

# “We are Hip Hop”: An exploration of authentic Hip Hop as a lived culture.

Cat Young, University of Aberdeen  
cat.young@abdn.ac.uk

## 2010



**School of Social Science  
Edward Wright Building  
University of Aberdeen**

Hip Hop is commonly reduced to a marketable product called rap music. It is via this phenomenon that a whole culture has come to be known and (mis)understood by mainstream society. As such, Hip Hop is incorrectly considered as a limited music genre alone and there is a lack of acknowledgement of what the culture is, what it involves, its values, etiquettes and aspirations. This lack of recognition as a culture within its own right has seen the elements of Hip Hop exploited, mainly by the media, but often by well-meaning yet ill-informed people of varying professions. Therefore, this paper seeks to rectify the misunderstanding and lack of knowledge about Hip Hop. Simply, I ask, what is Hip Hop? This paper is intended as a platform for future research, which will rely on readership having a foundational knowledge of the definition of authentic Hip Hop, and understanding its difference to commercial hip-hop music. Key words: Hip Hop, Breakin', culture, rap

---

## Introduction

*“Just because I’m an up n comin’ hungry Emcee,  
Don’t mean I’ll settle for a happy meal record deal,  
I’d rather steal, take your whole shit,  
You never gave me nuthin’ so why should we split the profit?  
Why should I listen to your opinion if my shit is hot or not,  
When you know nuthin’ ‘bout Hip Hop?  
Yo kid rewind, listen to this shit again,  
Next time you might comprehend, the message I send,  
Independent is not a dream, but the only way of life,  
Cos I’m not really alive if somebody else control my destiny,  
Makin’ the important choices for me  
Then I’m a walkin’ dead, a zombie”*

*Zombies – Looptroop, ‘A Modern Day City Symphony’*

---

So I’m sitting in Victoria’s Restaurant<sup>1</sup> and can’t quite believe what I’m hearing from my own sister. “But I don’t understand, how can you call it a culture, it’s just like me going to yoga class, I don’t see any difference?” Between the chintz and this comment, I’m about to whitey<sup>2</sup>. I am horrified at such a comparison between my entire way-of-life and what I perceive as part-time, convenience-based, capitalist consumption of a product derived from another highly respectable culture<sup>3</sup>. Calming down afterwards I’m left pondering, “Is it me? Is it my community? Why is this not obvious to everyone except us, that we actually *live* this?”

**“You can’t just do it two hours a day n ‘ok, I’ll do it when I go to the gym’. We used to eat, pish, shit, drink, think ... Bboyin’!”** *Mr. Freeze, Rock Steady Crew.*

And so here it is, in one paragraph the researcher laid bare. This is my way-of-life, my community, my livelihood, my inspirations, all outlined for the purpose of grounding and situating my partial

---

<sup>1</sup> Victoria’s Restaurant is an old-fashioned and upmarket tearoom serving high tea and expensive jewellery in Aberdeen.

<sup>2</sup> ‘To whitey’ means ‘to grow suddenly pale and nauseas, normally through shock or embarrassment or ill-health’, but also ‘employed forcefully to emphasise disgust or repulsion or disappointment’. It is an urban expression, and one I frequently use. I have highlighted elsewhere the importance of using native language and local-/culture-specific terms.

<sup>3</sup> The irony is doubled since yoga is an essential cultural practice for many followers of various Hindu cults.

claims for knowledge (Cilliers, 2005). A similar approach is undertaken in all my work. I write the way I write because I'm perhaps a microcosm of the macrocosm<sup>4</sup>. In this way, I assert to you (as I already have for different philosophical reasons inspired by the Temple of Hip Hop), that "I am Hip Hop". I can state this because rap is something that you do, Hip Hop is something that you are<sup>5</sup>. By the reader having a full appreciation of the development of my ideas and intellectual and emotional wrangling (Lumsden, 2009), I am hoping to reach out of the page, reflecting also the vivacity and liveliness of our culture, HipHop Kulture<sup>6</sup>, reflecting how Hip Hop as a collective might talk to the academy. I am hoping that this can allow the reader to penetrate into an otherwise unknown world. Not only do my questions, approach and reasoning tend towards this style, but I also believe any other style does not in the context of this paper provide an adequate translation of culture, so attempts at them have been abandoned deliberately (but nonetheless thoughtfully). It is such a translation and whistle-stop tour I hope to provide here.

