

Emergent Codes/Open Coding: While coding the interviewees, I employed an open coding method, as I was interested in engaging new themes that may emerge. I saw new themes and sub-themes emerge. I developed new coding themes and sub-themes to reflect the emerging new topics of interest. The emergent coding themes were: youth outreach, youth political action, and youth needs. Nearly all of the sub-themes were a result of emergent/open coding.

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[18] Coding here refers to the process by which I placed naturally occurring phrases from the interviews into categories (coding themes) for analysis.

Content Analysis: In order to get a sufficient snapshot the topics covered by the interviewees, I developed a list of the top 25 words used in the interviews, exempting natural utterances, names, and words used in the questions.

The manner in which one codes qualitative data is of the utmost importance. While imperfect, coding must be done in a way that reduces bias and results in a clear picture. To create robust analyses, I relied on intracoder reliability (defined below) and assigning qualitative data to only one coding theme in the second coding session.

As detailed by Neuendorf (2002), "given that a goal of content analysis is to identify and record relatively objective characteristics of messages, reliability is paramount. Without the establishment of reliability, content analysis measures are useless." Creating reliable results was important for this study. While different than the controls used in quantitative studies, qualitative researchers have developed various reliability tests to create quality assessments.

Intercoder reliability is the process by which two or more investigators code interviews (and other qualitative data) and compare results in order to reduce bias. However, Miles, et al (2014) introduce the concept of *intracoder reliability* to reduce bias in those instances when there is only one principal investigator. As the principal investigator, I coded the interviews. Intracoding requires that the interviews are coded on two or more separate occasions. I coded the interviews once and recoded them one week later. I allowed time to lapse between the coding sessions in order to reduce the probability that I would remember how I originally coded the interviews. After coding twice, I compared the codes and computed the intracoding reliability test. Like intercoding reliability, which computes the percentage of overlap between the codes of two investigators, intracoding reliability computes the percentage of overlap between two coding sessions by a single investigator.

Results

Table 1 reflects the number of references (categorized by coding theme and interviewee) for the second coding session and the accompanying intracoder reliability rate. As previously mentioned, the intracoding reliability rate shows the percentage of overlap between the first and second coding sessions.

Table 4.1: Number of Codes Recorded by Theme

	Alicia Garza	Pastor Otis Moss	Shamako Noble	TOTAL
Hip-Hop as a Business				
Positive	0	0	0	0
Negative	3	9	6	18
Hip-Hop and Politics				
General				
Positive	2	6	8	16
Negative	2	1	1	4
New School				
Positive	2	1	1	4
Negative	6	3	2	11
Old School				
Positive	4	2	1	7
Negative	0	0	0	0
Hip-Hop as a Form of Identity Politics	1	0	2	3
Youth Influences				
Conventional	0	2	1	3
Counter Socialization	1	0	0	1
Hip Hop Artists as Trusted Sources				0
Positive	2	3	10	15
Negative	0	0	4	4
Musical Artists as Trusted Sources				0
Positive	1	9	1	11
Negative	0	0	1	1
Youth Political Action				
Youth Attitudes	4	1	4	9
Youth Participation	2	3	2	7
Methods of Youth Outreach				
Elements of Hip-Hip				0
Djing	2	1	1	4
Mcing	1	1	0	2
Graffiti/Visual Art	2	1	1	4
Dancing	1	1	4	6
General	3	5	2	10
Political Attitudes				
Conventional				0
Positive	0	0	0	0
Negative	5	1	9	15
Counter Socialization				0
Positive	2	9	3	14
Negative	5	0	0	5
Toward a Political Process				
Positive	1	2	0	3
Negative	2	1	2	5
Political Participation				
Conventional				0
Positive				0
Negative			2	2
Counter Socialization				
Positive	4	5	7	16
Negative	0	0	0	0
Toward a Political Process				
Positive	1	2	0	3
Negative	2	1	2	5
Youth Needs	3	3	2	8
TOTAL	64	73	79	216
INTRACODING RATE OF RELIABILITY	63%	85%	59%	69%

*repeated statements were counted once; all codes are mutually exclusive

112

The overall intracoding reliability rate is 69%. In other words, on average, 69% of the data coded from the first session was also coded in the second session. This is considered a high rate. The intracoding reliability rate was disaggregated by interviewee. That is considered a borderline high rate. As shown, the codes of the Pastor Otis Moss interview had the highest intracoding reliability rate (85%), while the codes of the Shamako Noble interview had the lowest rate (59%). The lower numbers of Alicia Garza (63%) and Shamako Noble were primarily driven by the omission of repeated statements in the second coding session. In the first coding session, I counted all pertinent phrases, regardless if the sentiment had been previously stated in the interview. In the second coding session, only codes with new information were coded. This resulted in less counts for codes recorded in the second coding session.

From Table 4.1, several thematic stories emerge. First, all three interviewees considered hip-hop a financially lucrative business model that has a largely negative influence on both the art form and on its listeners. In contrast, they viewed hip-hop and its intersection with politics quite positively (16 positive codes to 4 negative ones). When considering the sub-genres of the "Hip-Hop and Politics" coding theme, new school popular hip-hop (hip-hop post 1997) was considered negatively, while all favored the political consciousness of old-school rap music (hip-hop from 1977-1997).

According to the Black leaders, hip-hop artists are or can be one of the strongest trusted sources for Black youth (15 positive codes). In fact, according to the interviewees, rap artists are generally considered trusted sources for Black youth. While the interviewees tended to believe that rappers were trusted by Black youth, the mobilizers themselves were more tempered with their praise. They believed that older artists from the more politically robust period of rap music. They also believed that a select few popular artists and many local rap artists were trusted

sources. Every musical artist mentioned was Black American and were from the R&B or rap tradition. This result supports Walton's argument that music is a remarkable political socializing agent for Black youth. The artists mentioned in the "Musical Artists as Trusted Sources" sub-theme were Black artists. It appears as if Black musical artists (strong trusted sources in the Black community) have had and continue to have a remarkable effect on the political attitudes and participation of Black youth.

Table 4.1 shows that the Black leaders interviewed have used many outreach tools, both inside and outside of hip-hop (16 to 10, respectively). All of the interviewees relied heavily on social media and personal relationships to mobilize Black youth.

Table 4.1 confirms a large gap between conventional attitudes and participation and counter-socializing ones. In both the "Political Attitudes" and "Political Participation" coding themes, "conventional" referred to codes that were either conventional in the ways the political socialization literature describes political attitudes and behavior (described in Chapter 3). The "positive" or "negative" sub-themes referred to the impact the conventional attitudes or activities had on Black youth. The counter-socialized attitudes and behavior (with respect to both political attitudes and participation) were viewed much more positively than the conventional attitudes and participation. Before delving further into the contents of those codes, I wanted to begin a discussion of frequencies of the most used words in the interviews.

Table 4.2: Top 25 Words Used by Interviewees

Word	Count	Weighted Percentage
people	149	1.46%
young	59	0.58%
thing/s	71	0.37%
music	31	0.30%
saying	30	0.29%
folks	26	0.25%
community	24	0.23%
different	24	0.23%
little	23	0.22%
great	22	0.22%
process	22	0.22%
terms	19	0.19%
clear	18	0.18%
first	18	0.18%
power	18	0.18%
basically	16	0.16%
honest	16	0.16%
organizing	16	0.16%
still	16	0.16%
around	15	0.15%
level	15	0.15%
movement	15	0.15%
coming	14	0.14%
communities	14	0.14%
culture	14	0.14%

*Words with five or more characters are included. Excluded were words mentioned in the prompt, common utterances, and interviewees' names.

115

Table 4.2 presents the result of a word frequency analysis to determine the most used words by the subjects. I found it important to show the reader which key terms continued to surface with respect in the discussion of rap music and Black youth political engagement. Of the 25 words listed, 25% of them (5) concern people, communities, and culture. As opposed to a focus on outward political action that affects institutions in the political landscape, there seems to be a strong inward concern for the people that make up communities. The word "young" was the second most used word and it speaks to the age of the communities in concern. Much of the interviews naturally focused on (Black) youth in the local community context as opposed to national organizing.

Sixteen percent of the words most frequently used ("process", "movement", "organizing", "power") concerned moving toward a political process. The two largest ideas derived from this list pertain to communities and political organizing. To be specific, Table 4.2 shows that over 40% of the words most frequently used focused on matters concerning the "community" and political organizing. "Music" was the fourth most used word. However, from this table, one cannot, with confidence, associate the word "music" to those concerning political organizing.

Table 4.3 gives a summary of the interviewees' response to each Walton's counter-socializing agents, including music.

Table 4.3: Black Youth Responses to Socializing Agents

Agent	Summary
School (Conventional)	Conventional forms of schooling (as a politically socializing force) for Black youth were near universally regarded negatively. All three interviewees spoke about standard political education as being centered on the dominant group.
School (Counter Socialization)	Alternate forms of political education (especially those centered on the needs of students from marginalized communities) were largely viewed as positive.
Peers	There were limited (albeit positive) references to Black youth's peers as a political socializing agent, particularly with respect to engaging in various forms of political participation.
Church or Community Organizers (Counter- Socialization)	There were positive references to the Black church and other community organizing spaces as positive socializing agents.
Music	The responses regarding music as a socializing agent were two-prong. All interviewees generally viewed old school music (including old rap) positively, while new school, corporate controlled musicians were largely viewed as negative and potentially having less of a socializing influence on Black youth.
Media	Most comments focused on the media were negative with respect to politically socializing Black youth to be more politically engaged. Many of the comments focused on the business aspect of popular/mainstream hip-hop and its negative effect on the musical genre and Black youth.

The 6 agents listed in Table 4.3 are primary counter-socializing agents Walton discusses in *Invisible Politics* (1984) and *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* (2005). Those counter-socializing agents not mentioned in the table (such as the Black family, and the Black minister) were not referred to in the interviews. Conventional schooling is listed in the table in order to contrast the interviewees' thoughts on conventional schooling versus schooling as a counter-socializing agent. Table 4.3 offers a summary on the thoughts of the interviewees with respect to each of these agents.

Socializing agents that were controlled or run by Blacks were positively viewed by the Black leaders. Those that were not primarily run by Blacks (namely media, corporately run music, or conventional schooling systems) were not seen as being particularly effective in socializing Black youth toward political action. The strength of an agent's attachment to the Black community was described as effective in assisting Black youth in their quest for political knowledge and aiding in their political behavior.

Table 4.4 lists the specific comments made by each interviewee that matches a counter-socializing agent. While not exhaustive, the table gives more context to the ways in which the subjects spoke about each counter-socializing agent in their own words.

Table 4.4: Black Youth Responses to Socializing Agents, by Interviewee

Agent	Alicia Garza	Pastor Otis Moss III	Shamako Noble
School (Conventional)	"Black young people in particular are trained to occupy a social position that is pretty much outside of the mainstream. White students are taught about how to participate in a way that kind of placing them in the center…"		"Because part of what I'm arguing is if a black youth looks at the school system and says this isn't for me, that is true. But if they decide to withdraw from it society calls them a thug. This is acknowledging what's actually historically accurate."
School (Counter Socialization)	I think arts and culture is a huge piece of our work. And, you know, social media, it's kind of a bridge in between.	"Everything from creating that mentor space, institutes, political education, you name it to educate them on the power they have. And not being dependent on somebody else making decisions for you, or thinking that you don't have any power. A lot of power. Just have to be able to exercise it and recognize that some information happens in communities when young people stand up."	"The reason a lot of it comes down to programs is because these things aren't integrated into our school systems." "I think the theories of marginalization … I think approaching education from the perspective of developing whole human beings as based on the interest of the student."
Peers		"It's just a basic organizing piece. That if you want to bring young people out, then you have to organize your own little cell of young people to reach another group of young people."	
Church or Community Organizers (Counter- Socialization)	"And then, I mean, of course, in terms of the narrative shift, then that helps us in the organizing, so, we have more than twenty three chapters across the country that are comprised mostly of black people who are taking collective action together based on a collective vision. And we support that right through supporting their leadership development, through supporting all the bumps that come up…"	"Well, I usually use the four pillars of hip hop as a part of how I communicate, preach, and teach. Either using the orality, using art, which could lead to graffiti, using technology, which is DJ'ing, and break dancing, which is esthetic movement."	"I think that there are community organizations on the front line of struggles …"
Music	"Right now, I think it's different forms of social media and certainly music, I think, is a big part of [reaching Black youth]." "And he [Tupac] also was a pioneer in really bring together what I would say was a political ideology of the Black Panther Party, which was to empower those who are the most oppressed, they weren't talking about the black middle class, they weren't talking the black elite;]the black folks that nobody gave a fuck about, right, who have nothing to lose, you know what I'm saying, like, shit could actually be really different. And I think it raises some important questions for us today. Unfortunately, this generation of young people is not being raised on that music."	I think it is important to define Hip hop as art, and the artist has always had a role in highlighting the sociological condition and giving an alternative consciousness to the way we should view the world. Whether it's spiritual, blues, jazz, you know, gospel, hip hop, whatever… But the artist has historically been a part of being iconicized when it comes to how we engage the political process, and what does it mean to be politically conscious.	"Hip hop is a space that can be leveraged to develop political clarity organization and action. "I think that at one point what hip hop was able to do for a lot of people was provide a clear and honest picture of what was happening in Black America."
Media	"… social media space is cluttered with all kinds of shit, including corporations and their advertisements and all kinds of other weird things."	"But black pathology is always easy to sell to white people. So, if I am talking about persistent problems, and not raising questions about structure, or this is the way it is, then we love that. Young white kids love that anger, "it's real". They become… They buy into the music because it speaks to a culture that they're not familiar with, but it does not raise their consciousness around what is happening".	"Part of the problem here is because the mainstream media is owned by the same people that are trying to privatize education …" "I guess the best language for it would be corporations. Same people that tend to exploit black youth all the time."

