CHAPTER TWO

“All Aboard the Night Train”
Flow, Layering, and Rupture in Postindustrial New York

Life on the margins of postindustrial urban America is inscribed in hip hop style, sound, lyrics, and themes. Situated at the “crossroads of lack and desire,” hip hop emerges from the deindustrialization meltdown where social alienation, proleptic imaginaries, and yearning intersect. Hip hop is a cultural form that attempts to negotiate the experiences of marginalization, brutally truncated opportunity, and oppression within the cultural imperatives of African-American and Caribbean history, identity, and community. It is the tension between the cultural fractures produced by postindustrial oppression and the binding ties of black cultural expressivity that sets the critical frame for the development of hip hop.

The dynamic tensions and contradictions shaping hip hop culture can confound efforts at interpretation by even the most skilled critics and observers. Some see hip hop as quintessentially postmodern practice, and others view it as a present-day successor to promodern oral traditions. Some celebrate its “triumph of consumer capitalism,” and others condemn it for its complicity with commodification. To one enthusiastic group of critics, hip hop combines elements of speech and song, of dance and display, to call into being through performance new identities and subject positions. Yet, to another equally vociferous group, hip hop merely displays in platanesqually form the cultural logic of
late capitalism. I intend to demonstrate the importance of locating hip hop culture within the context of deindustrialization, to show how both postmodern and premodern interpretive frames fail to do justice to its complexities, and how hip hop’s primary properties of flow, layering, and rupture simultaneously reflect and contest the social roles open to urban inner-city youths at the end of the twentieth century.

Worked out on the rusting urban core as a playground, hip hop transforms technological and cultural industrial trash heaps into sources of pleasure and power. These transformations have become a basis for digital imagination all over the world. Its earliest practitioners came of age at the tail end of the Great Society, in the twilight of America’s short-lived federal commitment to black civil rights and during the Reagan-Bush era. In hip hop, these abandoned parts, people, and social institutions were welded and then spliced together, not only as sources of survival but as sources of pleasure.

Hip hop replicates and reimagines the experiences of urban life and symbolically appropriates urban space through sampling, attitude, dance, style, and sound effects. Talk of subways, crews and poses, urban noise, economic stagnation, static and crossed signals leap out of hip hop’s voices, sounds, and themes: graffiti artists spraypainted murals and (name) “rags” on trains, trucks, and playgrounds, claiming territories and inscribing their otherwise contested identities on public property. Early breakdancers’ elaborate technologically inspired street corner dances involving head spins or concrete sidewalks made the streets theatrically friendly and served as makeshift youth centers. The dancers’ electro robotic mimicry and idiosyncratic transforming characterizations foreshadowed the fluid and shocking effect of morphing, a visual effect made famous in Terminator 2. DJs who initiated spontaneous street parties by attaching customized, makeshift turntables and speakers to street light electrical sources revived the use of central thoroughfares, made “open-air” community centers in neighborhoods where there were none. Rappers seized and used microphones as if amplification was a lifelong source. Hip hop gives voice to the tensions and contradictions in the public urban landscape during a period of substantial transformation in New York and attempts to seize the shifting urban terrain, to make it work on behalf of the dispossessed.

Hip hop’s attempts to negotiate new economic and technological conditions as well as new patterns of race, class, and gender oppression in urban America by appropriating subway facades, public streets, language, style, and sampling technology are only part of the story. Hip hop music and culture also relies on a variety of Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American musical, oral, visual, and dance forms and practices in the face of a larger society that rarely recognizes the Afro-American significance of such practices. It is, in fact, the dynamic and often contentious relationship between the two—larger social and political forces and black cultural priorities—that centrally shape and define hip hop.

In their work on the blues, Houston A. Baker and Hazel Carby describe the ways in which various themes and sounds in blues music articulate race-, gender-, and class-related experiences in southern rural black life, as well as the effects of industrialization and black northern and urban migration. Similarly, George Lipsitz’s work on rock ‘n roll illustrates how post-WW II labor-related migration patterns, urbanization, municipal policies, and war-related technology critically shaped the sounds and themes in early rock ‘n roll and the cultural integrations that made it possible. He also illustrates how rock ‘n roll depended heavily on black musical structures, slang, and performance rituals in producing its own lexicon.

Examining how musical forms are shaped by social forces is important, because it brings into focus how significantly technology and economics contribute to the development of cultural forms. It also illuminates both the historically specific aspects of musical expressions (e.g., rock ‘n roll as a post-WW II phenomenon) and the stylistic links between musical forms across historical periods (e.g., mapping the relationship between rock ‘n roll and blues music). In line with this, Andre Craddock-Willis situates four major black musical forms: the blues, jazz, rhythm and blues, and rap as expressions that emerge in relation to significant historical conditions and the relationship between black Americans and the larger political and social character of America. Linking jazz to de facto racial segregation, rhythm and blues to the ragging inequality that fueled the civil rights movement, Willis locates these musical genres as cultural forms that articulate in part community reactions to specific social and political contexts. Yet, he also alludes to the points of continuity between these and other black forms and practices, such as the cultural traditions, styles, and approaches to sound, motion, and rhythm that link jazz to blues and blues to rap.

Willis, however, misrepresents or ignores useful and insights when he attends to rap music and its relationship to contemporary American society. For him, rap’s distinguishing characteristic is its status as a postmodern form whose contradictory articulations are a "by-product of the postmodern condition. In describing rap music as an "expression of the complexity of post-modern African-American life," Willis argues
rap's contradictory stance toward capitalism, its raping sexism, and other "non progressive" elements are unresolved postmodern contradictions that, once they have been sorted out, will permit rap to take its place "on the historical continuum of Black musical expression." Willis perceives rap's contradictory positions to be postmodern contradictions, rather than an expression of long-standing social and political inequalities and beliefs. He situates rap's "bad" facets as points of discontinuity with previous black cultural forms and its "good" facets as points of continuity, going so far as to suggest that once these good and evil forces are worked out and good has prevailed, rap will be able to "take its place at the altar" of emancipatory black cultural production.8

There are at least three major, yet familiar, problems with this formulation. First, it vigorously erases the contradictory stance toward capital, raping sexism, and other "non progressive" elements that have always been part and parcel of jazz, the blues, and R&B, as well as any number of other nonblack cultural forms. Early roots are as vulgar and jazz and blues lyrics are as sexist as any contemporary rap lyr., the desire for commodities as articulated in some blues and R&B lyrics rivals rap's frequent obsession with consumptive consciousness. One must have rather deeply rose-tinted lenses to miss the abundant and persistent existence of these "non progressive" elements throughout many cultural expressions.

Second, it necessarily «forces» to understand these contradictions as "central" to hip hop and to popular cultural articulations in general. Hip hop's laboratory, visionary, and politically progressive elements are deeply linked to the more regressive elements that Willis believes "sells the tradition short." This aspect of hip hop's contradictions is not unique to postmodernity, it is a central aspect of popular expression and popular thought. In other words, cultural forms contain cultural ideas and ways of thinking that are already a part of social life. In fact, it is these contradic-
tions that make the culture coherent and relevant to the society in which it operates. It is the contradictory nature of pleasure and social resistance in the popular realm that must be confronted, theorized, and understood, instead of ignored or rigidly rejecting those practices that ruin our quest for untainted politically progressive cultural expressions.9

Finally, his identification of rap as a postmodern form is not consistent with his previous formulations of jazz, the blues, and R&B as forms that are rooted in economic relations, power relationships, and social struggle. To be consistent with his historical linking of jazz to de facto segregation and R&B to the "de-humanization" that fueled the civil rights movement, he should have linked rap and hip hop more directly to the processes of urban deindustrialization in the 1970s, the postindustrial urban landscape in the 1980s, and their impact on African-American urban communities.

Expanding Willis's frame to include hip hop, I would like to retain his central formulation; that is, the necessary tension between the historical specificity of hip hop's emergence and the points of continuity between hip hop and several Afro-diasporic forms, traditions, and practices. Hip hop's development in relationship to New York cultural politics in the 1970s is not unlike the relationship between other major cultural expres-
sions and the broader social contexts within which they emerged. Hip hop shares the innovative and experimental qualities that characterized rock 'n roll, the blues, and many other musically based cultural forms that have developed at the junctures of major social transitions. Yet, the emergence of hip hop's styles and sounds cannot be considered mere by-products of these broad sweeping forces. Hip hop's lyrics are as sexist as Afro-
diasporic traditions. Stylistic continuities in dance, vocal articulations, and instrumentation between rap, breakdancing, urban blues, bebop, and rock 'n roll move within and between those historical junctions and larger social forces, creating Afro-diasporic narratives that manage and stabilize these transitions.10

