

# INTERRACIAL DIALOGUE IN RAP Music

## CALL-AND-RESPONSE IN A MULTICULTURAL STYLE

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I'd like to say 'nuff respect' to R.J. of KAZI and Root One in AusTexandJay Trachtenberg of KUT-Austin - two 'white guys in love with black beauty' (in Ziggy Marley's words) who provided invaluable assistance. This paper was drawn in part from *Droppiri Science: Rap Music's Postmodern Critique*, my Master's thesis at California State University, Hayward.

1. On 'electronically mediated' dialogue, see Mark Poster, *Mode of Information*, Uni-Chicago 1990; Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, Verso, London (1983) 1991; Gregory Stephens, 'Rap Music's Double-Voiced Discourse: A Crossroads for Interracial Communication', *Journal of Communication Inquiry*, vol 15 no 2, Summer 1991. This piece examines four broad themes of 'conscious' rap - self-critique, social critique, cultural critique, and racial critique.

2. Dick Hebdige, 'Subjects In Space', *New Formations*, no 11, Summer 1990, pvi. Not all boundaries in the imagined communities of African-rooted musics like rap are discursive, of course. We might think of it as a *symbolic order of rhythm*.

3. Henry Louis Gates, Jr, *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism*, OUP, New

### I INTRODUCTION

Popular culture can be seen as a form of interracial communication - often acting as a mobile crossroads for the symbolic interaction of various socio-cultural groups. Rap music is a particularly volatile site for this kind of 'electronically mediated' interracial dialogue. The oppositional critique of 'conscious rap' - an artform rooted in the discourse of 'black liberation' - is being adapted by an increasingly multi-ethnic subculture in order to develop 'imagined communities' that transcend racial and national boundaries. I have previously made a content analysis of the discourse of black 'conscious' rappers, framing their reconstruction of African American liberation theory as a parallel form of postmodern critical theory. Here I will focus more on the way in which recent Latino and 'white' rappers have inserted themselves into this discourse. My broader aim is to examine the implications that multi-ethnic use of the African-derived call-and-response process has for the development of more inclusive and responsive forms of democracy.<sup>1</sup>

Rap music vividly illustrates 'the discursive nature of the boundaries through which we define ourselves', as Dick Hebdige has remarked.<sup>2</sup> Hip-hop, the subculture from which rap emanates, was originally located mainly in African American urban communities. Now that rap has gained 'mainstream' mass media acceptance and influence, an unresolved racial tension has emerged within the artform. Some participants are using this vehicle to forward an exclusive, often 'anti-white' concept of 'black consciousness', even as many others use the same artform inclusively in an effort to eradicate race-consciousness.

I interpret rap as a 'double-voiced' discourse which arises from the 'collision between parallel discursive universes'. Multiracial participants are using this 'dialogic discourse' in a call-and-response process that is spawning a *mutually created language*, and thus redefining the boundaries of racial identity. I present evidence for this analysis in three ways:<sup>3</sup> 1) 'conscious rap' artists apply an Afrocentric code to source documents like the Bible in order to decode 'history'; 2) as a collage artform, rap incorporates cultural sources transcending race; 3) non-black artists have inserted themselves into the discursive formation of this emergent, oppositional mythology, decoding in their own way concepts like 'blackness'.

What do we make of a phenomenon in which black nationalist rap groups like Public Enemy attract largely non-black audiences? Former Public Enemy 'Minister of Information' Professor Griff has said: 'we had a mission ... to raise

the consciousness of our people, and we didn't. We didn't attract black people; we had all-white audiences. Black people didn't want to hear what we had to say.<sup>4</sup>

Griff is of course exaggerating for effect. Furthermore, by (predictably) thinking in black and white, he is ignoring rap's other audiences - Latino, Asian, etc. But anyone who has seen Public Enemy on tour with the rock group Anthrax during the summer of 1991 knows that he is not far off the mark.

Rap is 'black America's TV station', Public Enemy's Chuck D claims. Many performers on that station consider the music their property. They are singing 'It's a family affair', and often defining that family on the darker side of the colour line. Yet they can look out at their audience and see a sea of non-black faces, or turn on the radio and hear their Other chanting back at them in 'their' own language.<sup>5</sup> In a postmodern irony, an artform that often attempts to define racial boundaries is simultaneously transgressing them. Thus, rap music represents a challenge to traditional definitions of racial representation.