Table 4.4 contains the strong views held by the interviewees with respect to counter-socialization, Black youth, and political action. Table 4.4 offers specific phrases used by the

119

subjects that support the summaries given in Table 4.3. As shown, Garza and Noble both had strong objections to the ways in which political education is developed in the conventional school setting. Garza explicitly stated that schools typically teach political education in a way that caters to the needs of White students. Noble reinforces that narrative by declaring that Black youth are placed at the margins of the educational system. Both Garza and Noble center in on the impact that such a feeling of ontological otherness does to the minds of Black youth. While Garza explains how Black youth are, in effect, socialized to "occupy a social position that is pretty much outside of the mainstream", Noble explains the negative effects of occupying such a position.

Other spaces that promote political knowledge were well received. Counter-social education (such as arts and culture, programming, mentor space, etc.) was considered a strong influence on youth and their political development. Black churches, HBCUs, and community-based organizations were all viewed much more positively and considered a more effective beacon of political knowledge for Black youth than the conventional education system. The peers of Black youth were effective mobilizers for Pastor Moss III and his congregation.

Music (to the extent that the artists aren't stifled by the demands of the corporate music industry) was viewed as a positive force on Black youth. The media, considered largely run by White male executives who desire a profit, was not considered a positive force. All three interviewees did not deny the large impact that both the media and corporate run music have on Black youth. However, the subjects tend to think negatively of the message. All three subjects claim that the media and owners of popular record labels use Black artists and Blacks in the media as tropes for the fetishizing of White youth, often to the demise of Black youth.

Despite the negative portrayals in the media and bolstered stereotypes uttered by many mainstream rap artists, a significant number of Black youth do positively respond to political stimuli. Often, scholars are not "looking in the right places" with respect to the ways in which Black youth exercise their civic engagement. Figure 4.1 reflects the socializing agents most discussed in the interviews as having a large effect on Black youth. After receiving political information from those socializing forces, Figure 4.1 highlights the attitudes and behaviors that Black youth have exhibited.

Figure 4.1: Black Youth: Political Attitudes, Influencers, and Behaviors as Highlighted by Black Leaders

Socializing Agents
- Local Hip-Hop Artists
- Popular Hip-Hop Artists, albeit largely a negative influence
- Black musical genres
- Race specific social justice organizations
- Mentors

Attitudes
- Doesn't feel a part of the conventional system of politics
- Wishes that media would portray more positive images of Blacks
- Mistrust of conventional political institutions; often feel unheard
- Political socialization largely unmet by conventional political socializing agents
- Group needs largely unmet by political institutions and actors

Black Youth

Behavior
- #BlackLivesMatter, #SayHerName and other social media organized protests
- Hip-Hop Congress on college campuses
- Protest politics, including burning things down
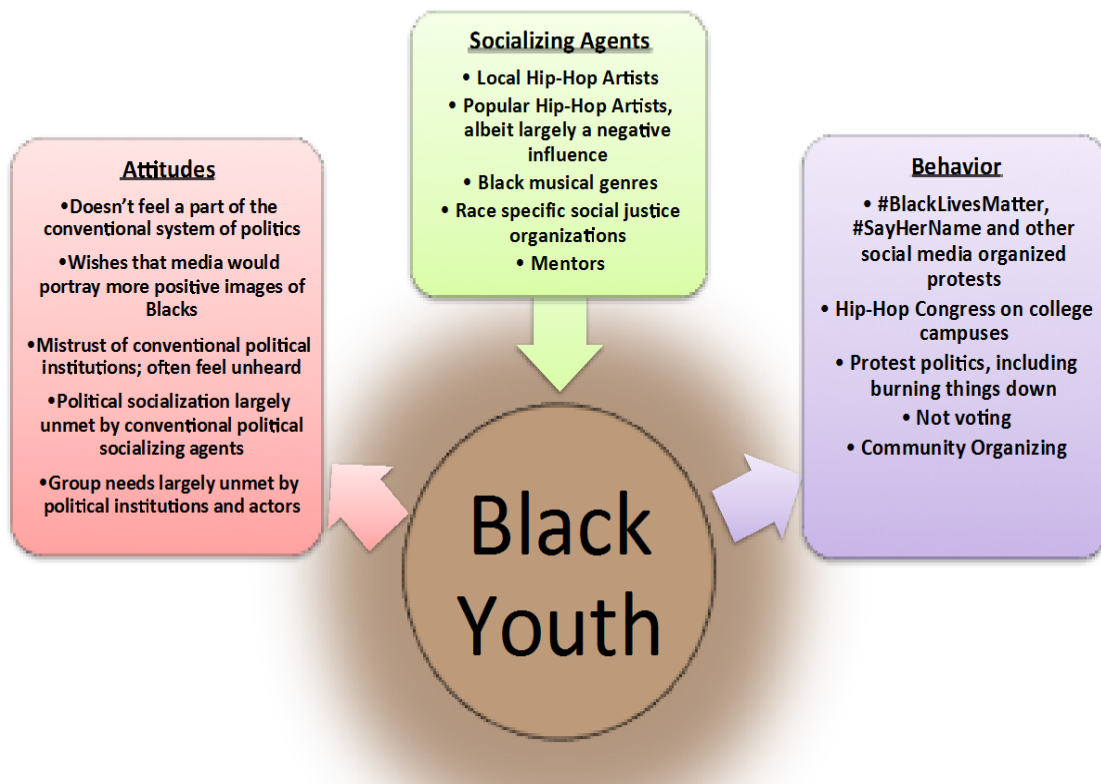- Not voting
- Community Organizing

121

Figure 4.1 shows the most effective socializing agents for Black youth, as told by the Black leaders interviewed. The most effective agents appear to be local hip-hop artists, popular hip-hop artists (with some conditions), Black musical genres from past to present, race-specific social justice organizations, and mentors. Local hip-hop artists were considered strong purveyors of hip-hop culture.

"Right, I think that I definitely think that there are, in most cases, local hip hop artists that are either politicized coming in to hip hop or politicized by a hip hop." Noble (2015)

Without the demands of a major record label, local artists are often able to unashamedly connect their feelings and political sentiments to their music, as they are often much less concerned about a large fan base or a hit single. According to Noble, local artists are often politicized prior to hip-hop or are politicized by hip-hop. As a result, local artists have become a major socializing agent for Black youth, particularly given their physical proximity. Moss supports much of what Noble said regarding local artists.

"There's popular and then there are those who speak in a powerful...actually I think who has potential is someone like Chance the Rapper. I'm just being a local on one level." Moss (2015)

Moss speaks specifically about Chance the Rapper, a local rapper who has the ear of many Black youth in Chicago. Moss also described the local hip-hop scene in Cuba, France, Brazil and other countries as revolutionary and mobilizing for Black youth in those countries. The interviewers described local artists as the being more "authentic" to what "real" hip-hop is: a community-building collective that uses various art forms to engage and impact its listeners. The interviewees all described popular artists as influential, but dangerous due to the constraints the music industry has placed on their voice in radicalizing Black youth. However, they did not discount the impact of popular hip-hop artists. The subjects described a complex narrative

regarding hip-hop that will be explained in greater detail in the description of Figure 4.3. However, in summary, though popular hip-hop is not viewed favorably, it still has some notable exceptions that were mentioned by both Garza and Noble.

Noble and Moss both connected hip-hop to a long tradition of Black musical genres that assisted in politically socializing Black youth.

"I think it is important to define Hip hop as art, and the artist has always had a role in highlighting the sociological condition and giving an alternative consciousness to the way we should view the world. Whether it's spiritual, blues, jazz, you know, gospel, hip hop, whatever... But the artist has historically been a part of being iconoclast when it comes to how we engage the political process, and what does it mean to be politically conscious." Moss (2015)

Moss supports the theory of Black music as a counter-socializing agent originated by Walton (2010).

It's important to note that these counter-socializing agents often work in tandem with one another. For instance, Shamako discussed how "one of the early founders of the B-Boy Summit acknowledges that she was basically operating as a community and political organizer before she knew she was doing that…they're not just rappers, they are also organizers." Often, hip-hop artists use samples from other Black musical genres. They often mentor their own collective. They often work with race specific organizations and within social justice movements.

"So, I think we will see hip hop influencing this generation in a different way but it going to take some time. Kendrick Lamar, as I understand it, really inspired a lot of that album based on, kind of, what he was seeing in the streets. The Black Lives Matter movement."- Garza (2015)

According to the interviewees, Kendrick Lamar is one of the exceptions to the idea that new school rap artists promote stereotypical Black pathology, according to Garza and Noble. Lamar, J Cole, and Killer Mike are some of the rappers considered by many as politically conscious

123

rappers of the present day. All of them are inspired by (and inspire) race-specific community building.

These artists and the other influences described promote certain political attitudes and behavior amongst Black youth. However, the political institutions themselves also have a socializing effect worth exploring.

Alicia Garza: "Is just a question of, how does this impact my life? And what does this have to do with me? ... I think the other thing is, to be honest with you, there is a way in which, intentionally, right, young are not prepared to participate in our, kind of, political system."

Pastor Moss: "One is there is no formal mentoring process created in many institutions to give black youth an entrée into understanding the political process, becoming engaged in the political process, and pushing against the political process."

Shamako Noble: "I think that some of our youth don't really see a way in."

According to the subjects of this study, Black youth often internalize the notion that the conventional system of politics (inclusive of political actors and conventional political socializing agents) does not include them and does not meet their needs.

"One thing I've been hearing a lot of from young people is wanting to see more positive black images in the media. That is a political statement." Noble (2015)

Black youth are often sensitive to the portrayals of Blacks in the media. Simply because Black youth do not participate in politics in the conventional ways social scientists often explore does not mean that they aren't saying or feeling anything political.

"One of the main reasons young people don't feel like politics is a place for them is because people act like that. They wouldn't feel that way if they ... I mean again ... Giving them the credit for understanding their own experience. They're not trippin when they're like nobody is even trying to hear what I have to say."- Noble (2015)

They often feel unheard. Black youth act out in ways counter to the promoted ways to be civically engaged (such as calling one's elected official or voting). The leaders relay the fact that

when Black youth feel radicalized by injustice, they often protest, riot, and develop each other's political attitudes. Figure 4.1 illustrates the many ways in which the subjects described Black youth political behavior. Both Garza and Moss mentioned the Black Lives Matter movement. In addition to community organizing, protesting conventional forms of political participation, and partnering with other organizations and institutions, Black youth rely heavily on social media to mobilize and share information that affects them and their communities.

However there are more resources needed in order to further bolster Black youth political attitudes and increase political participation. Figure 4.2 shows the recommendations for resources needed by Black youth, as told by Noble, Moss, and Garza.