In an attempt to rescue rap from its identity as postindustrial commercial product and situate it in the history of respected black cultural practices, many historical accounts of rap's roots consider it a direct extension of African-American oral poetic, and protest traditions, to which it is clearly and substantially indebted. This accounting, which builds important bridges between rap's use of boasting, signifying, preaching, and earlier related black oral traditions produces at least three problematic effects. First, it reconstruc-
tes rap music as a singular oral poetic form that appears to have developed autonomously (e.g., outside hip hop culture) in the 1970s; quite to the contrary, as music historian Reebee Garofalo points out, "rap music must be understood as one cultural element within a larger social movement known as hip hop." Second, it substantially marginalizes the significance of rap's music. Rap's musical elements and its use of music technology are a crucial aspect of the development of the form and are absolutely critical to the evolution of hip hop generally. Third, it renders invisible the crucial role of the postindustrial city on the shape and direction of rap and hip hop. Clearly, rap's oral and protest roots, its use of boasting, signifying, boos-
ting, and black folklore are vital important; however these influences problems with identify ing rap as an extension of the Black oral tradition
are only one facet of the context for rap's emergence. Rap's primary context for development is hip hop culture, the Afrodisiopic traditions it extends and revises, and the New York urban terrain in the 1970s. Sustaining the emergence of rap music inside hip hop is not simply a matter of historical accuracy. If the specificity of rap music is to be fully understood, the coherence of hip hop style and how rap developed inside of it is crucial. The hip hop context helps to show how rap is separate and distinct from other related black forms such as toasting and signifying and how its musical collage, which have discover qualities that differ from jazz, R&B, disco, and soul, developed. It also provides a richer understanding of the intersubjective relationships between graffiti, rap, and breakdancing. Although rap is clearly a form of protest, naming it protest music is not sufficient motivation for the emergence of rap music, or hip hop. Being angry and poor were not new or unusual phenomena for many African Americans in the 1970s. Furthermore, as a great deal of the history of black cultural practices has been disproportionately explored via male subjects, the oral and proximate roots models for rap's development refer to a male-centered scholarly tradition that inadvertently contributes to a contemporary analysis that further pathologizes women producers. Women, although fewer in number than their male counterparts, were integral members in hip hop culture several years before "Rapper's Delight" birthed rapping to dancehalls, and American popular music. Gender politics were an important facet of hip hop's development. Finally, and most important for my purposes, an examination of how and why hip hop arises helps us to understand the logic of rap's development and links the intersubjective and symbolic qualities in rap to the diverse cultural and social context within which it emerges.

The chief questions under consideration are: What is hip hop culture, and what contributed to its emergence? What are some of the defining aesthetic and stylistic characteristics of hip hop? What is it about the postindustrial city in general and the social and political terrain in the 1970s in New York City specifically that contributed to the emergence and easy reception of hip hop? Even as today's rappers revive and redirect rap music, most understand themselves as working out of a tradition of style, attitude, and form that has a critical and primary role in hip hop. In the 1970s, substantial postindustrial shifts in economic conditions, access to housing, demographics, and communication networks were crucial to the formation of the conditions that nurtured the cultural hybrids and sociopolitical tensions of hip hop's lyrics and music.

Yet, hip hop has styles and themes that share striking similarities with many past and continuous Afrodisiopic musical and cultural expressions. These themes and styles, for the most part, are derived and reinscribed, using contemporary cultural and technological elements. Hip hop's central forms—graffiti, breakdancing, and rap music—developed, in relation to one another and in relation to the larger society. The remainder of this chapter is devoted to offering a more in-depth understanding of the similarities between hip hop and other cultural forms and of the specificity of hip hop style as it has been shaped by market forces, domestic cultural ideas, and the postindustrial urban context.

The Urban Context

Postindustrial conditions in urban centers across America reflect a complex set of global forces that continue to shape the contemporary urban metropolis. The growth of multinational telecommunications networks, global economic competition, a major technological reorientation, the formation of new international divisions of labor, the increasing power of finance relative to production, and new migration patterns from Third World industrializing nations have all contributed to the economic and social restructuring of urban America. These global forces have had a direct and sustained impact on urban opportunity structures, have exacerbated long-standing racial and gender-based forms of discrimination, and have contributed to increasing multinational corporate control of market conditions and national economic health. Large-scale restructuring of the workplace and market has had its effect upon most facets of everyday life. It has placed additional pressures on local community-based networks and whittled down already limited prospects for social mobility.

In the 1970s, cities across the country were gradually losing federal funding for social services, information service corporations began emerging to replace industrial factories, and corporate developers were buying up real estate to be converted into luxury housing, leaving working-class residents with limited affordable housing, a shrinking job market and diminishing social services. The poorest neighborhoods and the least powerful groups were the least protected and had the smallest safety nets. By the 1980s, the privileged elites displayed unabashed greed as they strove to redefine and rebuild downtown business and tourist zones with municipal and federal subsidies exacerbated the already widening gap between classes and races.

Given New York's status as hub city for international capital and...
information services, it is not surprising that these larger structural changes and their effects were quickly and intensely felt there. As John Mollenkopf notes, "during the 1970s, the U.S. system of cities crossed a watershed. New York led other old, industrial metropolitan areas into population and employment decline." The federal funds that might have offset this process had been diminishing throughout the 1970s. In 1975, President Ford's unequivocal veto to requests for a federal bail out to prevent New York from filing for bankruptcy made New York a national symbol for the fate of older cities under his administration.

The New York Daily News legendary headline "Ford to New York: Drop Dead" captured the substance and temperament of Ford's veto and sent a sharp message to cities around the country. Virtually bankrupt and in a critical state of disrepair, New York City and New York State administrators finally negotiated a federal loan, albeit one accompanied by an elaborate package of service cuts and that carried harsh repayment terms. "Before the crisis ended," Daniel Walkowitz notes, "60,000 city employees went off the payroll, and social and public services suffered drastic cuts. The city had avoided default only after the teachers' union allowed its pension fund to become collateral for the city loans." These deep social service cuts were part of a larger trend in unequal wealth distribution and was accompanied by a housing crisis that continued well into the 1980s. Between 1978 and 1986, the people in the bottom 20 percent of the income scale experienced an absolute decline in income, whereas the top 20 percent experienced most of the economic growth. Blacks and Hispanics disproportionately occupied this bottom fifth. During this same period, 20 percent of New York's Hispanic households (40 percent for Puerto Ricans) and 15 percent of black households lived at or below the poverty line. Since this period, lower-income housing has continued to disappear and blacks and Hispanics are still more likely to live in overcrowded, dilapidated, and seriously undermanned space. It is not surprising that these serious trends have contributed to New York's large and chronically homeless population.

In addition to housing problems, New York and many large urban centers faced other major economic and demographic forces that sustained and exacerbated significant structural inequalities. Even though urban America has always been socially and economically divided, these divisions have taken on a new dimension. At the same time that racial succession and immigration patterns were reshaping the city's population and labor force, shifts in the occupational structure away from a high-wage, high-employment economy grounded in manufacturing, tracking, warehousing, and wholesale trade and toward a low-wage, low-employment economy geared toward producer services generated new forms of inequality. As Daniel Walkowitz suggests, New York became "sharply divided between an affluent, technocratic, professional, white-collar group managing the financial and commercial life of an international city and an unemployed and underemployed service sector which is substantially black and Hispanic." Earlier divisions in the city were predominantly ethnic and economic. Today, "racial and gender divisions and the growing predominance of white-collar work on the one hand and homelessness on the other hand have made New York's labor market resemble that of a Third World city." As Mollenkopf and Castells point out, blue-collar white ethnic workers were the single largest social stratum in the 1940s are vastly diminished today. In their place, three new groups have emerged as the dominant stratum. The largest group is the three million white male professionals and managers, followed by female and black or Latino clerical and service workers, and finally, Latino and Asian manufacturing workers. "New York," Mollenkopf concludes, "has been transformed from a relatively well-off white blue-collar city into a more economically divided, multi-racial white collar city" and "disorganized periphery" of civil service and manufacturing workers contributes to the consolidation of power among white-collar professional corporate managers, creating the massive inequalities displayed in New York.

The commercial imperatives of corporate America have also undermined the process of transmitting and sharing local knowledge in the urban metropolis. Ben Bagdikian's study The Media Monopoly reveals that monopolistic tendencies in commercial enterprises seriously constrain access to a diverse flow of information. For example, urban renewal relocation efforts not only dispersed central-city populations to the suburbs, but also they replaced the commerce of the street with the needs of the metropolitan market. Advertisers geared newspaper articles and television broadcasts toward the purchasing power of suburban buyers, creating a dual "era of representation" in terms of whose lives and images were represented physically in the paper and whose interests got represented to the corridors of power. These media outlet and advertising shifts have been accompanied by a massive telecommunications revolution in the information-processing industry. Once the domain of the government, information processing and communication technology now lie at the heart of corporate America. As a result of government deregulation in communications via the breakup of AT&T in 1984, communications industries have consolidated and internation-
alized. Today, telecommunications industries we global data-transmission corporations with significant control over radio, television, cable, telephone, computer, and other electronic transmission systems. Telecommunication expansion, coupled with corporate consolidation has dismantled local community networks and has irrevocably changed the means and character of communication. Since the mid-1980s, these expansions and consolidations have been accompanied by a tidal wave of widely available communications products that have revolutionized business and personal communications. Facsimile machines, satellite networked beepers, cordless phones, electronic mail networks, cable television expansions, VCRs, compact discs, video cameras and games, and personal computers have dramatically transformed the speed and character of speech, written, and visual communication.

Postindustrial conditions had a profound effect on black and Hispanic communities. Shrinking federal funds and affordable housing, shifts in the occupational structure away from blue-collar manufacturing and toward corporate and information services, along with frayed local communication patterns, meant that new immigrant populations and the city's poorest residents paid the highest price for deindustrial- ization and economic restructuring. These communities are more suscep- tible to slumlords, toxic waste dumps, drug rehabilitation centers, violent criminals, red-lining, and inadequate city services and transportation. It also meant that the city's ethnic and working-class- based forms of community aid and support were growing increasingly less effective against these new conditions.