The purpose is not so much navel-gazing as an individual. Rather, navel-gazing on behalf of a culture. As such, I must make clear if it is not already so, that the questions I have raised above are asked by many Hip Hoppas – lyrical content is riddled with references to this<sup>7</sup>, as are documentaries or video clips with interviews of Hip Hoppas. In short, the culture is crying out to be understood by outsiders, to have the chance to self-determine and create its own terms of operation within the world, to be recognised and distinguished. To be explicit about this, the reader must now note that there is a claim of difference between 'the reality' of Hip Hop, versus something else. This 'reality' I shall here after refer to as the 'authentic' Hip Hop, generated from the 'inside'. The something else is 'commercial' or 'inauthentic' hip-hop and generated because of the 'outside' and mainly by the 'outside'. These boundaries enable our community to preserve and define our own space,

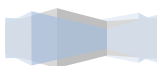
---

<sup>4</sup> Those familiar with Hermetic philosophy will understand this is reminiscent of the 'Principle of Correspondence'.

<sup>5</sup> As repeatedly affirmed by KRS-One, Hip Hop pioneer and Emcee.

<sup>6</sup> This is the name established by our community and presented to the U.N. in the Hip Hop Declaration of Peace, May 2001.

<sup>7</sup> The above lyric is representational of the view from Hip Hop Kulture. This lyric specifically targets the 'inauthentic' and draws a very clear boundary between 'them and us' as part of an ongoing dialogue within authentic Hip Hop. 'Being' Hip Hop is the boundary, where 'being' includes not being subject to outsider constraints or performing according to outsider values and pressures. It means being independent, free-thinking and conscious of oneself and others, of one's history, origins, values, creativity and contribution to the culture, living Hip Hop. In this metaphor above, independence from a big record label is equated with qualities associated with authentic Hip Hoppas. Wheaton (2007) appears to suggest authenticity claims revolve around hierarchies within popular culture – i.e. **within** mainstream culture. This approach reduces groups to subculture status by assumption and further, it is based on an undemonstrated claim that the 'lower orders' can be grouped with the 'higher orders'. This also suggests dominant/submissive relationship dynamics where there may be no relationship at all, and it suggests that outsiders (outside both "subcultures") are justified in grouping together bands of people based on perceived similarity (which I contend is often based on lack of actual experience with either one of those "subcultures").



determine our own terms of operation in the world, and shape a place for our Kulture. With that in mind, the remainder of this paper will attempt to: partially describe the birth of Hip Hop and the ‘elements’; note the role of mainstream media and society, in order to give a flavour for the distinction between the authentic and the inauthentic; and define the key terms Hip Hop, Hiphop and hip-hop so that the reader may begin to understand the culture in its own terms. This is within a discussion of what I mean by the loaded term ‘culture’.

## Culture

*“That African soul clap, black power impact  
Who said ghetto rap was all about a dope sack?  
A pimp slap or a big black gatt?  
Fuck around and get jacked for them rhymes where I live at,  
I’m not a gangsta but I boogie with beats,  
No gang affiliation in my lyrics or speech”*

*I am Somebody – Jurassic 5, ‘Power in Numbers’*

---

The English word ‘culture’ comes from a Latin root ‘colere’. It means ‘to cultivate, dress, inhabit, honour, tend, worship or decorate’. Whilst an individual does not constitute a culture, a collective of individuals all exhibiting the same trends above, distinct from other societies, can then perhaps be viewed in a grouping. As such I would be searching for the following key signifiers: dressing in a similar way; honouring the same things; inhabiting particular places (whether to worship, live or congregate); cultivation or self-development in certain arts and knowledge systems.