Figure 4.2: Resources Needed to Increase Black Youth Political Thought and Participation

Understanding histories of:
• (Black) Labor Movements
• Faith Community Participation in Social Justice Movements
• HBCUs
• Fraternities and Sororities

Uplifting Their Work

Mentorship

Noble

Moss

Garza

Understanding various theories regarding marginalization

Creating Safe Spaces

Verbal Support
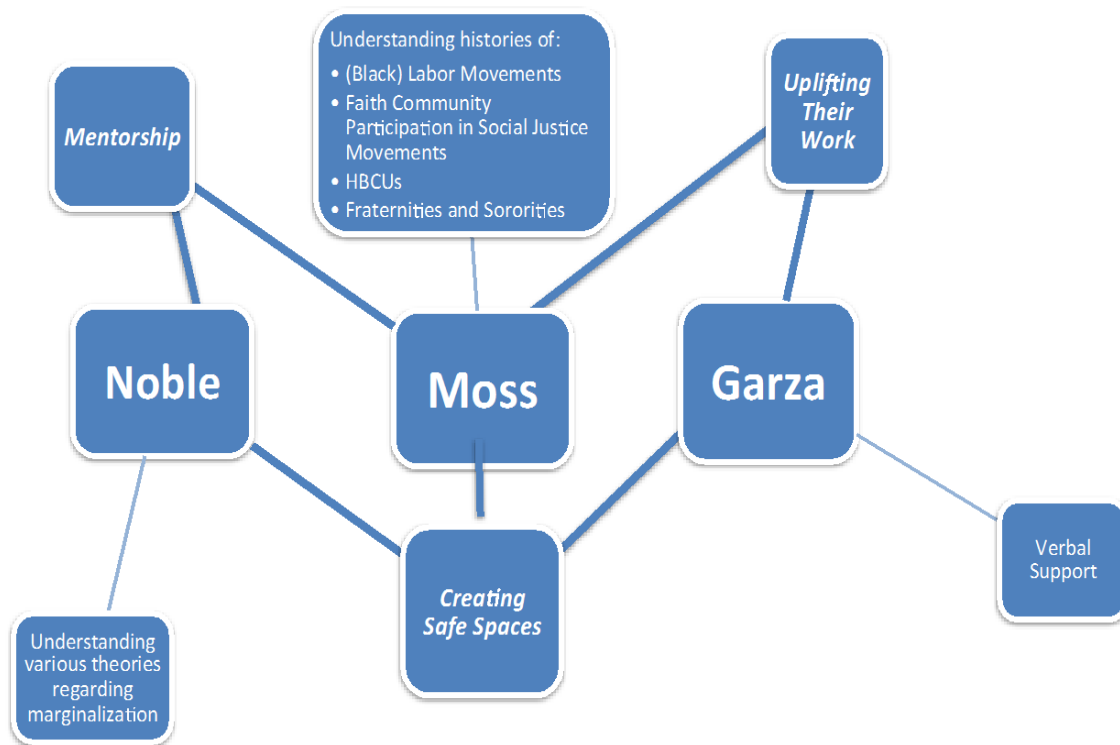
Many of the resources needed by Black youth concern education, mentorship, physical space and opportunities to lead. Several of the recommendations were suggested by two or more of the leaders. For example, although focused on different aspects of political education, both Noble and Moss highlighted political education as an essential component of Black political socialization for youth. Noble highlighted community-based organizations and theories of marginalization as being vital educating spaces and sources of political education for Black youth. Moss highlighted Black-specific institutions as being key resources in educating Black youth. Those included: Black churches, Black sororities and fraternities, and historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs).

Black institutions like Black churches, HBCUs, and community-based organizations were thought to be affirming safe spaces for Black youth. Safe spaces were thought to be very important with respect to developing Black youth. In fact, the creation of safe spaces was the one resource recommended by all of the interviewees for politically engaging Black youth.

Moss and Noble also highlighted mentorship as a primary socializing influence for Black youth. As Moss noted, "…there is no formal mentoring process created in many institutions to give black youth an entrée into understanding the political process, becoming engaged in the political process, and pushing against the political process." Strong mentorship is thought of as an essential politicizing tool for Black youth. Both Moss and Noble noted how vital personal relationships are in mobilizing Black youth.

While Garza did not explicitly mention mentorship, she implicitly did so by advocating for increased Black youth-centered community leadership. Garza speaks extensively on the sort of advocacy that should be executed by leaders of Black youth.

"So, there's a narrative shift that I think we are really interested in right now. The other thing is an important, kind of, activator, has been, really centralizing all different types of young people's experiences, so really centering the experiences of woman and girls; people and queer people and poor people, right? As a way to make us both more curious about one another but also as a way for us to really identify not just what we have in common, but what the source of our differences are. And then, I mean, of course, in terms of the narrative shift, then that helps us in the organizing, so, we have more than twenty three chapters across the country that are comprised mostly of black people who are taking collective action together based on a collective vision. And we support that right through supporting their leadership development, through supporting all the bumps that come up."

Garza is intentional about bringing to light the doubly marginalized cleavages within the Black community, and she thinks that our leaders of Black youth should do so as well. As Cathy Cohen notes in *Boundaries of Blackness* (1999) secondary marginalization (the replication of blame and privilege by a marginalized group to the most vulnerable within their community) is a problem that some Black Americans face. Garza recommends that mentors be sensitive to the unique needs of those youth doubly marginalized. Like Moss, Garza also recommends that mentors and leaders uplift the work (political or not) of Black youth. She also encourages increased verbal support of Black youth action. As Black youth are often characterized (by the subjects) as largely politically invisible and unheard, verbal support from their supporters is crucial for their personal and political development.

"The first thing it is just listening to them..."- Noble (2015)

Noble shares Garza's sentiment in encouraging leaders to acknowledge the struggles of Black youth. Garza focused more on verbal support through leaders retelling and amplifying the words of Black youth. Noble concentrates on the act of listening to Black youth as an affirming validation of their struggles. He also speaks on the ways in which hip-hop culture can help facilitate better youth and leaders.

"But there are really places that are designed to leverage hip hop as a basis for more complete self and historical exploration."- Noble (2015)

Here, Noble explains how hip-hop spaces can facilitate the socio-political development of both the youth and their leaders. Noble goes on to explain how hip-hop, at its root, encourages its listeners to bring forth their authentic selves as a buck against a society that does not promote self-exploration. Moss, Garza, and Noble see hip-hop as a powerful tool for Black youth. Figure 4.3 explores the different types of hip-hop there are and the subjects' thoughts on each as it related to the political socialization of Black youth.

Figure 4.3: Black Leaders' Thoughts on Hip-Hop and Politics

- Largely corporately controlled
- Often doesn't make connection with solutions to the struggles of Black youth
- Diminished quality
- Tame artists
- Primary objective is to make money
- Local artists are thought to be more politically engaged, but don't receive much air play and therefore may not have a large fan base

Hip-Hop: New School

- Less corporately controlled
- Identified more with the struggles of Black youth
- Higher quality
- Politically engaged mainstream artists
- Engaged social movements

Hip-Hop: Old School

- Negative impact on popular hip-hop as politically conscious art form
- Responsible for promoting politically tame artists
- Responsible for making popular rap at the expense of authenticity and Black youth self-identification with the rappers or music
- Only wants to make money
- Those at the top often don't identify with Black youth

Hip-Hop as a Business

Hip-Hop as a Trusted Source

- Currently, local artists are trusted more for delivering politically relevant rhymes
- Popular Artists are Consumed, but not as influential as they used to be
- Has global recognition as a political force

The subjects had strong reactions to the political power and influence of hip-hop culture. Figure 4.3 takes a closer look at the different types of hip-hop ("old school versus "new school") there are and socio-political ramifications of each. The figure also explains the two most discussed roles that hip-hop culture can play and the influence each role has.

As mentioned previously, even though the subjects' ages ranged from 34 to 44 years old, popular "old school" hip-hop ($\leq$1997) was highly revered by all three subjects. The primary reasons old-school hip-hop culture and rap music is viewed positively center on its political involvement, quality, and lack of corporate sponsorship.

"And then creating these amazing beats. And of course, then it was public infamy. Chuck D is not the best rapper. He's good; don't get me wrong, I mean he is very good. But in terms of his lyrical dexterity, he's not Rakim. But what he did was, he educated on an entire album. You are like, "So, who is Joanne Chesimard? Oh, that's Assata Shakur, you know. I mean, Oh, Oh wow!" You know like, "I'm coming hard like Chesimard... Who is that?" One of my favorites has always been Black Steel in the Hour of Chaos where you are defining people in prison as political prisoners. That blew me away. As a kid, I was like, "They're political prisoners? They don't belong there."

Moss mentioned the lyrical prowess of the rapper, Chuck D, and his unique ability to deliver political knowledge; Garza mentioned the conceptual brilliance of Tupac and his ability to get Black youth to identify with him and the political struggles of Black Americans; Noble fondly remembered the rap group, The Sugar Hill Gang. Both Noble and Garza referred to the timelessness of old school hip-hop MCs. Noble even marveled at how some old school artists like Scarface and Tupac are still being listened to by youth today. All three interviewees strongly regard old school hip-hop as the most authentic, raw, unapologetic, influential, and politically involved hip-hop of the entire musical genre.

Hip-hop artists were considered trusted sources, giving a "clear and honest picture of Black America", as described by Noble. Globally (in other countries) and locally (in local

129

communities), hip-hop artists are still considered a strong trusted source. However, popular hip-hop today does not appear as trusted as it once was.

When discussing "new school" hip-hop (≥1998), the luster was dimmer.

"…but in the United States, our great barrier is market driven hip hop culture that seeks to emulate a capitalist framework, and not a conscious framework. That's how the US hip-hop is radical, in the US that birthed it. It is conservative, it's tame, and it is controlled by... There is a much more corporate control, is what I am saying."- Moss (2015)

"When we say hip hop artists we're probably not talking about Jasiri X. I know we're not talking about Will Copeland and we probably not even talking about the young people who were at What the Bleep in Detroit.
More than likely we're talking about Young Thug, Iggy Azalea." Noble (2015)

"That time, unfortunately, I think, has passed. It doesn't mean I don't think it could be resurrected, but it would require artists to once again be more invested, right, in the empowerment of your people than in the lining of their pockets."- Garza (2015)

All of the interviewees shared a similar view: overall, popular new school rap music (with a few exceptions) is corporately controlled. That control has negative effects on the lyrical quality of the artist and the political impact of the music. The notable exceptions are a few artists (like J. Cole and Kendrick Lamar) and local hip-hop artists who also tend to be community organizers. The subjects appeared reluctant to consider a resurgence of hip-hop to its former level of political influence in relation to Black youth.

As shown in Figure 4.3, the many of the negative attributes placed on new school hip-hop are mirrored in the criticism of hip-hop as an industry.

"So, uh, and it's because hip hop now sits in the context of a music industry that has largely run by white people. And so, there's a whole thing there that is about, also shaping those, the narratives of those artists for particular purposes."- Garza (2015)

Moss and Garza painted new school artists as puppets of (primarily White male) corporate music executives. These executives (as described by the subjects) do not seem to care about the uplift of the Black youth who listen to it. Rather, they care about the retelling the same

130

negative Black pathological tropes because that's what sells. According to Detweiler and Taylor (2003), white suburbanite youth are the primary purchasers of rap music in today's society. Who do the hip-hop artists serve?

In 1994 (during the golden era of hip-hop), Tricia Rose referred to rap music as a "black cultural expression that prioritizes black voices from the margins of urban America". Just over 15 years later, after corporations controlled the majority of popular rap music on the radio, Spence (2011) argues that rap lyrics, particularly those of realist MCs, reinforce neoliberalism. For Spence, neoliberalism is defined as the dismantling of the state, privileging of markets over all other institutions, and relentless catering to corporate interests. Increasing lyrical mentions and visual images of money, power, and respect is suggestive evidence for Spence's claim.

While the subjects do not appear to think that all contemporary rappers seek to reinforce the capitalist framework, the subjects warned that such priorities run the risk of alienating the political development of its Black youth listeners, an already politically vulnerable population.

As the interviewees show, the relationship between rap music and its ability to political influence Black youth is complicated.

Conclusion

From the perspectives of the mobilizers, how do Black youth feel about politics? What seems to cause Black youth to participate in or disengage from conventional types of civic engagement? Despite lower voting counts and letters to public officials, the Black leaders interviewed depict Black youth as a group heavily engaged in the political process. Black youth are described as having feelings of isolation and invisibility in the standard political sphere. Those feelings possibly make them disengaged from the traditional view of politics and political

131

participation. However, the subjects called the attention to alternate forms of political expression (like community building, asserting themselves in safe spaces led by Black leaders) where Black youth are most likely to be civically engaged. High political activity amongst Black youth is largely concentrated in spaces described as counter-socializing agents by Hanes Walton; spaces where Black youth (and the Black community more broadly) are politically socialized. Such places are churches; community based learning and organizing centers. Social media sites were also mentioned as a hotbed of burgeoning political attitudes and participation amongst Black youth. Two of the interviewees described Black Lives Matter (a social media movement turned international social justice movement) as a source of heavy political excitement and participation amongst Black youth.