In the case of the South Bronx, which has been frequently dubbed the "home of hip hop culture," these larger postindustrial conditions were exacerbated by disruptions considered an "unexpected side effect" of the larger politically motivated policies of "urban renewal." In the early 1970s, this renewal [sic] project involved massive relocations of economically fragile people of color from different areas in New York City into parts of the South Bronx. Subsequent ethnic and racial tran- sition in the South Bronx was not a gradual process that might have allowed already established social and cultural institutions to respond self- protectively; instead, it was a brutal process of community destruction and relocation executed by municipal officials and under the direction of legendary planner Robert Moses.

Between the late 1960s and mid-1970s, the vacancy rates in the southern section of the Bronx, where demolition was most devastat- ing, skyrocketed. Nervous landlords sold their property as quickly as possible, often to professional slumlords, which accelerated the flight of white tenants into northern sections of the Bronx and into Westchester. Equally anxious slumholders sold their shops and established businesses elsewhere. The city administration, touting Moses's expressway as a sign of progress and modernization, was unwilling to admit the devasta- tion that had occurred. Like many of his public works projects, Moses's Cross-Bronx Expressway supposed the interests of the upper classes against the interests of the poor and intensified the development of the vast economic and social inequalities that characterize contemporary...
New York. The newly “relocated” black and Hispanic residents in the South Bronx were left with few city resources, fragmented leadership, and limited political power.

The disastrous effects of these city policies went relatively unnoticed in the media until 1977, when two critical events fixed New York and the South Bronx as national symbols of ruin and isolation. During the summer of 1977, an extensive power outage blacked out New York, and hundreds of stores were looted and vandalized. The poorest neighborhoods (the South Bronx, Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brownsville, and Crown Heights areas in Brooklyn, the Jamaica area in Queens, and Harlem), where most of the looting took place, were depicted by the city’s media organs as lawless zones where crime is sanctioned and chaos bubbles just below the surface. The 1965 blackout, according to the New York Times was “peaceful by contrast,” suggesting that America’s most racially tumultuous decade was no match for the despair and frustration articulated in the summer of 1977.

The blackout seemed to raise the federal stakes in maintaining urban social order. Three months later, President Carter made his “sobering” historic motorcade visit through the South Bronx, to “survey the devastation of the last five years” and announced an unspecified “commitment to cities.” (Not to its inhabitants!) In the national imagination, the South Bronx became the primary “symbol of America’s woes.”

Following this lead, images of abandoned buildings in the South Bronx became central popular cultural icons. Negative local color in popular film exploited the devastation facing the residents of the South Bronx and used their communities as a backdrop for social ruin and barbarism. As Michael Ventura astutely notes, the popular depictions (and I would add, the news coverage as well) rendered silent the people who struggled with and maintained life under difficult conditions: “In roughly six hours of footage—Fort Apache, Wolfen, and Koyaanisqatsi—we haven’t been introduced to one soul who actually lives in the South Bronx. We haven’t heard one voice speaking its own language. We’ve merely watched a symbol of ruin: the South Bronx [as] last act before the end of the world.” Depictions of black and Hispanic neighborhoods were drained of life, energy, and vitality. The message was loud and clear: to be stuck here was to be lost. Yet, although these visions of loss and futurity became defining characteristics, the youngest generation of South Bronx exiles were building creative and aggressive outlets for expression and identification. The new ethnic groups who made the South Bronx their home in the 1970s, while facing social isolation, economic fragility, truncated communication media, and shrink...
ing social service organizations, began building their own cultural networks, which would prove to be resilient and responsive in the age of high technology. North American bars, Jamaican, Puerto Rican, and other Caribbean people with roots in other postcolonial contexts reshaped their cultural identities and expressions in a hostile, technologically sophisticated, masculine, urban terrain. Although city leaders and the popular press had literally and figuratively condemned the South Bronx neighborhoods and their inhabitants, its youngest black and Hispanic residents answered back.

**Hip Hop**

Hip hop culture emerged as a source for youth of alternative identity formation and social status in a community whose older local support institutions had been all but demolished along with large sectors of its built environment. Alternative local identities were forged in fashions and language, street names, and most important, in establishing neighborhood roots or poses. Many hip hop fans, artists, musicians, and dancers continue to belong to an elaborate system of crews or posse. The crew, a local source of identity, group affiliation, and support system appears repeatedly in all of my interviews and virtually all rap lyrics and cassette dedications, music video performances, and media interviews with artists. Identity in hip hop is deeply rooted in the specific, the local experience, and one's attachment to and status in a local group or alternative family. These crews are new kinds of families forged with intercultural bonds that, like the social formation of gangs, provide insulation and support in a complex and unyielding environment and may serve as the basis for new social movements. The postindustrial city, which provided the context for creative development among hip hop’s earliest innovators, shaped their cultural terrain, access to space, materials, and education. While graffiti artists’ work was significantly aided by advances in spray paint technology, they used the urban transit system as their canvas. Rappers and DJs disseminated their work by copying it on tape-dubbing equipment and playing it on powerful, portable “ghetto blasters.” At a time when budget cuts in school music programs drastically reduced access to traditional forms of instrumentation and composition, inner-city youths increasingly relied on recorded sound. Breakdancers used their bodies to mimic “transformers” and other futuristic robots in symbolic street battles. Early Puerto Rican, Afro-Caribbean, and black American hip hop artists transformed obsolete vocational skills from marginal occupations into the raw materials for creativity and resistance. Many of them were “trained” for jobs in fields that were shrinking or that no longer exist. Puerto Rican graffiti writer Futura graduated from a trade school specializing in the printing industry. However, as most of the jobs for which he was being trained had already been computerized, he found himself working at McDonald’s after graduation. Similarly, African-American DJ Red Alert (who also has family from the Caribbean) reviewed blueprints for a drafting company until computer automation rendered his job obsolete. Jamaican DJ Kool Herc attended Alfred E. Smith auto mechanic trade school, and African-American Grandmaster Flash learned how to repair electronic equipment at Samuel Gompers vocational High School. (One could say Flash “fixed them alright.”) Sert and Pepa (both with family roots in the West Indies) worked as phone telemarketers at Sears while considering nursing school. Puerto Rican breakdancer Crazzy Legs began breakdancing largely because his single mother couldn’t afford Little League baseball fees. All of these artists found themselves positioned with few resources in marginal economic circumstances, but each of them found ways to become famous as an entertainer by appropriating the most advanced technologies and emerging cultural forms. Hip hop artists used the tools of obsolete industrial technology to traverse contemporary ennui and desire in urban Afro-American communities.

Stylistic continuities were sustained by internal cross-fertilization between rapping, breakdancing, and graffiti writing. Some graffiti writers, such as black American Phase 2, Haitian Jean-Michel Basquiat, Futura, and black American Fab Five Freddy produced rap records. Other writers drew murals that celebrated favorite rap songs (e.g., Futura’s mural “The Breko” was a whole car mural that paid homage to Kurtis Blow’s rap of the same name). Breakdancers, DJs, and rappers wore graffiti-painted jackets and tee-shirts. DJ Kool Herc was a graffiti writer and dancer first before he began playing records. Hip hop events featured breakdancers, rappers, and DJs as triple-bill entertainment. Graffiti writers drew murals for DJs’ stage platforms and designed posters and flyers to advertise hip hop events. Breakdance Crazzy Legs, founding member of the Rock Steady Crew, describes the communal atmosphere between writers, rappers, and breakers in the formative years of hip hop: “Summoning it up, basically going to a jam back then was (about) watching people drink, (break) dance, compete graffiti art in their black books. These jams were thrown by the (hip hop) DJ. . . . it was about piecing while a jam was going on.” Of course, sharing ideas and styles is not always a peaceful process. Hip hop is very competitive and con-

*Black Noise / 34*

"All Aboard the Night Train" / 35
frontalional; these traits are both resistance to and preparation for a hostile world that denies and denigrates young people of color. Breakdancers often fought other breakdance crews out of jealousy; writers sometimes destroyed murals and rappers and DJ battles could break out in fights. Hip hop remains a never-ending battle for status, prestige, and group adoration, always in formation, always contested, and never fully achieved. Competitions among and cross-fertilization between break- ing, graffiti writing, and rap music was fueled by shared local experiences and social position and similarities in approaches to sound, motion, communication, and style among hip hop's Afrodiasporic communities.

As in many African and Afrodiasporic cultural forms, hip hop's prolific self-naming is a form of reinvention and self-definition.\textsuperscript{9} Rappers, DJs, graffiti artists, and breakdancers all take on hip hop names and identities that speak to their role, personal characteristics, expertise, or "claim to fame."\textsuperscript{10} DJ names often fuse technology with mastery and style: DJ Cut Creator, Jazzy Jeff, Spindarella, Terminator X Assault Technicians, Wiz, and Grandmaster Flash. Many rappers have nicknames that suggest street smarts, coolness, power, and supremacy: LL Cool J, (Ladies Love Cool James), Kool Moe Dee, Queen Latifah, Dougie Fresh (and the Get Fresh Crew), D-Nice, Hurricane Gloria, Guru, MC Lyte, EPMD (Eric and Parrish Making Dollars), Ice-T, Ice Cube, Kid-N-Play, Boss, Easy E, King Sun, and Sir Mix-a-Lot. Some names serve as self-mocking tags; others critique society, such as, Too Short, The Fat Boys, Swis (Security of the First World), The Lench Mob, NWA (Niggas with Attitude), and Special Ed. The hip hop identities for such breakdancers as Crazy Legs, Wiggles, Frosty Freeze, Boogaloo Shrimp, and Headspin highlight their status as experts known for special moves. Taking on new names and identities offers "prestige from below" in the face of limited access to legitmate forms of status attain- ment.