The suggestion that Hip Hop is something that one ‘is’, echoes the popular theory that culture is a ‘way of life’ (Longhurst, 2005). Culture can be seen as something which we are socialised into and it is full of symbolic interaction (Chick, 2009). An interesting article on internalization of culture has defined it as “socially shared information that is coded in symbols” (Toomela, pp. 37, 2003). Unless one is familiar with the culture, it is hard to define what those behaviours actually mean, because one won’t have the cultural tools or experiences capable of deciphering the symbols and can only hazard a guess. Guessing is not good science<sup>8</sup>. I have already discussed elsewhere the deficiencies in the very few efforts at engaging with Hip Hop by outsiders, who essentially end up guessing due to being ill-equipped in socially shared codes. The problem of outsiders investigating such symbols

---

<sup>8</sup> The problems Indologists have in deciphering the symbols on seals of the Indus Valley culture, the issues interpreting its female figurines, etc all more than adequately prove the point that unfamiliarity with a culture leaves major issues for scientists. Fortunately for archaeologists and Indologists, they have a habit of being very upfront about this shortcoming unlike certain social scientists.



and reporting with a false authoritative voice can be summed up by Spivak (2006, pp.359) as, “When the tendency to think of our own culture as dynamic and other cultures as static is expressed by a powerful group towards less powerful groups, a political problem arises”. In a bid to further reject colonialist and elitist values, I am not charging symbols with connotations of ‘high art’ and ‘being civilised’ (although I do believe in Hip Hop I witness both high art and civilised behaviour)<sup>9</sup>.

**“Hip Hop is back. The culture is back, in full effect. Time to get a piece of the cake. We gotta take it in our own hands. The culture is back. Much respect to the real Hip Hop. All the elements, one love. Bboys and Bgirls this one is for you. Stand up, we have been disrespected, underpaid, underestimated for too long ...” Jay-Roc and Jakebeatz, 2006**

But whilst symbols are indeed significant in understanding culture, symbols don’t define culture. As Chick (2009) recently argued, the cognitive definitions are perhaps a useful addition to a definition. As such, I will be thinking of culture in the following terms: a context to understand behaviour and meaning; something to know, believe and/or do in order to be part of a specific group (following

---

<sup>9</sup> Thinking briefly of colonialist inclinations and interpretations of culture, I would like to mention Bruce-Govan and de Burgh-Woodman’s review of post-colonialism. The article analyses sneaker purchasing in what they term “street culture”. No definition is given for this term, but it is suggested throughout the entire article that it is synonymous with having an ethnic gene pool originally located in the African continent, i.e. if you’re African American, your street. Leaving aside the issue of those individuals who are of a mixed gene pool, certainly it is at best ridiculous to suggest all African Americans live in urban ghettos and at worst it’s blatant racism. African Americans can’t be defined and limited by a ‘street’ context. An insider to this “street culture” (such as my Caucasian self) finds a bizarre twist, in that they only focus on African American opinions because even though “street culture includes Hispanic groups, we suggest that the history of Hispanic communities in the US is substantially different from African-American experiences”. This statement is given no further justification or elaboration. So the idea is this: African Americans in the projects buy and stylise their sneakers and value them differently to the Puerto Ricans for example, in the same projects, and this is *specifically* because of a radically different racial history. According to this train of thought, it is not possible we are dealing with a common factor here at all, even though such ethnic groups can be neighbours and friends. Without a single piece of empirical data to back it up, they suggest it is more logical to assume an Hispanic displaying the exact same behaviour regarding how she/he ties their shoelaces must still be because of two apparently wildly different ethnic histories. I think common sense would suggest this is unlikely, though I am glad they hint by default that many Hispanics in cities also share a love for sneakers. The authors here refuse to acknowledge that skin colour might not be a determining or significant factor in causation of why people in ghettos wear sneakers in a certain way. The argument is then flimsily built around this assumption that African Americans are always “street” and don’t share anything with other ethnic groups. Actually if they had investigated properly they would have found the humble sneaker is of far greater cultural significance than they have realised. The point being, culture cannot be reduced to ethnicity because it fits a colonialist approach or politically correct post-colonialist legacy. Your culture is not your race. And we must resist the temptation to not question our assumptions, no matter how well-meaning initially (as in this case). Note how in the lyric, Akil plays with these same assumptions of what being black means according to the ‘outsider’. The use of irony in his lyrical threat that one would get jacked in the ‘real’ world for such stereotyping is humorous, poignant and honest.