By applying both Euro- and Afrocentric definitions of signifying and signification to rap's intertextual, double-voiced discourse, I attempt to demonstrate how rap's 'two-toned' symbols convey different meanings to different members of its multicultural audience. Engaging these 'parallel discursive universes' in a dialogue is an effort to bridge Western and non-Western conceptions of language, 'permitting a context in which analyst and subject can talk together as equals'.<sup>6</sup> This electronic call-and-response process may, in turn, give us a preview of how multicultural societies arrive at a 'crossroads to a new transnational culture', as Homi Bhabha has written<sup>7</sup> — a culture that both honors differences and defines shared goals.

## II TEXT AND CONTEXT

Dialogue between persons of European and African descent must incorporate both of their respective worldviews. I use the terms Afrocentric and Eurocentric to signify these worldviews, strictly as ideal types. By 'Eurocentric' I don't signify the often pejorative contemporary usage of the word. Eurocentric is simply shorthand for European-rooted, just as Afrocentric is shorthand for African-rooted. Likewise, 'Afrocentric' does not denote here an exceptionalist stance — as some black nationalists would have it. Rather, I use the term in a sense similar to Cornel West's 'Afro-American humanist tradition'.<sup>8</sup> Finally, it must be stressed that in the realm of popular culture, there are no *pure* forms of African- or European-derived speech patterns. Both cultures have been engaged in centuries of cross-fertilization.

### *Eurocentric Theories of Dialogic Discourse*

The European conceptions of signification which I have applied to rap music all have an interactive focus: namely poststructuralism and dialogism. For Murphy, 'researchers are communicatively competent when they comprehend the *linguistic pragmatics* of their subjects.' Hence, 'every research instrument that is

York, p. xxiv; Mikhail Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (ed. Michael Holquist), University of Texas Press, Austin 1981. The idea of 'processual analysis' has been explicated by Renato Rosaldo, *Culture and Truths*, Beacon, Boston 1989.

4. *Daily Texan*, 23 June 1990.

5. Mark Derby, 'Public Enemy: Confrontation', *Keyboard*, September 1990. Shinehead's 'It's A Family Affair' quotes Sly Stone in his call for unity, and then chants off a lengthy list of African American entertainers to make explicit his definition of family.

6. C. Jan Swearingen, 'Dialogue and Dialectic: The Logic of Conversation and the Interpretation of Logic', in Tulio Maranhao (ed.), *The Interpretation of Dialogue*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago 1990, pp47-71. Dialogic textual analysis should be a 'union between minds rather than understanding of texts'. (p68).

7. Homi Bhabha (ed.), *Nation and Narration*, Routledge, 1990, p4.

8. Cornel West, *Prophesy Deliverance!*, Westminster Press, Philadelphia 1982.

9. John Murphy, *Postmodern Social Analysis and Criticism*, Greenwood Press, Westport, CT 1989, pp46,52. Jürgen Habermas, *Theory and Practice*, Beacon, Boston 1973, p13.

10. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Problems of Dostoevski's Poetics*, Manchester University Press, Manchester 1984. V.N. Volosinov, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language*, Seminar Press, New York & London 1973, p86.

11. Julia Kristeva, 'Word, Dialogue, and Novel', in Toril Moi (ed.) *The Kristeva Reader*, Basil Blackwell, Oxford, 1986.

12. John Lechte, *John Kristeva*, Routledge, London 1990, p104.

13. Abiola Irele, 'The African Imagination', *Research in African Literatures*, Vol 21, no 1, 1990, pp49-67.

14. Molefi Asante, *The Afrocentric Idea*, Temple University Press, Philadelphia 1987, p18. Karl Popper, *The Logic of Scientific Discovery*, Science Editions, New York 1968, p59. Murphy, *op.cit.*, p44.

15. Asante, *op.cit.*, pi 3. Christine Callendar and Deborah Cameron, 'Responsive Listening as Part of Religious Rhetoric: The Case of Black Pentacostal Preaching,' in Graham McGregor and R.S. White, *Reception and Response: Heaver Creativity and the Analysis of Spoken and Written Texts*, Routledge,

adopted must be viewed as a means to engage subjects in dialogue.' Habermas believes that 'the dominant paradigm is no longer the observation, but the dialogue.'<sup>9</sup>

Bakhtin distinguished 'dialogic' from 'monologic' discourse. Dialogic discourses are 'a bridge thrown between myself and another ... a territory shared by both addresser and addressee.'<sup>10</sup> Kristeva renames this concept as the 'dialogical word'.<sup>11</sup> Dialogical words bridge the Self with its Other. This concept is especially fruitful for the 'common discourse' of intercultural communication. The insistence on signifying *process* rather than signifying *systems* opens to an understanding of *processual meaning* — a prerequisite for interracial dialogue.