In addition to the centrality of naming, identity, and group affiliation, rappers, DJs, graffiti writers, and breakdancers claim turf and gain local status by developing new styles. As Hedeg's study on punk illustrates, style can be used as a gesture of refusal or as a form of oblique challenge to structures of domination.\textsuperscript{11} Hip hop artists use style as a form of identity formation that plays on class distinctions and hierarchies by using commodities to claim the cultural terrain. Clothing and consumption rituals testify to the power of consumption as a means of cultural expression. Hip hop fashion is an especially rich example of this sort of appropriation and critique via style. Exceptionally large "chunk" gold and diamond jewelry (usually fake) mocks, yet affirms, the
goldfish in Western trade; fake Gucci and other designer emblems cup up and patch-stitched to jackets, pants, hats, wallets, and sneakers in curson shops, work as a form of sartorial warfare (especially when fake Gucci-covered b-boys and b-girls brush past Fifth Avenue ladies adored by the “real thing.” Hip hop’s late 1980s fashion rage—the large plastic (alarm) clock worn around the neck over leisure/sweat suits—suggested a number of contradictory tensions between work, time, and Kulture.[1] Early 1990s trends—super-oversized pants and urban warrior outer apparel, “smooches,” “tims,” and “triple far” goose down coats, make clear the severity of the urban storms to be weathered and the saturation of disposable goods in the crafting of cultural expressions.[2] As an alternative means of status formation, hip hop style forges local identities for teenagers who understand their limited access to traditional avenues of status attainment. Fab Five Freddy, an early rapper and graffiti writer, explains the link between style and identity in hip hop and its significance for gaining local status:

“You make a new style. That’s what life on the street is all about. What’s at stake is pride. You need to be able to move easily and powerfully through complex lyrics as well as of the flow in the music.”

The flow and motion of the initial bass or drum line in rap music is abruptly ruptured by scratching (a process that highlights as it breaks the flow of the base rhythm), or the rhythmic flow is interrupted by other musical passages. Rappers stutter and alternatively race through passages, always moving within the beat or in response to it, often using the music as a partner in rhyme. These verbal moves highlight lyrical flow and points of rupture. Rapper layer meaning by using the same word to signify a variety of actions and objects; they call out to the DJ to “lay down a beat,” which is expected to be interrupted, ruptured. DJ layer sounds literally one on top of the other, creating a dialogue between sampled sounds and words.

What is the significance of flow, layering, and rupture as demonstrated on the body and in hip hop’s lyrical, musical, and visual work? Interpreting these concepts theoretically, one can argue that they create and sustain rhythmic motion, continuity, and circularity via flow; accumulate, reinforce, and embellish this continuity through layering; and manage threats to these narratives by building in ruptures that highlight the continuity as it momentarily challenges them. These effects at the level of style and aesthetics suggest affirmative ways in which profound social dislocation and rupture can be managed and perhaps contested in the cultural arena. Let us imagine these hip hop principles as a blueprint for social resistance and affirmation: create sustaining narratives; accumulate them, layer, embellish, and transform them. However, be also prepared for rupture, find pleasure in it, in fact, plan on social rupture. When these ruptures occur, use them in creative ways that will prepare you for a future in which survival will demand a sudden shift in ground tactics.

Although accumulation, flow, circularity, and planned ruptures exist across a wide range of Afrodiasporic cultural forms, they do not take

“All about

BLACK NOISE / 38
place outside of commodity constraints. Hip hop's explicit focus on consumption has frequently been characterized as a movement into the commodity market (e.g., hip hop is no longer "authentically" black, if it is for sale). Instead, hip hop's moment(s) of incorporation are a shift in the already existing relationship hip hop has always had to the commodity system. For example, the hip hop DJ produces, amplifies, and revises already recorded sounds, rappers use high-end microphones, and it would be naive to think that breakers, b boys, and writers were not interested in monetary compensation for their work. Graffiti murals, breakdancing moves, and rap lyrics often appropriated and sometimes criched verbal and visual elements and physical movements from popular culture, especially television, comic books, and karate movies. If anything, the style of hip hop has contributed to the new Afro-Americanization of contemporary commercial culture. The contexts for creation in hip hop were never fully outside or in opposition to commodities; they involved struggles over public space and access to commodified materials, equipment, and products of public and popular visibility. It is a common misperception among hip hop artists and cultural critics that during the early days, hip hop was motivated by pleasure rather than profit, as if the two were incompatible. The problem was not that they were uniformly uninterested in profit; rather, many of the earliest practitioners were unaware that they could profit from their pleasure. Once this link was made, hip hop artists began marketing themselves wholeheartedly. Just as graffiti writers hitched a ride on the subways and used in power to distribute their tags, rappers "hijacked" the market for their own purposes, riding the currents that were already out there, not just for wealth but for empowerment, and to assert their own identities. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, the market for hip hop was still based inside New York's black and Hispanic communities. So, although there is an element of truth to this common perception, what is more important about the shift in hip hop's orientation is not its movement from precommodity to commodity but the shift in control over the scope and direction of the profit-making process, out of the hands of local black and Hispanic entrepreneurs and into the hands of larger white-owned, multinational businesses.

Hebdige's work on the British punk movement identifies this shift as the moment of incorporation or recuperation by dominant culture and perceives it to be a critical element in the dynamics of the struggle over the meaning(s) of popular expression. "The process of recuperation," Hebdige argues, "takes two characteristic forms...one of conversion of subcultural signs (dress, music, etc.) into mass-produced objects and the labelling and redefinition of deviant behavior by dominant groups—communication in a subordinate cultural form, even prior to the point of recuperation, usually takes place via commodities," even if the meanings attached to those commodities are purposefully distorted or overthrown. And so, he concludes, "it is very difficult to sustain any absolute distinction between commercial exploitation on the one hand and creativity and originality on the other."18

Hebdige's observations regarding the process of incorporation and the tension between commercial exploitation and creativity as articulated in British punk is quite relevant to hip hop. Hip hop has always been articulated via commodities and engaged in the revisions of meanings attached to them. Clearly hip hop signs and meanings are converted, and behaviors are relabeled by dominant institutions. As the relatively brief history of hip hop that follows illustrates, graffiti, rap, and breakdancing were fundamentally transformed as they moved into new relations with dominant cultural institutions. In 1984, rap music is one of the most heavily traded popular commodities in the market, yet it still defies total corporate control over the music, its local use and incorporation at the level of stable or exposed meanings. Expanding on the formulation advanced by Lipsitz and others at the outset, in the brief history of hip hop that follows I attempt to demonstrate the necessary tension between the historical specificity of hip hop's emergence and the points of continuity between hip hop and several black forms and practices. It also is an overview of the early stages of hip hop and its relationship to popular cultural symbols and products and its revision of black cultural practices. This necessarily includes hip hop's direct and sustained contact with dominant cultural institutions in the early to mid-1980s and the ways in which these practices emerge in relation to larger social conditions and relationships, including the systematic marginalization of women cultural producers. In each practice, gender power relations problematized and constrained the role of women hip hop artists, and dominant cultural institutions shaped hip hop's transformations.

GRAFFITI

Although graffiti as a social movement (i.e., writing names, symbols, and images on public facades) first emerged in New York during the late 1960s, it is not until almost a decade later that it began to develop elaborate styles and widespread visibility. Even though the vast majority

"All Aboard the Night Train""
of graffiti writers are black and Hispanic, the writer credited with inspir-
ing the movement, Taki 183, a Greek teenager named Demetrios who
lived in the Washington Heights section of Manhattan. While working
as a messenger, traveling by subway to all five boroughs of the city, Taki
wrote his name all over the subway cars and stations. In 1971, a staff
writer at the New York Times located Taki and published a story about
his tagging that apparently "struck a responsive chord" among his peers.
Mark B. Cooper and Henry Chalfant describe the effect Taki's notoriety
had on his peers:

Kids were impressed by the public notoriety of a name appearing all over the city
could realized that the pride they took in seeing their name up in the neighbor-
hood could expand a hundredfold if it traveled beyond the narrow confines
of the block. The competition for fame began to earn as hundreds of young men,
emulating Taki, began to tag trains and public buildings all over town. "Get-
ting up" became a vocation. Kids whose names appeared most frequently or
in the most inaccessible places became folk heroes.4

By the mid-1970s, graffiti took on new focus and complexity. No longer
a matter of simple tagging, graffiti began to develop elaborate
individual styles, themes, formats, and techniques, most of which were
designed to increase visibility, individual identity, and status. Themes
in the larger works included hip hop slang, characterizations of b-boys, rap
lyrics, and hip hop fashion. Using logos and images borrowed from televi-
sion, comic books, and cartoons, stylistic signatures, and increasingly
difficult execution, writers expanded graffiti's palette. Bubble letters,
singular machine letters, and the indecipherable wild style were used on
larger spaces and with more colors and patterns. These stylistic develop-
ments were aided by advances in marker and spray paint technology:
better spraying nozzles, making filters, pair airduster, and textured en-
hanced the range of expression in graffiti writing. Small-scale tagging
developed into the top to bottom, a format that covered a sector of a
train car from the roof to the floor. This was followed by the top to
bottom whole car and multiple car "pieces," an abbreviation for graffiti
masterpieces.