Goodenough, quoted in Chick, 2009); knowledge, skills, beliefs acquired through social interaction which modifies human action. I shall describe the elemental pillars, the structure if you will, which constitutes Hip Hop Kulture, within the 'junkyard' of cultural items available as Martin (2010) would put it<sup>10</sup>.

**"I mean the moves? It's deep, it's heavy. Unless you a Bboy you can't understand some rhythmic patterns within movements and combinations if you don't do it." Ken Swift**

## Elements

*People talk about Hip Hop like it's some giant in the hillside,  
Comin' down to visit the townspeople.  
We are Hip Hop! Me, you, everybody.  
We are Hip Hop, so Hip Hop is goin' where we goin'.  
So the next time you ask yourself where Hip Hop is goin' ask yourself,  
"Where am I goin'? How am I doin'?", then you get a clear idea.*

*Fear Not of Man – Mos Def, 'Black On Both Sides'*

---

Brooklyn and the Bronx in the 1960's, 1970's and 1980's were impoverished and left floundering by the mainstream. Landlords committed arson, disregarding human life, in order to claim insurance money. Time magazine records over 7,000 fires in the South Bronx alone in the two years leading to October 1977. Churches were often the only untouched urban architecture. Outlaw gangs like the Crazy Homicides ran riot. Neighbourhoods were characterised by rats, stray dogs, burning buildings and police brutality. Rockin' happened in Brooklyn (heavily influencing the development of what would become Breakin'). In the Bronx the sense of community was disturbed by the mayor and town planners when they built a highway right through the centre of the borough, leaving disaster in its wake. Deejays spun records at neighbourhood park jams, inventing 'breaks', while philosophy, religion, music, community projects and the like were discussed. They often jammed in the dark, diverting power from the street lighting in order to power up speaker systems. Breakin' happened. Graffiti writers bombed trains across the city with their tags, claiming respect and making comments

---

<sup>10</sup> "Culture may at some times function as tool kit (Swidler, 1986), but more generally I suspect it is more like a junkyard, full of sharp bits of metal, in which children happily play." Martin, pp. 13, 2010. His overall suggestion is that there are instead key structures upholding a variety of skills and behaviours within cultures, and establishing what these pillars/structures are is necessary. In Hiphop Kulture, we have recognised this for decades and call these pillars or structures 'the elements'.



on society at large. Some of the artistic elements are: Graffiti, Breakin', Emceein', Deejayin' and Beatboxin'<sup>11</sup>.