The dialogical word and intertextuality serve as a bridge between Eurocentric and Afrocentric theory. Intertextuality is 'the interpenetration of two or more signifying practices', in Kristeva's view.<sup>12</sup> Since the Afrocentric signifying practice is rooted in oral, *vernacular* traditions, in order to achieve 'dialogic discourse' we will have to expand our understanding of texts in order to incorporate 'elec-', Ironically mediated/oral sources. In other words, we will have to address ourselves to the canonization of non-written texts.<sup>13</sup> A preliminary map of this process is provided by the Afrocentric theories of discourse outlined by Gates and Asante.

#### *An Afrocentric Theory of Discourse*

'A euro-linear view seeks to predict and control. An afro-circular view seeks to interpret and understand,' writes Asante. To illustrate: Popper described theories as 'nets to catch what we call "the world": to rationalize, to explain, to master it. We endeavor to make the mesh ever finer.' But what do we get with this catch? An object removed from its natural environment, and suitable for framing. As Murphy notes, 'technical methods operate like a fishing net, immobilizing whatever is caught.'<sup>14</sup> A postmodern Afrocentrism would, instead of weaving theoretical nets, ask whether or not we ought to be learning to swim.

As ideal-types, Eurocentric discourse is speaker-oriented and unidirectional; Afrocentric discourse is audience-oriented and interactive. 'A speaker governs the use of language under tutelage of the audience,' writes Asante of the Afrocentric call-and-response paradigm. Recently, Callendar and Cameron have studied the call-and-response process in black Pentacostal churches, and observe that 'spontaneity' and 'turn-taking' appear to be norms in black culture. Foucault noted that because European science has considered its texts as fixed, it looks back to origins. By contrast, Afrocentric culture sees texts not as fixed, but emerging from interplay between speaker and audience, created through call-and-response. While Europeans built cathedrals as monuments to their spirit, 'Africans built their monuments in their bodies, with rhythm.'<sup>15</sup> The difference, metaphorically, is between truth in stone and truth in motion.

Gates writes that black texts - and Afrocentric theory - cannot be 'only black', since 'all texts signify upon other texts.' Rather, its role is 'to define itself with - and against - other theoretical activities.'<sup>16</sup>

### *Simulating a Dialogue of Euro- and Afrocentric Theory*

Both postmodern Euro- and Afrocentric theory stress inter-subjectivity. On this common ground important parallels can be drawn. Both define themselves as *oppositional*. Gates' concept of 'parallel discursive universes' is similar to the concept of 'parallel cultures' in the arts world.<sup>17</sup> Central to both versions of critical theory is the idea of signifying, signifying practice, or the mode of signification.<sup>18</sup> Signifying is for Gates a *processual* paradigm: 'in the black tradition [figures of signification] denote *ways of meaning*' (as opposed to meaning). Deconstructive critics have similarly argued that interpretation should focus on *'how texts mean — rather than ... what they mean'*.<sup>19</sup>

Eco suggests we are entering a communication era in which control is shifting from sender to receiver. Whoever 'succeeds in making a given audience discuss the message it is receiving could reverse the meaning of that message', he writes, recalling the Afrocentric idea of speakers being under tutelage of their audience. Eco and Asante are essentially talking about call-and-response, a process now being played out in rap's multiracial arena.<sup>20</sup>

### III RAP MUSIC: A POSTMODERN/WEST AFRICAN BRIDGE

Robert Hilburn of the *Los Angeles Times* observed that 'the controversial ... street sound of rap [had] grabbed the creative momentum' from rock music.<sup>21</sup> This power has both a commercial and a creative side. M.C. Hammer and white rapper Vanilla Ice sold 16 million copies of their 1990 releases as of February 1991 after a combined 35 weeks atop the American pop charts. 'Conscious rappers' like Boogie Down Productions and Public Enemy are also consistent million-sellers. In order to understand the impact this music's discourse is having on contemporary culture, it may be helpful to conceive of rap music as a West African-postmodern bridge.