Moss, Garza, and Noble consider the Black musical tradition a strong counter-socializing agent for Black youth. It is considered to aid, abet, and elevate other types of political socialization. Of the musical genres, hip-hop/rap music is considered the major political socializing agent for today's Black youth. However, the relationship between rap artists, their music, and its political influence on Black youth is complicated. Hip-hop from 1977-1997 was widely considered the most politically influential, while hip-hop born after that time period is considered less politically relevant or influential. All three interviewees believe that the contemporary corporate control of hip-hop is the culprit.

The interviewees often characterized hip-hop by two camps: old school versus new school. They also disaggregated hip-hop by its reach. Local hip-hop artists were much more widely revered, both as a political influence and as organizers within the community. Popular new school hip-hop, with few exceptions, was largely considered void of robust, radicalizing political content.

While hip-hop matters, the degree to which it matters to Black youth largely depends on who controls it. According to Moss, Garza, and Noble, the corporate control of rap music stifles the political impact of the art form, particularly with respect to the production of popular rap music.

From the interviews, I created a testable proposition based on the evidence. I argue that: Black young adults often feel as if their needs are largely unmet by political actors and often feel invisible and othered from more conventional forms of political socialization. As a result, Black youth are less receptive to conventional forms of political socialization. However, Black youth currently seek out and are more receptive to agents of counter-socialization to bolster political knowledge. One of the key socializing agents for Black youth is hip-hop (particularly rap music). Successful mobilizers of Black youth consider rap music (and hip-hop culture more broadly) as a strong influence on Black youth.

Chapter 5 aims to make sense of the results from all of the chapters. In Chapter 5, I develop a story of the past and present relationships between Black youth, rap consumption, and political behavior. Taking into account the limitations of each of the studies developed in this dissertation, I aim to develop questions and frameworks for potential future studies.

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CHAPTER 5: "U.N.I.T.Y.":
Comparing the Results of 1993 and 2005

Chapters 2, 3, and 4 have discussed the associations between rap music consumption and the political opinions and behaviors of youth across three different time periods (1993, 2005, and 2015). In this chapter I use Rap Genius, a website dedicated to annotating and discussing the context of rap music lyrics. Essentially, it is a very large (over 70,000 song, in fact) database of rap song lyrics. I use the Rap Stats feature on the site to gauge the political attitudes and participation measures by searching key words over time.

Figure 5.1 displays key words used to gauge lyrical mentions of forms of political participation over time.

Figure 5.1: Key Words Inciting Political Participation in Popular Rap Music, 1989-2015
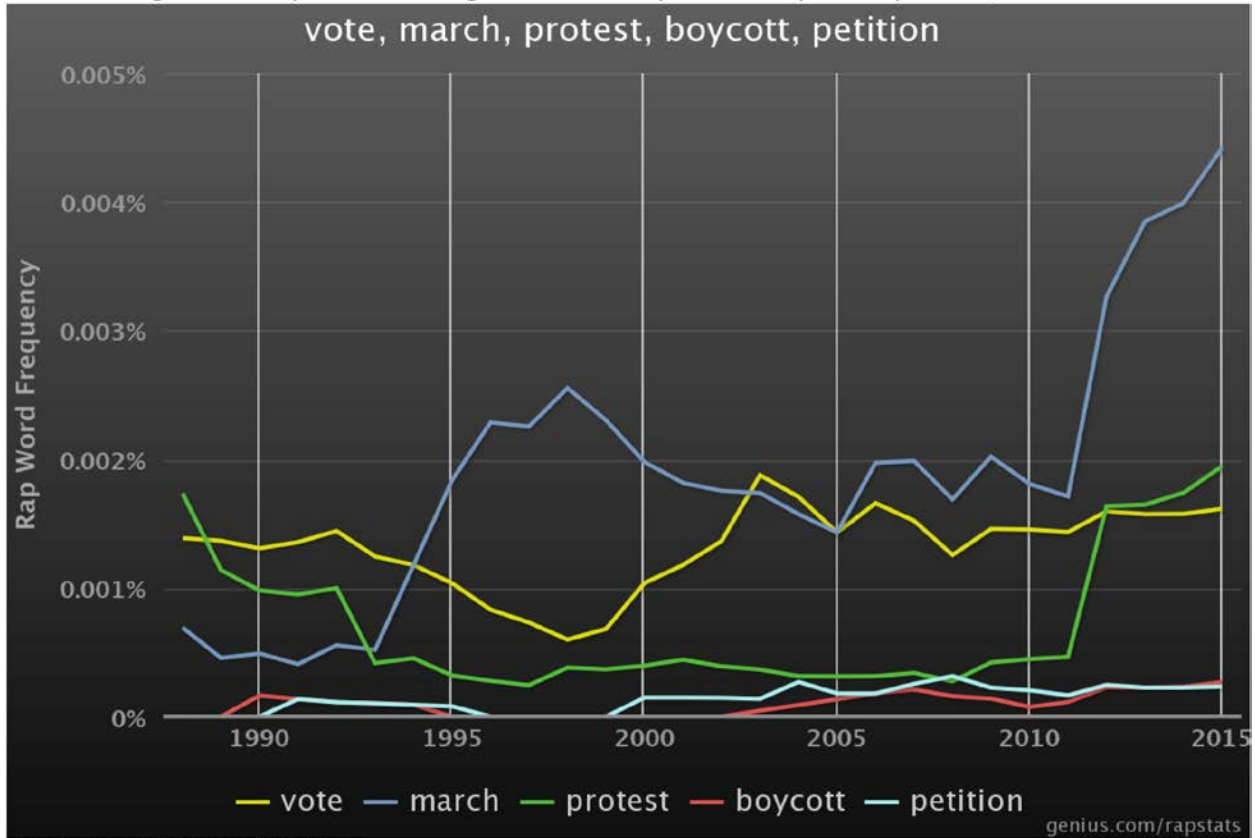
Courtesy of Rap Genius, 2015

It is plausible to think that, rap lyrics in 2005 simply made fewer explicit mentions to the varying forms of participation analyzed than did in 1993. To the extent that Whites and Blacks are socialized differently into politics due to using differing socializing agents, the evidence suggests support for the effectiveness of counter-socialization (particularly with respect to music as a socializing agent) on Blacks and not on Whites. If rap music is one of those agents of counter socialization to Black youth (and my dissertation provides some evidence consistent with this view), one should expect a correlation between a decrease or increase in forms of Black youth political behavior and mentions of such forms of participation in rap lyrics.

Figure 5.1 shows the word frequencies of the specific types of political participation mentioned in rap music over time. These word frequencies were discovered using Rap Genius. Rap Genius is a website dedicated to focusing its content on rappers and lyrics. It has "Rap Stats" which allows one to type in words to see how often it was used in rap songs from 1988-present day.

Shown in Figure 5.1 are the trends of rap lyrical mentions with respect to the words "vote", "march", "protest", "boycott", and "petition". After the presidential election of Bill Clinton in 1992, mentions of voting slowly declined, falling to an all time low in about 1998. However, after the controversial election of George W. Bush in 2000, mentions of voting increased, peaking in 2004. While voting wasn't mentioned at a higher rate in 2008 or 2012 during the campaigns of then-candidate Obama, Figure 5.1 does not display popularity. It is plausible that a small amount of songs that mention voting (and voting for Obama) were played much more during this time.

Given the amount of Black Nationalist rhetoric and support of dissent politics in rap music at the time, mentions of marching were surprisingly low in the early 1990s, taking off near the end of 1993/beginning of 1994. Rap consumption in the 1993 NBPS survey was strongly associated with marching. It appears as if the increase of lyrical mentions with respect to marching run near parallel to 1993 NBPS. As a reminder, rap consumption for Black youth was associated with increased marching. The numerous lyrical mentions of marching support my hypothesis regarding increased mentions of various forms of dissent participation being correlated with increase participation in forms of dissent participation amongst Black youth.

From Figure 5.1, one can note that protesting was more popular in the late 1980s, but had a sharp decline between about 1992 and 1993. After lying relatively flat for nearly two decades,

139

mentions of protesting in rap music rose sharply around 2011. I would expect the mentions of protesting to be low, given the lack of association between the effects of rap consumption and protesting in the 2005 BYP data. However, I found the low number of protest mentions in 1993 surprising given the very strong association between rap consumption and protesting in 1993. This runs counter to my hypothesis.

Boycotts and petitioning consistently had low levels of mentions in rap music over time. I would have expected more mentions in the early 1990s, as both of the participation acts were associated with the effects of rap consumption amongst Black youth.

Below, Figure 5.2 shows the political attitude mentions in rap music over time.

Figure 5.2:Common Words Regarding Political Attitudes in Popular Rap Music, 1989-2015
work together, queen, feminist, uncle sam, police, africa

Courtesy of Rap Genius, 2015

140
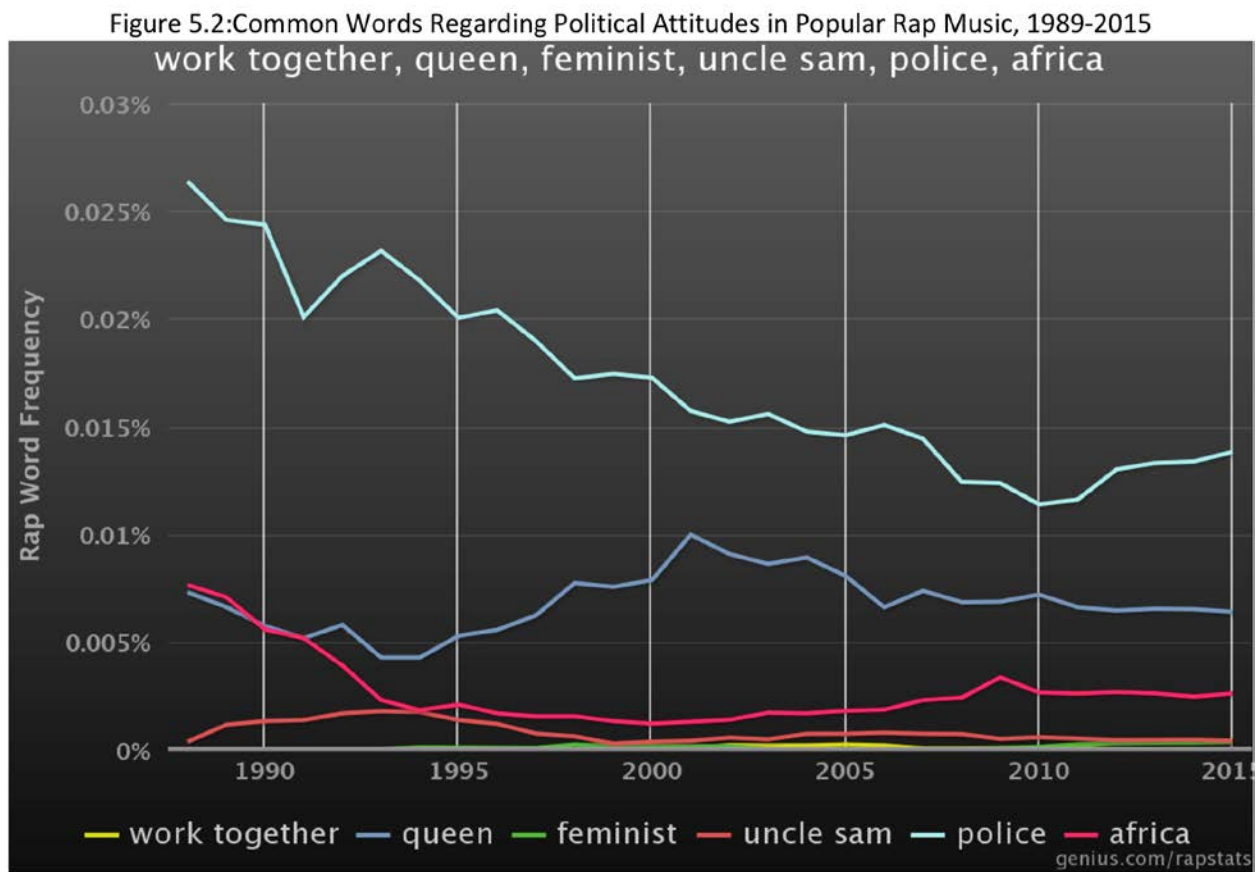
Political Attitudes in Rap Music, 1989-2015

Since there are few words commonly used in rap music to specifically gauge political attitudes, I ran a key words search on various common phrases used to gauge the political attitudes of the hip-hop generation.