**“Hey yo, power from the streetlight made the place dark, I know a few understand what I’m talkin’ about. It was love for the thing that made me wanna stay out. It was love for the thing that made me stay in the house spending time writin’ rhymes ...”** Mos Def

In the Regan and Thatcher era, outsiders cottoned on to the ‘crazy kids’ doing ‘angry acrobatics’ and the dances were exploited. When the media and mainstream society realised it was difficult to sell a Bboy or a Bgirl to take home and dance, and it was much easier to press a record and sell it for considerable profit, Emceein’ became transformed into the gangsta rap we see pervading the late 1980’s and early 1990’s mainstream media<sup>12</sup>. This is what white America wanted to believe about the ‘black Other’ and paid handsomely to hear of, confirming deep-seated racist views<sup>13</sup>. Remember that 70% of gangsta rap is purchased by young, white, middle-American males. From the late 1990’s onwards this had become a little played out. Ironically then, the new attraction became the bling and the bitches for African American men, encouraging the aspiration towards ruthless capitalist wealth-making and brutal exploitation of oneself and others to promote diamonds, whilst simultaneously degrading the black female body. Mainstream America now had a public outlet for racist beliefs, consuming a model of the black man as animalistic, homoerotic, uneducated, defined in opposition to everything that is ‘whiteness’. Similarly, there was a convenient way of blaming misogyny and a patriarchal mainstream, white set-up on blacks. By portraying black men as women-hating, white misogynists can enjoy and indulge in the image of the weak and submissive, bullied female, whilst simultaneously pinning the blame on black men for ‘uncivilised’ behaviour towards women (even though it was frequently whites consuming it), as if misogyny never existed until the African American showed up. I further suggest that the degradation of the black female and her body in Hip Hop is a key tool in undermining the one area where certain black men and women have had an advantage. Namely, in order to maintain social division and white, middle-aged male

<sup>11</sup> Rockin’ is a type of dance within Hip Hop which predates and heavily influences Breakin’. It is from Brooklyn. Breakin’ is the major dance of Hip Hop, also known as Bboyin’ or Bgirlin’, **incorrectly** referred to as breakdance by outsiders. Emceein’ is conscious street rhyme, influenced by an African American game called the ‘Dozens’. Deejayin’ involves beatmaking, scratchin’, mixing, cuttin’ and a whole range of skills different to those of regular DJ’s, it is also known as Turntablism. Beatboxin’ is the mimicking of drum sounds and turntable effects by a person. Graffiti is the generic name given to Taggin’, Bombin’, Writin’, Piecin’ and concerns art, especially where calligraphy is valued.

<sup>12</sup> The Freshest Kids (2002) references this as do countless other pioneers of Hip Hop I have spoken with. I have also experienced firsthand as a Bgirl the same exploitation from the mainstream.

<sup>13</sup> Again this a commonly shared and well-established idea, documented in several places. See further bell hooks (1994).



hierarchy rules, black men must begin looking at their womenfolk as animals. However, anyone knows the image of the black female is far stronger and 'superior' to that of a white female, this being the advantage. Black women were rarely characterised by the weakness and frailty still promoted to white women today. However, by systematically degrading and exploiting the black female, she is doubly shunned due to gender and race; put at the bottom of the social heap, under black men, who in turn are under Hispanics, Asians and women, who are under white boys, who are under white working-class males, who are under white male elites. Commercial hip-hop happened.

Meanwhile, Deejays, Emcees, Bgirls, Bboys, Beatboxers, Writers and other Hip Hop entrepreneurs continued. They may have dipped underground for periods but never stopped existing. The people who were really down for more than just the profits stuck it out (KRS-One, 2009), and certainly events in Breakin' history are testimony to this. Hip Hop happened and continues to this day. The glue for the movement as a whole is the collective aims of knowledge, wisdom and understanding, as well as the value system articulated by Afrika Bambaataa and other pioneers, 'peace, love, unity and safely having fun'. Within the movement we may be considered to have language or a dialect variation, which some might consider a type of pidgin English. One will tend to find that although a Hip Hoppa will specialise in an element, normally others are at least dabbled in because "all of this accents your character" (Ken Swift, Hip Hop pioneer and Bboy legend, ex-Rock Steady Crew, VII Gems Break Division, VII Gems Rock Dance Division, 2009). Within our knowledge system, and because of our rich community network, if a person finds a passion for an element it becomes very easy to very quickly become completely immersed in Hip Hop, such that it commands the goals one strives for daily and grounds one in a value-based knowledge system which can and does affect day-to-day life, determining everything from your t-shirt to your schedule.