Now the notion of drawing parallels between African and European art is currently under attack in some quarters. At issue here is how to deal with *difference*. Some argue that a search for commonality merely serves as a pretext to whitewash significant cultural differences, and the postcolonial legacy of power imbalances still often tied to these differences. Stuart Hall rightly criticizes the way in which postmodernism 'can become a kind of lament for one's own departure from the centre of the world'. In (over)compensation for this sort of insular soft-headedness, the differences of race, class and gender are often recited as a sort of holy trinity. Those who argue that these differences are not absolute, but of relative importance, risk being dismissed as hopelessly naive, or even accused of being racist, sexist, etc.<sup>22</sup>

My view is rooted in personal experience. I am of Irish descent and married to a woman of African descent. I worked in the 1980s as a songwriter for a black-led, multiracial dance band in Austin, Texas. I conceive of myself as an inhabitant of a 'racial frontier'; as a consumer and a co-creator of an interracial culture, and as a speaker of what is essentially a mutually created language. From this vantage, I think many on the 'Left' overcompensate for historical

London 1990, p. 75; Michel Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, Pantheon, New York 1972; Michael Ventura, *Shadow Dancing in the USA*, Jeremy Tarcher, Los Angeles 1985.

16. Gates, *op.cit.*, ppxxiii-xiv.

17. Michael Brenson, 'Artview', *New York Times*, 23 September 1990. The concept of 'parallel cultures' is attributed to Thomas Ybarra Frausto, Assistant Director of Arts & Humanities, Rockefeller Foundation.

18. The Afrocentric usage of 'signifying' is outlined by Gates, *op. cit.* For 'signifying practice', see Kristeva, *op.cit* 1986, and Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*, Methuen, London 1979. On 'mode of signification', see Scott Lash, *The Sociology of Postmodernism*, Routledge, London 1990.

19. Gates, *op.cit.*, pp11,24. K.M. Newton, *Interpreting the Text: A Critical Introduction to the Theory & Practice of Literary Interpretation*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, London 1990, p95; Robert Dunn, 'Postmodernism: Populism, Mass Culture, and Avant-Garde' in *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol 8, no 1, February 1991.

20. Umberto Eco, *Travels in Hyperreality*, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, San Diego 1986, pp142-3.

21. Robert Hilburn, 'Rap: The Power and the Controversy', *Los Angeles Times*, 4 February 1990.

22. Stuart Hall, 'The Emergence of Cultural Studies and the Crisis of the Humanities', *October*, no 53, Summer 1990, p22. Typical of the timely but somewhat reactionary critique of drawing parallels between European and non-European art is Marianna Tor-govnick's *Gone Primitive*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago and London 1990. See also Hal Foster, 'The "Primitive" Unconscious of Modern Art, or White Skin Black Masks', in *Rifcodings: Art, Spectacle, Cultural Politics*, Bay Press, Seattle, WA 1985, and Susan Hiller (ed.), *The Myth of Primitivism*, Routledge, London 1991.

23. Greg Tate, 'Diary of a Bug', *Village Voice* 22 November 1988.

24. Hall and West both quoted in Cornel West, 'The New Cultural Politics of Difference', *October*, no 53, Summer 1990, pp. 04-5.

25. Robert Farris Thompson, 'An Aesthetic of the Cool: West African Dance', *African Forum*, Fall 1966, pp85-102. A similar typology is presented by Thompson in his book *Flash of the Spirit*, New York Random House, 1983, pxiii. My outline of rap's West African/postmodern parallels is in 'Rap Music's Double-Voiced Discourse: A Crossroads for Interracial Communication', *op.cit.*

*under*recognition of difference by now overemphasizing said difference. Unfortunately, the issue is too often framed as an either/or equation.

There is a stream of diasporic African thought that claims all popular music to be 'black', and is quite emphatic in its rejection of claims by whites to any significant contribution to this culture. Greg Tate tells the story about jazz drummer Max Roach calling the writer Frank Owen a 'racist white cocksucker' and throwing him out of his house. Owen's offence was to assert that hip-hop isn't a 'pure' black art form, since it samples liberally from 'white' rock groups. Tate retorts, 'Their tired-ass riffs were heisted from black folks in the first place.'<sup>23</sup>

Tate is a talented critic whom I admire. But he seems to be indulging in racial romanticism, trying to recover some pure cultural source. Now, respect where respect is due is one thing. Certainly popular music owes more to Africa than any other source, and of course many 'white' artists have made fortunes imitating 'black' styles. But to imagine that this music is anything other than a hybrid creation is delusional. Should we call Stravinsky black because he was influenced by jazz, or Miles Davis white because he was influenced by Stravinsky? What do we make of the widespread admiration of country-'western' by African musicians? Or the fact that most Algerian Rai music is now made in Paris? Once music enters the marketplace, it is all but impossible to claim any kind of racial ownership.