The execution of a piece is the culmination of a great deal of time,
labour, and risk. Writers work out elaborate designs and patterns in note-
books, test new markers and brands of spray paints and colors well in
advance. Obtaining access to the subway cars for extended periods re-
quires detailed knowledge of the train schedules and breaking into the
reel yards where out of service trains are stored. Writers stake out train
yards for extended periods, memorizing the train schedule and wait for
new trains to leave the paint shop. A freshly painted train would be

followed all day and when it reached its designated storage yard (the "lay-
up") at night, writers were ready to "bomb" it.

Writers climbed walls, went through huts in fences, wished high gates,
and "ran the boards," (walked along the board that covers the electrified third rail) to gain access to the trains. Once inside the yards, the risks increased. Craig Castleman explains:

Train frequently moved as the yard, and if unwary writer would be hit by one. Trains moved in lay-ups are hazardous painting as because to service trains pass by them closely on either side, and the writer has to climb under the parked train or run to the far side of the train to escape being hit. Movement through tunnels is dangerous because the car windows are high and narrow, and dark and there are numerous open gates, abutments, and low-hanging signs and lights that blow over the slow-moving writer.6

Some writers who have been seriously injured continued to work. In an
exceptional case, master writer Kase 2 lost his arm in a yard accident and
continued to execute highly respected multicar works.

Train facades are central to graffiti style for a number of reasons. First, graffiti murals depend on size, color, and context movement for
their visual impact. Although handball courts and other flat and sta-
tionary surfaces are suited, they cannot replace the dynamic reception
of subway facades. Unlike handball court and building surfaces, trains pass through dense neighborhoods. Slowing communication between various black and Hispanic communities throughout the five boroughs and the larger New York population and disseminating graffiti writers' public performance. Second, graffiti artists are guerrilla outlaws who thrive on risk as a facet of one's skill — the element of surprise and elud-
ing authority among writers, the fact that it is sometimes considered
criminal to purchase the permanent markers, spray paints, and other
supplies necessary to write. Subway cars are stored in well-protected but
dangers yards that heighten the degree of difficulty in execution. An
especially difficult and creative concept — coordination and style are all the
more appreciated when they are executed under stress. Well-executed
train work is a sign of mastering the expression.

Although (master) pieces are usually executed individually, writers
belong to and work in crews. Group identity and individual develop-
ment are equally central to graffiti writers practices. These crews meet
regularly and work on ideas, share knowledge, and play trips to the
train yards and other desired locations together. Crew members, among
other things, compete with other crews (and each other), photograph
each other's work for study, protect each other, and trade book outlines
for paint supplies. Pieces are often signed individually and then identi-
order, graffiti writers were understood as a psychic as well as material toll on New York, solidifying its image as a lawless, downtrodden urban jungle.

As the New Times and commuter representatives searched for newer and more aggressive strategies to stamp out graffiti writing and symbolically reestablish control, graffiti writers were expanding, remaking the form. In the mid-1970s, elaborate train facade murals and multistoried pieces emerged on platforms most mornings. A simple name tag had developed into multiple train car skylines, Christmas greetings, abstract drawings likened to cubist art, romantic expressions, and political slogans all drawn with illustrations in dozens of colors, shades, styles, and elaborate lettering. In 1977 the Transit Authority made an extensive effort to regain control. At the center of this effort was a new chemical many believed helped combat graffiti, but did not. The chemical was a disaster for graffiti writers: the buff. Although the buff did not end graffiti writing, it discouraged many writers and dramatically limited the life of the murals on the train facades. Steve Hager describes the chemical process and its effects:

Many writers dropped out in 1977, when the Transit Authority erected its "final solution" to the graffiti problem in a Coney Island train yard. At an estimated cost of $400,000, the T.A. began operating a giant car wash that sprayed vast amounts of petroleum hydrocarbon on the sides of graffiti-covered trains. The solvent, Orange Crush, was later replaced by a less effective chemical. The spray was followed by a vigorous buffing. At first the writers called it "the buff." Fumes emanating from the cleaning station were so intense that nearby schools and businesses were closed. The solvent was seeping into the underbelly of the trains, causing considerable corrosion and damage to electrical and mechanical parts.

The buff was followed by $24 million worth of system-wide fencing that included barbed wire fences, ribbon wire (which encircles the body or object that attempts to cross it), and for a brief stint, "pug dogs. By the early 1980s, the T.A. had regained control of the subway by prohibiting most of the work from reaching the public arena. Yet, this did not spell the end of graffiti art, art, Lee Quirones, Futura 2000, Ramoncillo, Lady Pink, Dondi, Lady Heart, Seen, Zephyr, and many other writers continued to write. The buff did not erase the graffiti, it just discouraged it, rendering the subways cars truly defaced and a profoundly depressing symbol of a city at war to silence it already discarded youths. Writing continued, albeit less often and new locations for graffiti and new means of dissemination developed."

"All's Quiet..."
The level of municipal hostility exhibited toward graffiti art was unmatched only by the SoHo art scene’s embrace of it. Early interest in graffiti art among gallery owners and collectors in the mid-1970s was short-lived and inconsistent. However, in the late 1970s, new interest was sparked, in part as a result of the promotional efforts of Fab Five Freddy, who now appears as a rap host on MTV. Appearing in an article in the Scenes column in the Village Voice in February 1979, Fab Five Freddy offered graffiti mural services at $5 a square foot. Using his art school training and fluency with art school language, Freddy became a broker for graffiti. Making a number of critical contacts between the “legitimate art world” and graffiti writers, Freddy led the way for future exhibits at the Fun Gallery, Bronx gallery Fashion Moda, and the Times Square Show throughout the early 1980s, coupled with the ethos of artists, collectors, and gallery owners (e.g., Stephen Eins, Sans Essex, Heiny Chalfant, and Patti Astor) gave graffiti momentary institutional clout and provided mostly unemployed graffiti artists financial remuneration for their talents. Clearly, the downtown art scene, in providing the graffiti artists with fleeting legitimacy, was most interested in making an investment in their own “cutting-edge image.” Few writers would make a living as gallery artists for long, and almost all writers were parodied about as the latest “naturally talented” street natives. Once the art world had satisfied its craving for street art, writers continued to work, albeit not as much on the subways.

Graffiti is no longer a widely visible street form, a fact that has led to the assumption that the form is no longer practiced. However, recent research by Joe Austin demonstrates that graffiti writers continue to write, using strategies for display and performance that work around social constraints. According to Austin, writers paint murals, videoclip and photograph them, and distribute the tapes and photos through graffiti fan magazines all over the country. Via videotape and fanzines, train murals are documented before they are painted over or defaced by “the bade,” allowing the process of writing cars to train surface to be shared. Although many writers are still outlaws, their status as such is no longer a major source of public embarrassment for city officials. In fact, Transit Authority publicity campaigns in 1992 and 1993, such as “sub-talk,” refer to their victory against graffiti as a sign of their role in the city’s supposed improving health, all the while continuing to scrub and paint hundreds of train cars before they go into service to sustain these illusions. Although SoHo seems uninterested in graffiti art, businesses and community centers in the Barrio, Easton, the Bronx, and Brooklyn still commission graffiti art for logos, building facades, and graffiti art is represented on tee-shirts, rap artists’ clothing, and music video set designs.

BREAKDANCING

In the mid-1970s, dancing to disco music was a seamless and fluid affair. Disco dances, such as the Hustle, emphasized the continuity and circularity of the best and worked to mask the breaks between steps. In disco music, the primary role of the DJ was to merge one song’s conclusion into the next song’s introduction as smoothly as possible, eliminating the breaks between songs. At the height of disco’s popularity, a new style of dance and musical pastiche emerged that used disco music to focus on the break points, to highlight and extend the breaks in and between songs. At these break points in the DJ’s performance, the dancers would breakdance, executing moves that mimicked the rupture in rhythmic continuity as it was highlighted in the musical break.36

Described as a “competitive, acrobatic and panmantic dance with outrageous physical conventions, spins and backflips [which are] wedded to a fluid syncopated circular body rock,” breakdancing is the physical manifestation of hip hop style.37 Breaking, originally referring only to a particular group of dance moves executed during the break beat in a DJ’s rap mix, has since come to include a number of related moves—solo and partner dances (e.g., electric boogaloo and up-rock) that take place at various points in the music.38

As the dance steps and routines developed, breaking began to coexist in the freeze, an improvised pose or movement that disrupted, or “broke the beat.” Usually practiced as a single formation, breaking involved the entry into the circle, the freestyle, which was highlighted by the freeze, and the ex. Nelson George offers an insightful and rich description of the dance:

Each person’s turn in the ring was very brief—ten to thirty seconds—but packed with action and meaning. It began with an entry, a breasting walk that allowed him to get in step with the music for several beats and rake his pace "on stage." Near the dancer "got down" to the floor to do the "free style," a rapid, flowing, circular scan of the floor by skirted feet, in which the dancer support the body’s weight while the head and torso revolve at a slower speed, a kind of sym- coopted aerial posture, also known as the helicopter. Acrobatic transits—such as head spins, hand spins, shoulder spins, and the slide—a flip of the weight from hands to feet that also involves a spin in the body’s direction—served as bridges between the freestyle and the freeze. The final stum is the exit, a spring back to versatility or a special movement that returned the dancer to the outside of the circle.39

To stop the time was only one part of the freeze. In the freeze, the dancer also took on an alternative identity and served as a challenge to com-
petitors. Dancers would freeze-pose as animals, super heroes, tussiness men, GQ models, elderly or injured people and as female pin-up models. The freeze pose embodied an element of surprise that served as a chal-
lenge to the next dancer to outdo the previous pose. As a moment of
boasting or sounding on the dancers’ competitors, freeze poses might
include presenting one’s behind to an opponent, holding one’s nose or
grabbing one’s genitals to suggest bad odor or sexual domination.  