## Authenticity

*"Again the real world, bigger than all these fake ass records,  
Where poor folks got the millions and my sistas disrespected ...  
I'm sick of that fake thug, R & B, rap scenario  
All day on the radio, same scenes in the video, monotonous material ...  
You would rather have a Lexus, some justice, a dream or substance?  
A beamer, necklace or freedom?  
Still, a nigga like me don't play a hate, I just stay awake,  
This real Hip Hop and it don't stop til we get the po-po off the block"*

*Hip Hop – Dead Prez*

---





So now I have arrived at the crux of the issue. Commercial hip-hop is not conscious of the above history. Not conscious of its roots, heritage, community responsibility or role model status, it generally shows no sign of value for the culture which it exploits as a marketable product to other cultures. It is disingenuous. It cares not for the uplifting of an oppressed people. It seeks not the advancement of society. It talks in money. It expresses nothing other than fantasy of what the 'Other' is, playing up to underlying racial prejudices and a misogynist framework of patriarchal mainstream society (bell hooks, 1994), as well as encouraging fear among the 'youth of the Other' that they should seek outside of themselves for self-worth, specifically to accumulation of wealth and women in what seems to me to be a bizarre contortion of the American dream - rather than express themselves righteously and creatively and in a natural context.

Real Hip Hoppas do Hip Hop all day, every day. They do so whether or not wider society latches on to a fad and deems it worthy of payment. They do not require outsider authority to 'be' this. This is because Hip Hop is a true expression of who Hip Hoppas feel they really are. This 'being' entails particular dress styles and ideals, developing knowledge and skill in the element of speciality, sacrificing other social dynamics and behaviours if necessary in order to pursue one's chosen element<sup>14</sup>.

Often, there are barriers to being genuine Hip Hop due to societal pressures, for instance dress code pressures. This is more prevalent in certain countries. And it shows that real Hiphoppas exist in spite of and not because of mainstream society and values<sup>15</sup>, whereas commercial hip-hop is an imitation of Hip Hop developed due to and by the mainstream. There are rappers who are talented and yet part of this phenomenon of commercial hip-hop, but they have in the words of KRS-One been both metaphorically and literally hungry, in need of money for food. The reality of options in the projects means this is indeed the case. In a recent interview (Hip Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes, 2006) some Emcees, whilst pimping their ability in hopes of a record deal, sadly claimed the following:

**Emcee one:** *"Yo, coulda been a docta, or I coulda been a pops, wonder what woulda happened, had I woulda been a cop - would I help the block, protect the good from the bad,*

---

<sup>14</sup> In my paper "Go now, Jalapeno, Go, Go!" the interview with a well-recognised Scottish Bboy emphasised and recorded this point.

<sup>15</sup> This is a further reason why it is not a subculture, because it doesn't operate with any relationship to mainstream society. Only commercial hip-hop has a relationship to mainstream society and depends on the existence of Hip Hop in order to have anything to mimic.



*or just be killin' niggas cuz the power of ma badge?" See that's nice, but nobody wanna hear that right now ...*

**Emcee two:** *Yeah they don't accept that, the industry, they don't give us deals when we speak righteously n things of that nature, you know. They think WE don't wanna hear that!*

Within such a context, it is easy to see who has the power, and who provokes much of the lyrical content of gangsta rap. This goes back to Spivak's comment noted earlier. When this is coupled with Mos Def ('Mathematics' – Black on Both Sides, 1999) noting that "I got 16 to 32 bars to rock it, but only 15% of profits", a dynamic of exploitation is clearly afoot.