- Coalition building → "work together"

- Female empowerment → "queen"

- Feminism → "feminist"

- Government interests → "Uncle Sam"

- Police and other official authorities → "police"

- Black nationalism or Pan-Africanism → "Africa"

As shown in Figure 5.2, the term "police" has been heavily used in rap music. The term was used more often in 1993 than 2005. I would expect there to be more mentions of police in the early 1990s. As Chapter 2 describes, rappers often rapped anti-police rhetoric and anti-injustice rhetoric in their rhymes. Even when use of the term was less used, it still was used more than the other political attitudes key words. This evidence suggests support for the finding from the 1993 NBPS. Rap consumption amongst Black youth was strongly associated with considering police like a gang of their own.

The other proxy words used to describe the various political attitudes included in the 1993 and 2005 studies had low to moderate mentions. One culprit could be the possibility that the one-word proxies chosen to represent the political attitudes could very well not be the most

encompassing. However, the word "queen" (used as a proxy for female empowerment) showed a gradual incline, peaking in the early 2000s. "Uncle Sam" received higher amounts of mentions in the early 1990s when anti-conservatism rhetoric was higher than other periods. However, mentions of Uncle Sam quickly declined after Bill Clinton's election in 1992.

Political Representation in Rap Music, 1989-2015

Since there are few words commonly used in rap music to gauge political representation directly, I ran a key words search on various common political actors from each branch of government.

Figure 5.3: Common Institutional Actors Present Described in Popular Rap Music, 1989-2015
President, Bush, Clinton, Obama, Congress, politicians, judge
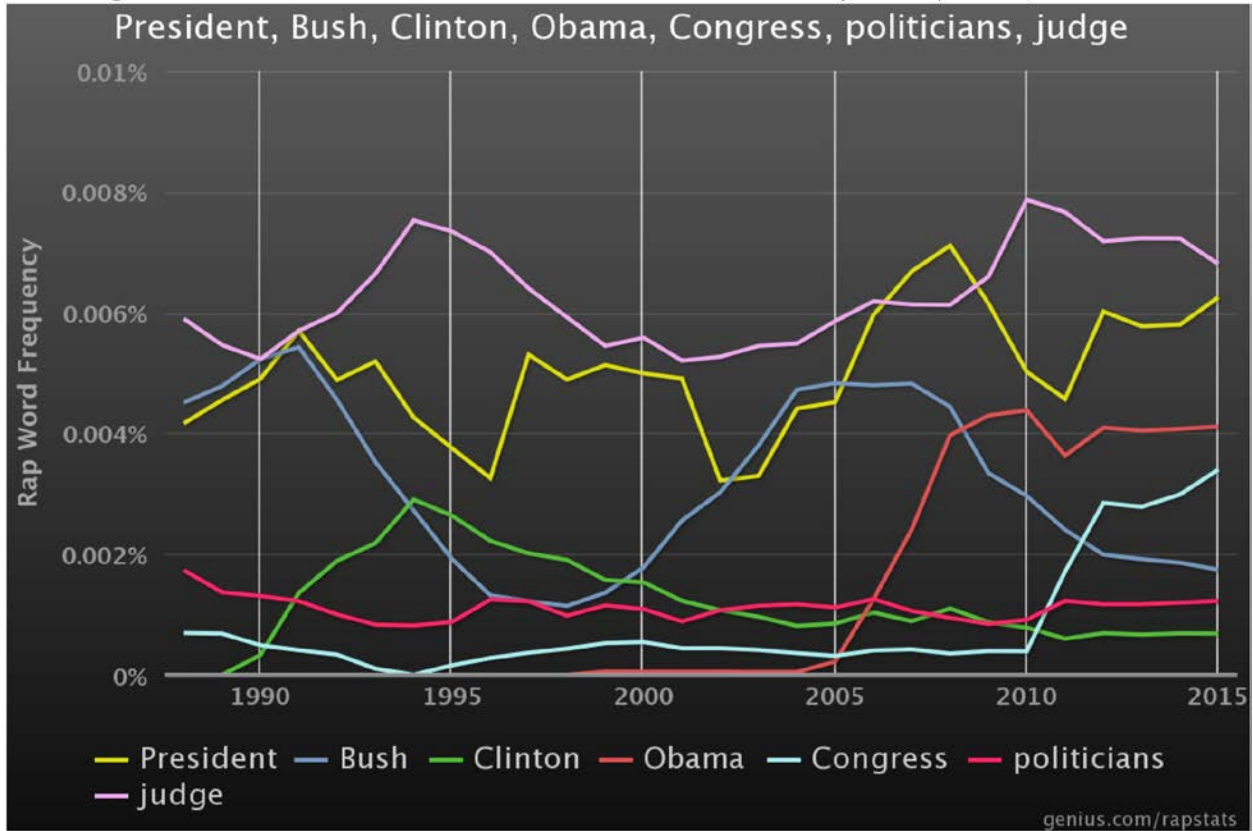
Courtesy of Rap Genius, 2015

As shown in Figure 5.2, the term "politicians" has been consistently low in usage by rappers. Over time, the use of the term "president" has, on average, been second only to "judge"; the term is most often used in an election year, with the exception of 2004. However, specific candidate names tended to be used more often.

Predictably, the use of "Obama" began to rise in the mid/late 2000s in correlation with his induction to the Senate and ultimately to the White House. Clinton had a slower and more moderate increase of mentions in rap music in the early-mid 1990s. It was followed by a gradual descent. However the Bushes (George Bush and George W. Bush) were the most discussed presidents in rap music. As previously mentioned in Chapter 3, conservative politicians often

held unfavorable views of rap music. The rap music of the late 1980s and early 1990s often spoke explicitly about the political and economic injustices acutely affecting Black Americans. It is no wonder that Bush I (a president not favorably viewed by popular rappers) was mentioned at an elevated level during the period.

Mentions of "Bush" increased again during George W Bush's tenure. While popular rap music during the early 2000s was not considered explicitly political, Bush mentions increased particularly during the 2004 election. If we recall Figure 5.1, the increase of Bush mentions runs parallel to the increase of mentions regarding voting. For context, there were low mentions of both voting and of Bush in 2000. The 2000 election was quite controversial, with Al Gore winning the popular vote but losing to Bush in the election via Electoral College votes. Several key voting districts in battleground states (particularly Florida) with high African-American voting blocs were given confusing ballots, refused at the door, or had a high amount of unaccounted votes. According to Simon (2001), many African- American organizations rallied to get more Blacks out to vote (and vote for the Democratic candidate, John Kerry). Therefore, understandably, more mentions regarding Bush were delivered in 2004 as opposed to 2000. Unfortunately, the word frequency search does not allow for sentiment analysis, one cannot tell from the graph if the emotions toward Bush were positive or negative. However, given the conservative policies of Bush and rap music's history of anti-conservative politician rhetoric, my assumption would be that the majority of Bush mentions were negative.

The term "judge" was the word most used in Figure 5.3, peaking twice in 2004 and 2010. This term could refer to personal criminal cases concerning the rappers themselves. However, it could also refer to the judicial system, widely considered unjust to African-Americans.

While the word frequencies are important, it is important to balance such results with the staying power of the line or verse. For instance, a trusted rapper delivering one well-received verse regarding a political issue could potentially be more influential and politically socializing than fifty mentions from less well-received lyrics.

Comparison of Results Across the Surveys

There was considerable overlap between the variables of 1993 and 2005. In fact, many of the variables used from the 1993 dataset had comparable (if not identical) variables to the 2005 BYP survey dataset. In this section, I will cover the common variables between the two datasets to uncover any shifts with respect to rap music consumption and the associated attitudinal and participatory variables of interest.

TABLE 5.1 COMPARISONS OF COEFFICIENTS, ODDS RATIOS AND PREDICTED PROBABILITIES: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND ATTITUDES OF RAP LISTENERS 1993 vs. 2005

1993

		Petition	Protest	Contact	March	Talkpolitics
	Coeff	.40 (.25)	.70*** (.29)	.13 (.28)	.40 (.30)	.21 (.38)
	OR	1.48	2.02***	1.13	1.49	1.23
	SE	0.37	0.59	0.32	0.44	0.47
Raplisten	PP	0.71	0.59	0.88	0.71	0.83
	Total Respondents	362	362	361	361	362

2005

		Petition	Protest	Contact	Boycott	Talkpolitics
	Coeff	1.93 (.90)	.53 (.27)	1.8 (1.20)	1.3 (1.30)	1.28 (.43)
	OR	1.93	0.53	1.8	1.3	1.28
	SE	(0.90)	(0.27)	(1.20)	(1.30)	(0.43)
Raplisten	PP	0.34	0.65	0.36	0.43	0.44
	Total Respondents	533	534	533	534	534

1993

		Blkfeminist	Coalitionbuild	BestInterests	Policegangs	Underminemales
	Coeff	.24 (.27)	.05 (.25)	.52** (.35)	.56** (.25)	.59* (.32)
	OR	1.38	1.02	1.64*	1.64**	1.96 **
	SE	0.37	0.26	0.4	0.42	0.66
	PP	0.81	0.95	0.66	0.64	0.63
Raplisten	Total Respondents	335	339	345	349	358

2005

		RaceoverGender	CoalitionBuild	GovtBigInterests	PoliceDisc	MaleBreadWinner
	Coeff	0.63 (.64)	.60** (.28)	.68** (.22)	1.22*** (.21)	.17 (.28)
	OR	27.7***	4.8***	3.4*	1.14	1.33
	SE	(32.40)	(2.70)	(2.30)	(1.35)	-(0.59)
	PP	0.61	0.63	0.60	0.45	0.85
Raplisten	Total Respondents	473	528	524	394	534

* Controls perfectly predicting the outcome were omitted, resulting in lost cases.

For parity, I only displayed the results from the variable "raplisten" as it was the only rap variable used in both the 1993 National Black Politics Study and the 2005 Black Youth Project study. I coded the 2005 BYP "raplisten" variable on a 0-1 scale so that it could be comparable to the 1993 NBPS.

The only form of political participation strongly associated with the effects of listening to rap music was protesting. As previously stated, protesting falls in tune with the dissent politics discussed in rap music in the 1990s. However, Table 5.1 shows how protesting was no longer strongly associated with listening to rap in 2005. In fact, none of the political participation

variables were significant, and only one was significant in the 1990s. As described by mobilizers interviewed in Chapter 4, many Black youth often feel a lack of socialization to conventional forms of political engagement, such as contacting public officials or speaking with friends and family about politics.

With respect to the political attitude variables, two of the variables were consistently associated with listening to rap music from 1993 to 2005. Listening to rap music was still associated with negative feelings regarding police maltreatment toward Blacks, and concerns regarding government interests and lack of political representation were still associated with the effects of listening to rap.

However, listenership was strongly associated with building coalitions with other marginalized racial groups in 2005, it was not in 1993. On the other hand, listenership in 1993 was strongly associated with a female empowerment variable. That association was not present in 2005.

Over time, this evidence suggests a decrease in the strength of the association between rap listenership and support of Black female empowerment, and an increase in association between the effects of listenership and support for coalition building.

There were many findings with respect to the political attitudes and mobilization of Black youth and how it has shifted over time. This dissertation contains important trends and associations between rap music lyrics, its consumption, and the attitudes and behaviors of Black youth. However, as with all studies, these chapters have encountered limitations that one balance when making sense of the results.

Conclusion

Chapter 6 shows the ways in which the associations between rap music consumption and political attitudes and behavior have remained constant and shifted over time. Amongst Black youth, the associations between rap music consumption and political attitudes have remained strong. However, the associations between consumption and forms of political participation have diminished.

Chapter 6 summarizes the results regarding rap music consumption and its associations with the political opinions and behavior of youth over time and discusses the chapters' limitations and potential future studies.