Breaking was practiced in hallways on concrete and sometime with
carboard pads. Streets were preferred practice spaces for a couple of
reasons. Indoor community spaces in economically oppressed areas are
rare, and those that are available are not usually big enough to
accommodate large groups performing aerobic dances. In addition, some
indoor spaces had other drawbacks. One of the breakers with whom I
spoke pointed out that the Police Athletic League, which did have
gymnasium-size space, was avoided because it was used as a haven of
community surveillance for the police. Whenever local police were look-
ing for a suspect, kids hanging out in the PAL were questioned.

Breakdancers practiced and performed in crews that dominated cer-
tain neighborhoods. During competitions, if one crew’s boasting or
sounding won over the crowd completely, the embarrassment it caused
the other crew usually resulted in fighting. Bad blood between crews
often resulted from conflicts and dancers had to be careful in their
travels around New York. Crazy Legs, known for inventing the
“W” move as well as a special backspin, explained that during the Rock
Steady Crew’s heyday, they had to fight other crews just about every
weekend.  

Although the Rock Steady Crew, a mostly Puerto Rican group, always
had female breakers, such cases were not the case with all predominately
male breakdancing crews. Rock Steady’s Daisy Castro, aka “Baby Love,”
attributes this absence to lack of exposure, social support, and male dis-
couragement.  

Female breakdancers, such as the Dynamic Dolls, breakers such as Janet, aka “Headspin,” Susy Q, Rock Steady’s Yvette, Chunky and Pappy were always part of the breakdance scene. Yet, few
women regularly performed the break-specific moves, such as the head-
spin or the hand-glide; they were more likely to be seen executing the
popping, locking, and electric boogie moves.

Although this absence has in some cases to do with relative ease of
execution of specific moves for female bodies, most girls were heavily
discouraged from performing break moves because they were perceived
by some male peers as “unnat” or “unfeminine.” Female breakdancers
sometimes executed moves in conventionally feminine ways, to high-
light individuality and perhaps to deflect male criticism. Again, women
who performed these moves were often considered masculine and unde-
sirable or sexually available. Although these attitudes regarding
the acceptable limits of female physical expression are widespread, they
are not absolute. In my interview with Crazy Legs and Wiggles, two
Rock Steady Crew dancers, Crazy Legs had no objections to any female
dancers executing any moves, whereas Wiggles would “respect” a female
breaker but was not as comfortable with females exhibiting the level of
physical exertion breaking required.  

Breaking combines themes and physical moves found in contempo-
rary popular culture with moves and styles commonly found in Afre-
diaspora dances. Breakdancing shares “families of resemblance” with
a number of African-American dances. It shares moves and combina-
tions with the lindy-hop, the Charleston, the cakewalk, the jitterbug, the
flossing in Harlem in the 1920’s, the double dutch, and black fraternity
and sorority stepping. Breaking has also frequently been associated with
the Afro-Brazilian martial arts dance Capoeira, particularly for the strik-
ing similarities between their spinning and cartwheel-like moves. Yet,
breakers also borrow and revive popularized Asian martial arts moves
by water ring “karae” moves in Times Square. Recent hip hop dance
moves, such as the Popeye, the Cabbage Patch, or the Moonwalk, ini-
tiate and are named after popular cultural images and characters. Soci-
ologist Herman Gray, referring to another hip hop dance, the Running

© raulwon

“All Aboard the Night Train” / 49
Man, points out that it may also mimic the common experience of young black men being chased by the police. The "lockup" is a Newark, New Jersey–based dance inspired by car-jacking, an armed form of auto theft. According to Marcus Reeves, its moves are said to "set out the procedures of 'poppin' (stealing) a car. While the dancer mimics the car theft ritual, the crowd urges him or her with chants of "lockup!"

Much like graffiti, breaking developed a contradictory relationship to dominant culture. In January 1986, one of the first published articles on breaking covered a group of breakdancers who were detained by the police for fighting and causing a disturbance in a Washington Heights area subway station. Once the police were convinced that it was, in fact, "just a dance," the breakdancers were let go. As an sanctioned public dance and public occupation of space, particularly by black and Puerto Rican youths, breakdancing continued to draw the attention of the police. Over the following five years, articles in the New York Times, Washington Post, and the Los Angeles Times continued to cite examples of the police arresting breakdancers for "disturbing the peace" and "attracting undesirable crowds" in the malls. At the same time, breakdancing became the latest popular dance craze in the United States, Europe, and Japan. Not only were breakdance crews forming, but dance schools began hiring breakdancers to teach breakdancing lessons, geared to "hip" middle-class whites. Like Salsoul's response to graffiti, breakdancers were hired by popular downtown dance clubs for private parties to provide entertainment for their leisure clientele. Crazy Legs recalls in this period of notoriety and exploitation his reaction to it:

We got ripped off by so many people. When it came down to Rotary's, they gave me a 15-person gig last week, but I realize now that they were making over $500. We weren't making any money. But the bottom line was, such a great gig because all these white people were coming in... We were pretty much on display, and we didn't even know it. We were just dancing to Eurodance. And we didn't even know it... Now I realize we were on display. People were paying $8 and $7... whatever it was. We were in New York City. We were in 1986. We were in the middle of the dance scene. So now we got a great floor to dance on, and now I realize we were on display. People were asking $8 and $7... whatever it was. We weren't getting anything from the door.

By 1986, when commercial outlets seemed to have exhausted breakdancing as a "fad," breakdancers as mainstream press copy all but disappeared. Yet, the form is still heavily practiced, particularly alongside rap artists and other dance music genres. Dancers in hip hop clubs still perform in circles, inventing steps in response to rap's rhythms. Although breakdancers' numbers are no longer named breakers, the moves are extensions and revisions of breakers' stock moves and with approaches to motion, line, and rupture that refer to and affirm the stylistic approaches of graffiti writers, rap DJs, and the early breakers. The Public Broadcasting System's 1991 dance special "Everybody Dance Now!" demonstrated the stylistic continuities between the moves executed by early breakers and more recent rock, soul, and dance performers such as Janet and Michael Jackson, Madonna, C&C Music Factory, New Kids on the Block, New Edition, The Fly Girls on Fox Television's Comic Comedy Show In Living Color, and MC Hammer—illustrating the centrality of hip hop dance style in contemporary popular entertainment.

RAP MUSIC

Rapping, the latest element to emerge in hip hop, has become its most prominent facet. In the earliest stages, DJs were the central figures in hip hop; they supplied the break beats for breakdancers and the soundtrack for graffiti crew socializing. Early DJs would connect their turntables and speakers to any available electrical source, including street lights, turning public parks and streets into impromptu parties and community events. Although makeshift stereo outfits in public settings are not unique to hip hop, two innovations that have been credited to Jamaican immigrant DJ Kool Herc separated rap music from other popular musics and set the stage for further innovation. Kool Herc was known for his massive stereo system speakers (which he named the Hercules) and his practice of extending obscure instrumental breaks that created an endless collage of peak dance beats named b-beats or break-beats. This collage of break-beats stood in stark contrast to Eurodance's unbroken dance beat that dominated the dance scene in the mid-to late 1970s. Kool Herc's range of sampled b-beats was as diverse as contemporary rap music, drawing on, among others, New Orleans jazz, Isley Hayes, Bob James, and Reee Earth. Within a few years, Afrika Bambaataa, DJ and founder of the Zulu Nation, would also use beats from European disco bands such as Kraftwerk, rock, and soul in his performances. I emphasize the significance of rap's earliest DJs' use of rock, because popular press on rap music has often referred to Run DMC's use of samples from rock band Aerosmith: "Walk This Way" in 1986 as a crossover strategy and a departure from earlier sample selections among rap DJs. The bulk of the press coverage on Run DMC regarding their "forays into rock" also suggested that by using rock music, rap was maturing (e.g., moving beyond the "ghetto") and expanding its repertoire. To the contrary, the success of Run DMC's "Walk This Way" brought these strategies

"All About"
of intertextuality into the commercial spotlight and into the hands of white teen consumers. Not only had rock samples always been reburied in rap music, but also Run DMC remade live rock guitar on King of Rock several years earlier. Beats selected by hip hop producers and DJs have always come from and continue to come from an extraordinary range of musics. As Prince Be Softly of P.M. Dawn says, "my music is based in hip-hop, but I pull everything from dance-hall to country to rock together. I can take a Led Zeppelin drum loop, put a Lou Donaldson horn on it, add a Joni Mitchell guitar, then get a Crosby Stills and Nash vocal riff."  

Kool Herc's herbaldorks, modeled after the Jamaican sound systems that produced dub and dance-hall music, were more powerful than the average DJ's speakers and were surprisingly free of distortion, even when played outdoors. They produced powerful bass frequencies and also played clear treble tones. Herc's break-beats, played on the Hercules, inspired breakdancers' freestyle moves and sparked a new generation of hip hop DJs. While working the turntables, Kool Herc also began reciting prison-style rhymes (much like those found on The Last Poet's Hustler's Convention), using an echo chamber for added effect. Herc's rhymes also drew heavily from the style of black radio personali-
his performance of the "The Adventures of Grandmaster Flash on the Wheels of Steel," Nelson George describes the Grandmaster's wizardry:

It begins with "you say one for the troubles," the opening phrase of Stevie Wonder's "You Say One For the Troubles," a song that uses the music and vocals of Queen's "Another One Bites the Dust," the Sugar Hill Gang's "8th Wonder," and Chic's "Good Times" as musical phrases. Grandmaster's delivery is so smooth that it sounds effortless. He repeats "Flash is bad," "Rapaport," and "Harry's disposition into total adoration." While playing "Another One Bites the Dust," Flash places to record on the second turntable, then shows the audience the record against each other. The result is a raucous, gruff imitation of the song's bassline. As the guitarist plays on "Dust," Flash points to the record, until we're guessing on "Good Times." Next, "Freedom" explores between voices in Chic's "Good Times" bass line. His bass thumps, and then the Furious Five chant, "Grandmaster's finest!" Bass, "Curtis," Bass, "Curtis," faster. But the cold cruiser quotes toward the end when, during "8th Wonder," Flash places a recording of needle on vinyl in the spaces separating a series of claps.