## Conclusion

I'm back at Victoria's Restaurant and it is a lifetime away from my way-of-life and what I learned both at home and when I lived in New York City. What I've seen, what I've heard, echoes exactly my own experience of Hip Hop. Am I just a consumer as in the bi-monthly yoga class scenario? No. Applying the idea of correspondence, neither are other Hiphoppas. This is the ultimate difference, a Hiphoppa is conscious and **contributes** to Hip Hop. It is a tool of expression, *not a product for consumption*. Commercial hip-hop is rap music and everything associated with that, a marketable product, an industry. Hip Hop is what we call ourselves, the name of our 'Kulture' as observable from the nine elements. Hiphop is our lifestyle, our collective group consciousness, our joint creative 'being-ness' (KRS-One, 2009). A Hip Hoppa knows this, knows their origins and lives a life in a body infused with these meanings, histories, symbols and styles. We share a belief that we share something bigger than each of us individually. On the other hand, commercial hip-hop can be equated to carcinogenic man-made saccharin compared to the nourishing honey in the hive.

**"Hiphop Kulture is the name of our unique community of consciousness. Hiphop is the name of our collective consciousness and Hiphop's culture is the manifested character, patterns, beliefs and arts of our collective consciousness as Hiphoppas. We are a very real community of specialized people."** KRS-One, Pioneer of Hip Hop and legendary Emcee.



## Bibliography

- Alasuutari, P (2001) 'Art, Entertainment, Culture, and Nation', *Cultural Studies – Critical Methodologies* [Electronic], vol. 1 (2) pp. 157-184. Available: <http://csc.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/1/2/157> [26 February 2010]
- Brace-Govan, J. and de Burgh-Woodman, H. (2008) 'Sneakers and Street Culture: A Postcolonial Analysis of Marginalized Cultural Consumption', *Consumption Markets & Culture* [Electronic], vol. 11 (2) pp. 93-112. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/10253860802033639> [26 February 2010]
- Chick, G. (2009) 'Culture as a Variable In the Study of Leisure', *Leisure Sciences* [Electronic], vol. 31 (3) pp. 305-310. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/01490400902837902> [4 February 2010]
- Cilliers, P. (2005) 'Complexity, Deconstruction and Relativism', *Theory, Culture & Society* [Electronic], vol. 22 (5) pp. 255-267. Available: <http://tcs.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/22/5/255> [26 January 2010]
- HOOKS, B. (1994). Sexism and Misogyny: Who Takes the Rap? Misogyny, Gangsta Rap, and The Piano. *Z Magazine*.
- KRS-One. (2009) *The Gospel of Hip Hop*, Brooklyn: Powerhouse Books
- Longhurst, B. et al (2008) *Introduction To Cultural Studies*, London: Longman
- Lumsden, K. (2009) 'Don't Ask A Woman To Do Another Woman's Job: Gendered Interactions and the Emotional Ethnographer' [Electronic], vol. 43 (3) pp. 497-513. Available: <http://soc.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/43/3/497> [26 February 2010]
- Martin, J. (2010) 'Life's a Beach But You're An Ant, And Other Unwelcome News for the Sociology of Culture', *Poetics* (with the publisher 2010). Acquired by email from Dr. John Levi Martin, University of Chicago.
- Spivak, G (2006) 'Culture Alive', *Theory, Culture & Society* [Electronic], vol. 23 pp.359. Available: <http://tcs.sagepub.com> [26 February 2010]
- Toomela, A (1996) 'How Culture Transforms Mind: A Process of Internalization', *Culture & Psychology* [Electronic], vol. 2 (3) pp. 285-305. Available: <http://cap.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/2/3/285> [26 February 2010]
- Wheaton, B. (2007) 'After Sport Culture: Rethinking Sport and Post-Subcultural Theory', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* [Electronic], vol. 31 (3) pp. 283-307. Available: <http://jss.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/31/2/283> [26 February 2010]
- The Freshest Kids: a History of the Bboy (2002), DVD. Directed by Israel.
- Hip Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes (2006), DVD. Directed by Byron Hurt.