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CHAPTER 6: "Changes":
Pushing Forward in the 21st Century

"I am society's child. This is how they made me and now I'm sayin' what's on my mind and
they don't want that. This is what you made me, America."
- Tupac Amaru Shakur, 1995

Introduction

When people think of rap music, negative words often come to mind. In its infancy, rap
music was considered a bad influence on children. It was often described raw, brash, violent,
misogynistic, and having limited intellectual content. Politicians flocked to silence the
burgeoning art form. Music programming stations were reluctant to play rap videos at all, much
less during daylight hours. It was rare that radio stations outside of urban stations would play it.
Rap music was born out of the frustrations of the post-Civil Rights movement. Feeling powerless
and invisible, Black and Brown youth of New York City gave birth to rap music. Born as a
response to political frustration, rap music has had a complicated relationship with politics. In
Chapters 1, 2, and 3, I went into the details regarding the shift in that relationship. In the earlier
part of rap music's history (prior to mid-1990s) rap appeared to be under attack by political
actors and religious leaders. The attempts to silence the spread of rap music to America's youth
failed. Rap music is currently one of the most popular forms of music the world has known.

Now that rap music is globally successful, new extensions of those early criticisms
emerge. At times, it is described as inauthentic, neoliberal, low quality music performed by
lower quality artists. Many critics portray the artists as puppets for a White dominated music

industry that has put them at odds with supporting Black political engagement. This portrayal is too simplistic. Black youth continue to listen to rap music in large numbers. Due to Black youth's high consumption of rap music, I find it is imperative to continue to tease out the potential political implications of that consumption, whatever they may be. To the extent that rap artists follow the Black musical tradition of being a strong political socialization agent for the Black community (which both the theories and evidence discussed in this dissertation suggest), it would behoove political scientists to begin to understand under which conditions and in which ways rap music and its artists shape Black youth's political opinions and behavior. This dissertation attempted to extend, expand, and pioneer new ways of thinking about this new wave of political socialization research.

As described in this dissertation, the reception, consumption, and lyrical content of rap music changed from 1993 to 2015. Several scholars discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 suggest that the change in rap music's audience resulted in less explicit politically engaging rap lyrics. As you recall from Chapter 2, Blacks were both the primary group of listeners and producers of rap music in the 1970s up until rap music became globally popular in mid-1990s. When rap music became more popular amongst a diverse group of youth, the biggest corporations in the music industry became interested in pursuing more rap artists. Several scholars and artists alike claim that the political content and social relevance for Black youth suffered as a result of corporate control of rap music. Many scholars either dismissed popular rap music as void of politically revolutionary messages and/or claimed that the rappers had less impact on youth of the hip-hop generation.

When I read the American politics literature, I found that the field was sorely lacking in ways to assess or generate the political socialization and mobilization of Black youth. I quickly

became sympathetic to Walton's theory of counter-socialization. Walton characterized American politics as being ill equipped to assess the socialization of Blacks. Thirty years after Hanes Walton (the "Dean of Black Politics") wrote *Invisible Politics* (1985), the field still lacks the tools to investigate and has little interest in seeking to understand Black political socialization on its own merit. I harken back to the late Walton both to continue his critique regarding the limited standing of the literature on Black political socialization and to contribute to it. While much more work needs to be done, this project sought to continue (and in some ways renew) the discussion surrounding alternate forms of Black political socialization. I was adamant and purposeful in my desire to do a mixed methods study. I have always been drawn to both quantitative and qualitative methods of analyses. Surveys are good sources of data and great starting places for scientific inquiry (due to precise measurements, reliability, and generalizability). However, not all can be answered or expanded upon (and therefore not completely understood) with quantitative methods. Using a qualitative approach to Chapter 4 allowed me to analyze the interviewees on their own terms, using their own words. I understand that this approach carries its own set of limitations (including limits to generalizability and replication concerns). However, both methodological approaches wonderfully complemented each other with respect to both understanding the significance of a relationship between rap consumption and political behavior and understanding the mechanisms behind it in greater depth and detail. I was pleased with the results and their implications.

Overview of Results

The purpose of this dissertation was to assess the relationship between Black youth's rap consumption and the development of the group's political attitudes and participation. This dissertation demonstrated that consumption of rap music had strong associations on the attitudes

and (at least in 1993) the political participation of Black youth (and to some degree Latino youth).

Chapter 2 assessed Black youth in 1993, during the heyday of brash, overtly political popular rap music. The chapter showed that listening to rap music is strongly associated with holding several political attitudes sympathetic to female empowerment, Black political representation, and a disdain for police surveillance. With respect to political attitudes, the chapter also illustrated some important differences in the results for listening to rap as opposed to considering it an important source of political information. Considering rap an important source of political information was significantly associated with both supporting Black feminism and promoting gender equality in the Black community. While not significant, considering rap an important source of political information was associated with less support for coalition building amongst other marginalized groups. As a reminder, there were only 406 (33%) respondents between the ages of 18 and 34. Of that sample, only 288 listened to rap and a mere 203 considered it an important source of information.

Listening to rap music was very strongly associated with protesting, an act supported by the rap music of 1993. Considering rap an important source of political information was strongly correlated with protesting, petitioning, and marching. In sum, rap consumption had strong associations with all of the dissent participation variables. Considering the revolutionary dissent politics espoused by popular rap artists at the time, this suggests that the attitudes of Black youth who listened to rap music were parallel to the sentiments expressed by the rap artists.

Chapter 3 assessed Black youth in 2005 during a time of global recognition and corporate constraints on popular rap music. While the BYP survey did not contain a variable on whether or not the respondent considered rap an important source of political information, it did contain a

153

variable on watching rap music programming. I included this variable as a way to compare listening versus watching and listening simultaneously. Overall, listening to rap music was associated with sympathy for numerous significant political attitudes amongst Black youth respondents. Specifically, listening amongst Black youth was strongly associated with sympathy for these political attitudes: coalition building, a lack of political representation, police discrimination, racial pride, gay marriage, and societal discrimination against young Blacks. Listening and adhering to certain political attitudes were more present for Blacks than the other two groups (Whites and Latinos) in terms of significance. However, the effect size was large for all three racial groups for many of the political attitude variables.

While I expected to find associations between rap music consumption and attitudes sympathetic to the advancement of marginalized groups, I did not expect to find support of gay marriage. Considering the misogynistic nature that some rap music can possess, this finding is opposite of what rap music critics have predicted (McWhorter 2008; Goff 2008).

For White youth respondents, listening to rap music was only strongly associated with two political attitudes: preferring that Black women fight for gender rights over rights for Blacks, and sympathy toward societal discrimination against young Blacks. Compared to Black youth respondents, the association was weaker with sympathy toward societal discrimination against young Blacks. However, the effect size was large. Although not significant, listening for Blacks was mildly associated with preferring that Black women fight for rights of Black rather than gender equality. That direction of that association is opposite that of Whites.

For Black youth respondents, viewership was associated with nearly all of the same political attitude variables as listenership, albeit the significance of the measures was slightly diminished. One major difference, however, is that viewership was not strongly correlated with

154

significant support of gay marriage. Support for gay marriage decreased amongst viewers than non-viewers. However, there has been research to suggest that seeing visuals can augment the schemas that adolescents place on themselves. In fact, as Ward et al. show in "Contributions of Music Video Exposure to Black Adolescents' Gender and Sexual Schemas" (2005), frequently watching rap music videos that adhere to stereotypical gender roles resulted in the adolescents developing more misogynistic and traditional gender roles than those not exposed. So while the lyrics themselves may not have such an effect on the African-American teenagers, biased visuals that accompany the lyrics may result in a stronger adherence to traditional gender roles.

For White youth respondents, the effects of viewership were not associated with any of the attitudinal variables present in this study. The association between political attitudes and rap consumption was very weak overall and did not appear to suggest a strong relationship amongst Whites. The same is true for the effects of rap consumption on political participation amongst Whites. Viewership was only associated with less contact to public officials. This association was significant at the .1 level. The evidence suggests that the effects of rap consumption offered few associations with the political attitudes and behavior of White youth.

For Latinos, listening to rap was only significantly associated with one political attitude variable: being sympathetic to the idea that police discriminate more heavily against Blacks. However, with respect to watching rap music programming, viewership amongst Latinos was strongly correlated with both police discrimination against Blacks and believing that women could also be the breadwinners of a household. I categorized "malebreadwinner" as a female empowerment variable. Although not present for listening to rap music, the effects of watching resulted in a stronger association with a notion female empowerment. Considering the misogynistic stereotype that both rap lyrics and rap videos have with respect to female bodies,

the previous result is a surprising revelation that suggests that watching rap videos may, in fact, have an empowering effect on gender relations amongst Latino youth respondents.

Although the associations were quite strong between rap consumption on political attitudes amongst Blacks, there were no associations present between rap consumption and political participation. Like Whites, the effects of such consumption were only associated with less contact to public officials amongst Latinos. Overall, the evidence suggests a weak relationship between the effects of rap consumption and various forms of political participation for all three racial groups.

One cannot simply attribute such low associations to a lack of youth engagement between rap artists and their lyrics.

Chapter 4 offers an interesting perspective of the relationship between rap music consumption and various political attitudes and forms of political participation, as seen through the eyes of three Black leaders who help to mobilize Black youth. The interviews were very different, but had similar core elements.

For instance, Pastor Moss stressed education and mentorship as two key ways to politically engage and mobilize Black youth. Specifically, Moss stressed various forms of counter-social education, that is: music, various forms of art, and the histories of various social movements led by Blacks and other marginalized groups. He described how rap music had politically socialized him as a child and teen. He described old school rap music as prolific and politically socialized. He described much of current popular rap music as void of solutions to social problems and a regurgitation of notions of Black pathology.

Garza described social media as the primary way to mobilize Black youth in the current sociopolitical climate. As a founder of the Black Lives Matter movement, Garza believed that

alternate ways of learning in safe spaces are key in engaging Black youth in the political process. Although nearly 10 years his junior, like Moss, Garza believes that old school rap music was most effective at politically socializing Black youth, particularly when compared with current popular rap music.

Noble strongly believes that education (particularly education surrounding competing theories of marginalization and mobilization) was most effective at engaging youth. Like Garza, Noble believed that Black youth were most expressive and receptive in safe spaces with people who look like them. Noble characterized the dominant political sphere as ignorant and uncaring of the needs of Black youth. He believes that Black youth sense this and act out and engages politics in counter-social ways as a result.

Limitations

1993 NBPS Limitations

While groundbreaking, there were a few limitations of the NBPS study. The youth age group was a bit wide due to the lack of respondents under the age of 30. In fact, there were very few respondents under 24 years old. Hopefully, in light of the emerging interest in studying the relationship between hip-hop and political behavior, another dataset (containing more adolescents and young adults) that asks more questions about the relationship might be available in the near future. A larger pool of respondents would be preferable. Now that we have an aging part of the hip-hop generation, it would prove useful to include oversamples of youth, middle aged and elderly Blacks who listen to rap music.

The age of the dataset can also be of concern. The political and technological landscape has changed since the onset of this study. Rap music's global influence has grown considerably. High-ranking Black public officials (i.e. President Obama) have been elected into office. Hip-

hop elites are ever more prominent and their influence now reaches past music. The Internet has been a major campaigning and mobilizing tool. As mentioned in Chapter 2, I theorize that one factor in the increase of Black youth participation in politics concerns the role hip-hop elites were given in voter mobilization efforts, such as Sean "P. Diddy" Combs' strong participation in the Vote or Die campaign or Russell Simmon's Hip-Hop Caucus.

Since the inclusion of rappers in endorsements and voter mobilization, we've seen several politicians aligning themselves with hip-hop elites during important campaign times. This is a large shift from the adverse reaction politicians gave hip-hop culture (particularly rap music and its artists) as rap emerged on the global scene in the 1990s.[19] What is the reason for the shift? Why now? I speculate that one reason politicians have changed their tune toward hip-hop elites is because they understand the unique relationship rap artists have with their fan bases in getting them to be civically engaged. Although not empirically tested in this dissertation, the additional votes that hip-hop elites can possibly attract young adults and potentially impact the outcome of an election. Political campaign directors seem to be ahead of the curve in understanding the potential weight the voters from the hip-hop generation can have on the political landscape. Political science, as a discipline, may need to catch up. The purpose of this study was to aid in that process.

Black Youth Project Limitations

In the 2005 Black Youth Project survey, Cohen addressed concerns with the 1993 NBPS project. She focuses on youth and young adults specifically and includes Whites and Latinos as

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[19] Associated Press. "Lil Wayne & Elvis: Rapper Passes Icon's Billboard Record". Huffington Post. 2012

comparison groups. However, still present are some concerns: the age of the dataset, the constraints of secondary survey questions, and causal inference.