Usasq multiple samples as dialogue, commentary, percussive rhythms, and counterpoint. Flash achieved a level of musical collage and climax with two turntables that remains difficult to attain on advanced sampling equipment, around ten years later.

The new style of DJ performance attracted large, excited crowds, but it also began to draw the crowd's attention away from dancing and toward watching the DJ perform. It is at this point that rappers were added to the DJs' shows to reflect the crowd's attention. Flash asked two friends, Cowboy and Melle Mel (both would later become lead rappers) along with Kid-Cadillac for a Flash and the Furious Five) to perform some beats during one of his shows. Soon thereafter, Flash began to record an open mike to his equipment inspiring spontaneous audience members in their efforts of describing their interrelatedness, fluidity, and rhythmic complexity. It is a wider range of verbal skills not generally associated with early rappers: "Relying on an inventive use of slang, the percussive effect of short words, and unexpected internal rhythms, Mel and Crevon began creating elaborate rap routines, intricately weaving their voices through a musical track mixed by Flash. They would trade solos, chant, and sing harmony. It was a verbal style that effectively merged the aggressive rhythms of James Brown with the language and imagery of Hunter S. Thompson."

Many early rappers were inspired by the intensity of Melle Mel's voice and his conviction. Kid, from rap group Kid-N-Play, attributed some of this intensity to the fact that Mel was rapping for a living rather than a hobby. "For Melle Mel, rapping was his job. Melle Mel made a living rapping each weekend at a party or whatever. So he's rapping to survive. As such, his subject matter is gonna reflect that. I go on record as saying Melle Mel is king of all rappers. He's the reason I became a rapper and I think he's the reason a lot of people became rappers. That's how pervasive his influence was."

Melle Mel's gritty, dark voice was immobilized on Flash and Furious Five's 1981 "The Message," voted best pop song of 1981. The power of rappers' voices and their role as storytellers ensured that rapping would become the central expression in hip hop culture. The rappers who could fix this crowd's attention had impressive verbal dexterity and performance skills. They spoke with authority, conviction, confidence, and power, showing their dominance of 1970s black radio disc jockeys. The most famous style of rap was a variation on the toast, a brazen, bragging, form of oral storytelling sometimes explicitly political and often aggressive, violent and sick in content. Musical and vocal precendants to rap music encompass a variety of vernacular artists including the Last Poets, a group of late 1960s to early 1970s black militant artists whose poetry was accompanied by conga, drum rhythms, poet, and singer Gil Scott-Heron, Malcolm X, the Black Panthers, the 1970s radio yacks, particularly Douglass "Jocko" Henson, soul rapper Melle Mel, the classic Blues women, and countless other performers. "Blaxploitation" films such as Melvin Van Peebles' Swee Tewke's Bombastic Songs, Donald Goines' gangsta fiction, and "pimp narratives" that explore the joys and outs of ghetto redlight districts are also especially important in rap. Regardless of themes, pleasure and mastery in using rapping in the community of the language, the capacity for outdo composition, the craft of the story, mastery of rhythm, and the ability to rivet the crowd's attention."

Rap feels heavy on oral performance, but it is equally dependent on technology and its effects on the sound and quality of vocal reproduction. A rapper's delivery is dependent on the use and mastery of technology. The iconic focus of the rapper is the microphone; rappers are dependent on advanced technology to amplify their voices, so that they can be heard over the massive beats that surround the lyrics. Eric B. & Rakim's "Microphone Fiend" describes the centrality of the microphone in rap performance:

I was a microphone before I faced a teen. I had microphones instead of cones of ice cream. Music-oriented so when hip-hop was coming, fitted like pieces of puzzles, complicated."

As rapping moved center stage, rappers and DJs began to form neighborhood crews who hosted block parties, school dances and social clubs. Like'tealwater' crew competitions, rappers and DJs battled for local so-

"All About the Night Train"
premacy in intense verbal and musical duels. These early duels were not merely a matter of encouraging crowd reaction with simple diries such as "Yell, ho!" and "Somebody Scream." (Although these diries have important sentimental value.) These parties and competitions lasted for several hours and required that the performers had a well-stocked arsenal of rhymes and stories, physical stamina, and expertise. Local independent record producers realized that these battles began to draw consistently huge crowds and approached the rappers and DJs about producing records. While a number of small releases were under way, Sylvia Robinson of Sugar Hill records created the Sugar Hill Gang whose 1979 debut single "Rapper's Delight" brought rap into the commercial spotlight. By early 1980, "Rapper's Delight" had sold several million copies and rose to the top of the pop charts.

"Rapper's Delight" changed everything, most important, it solidified rap's commercial status. DJs had been charging fees for parties and relying on records and equipment for performance, but the commercial potential at which "Rapper's Delight" only hinted significantly raised the economic stakes. Like rock 'n' roll's transition into mainstream commercial markets, rap was fueled by small independent labels and a system of exploitation in which artists had no choice but to submit to draconian contracts that turned almost all creative rights and profits over to the record company if they wanted their music to be widely available. Black-owned and white-owned labels alike paid small flat fees to rappers, demanded rigid and lengthy production contracts (such as five completed records in seven years), made unreasonable demands, and received almost all of the money. Salt from the female rap group Salt 'N' Pepa said that before they signed with Next Plateau Records they were paid $20 a piece per show. When she challenged her manager about their arrangement he threatened her and eventually beat her up for asking too many business questions.

"Rapper's Delight" has also been cited by rappers from all over the country as their first encounter with hip hop's sound and style. In fact, the commercial success of "Rapper's Delight" had the contradictory effect of sustaining and spawning new faces of rap music in New York and elsewhere and at the same time reorienting rap toward more elaborate and restraining commercial needs and expectations. Within the next three years Kurtis Blow's "The Breaks," Spoonie Gee's "Love Rap," The Treacherous Three's "Feel The Heartbeat," Afrika Bambaata and the Soul Sonic Force's "Planet Rock," Sequenec's " Farr You Up," and Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's "The Message" were commercially marketed and successful rap singles that made and continue to make more money for Sugar Hill records and other small labels than they do for the artists.

Although Salt 'N' Pepa have been cited as the first major female rappers, some of the earliest rap groups, such as the Funky Four Plus One More had female members, and there were a few all-female groups, such as Sequence. In keeping with young women's experiences in graffiti and breaking, strong social sanctions against their participation limited female ranks. Those who pushed through found that "answer records" (rap battles between the sexes records) were the most likely to get airplay and club response. The first "queen of rap," Roxanne Shante, wrote and recorded a scathing rap in response to U.T.F.O.'s "Roxanne Roxanne," a rap that accused a girl named Roxanne of being conceived for pornographic sexual advances made by U.T.F.O. Roxanne Shante's "Roxanne's Revenge" was a caustic and frustrated response that struck a responsive chord among b-girls and b-boys.

Rapped in a sassy high-pitched girl's voice (Shante was 13 years old at the time), Shante sold U.T.F.O. "Like corn or the cob you're always trying to rob / You need to be out there lookin' for a job." And the chorus, "Why you have to make a record 'bout me?" has become a classic line in hip hop.

Although black and Latino women have been a small but integral presence in graffiti, rapping, and breaking, with the exception of Sha Rock, who was one of the innovators of the beat box, they have been virtually absent from the area of music production. Although there have been female DJs and producers, such as Jazzy Joyce, Gail 'skyy' King, and Spindrella, they are not major players in the use of sampling technology nor have they made a significant impact in rap music production and engineering. There are several factors that I believe have contributed to this. Women in general are not encouraged in and often actively discouraged from learning about and using technical equipment. This takes place informally in socialization and formally in gender-segregated vocational tracking in public school curriculum. Given rap music's early reliance on stereo equipment, participating in rap music production requires mechanical and technical skills that women are much less likely to have developed.

Second, because rap music's approaches to sound reproduction developed informally, the primary means for gathering information is shared local knowledge. As Red Alert explained to me, his pre-hip hop interest and familiarity with electronic equipment were sustained by access to his neighbor Oris who owned elaborate stereo equipment configurations. Red Alert says that he spent almost all of his free time at Oris's house, listening, learning, and asking questions. For social,
During the late 1980s Los Angeles rappers from Compton and Watts, two areas severely paralyzed by the postindustrial economic redistribution developed a West Coast style of rap that narrates experiences and fantasies specific to life as a poor young, black, male subject in Los Angeles. Ice Cube, Dr. Dre, Ice-T, Eazy-E, Compton's Most Wanted, W.C. and the MAAD-Cicle, Snoop Doggy Dog, South Central Cartel, and others have defined the gangsta rap style. The Los Angeles school of gangsta rap has spawned other regionally specific hardcore rappers, such as New Jersey's Naughty by Nature, Bronx-based Tim Dog, Onyx (two black women from Detroit), New York-based Puerto Rican rapper Hurricane Gloria, and Niki D. Mexican, Cuban, and other Spanish-speaking rappers, such as Kid Frost, Mellow Man Ace and El General, began developing bilingual raps and made lyrical bridges between Chicano and black styles. Such groups as Los Angeles-based Cypress Hill, which has black and Hispanic members, serve as an explicit bridge between black and Hispanic communities that builds on long-standing hybrids produced by blacks and Puerto Ricans in New York. Since 1990, in addition to gangsta raps, sexual boasting, Afrocentric and protest raps, rap music features groups that explore the southern black experience, that specialize in the explicit recontextualization of jazz samples, live instrumentation in rap performance and recording, introspective raps, rap that combine acoustic folk guitar with rap's traditional dance beats and even New Age/Soul rap fusions.

These transformations and hybrids reflect the initial spirit of rap and hip hop as an experimental and collective space where contemporary issues and ancestral forces are worked through simultaneously. Hybrids in rap's subject matter, not unlike its use of musical collage, and the influx of new, regional, and ethnic styles have not yet displaced the three points of stylistic continuity to which I referred much earlier: approaches to flow, ruptures in line and layering can still be found in the vast majority of rap's lyrical and music construction. The same is true of the critiques of the postindustrial urban America context and the cultural and social conditions that it has produced. Today, the South Bronx and South Central are poorer and more economically marginalized than they were ten years ago.

Hip hop emerges from complex cultural exchanges and larger social and political conditions of disillusionment and alienation. Graffiti and rap were especially aggressive public displays of counterpresence and voice. Each asserted the right to write—to inscribe one's identity on an environment that seemed Teflon resistant to its young people of color;
an environment that marks legitimate avenues for manual and social participation inaccessible. In this context, hip hop produced a number of double effects. First, themes in rap and graffiti articulated free play and uncheked public displays; yet, the settings for these expressions always suggested existing confinements. Second, like the consciousness-raising sessions in the early stages of the women’s rights movement and black power movements of the 1960s and 1970s, hip hop produced internal and external dialogues that affirmed the experiences and identities of the participants and at the same time offered critiques of larger society that were directed to both the hip hop community and society in general.

Out of a broader discourse, climate in which the perspectives and experiences of younger Hispanic, Afro-Caribbean and African-American had been provided little social space, hip hop developed as part of a cross-cultural communication network. Graffiti carried graffiti tags through the five boroughs; flyers posted in black and Hispanic neighborhood brought teenagers from all over New York to parks and clubs in the Bronx and eventually to events throughout the metropolitan area. And, characteristic of communication in the age of high-tech telecommunications, stories with cultural and narrative resonance continued to spread at a rapid pace. It was long before similarly marginalized black and Hispanic communities in other cities picked up on the tenor and energy in New York hip hop. Within a decade. Los Angeles County (especially Compton), Oakland, Detroit, Chicago, Houston, Atlanta, Miami, Newark and Trenton, Roxbury, and Philadelphia, have developed local hip hop scenes that link various regional postindustrial urban experiences of alienation, unemployment, police harassment, social, and economic isolation to their local and specific experience via hip hop’s language, style, and attitude. Regional differentiation in hip hop has been solidifying and will continue to do so. In some cases these differences are established by references to local streets and events, neighborhood and leisure activities; in other cases regional differences can be discerned by their preferences for dance steps, clothing, musical samples, and vocal accents. Like Chicago and Mississippi blues, these emerging regional identities in hip hop affirm the specificity and local character of cultural forms, as well as the larger forces that define hip hop and Afro-Africanist cultures. In every region, hip hop articulates a sense of entitlement and takes pleasure in aggressive subordination.

Few answers to questions as broadly defined as “what motivated the emergence of hip hop” could comprehensively account for all the factors that contributed to the multiple, related, and sometimes coincidental events that bring cultural forms into being. Keeping this in mind, this exploration has been organized around limited aspects of the relationship between cultural forms and the contexts within which they emerge. More specifically, it has attended to the ways in which artistic practice is shaped by cultural traditions, related current and previous practice, and the ways in which practice is shaped by technology, economic forces, and race, gender, and class relations. These relationships between form, context, and cultural priority demonstrate that hip hop shares a number of traits with. and yet revisits, long-standing Afro-Africanist practices; that male dominance in hip hop is, in part, a by-product of sexism and the active process of women’s marginalization in cultural production; that hip hop’s form is fundamentally linked to technological changes and social, urban space parameters; that hip hop’s anger is produced by contemporary racism, gender, and class oppression; and finally, that a great deal of pleasure in hip hop is derived from subverting these forces and affirming Afro-Africanist histories and identities.

Developing a style nobody can deal with—a style that cannot be easily understood or erased, a style that has the reflexive to create counterdominant narratives against a mobilizing and shifting enemy—may be one of the most effective ways to disrupt communities of resistance and simultaneously reserve the right to communal pleasure. With few economic assets and abundant cultural and aesthetic resources, Afro-Africanist youth have designed the street as the arena for competition, and style as the prestige-awarding event. In the postindustrial urban context of dwindling low-income housing, a trifle of meaningless jobs for young people, mounting police brutality, and increasingly draconian depictions of young inner city residents, hip hop style is black urban renewal.

"All Aboard!"


16. I am not suggesting that New York is typical of all urban areas, see that regional differences are significant. However, the broad transformations under discussion here have been felt in all major U.S. cities, particularly New York and Los Angeles—hip hop’s second major hub city—and critically frame the transitions that, in part, contributed to hip hop’s emergence. In the mid-1980s a variety of postindustrial changes with opportunities and social services in the Watts and Compton areas of Los Angeles became the impetus for Los Angeles gangsta rap. As Rob Kelby notes: "The generation who came of age in the 1960s, under the Reagan and Bush era, were products of devastating structural changes in the urban economy that date back at least to the 1970s. While the city is a whole experienced unprecedented growth, the competitiveness of Watts and Compton led to increased economic displacement, factory closures, and an unprecedented depopulation of poverty. . . Developers and city and county governments helped the process along by issuing massive capital into suburbanization while simultaneously cutting back expenditures for parks, recreation, and affordable housing in inner city communities." Kelby, "Kickin’ Reality, Kickin’ Ballistics." See also Mike Davis, City of Quartz: Excavating the Future of Los Angeles (London: Verso, 1991).

17. Mollenkopf, Contested City, p. 121.


23. Mollenkopf and Castells, ed., Dual City. See also Parts 2 and 3 of the collection, which deal specifically and in greater detail with the forces of transformation, gender, and the new occupational spaces.

24. Ben Bagdikian, The Media Monopoly (Boston: Beacon Press, 1987). Despite trends toward the centralization of news and media sources and the fact that larger corporate media outlets have proven unable to serve diverse ethnic and group needs, a secret story on New York’s hip hop community suggests that a wide range of alternative media sources serve New York’s ethnic communities. However, the study also shows that that black New Yorkers have been less successful in sustaining alternative media choices. See Michael Moss and Sarah Lippin, "The Structure of the Media," in Mollenkopf and Castells, Dual City, pp. 141-65.


26. See Mollenkopf, Contested City.

27. Similar strategies for urban renewal via slum clearance, development took place as a number of major metropolitan in the late 1960s and 1970s. See Mollenkopf, Contested City, especially Chapter 4, which describes similar strategies in San Francisco and Washington.


discovery of breaking among middle-class Americans, particularly the "urban chic" who frequented pop clubs. These clubs may be in bookers for "color" but will not generally permit their black and Latin peers. See also "theatre, black"

74. "We Miss That We Have Low Control," Anthony, Public Policy, and Griffin Writing," which was delivered at the 1991 American Society for American Studies meeting.

75. "The break is a point in a song or performance where the rhythmic pat-

tern established by the bass, drums, and guitar are violated from the harmonic and rhythmic elements and extended. In jazz, the break refers to the soloist's improvised bridge between sections.

76. George et al., "Out, p. 38.

77. Electric boogie is a rhythmic, "timeless" dance that began in California and was most popular there in parts of the South. See Locke, A Los Angeles-Style dance that (evolved from the soul train dances) and many other juvenile moves, in most urban patterns. Up-down is a very common, counter-rhythmic, and insulting gesture or move that is specifically directed at an opponent.

78. George et al., "Out, p. 90.

79. Ibid., p. 96.

80. Interview with Casey Legs and Wiggles, 6 November 1991. The fact that fights were rare and common in and around hip hop is up to how much people were involved in hip hop in particular, be it 1980s or 1990s. In the "real" world, however, the popular depiction of hip hop is a form that restricted gang-affiliated violence into peaceful creative outlets. In fact, the "celebrity" media discourse regarding hip hop relied on this myth to justify its celebration. Although it is quite possible that breaking, sampling, and grime writing are all absorbed and that they have otherwise been spread among the fight, fighting, and telling different community. See also "theatre, black"

81. Interview with Kid, from KIDNAP, 21 January 1990. See also "theatre, black"

82. "Out, p. 97.

83. Interview with Casey Legs and Wiggles, 6 November 1991. This connection was made on one's background paper presented at the 1990 American Studies Association meeting. Marvin Bosworth, "The ref to the Street," the Poet, March 1991, p. 28. For discussions on black dance and move-


89. "Out, p. 97.

90. "Out, p. 97.

91. "Out, p. 97.


95. "Out, p. 97.

96. "Out, p. 97.


98. "Out, p. 97.


100. "Out, p. 97.


103. "Out, p. 97.