The culture of the hip-hop is fast moving. Because the culture continually expands and evolves, it can be difficult to gauge the present climate using an older survey data set. For instance, one cannot assess the association between hip-hop and politics in the age of President Obama using the 2004-2005 data from the Black Youth Project.

The second limitation is the general use of secondary data. I am constrained by the preexisting questions asked on the survey. For instance, it is difficult to parse out "celebrity effect" as opposed to "cultural art form effect" with the survey questions presented. For example, it is unclear whether a respondent listens to all rap music because he or she loves the genre, or if the respondent listens only to one rap artist because he or she enjoys that artist as a celebrity. I provide an alternative way to examine the role of rap music in political socialization, although it is also not immune to limitations.

The largest limitation of both this chapter and the 1993 NBPS is that cross-sectional survey instruments are not ideal for gauging causation or interrogating the underpinnings of the respondents' political attitudes. Since rap music permeates American music, it is likely that most of the survey respondents have been exposed to rap music. Thus, it might be more difficult to measure its effects in comparison to the absence of an effect in an experimental setting.

"Music in Movement" Limitations

The "Music in Movement" qualitative chapter was intended to offer context and understanding behind an understudied concept within the discipline— discovering the relationship between rap music and Black youth attitudes and participation. However, a

qualitative interview chapter such as this does present its own set of challenges and limitations. The principal limitations are: a small sample size, fewer precise measurements, and the amount of time spent on coding.

The sample size for interviews is small; I conducted 3 interviews with community leaders. While interviews tend to give more information that a predetermined survey can ever muster, the small sample size makes it near impossible to generalize the findings to the larger population. While the wealth of data within each interview potentially offers future researchers the opportunity to generate new theories, the results of the 3 interviews taken in this dissertation can only be comfortably viewed in their individual contexts; they are not generalizable.

Another limitation is the open-endedness of the questions. With surveys, respondents are asked specific questions and generally constrained to choose between a few responses. While not ideal, this offers a measure of precision that open-ended questions in an interview cannot. With this lack of precision, the integrity of the chapter rests on the skill of the researcher. As the principal researcher for this project, I coded in the most systematic ways possible, although one must admit the large amount of time high level coding takes.

No project is free from limitations. The limitations presented here are the general limitations present in nearly any survey data and qualitative interviewing project.

Future Studies

There are several extensions of this project that I would like to pursue. In light of major events affecting Black youth political engagement (President Obama's election, the Great Recession, and the Black Lives Matter Movement, the expansion of electronic access to both local and popular rap music, increased polarization and gridlock between Republicans and Democrats in Congress, to name a few), I would like to craft another data set similar to that of

the Black Youth Project would be essential in gauging the political attitudes and participation of Black youth in today's political and popular music climate.

While the Black Youth Project asked a battery of questions on a host of other topics (health, religion, etc.), I would consider developing an additional set of questions gauging the type of rap consumed (old school, new school, or both), and the names of favored local and popular artists. I would also include more open-ended questions in addition to survey questions. I believe that would allow for greater detail in the types of political participation in which Black youth are engaged.

I would ask more questions about local hip-hop events attended and their attachment to politics, if any. I found the discussion surrounding types of hip-hop sorely lacking in the surveys, but often mentioned in the interviews. When mentioned in the interviews, old school and local hip-hop were often favorably referred to as "real", "true", or "authentic" hip-hop. I would to better understand how Black youth make sense of the varying types and the relation each type has in the development of the political attitudes and mobilization of Black youth consumers.

Local Rap vs Popular Rap

Figure 6.1 "Real Hip Hop" Key Word Search in Popular Rap Music Lyrics, 1989-2015
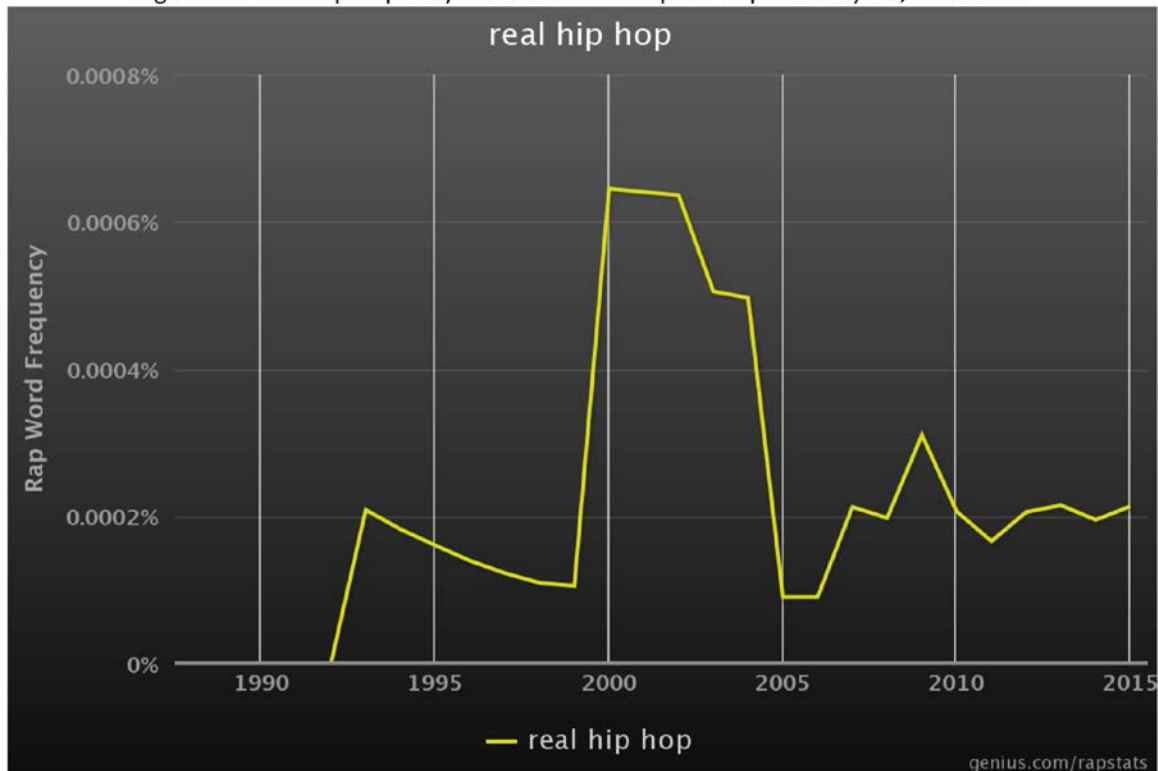
Many of the Black leaders in Chapter 4 discussed the notion of authenticity. I would like to explore this idea more carefully in a future study. I'd like to study the associations between consumption of local rap (thought to be, on average, more authentic) and popular rap music with respect to Black youth's political opinions and behavior.

The phrase "real hip hop" has a very specific sense of attachment and nostalgia for the "good old days". As Rose noted (1994), authenticity is a fundamental tenet of hip-hop, functioning as a door to who is "in" or "out" of the true essence of the culture; a harken back to its grassroots roots. In the early days of hip-hop, the culture was considered more communal and in tune with the injustices facing the wider Black community. Its focus wasn't considered to be centered on money, but on the love of the community and developing the art form. One strong indicator is the lyrical attachment to the celebrations and consternations of Black life in urban

America. What is intriguing and paradoxical about Figure 5.4 is that the mentions of "real hip-hop" began to present itself toward the end of the heyday of hip- hop in 1994 and took off in the late 1990s, eclipsing in the early 2000s. This increase in the use of phrase runs parallel to the globalization of "new school" rap music mentioned in Chapter 4. What the interviewees described as a period of lesser quality artists and lyrics are thought to have increased, there were more artists rapping about the phrase. It is quite plausible that popular rap artists were claiming to be "real hip hop" while local artists were criticizing that popular rap music wasn't "real hip-hop" or that local artists are the primary sources of "real hip-hop". It would be advantageous if the resources on Rap Genius would let one disaggregate the two types of rap music. However, what is less controversial is the idea that the term "real hip-hop" was less used between during the "old school" period, known as the golden era of hip-hop. Arguably the most impressive period of rap's history, the period most consider "real hip-hip" used the term less often than later periods. Which is more powerful in influencing Black youth, local or popular rap music? In a future study, I would like to parse out consumption of local hip-hop artists and popular ones. Then I would like to compare the correlation between the attitudes and participation of Black youth who listen to the two types of rap music. The study would be three-prong: surveying the sample on their consumption of popular and rap music, initiating a time series analysis on consumption from adolescence to young adulthood, and recording their developments of political attitudes and forms of political participation. If this dissertation has shown anything, it has shown the beginnings of understanding the complex and potentially influential relationship rap music has on Black youth. The discipline must keep pace.

Conclusion

I began this dissertation with four hypotheses: (1) that participation in standard forms of political participation would be lower amongst Black youth in 1993 than in 2005, (2) that there would be higher levels of dissent participation amongst Black youth in 1993 than in 2005 due to the political climate and the angry response it received from rappers, and (3) Political attitudes amongst Black youth regarding authority will be more unfavorable in 1993 than in 2005, and (4) that White youth respondents would have different political attitudes than those of Black youth, regardless of rap music consumption.

The evidence suggests that in fact, neither the Black youth of 1993 nor those in 2005 participated significantly in the standard forms of political participation (contacting public officials and talking to friends and family about politics). While not engaged in conventional forms of political participation, there was evidence to support the hypothesis that rap consumption in 1993 amongst Black youth was strongly associated with various forms of dissent participation (petitioning, protesting, and marching). This runs in contrast to the relationship between such variables in 2005 with respect to rap consumption, as rap music consumption was not strongly associated with any forms of dissent participation.

With respect to political attitudes, I hypothesized that rap consumption amongst Black youth would be more strongly associated with unfavorable views of authorities, particularly when in 1993 than in 2005. The evidence suggests support for my hypothesis. The two variables concerning authority reflected the interests of government officials and violent and discriminatory behavior of police to Blacks. Listening to rap music was strongly associated with both variables in both 1993 and 2005. However, when considering the predicted probabilities of

the variables across time, the evidence suggests greater support for the two variables of interest amongst Black youth in 1993 as opposed to 2005.

Recall that the 2005 survey data analyses contained not only Blacks, but Latinos and Whites as well. The effects of rap consumption and their associations with certain political attitudes varied by race. However, the evidence suggests strong support for different political attitudes held by White youth compared to Black youth. The effects of rap music consumption amongst White youth were not strongly correlated with nearly any of the political attitude variables. With the exception of police discrimination against Blacks (which all three racial groups disapproved at significant levels), the only variable strongly associated with the effects of rap music consumption was "raceovergender". That is, White youth preferred that Black women fight for gender equality over racial equality. Unlike the other two racial groups, Whites were least receptive to variables concerning sympathy for marginalized groups, no matter the amount of rap consumption. With few exceptions, my hypothesis regarding differing political attitudes amongst Blacks and Whites held.

Hip-hop is fast moving culture. At any moment, lyrics or actions can be sparked by a national outcry, a refreshing new rapper, or salacious beef (battle) between two rappers. Increasing technology and the demands of both the rappers and the Black community can move the culture. Fads go back and forth, and rappers cycle in and out. The climate of rap today can be quite different from the climate and culture by next year. To the extent that the discipline wants to better understand the society through the eyes of African-American youth, social scientists should focus on the things that they consume. The discipline is largely ignorant about agents of counter-socialization and how they differ from standard forms of political socialization with respect to their reception amongst Black youth. To the degree that Black youth still

165

overwhelmingly consume counter-socializing agents that contain political references, rap music and other forms of counter-socialization should be given serious study.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: 1993 Political Attitude Variables

- BLKFEMINIST (F3): Black feminist groups help the Black community by working to advance the position of Black women. OR Black feminist groups just divide the Black community.

- COALITIONBUILDING (F2): Latinos, Asian Americans, and other disadvantaged groups are potentially good political allies for Blacks. OR The problems of Blacks, Latinos, Asian Americans, and other disadvantaged groups are too different to form good political coalitions.

- BESTINTERESTS (F20): (Please tell me which choice is most true for you...) Black elected officials can best represent the interests of the Black community. OR White officials elected from predominantly Black communities represent Black interests just as well as Black elected officials.

- POLICEGANGS (F24): (Please tell me which choice is most true for you...) The police are an important part of stopping gang violence. OR The police are too much like just another gang to stop gang violence.

- UNDERMINEMALES (F4): Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community. OR Black women should not undermine Black male political leadership.

APPENDIX B: 1993 Political Participation Variables

The variables of interest with respect to political participation are listed below and began with this script: "Now, I'm going to read you a list of things people have done to address such problems as neighborhood crime, drug trafficking, the quality of education or the safety of children. Please tell me if you have done any of these things in the last 2 years":

- PETITION (C10): Signed a petition in support of something or against something

- PROTEST (C8): Attended a protest meeting or demonstration

- CONTACT (C7): Contacted a public official or agency

- MARCH (C9): Taken part in a neighborhood march

- TALKPOLITICS: Talked to family or friends

APPENDIX C: Odds Ratios and Predicted Probabilities: Political Attitudes of Those Who Listen to Rap Music, 1993

ODDS RATIOS AND PREDICTED PROBABILITIES: POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO LISTEN TO RAP MUSIC, 1993

		Blkfeminist	Coalitionbuild	BestInterests	Policegangs	Underminemales
Raplisten	OR	1.39	1.08	1.78*	2.29**	1.66**
	SE	(0.44)	(0.32)	(0.67)	(0.69)	(0.48)
	PP	0.58	0.52	0.64	0.70	0.62
	Total Respondents	335	339	349	358	345
RapInfo	OR	1.98**	0.73	1.97**	1.51	1.68
	SE	(0.60)	(0.22)	(0.83)	(0.47)	(0.38)
	PP	0.66	0.42	0.66	0.60	0.63
	Total Respondents	316	321	332	336	326

Notes: * p < .1; ** p < .05 *** p < .01 for two-tailed test.

171

APPENDIX D: Odds Ratios and Predicted Probabilities: Political Participation of Those Who Listen to Rap Music or Consider It a Source of Information, 1993

ODDS RATIOS AND PREDICTED PROBABILITIES: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF THOSE WHO LISTEN TO RAP MUSIC OR CONSIDER IT A SOURCE OF INFORMATION, 1993

		Petition	Protest	Contact	March	Talkpolitics
Raplisten	OR	1.54	1.91**	1.15	1.5	0.57
	SE	(0.45)	(0.64)	(0.39)	(0.55)	(0.32)
	PP	0.61	0.66	0.53	0.60	0.36
	Total Respondents	362	362	361	361	362
RapInfo	OR	1.41*	3.34***	1.12	2.1**	1.23
	SE	(0.42)	(0.77)	(0.37)	(0.77)	(0.62)
	PP	0.59	0.77	0.53	0.68	0.55
	Total Respondents	339	339	339	338	339

Notes: * p < .1; ** p < .05 *** p < .01 for two-tailed test.

APPENDIX E: 2005 Black Youth Project Political Attitude Variables of Interest

- RACEOVERGENDER: Is it more important for Black women to fight for racial equity or gender equity? (racial equality, gender equality, both, neither, DK/RF)

- COALITIONBUILD: Some people say that Blacks would have more political impact if they worked in coalitions with people of color, like Asians or Latinos. Other people say that Blacks would have more of a political impact by forming their own political organization. What about you? Do you think that Blacks should work with other people of color or form their own organizations? Would you say it is better for Blacks to… (form their own organizations, work with other people of color, both, neither, DK/RF)

- GOVTBIGINTERESTS: The government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves and their friend. Would you say you… (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, DK/RF)

- POLICEDISCRIMINATE: On average, the police discriminate much more against Black youth than they do against White youth. Do you…. (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, DK/RF)

- MALEBREADWINNER: It is better if a man is the main financial supporter of his family. Do you… (strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree, DK/RF)

- RACEPRIDE: I am proud of [RACE_GRP] people. Do you… (strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree, DK/RF)

- GAYMARRIAGE: The government should make it legal for same-sex couples to get married. Do you…(strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree, DK/RF)

- DISCAGAINSTYOUNGBLACKS: It is hard for young Black people to get ahead because they face so much discrimination. Do you… (strongly agree, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, strongly disagree, DK/RF)

APPENDIX F: 2005 Black Youth Project Political Participation Variables of Interest

Thinking about other political activities. Tell me if you have done any of the following in the last 12 months. Have you…

- PETITION: (In the last 12 months, have you)… signed a paper or e-mail petition? (yes, no, DK/RF)

- PROTEST: (In the last 12 months, have you)… attended a protest meeting, demonstration or sit-in? (yes, no, DK/RF)

- CONTACT: … contacted a public official or agency? (yes, no, DK/RF)

- BOYCOTT: In the last 12 months, have you participated in a Boycott? (yes, no, DK/RF)

- TALKPOLITICS: In the last 12 months, have you talked with family or friends about a political issue, party or candidate? (yes, no, DK/RF)

APPENDIX G: Odds Ratios and Predicted Probabilities: Political Attitudes of Those Who Listen to Rap Music or Watch Rap Music Programming, 2005

TABLE 3.3: ODDS RATIOS AND PREDICTED PROBABILITIES
POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO LISTEN TO RAP MUSIC, 2005

	RaceoverGender			CoalitionBuild			MaleBreadWinner			GovtBigInterests			Policediscriminate		
	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
OR	0.52*	1.88	0.88	1.1	1.82**	1.1	1.03	1.18	0.76	1.14	1.97**	0.97	1.72**	3.4***	1.82*
SE	(0.34)	(1.21)	(0.48)	(0.26)	(0.52)	(0.37)	(0.24)	(0.33)	(0.25)	(0.22)	(0.57)	(0.32)	(0.42)	(1.35)	(0.63)
PP	0.34	0.65	0.47	0.52	0.65	0.52	0.51	0.54	0.43	0.53	0.66	0.49	0.63	0.77	0.65
Total Respondents	447	528	249	438	528	246	461	534	253	461	524	248	457	394	252
OR	1.18	1.05	1.08	1.13	1.5*	1.60	0.92	1.13	0.47**	0.88	1.7**	1.32	1.49	2.17***	2.93***
SE	(0.51)	(0.52)	(0.58)	(0.32)	(0.36)	(0.54)	(0.26)	(0.26)	(0.15)	(0.25)	(0.41)	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.54)	(1.03)
PP	0.54	0.51	0.52	0.53	0.60	0.62	0.48	0.53	0.32	0.47	0.63	0.57	0.60	0.68	0.75
Total Respondents	447	473	249	438	528	246	461	534	253	461	524	248	457	532	251

	RacePride			GayMarriage			DiscAgainstYoungBlacks		
	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
OR	0.8	3.95***	0.85	1.1	1.94**	1.4	1.54*	2.47***	1.35
SE	(0.20)	(1.24)	(0.30)	(0.46)	(2.82)	(0.34)	(0.36)	(0.71)	(0.44)
PP	0.44	0.80	0.46	0.52	0.66	0.58	0.61	0.71	0.57
Total Respondents	461	533	253	459	529	252	458	533	252
OR	0.89	2.1***	0.98	0.83	1.07	1.59	1.16	1.77**	1.54
SE	0.26	0.54	0.34	0.23	0.25	1.05	0.68	0.43	0.49
PP	0.47	0.68	0.49	0.45	0.52	0.61	0.54	0.64	0.61
Total Respondents	461	533	253	459	529	252	458	533	252

Notes: * $p < .1$; ** $p < .05$ *** $p < .01$ for two-tailed test.

176

APPENDIX H: Odds Ratios and Predicted Probabilities: Political Participation of Those Who Listen to Rap Music or Watch Rap Music Programming, 2005

TABLE 3.3: ODDS RATIOS AND PREDICTED PROBABILITIES

POLITICAL ATTITUDES OF THOSE WHO LISTEN TO RAP MUSIC, 2005

		Petition			Protest			Contact			Boycott			Talkpolitics		
		White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino	White	Black	Latino
Raplisten	OR	0.94	1.93	0.58	1.01	0.53	0.64	1.3	1.8	0.34*	1.23	1.3	27.2**	0.72	1.28	0.63
	SE	(0.27)	(0.90)	(0.26)	(0.46)	(0.27)	(0.42)	(0.43)	(1.20)	(0.22)	(0.70)	(1.30)	(45.10)	(0.26)	(0.43)	(0.25)
	PP	0.48	0.66	0.37	0.50	0.35	0.39	0.57	0.64	0.25	0.55	0.57	0.96	0.42	0.56	0.39
	Total Respondents	463	533	253	463	534	253	462	533	252	462	534	119	463	534	253
RapWatch	OR	0.80	1.05	0.70	0.80	0.50	0.45	0.43*	0.68	0.32*	0.99	0.54	8.20	0.65	1.2	0.9
	SE	(0.27)	(0.38)	(0.33)	(0.42)	(0.23)	(0.31)	(0.18)	(0.33)	(0.22)	(0.64)	(0.10)	(10.60)	(0.27)	(0.33)	(0.34)
	PP	0.44	0.51	0.41	0.44	0.33	0.31	0.30	0.40	0.24	0.50	0.35	0.89	0.39	0.55	0.47
	Total Respondents	463	533	253	438	534	253	462	533	252	461	524	119	457	534	253

* Controls perfectly predicting the outcome were omitted, resulting in lost cases.

APPENDIX I: Human Research Subjects Explanation

Since my study involves oral histories and research of organizations, the University of Michigan's Institutional Review Board (IRB) classifies it as "non-regulated" and exempt from review. In spite of the exemption, I plan to have the organization leaders read and sign an electronic consent form that states the results of the study will be confidential. (See "Appendix B: IRB Consent Form"). Since I plan to conduct the interviews over the phone or Skype, I will email the consent form to the elected official. Before the interview, I will ask for them to reply affirming that they have read the consent form and agree to the terms. I will highlight the most important points of the consent agreement on the audio recording of the interview.

Title of Research: Beat Boxing on Black Pain: The Fascinating Relationship Between Rap Music and Civic Engagement for Black Youth

Investigator: Portia Rae Hemphill, Joint Ph.D. Candidate, University of Michigan

Please read the following information before participating. This statement describes the purpose, process, benefits, and potential discomforts associated with this research study. You have the right to withdraw at any time.

Explanation of the Procedure

You are being asked to participate in a research project to investigate how your organizations use measures of hip-hop culture in general (and rap music, specifically) to impact the youth involved and how you have witnessed members of your organizations engage in and with hip-hop culture.

I will conduct one [face-to-face/phone/Skype] interview with you about the aforementioned topics. This interview should last approximately 30 minutes to one hour. Although I will only interview you once, I may need to follow up for clarification purposes.

Risks and Discomforts

The interview contains no questions that should pose a physical or psychological risk. You should not experience any discomfort resulting from participating in this interview.

Benefits

There is no direct benefit to you for participating in this project. However, this research is expected to yield knowledge about the relationship between rap music and civic engagement amongst American youth.

Confidentiality

Your identity as a participant will remain confidential and will not be disclosed to any unauthorized persons. Only myself, my research assistants, and my dissertation committee will have access to the research materials. These materials will be in encrypted files on my personal computer and saved in a secure backup file online.

You will be audio recorded for purposes of accuracy. Only the aforementioned parties will have access to this recording. All others will refer to a transcribed record of our interview. Any references to your identity that would compromise your anonymity will be removed or disguised prior to the preparation of the research reports and publications.

Withdrawal Without Prejudice

Participation in this study is completely voluntary; exercising your ability to withdraw participation will involve no penalty. You are free to withdraw consent and discontinue participation in this project at any time and for any reason.

Payments to Subject for Participation in Research

There will be no costs for participating in the research. You will also not be paid to participate in this research project.

Questions

If you have any concerns regarding this research project, please call me at **312-714-6796** or email me at **raportia@umich.edu**. Questions regarding rights as a person in this research project should be directed to the Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board at 734-936-0933.

Consent

This agreement states that you have received a copy of this informed consent. Your electronic signature below indicates that you agree to participate in this study.

_____ _____

Electronic Signature of Subject   Date

APPENDIX K: Interview Questions

1. Currently, what do you think are some mental barriers, if any, that Black youth have in participating in politics?

2. What do you think are some of the best practices to overcome such barriers?

3. What role, if any, does hip-hop culture play in helping to overcome these barriers?

4. Do you think that hip-hop artists have been trusted sources in relaying the current political climate to Black youth?

5. At what moment did you fall in love with hip-hop?

6. In what ways do you try to get youth involved in the political process?

7. What do you think are the best ways to reach Black youth?

8. How do you actually use elements of hip-hop to connect to youth?