By defining rap as a West African/postmodern bridge, I am taking a both/and position. Difference and commonality don't have to be mutually exclusive. Surely we are sufficiently complex that we can both retain a strong ethnic identity, and participate in the give-and-take of a common culture. There is another stream of black critical thought that recognizes this open-ended potential of 'racial identity'. Stuart Hall insists that "'Black" is essentially a politically and culturally *constructed* category,' while Cornel West emphasizes 'the profoundly hybrid character of what we mean by "race", "ethnicity", and "nationality".'<sup>24</sup>

I have detailed elsewhere rap's characteristics as both a West African and a postmodern artform, and only summarize this argument here. In 1966, Robert Farris Thompson described West African dance and music as 'danced faiths' which provided 'a means of comprehending a pervasive strand of contemporary culture'. Parents didn't 'get' their children's rock'n'roll, he wrote, 'because of their ignorance of black artistic traditions, which even blue-eyed youngsters seem to have absorbed.'<sup>25</sup> Thompson's comments still apply today. Some of the West African traits he mentioned, quite visible in rap, are a percussive performance style, multiple meter, call-and-response, and songs and dances of social allusion/derision.

While manifesting African roots, rap is also clearly postmodern. Rap's tales of urban life's ruptures and its ambiguous relation to 'mainstream' American culture reflect an indeterminacy. Its decanonization is evident in both style and substance - by defying musical rules, by describing 'his-story' as a genocidal ideology, etc. Rap is a hybrid form, putting samples of cultural icons

of the past into a contemporary format, integrating elements of rock and reggae. Rap is a do-it-yourself performative art that is constantly being 'revised, answered, acted out'.<sup>26</sup> Finally, rap is an *immanent* forum for 'language animals' that reinvent themselves through the manipulation of symbols.

#### IV DROPPIN'SCIENCE: AN AFROCENTRIC CRITIQUE

Asante sees 'resistance to oppression, liberation from stereotypes, and action in anticipation to reaction' as the three central themes of Afrocentric discourse. This oppositional stance, like European critical theory, is concerned with the reordering of underlying symbols and rule systems. Writes Asante, 'Since the ruling power tries to impose silence by presenting an *undebatable word*, the receiver must present the *most debatable symbol*.' Since my focus is on rap's debatable symbols, I have concentrated on what Boogie Down Productions' KRS-One calls 'conscious rap', or 'black consciousness rap', as X-Clan sees it.

In hip-hop subculture, a rapper telling 'what's *really* goin' on' is said to be 'droppin' science'. Three connotations of this term frame my critique of rap's discourse on race: 1) 'droppin' science' implies, to use Weber's terminology, the 'prophetic imagination'.<sup>28</sup> In hip-hop, 'science' is not received from an 'expert' but is created by the individual rapper under the guidance of black culture heroes like Malcolm X. A T-shirt popular among black youth illustrates the belief in a 'separate knowledge' and this tradition's prophetic continuity - 'Marcus, Malcolm, Martin, Marley, Mandela, *and Me*'; 2) it is dropped in a 'ghetto code' (Gil Scott-Heron) that gives its audience a practical knowledge unavailable to the out-group; 3) traditional scientific knowledge is being *dropped* in favor of an 'Afrocentric' perspective — defined here as 'African American Liberation Theory'. In X-Clan's words, 'I'm quite illogical but never been a savage/ Been scientific but I never have to map it.'

In an early-1980s rap, 'Black History/The World', Gil Scott-Heron disowns what he sees as the whitewashing of history in words that have been echoed repeatedly:

If interpreting was left up to me  
I'd swear every time that version ain't mine  
That's why it's called His-Story.

This reference to his-story as a fiction created for the benefit of white males is repeated often in rap. In his album 'By All Means Necessary', KRS-One comments, 'So when you're there in class learning his-story/Learn a little of your story, the real story.' Public Enemy say much the same thing: 'History shouldn't be a mystery/Our story's real history, not his-story.' As do the Jungle Brothers: 'Lookin' for the True Black Days of Glory/But your readin' history -I That's HIS-STORY!'

This dis-identification with 'mainstream' culture reveals itself in wordplay. Television becomes 'tell-lie-vision'; a library is a 'lie-bury' — the place where lies

26. Ihab Hassan, *The Postmodern Turn: Essays in Postmodern Theory and Culture*, Ohio State University Press, Ohio 1987, pp169-72.

27. Asante, *op.cit.*, pp169,31. My emphasis added.

28. Max Weber, *Sociology of Religion*, Beacon, Boston (1922) 1963.

are buried. 'Land of the free and the home of the brave' is rendered 'land of the thief and the home of the slave'. A PhD is a 'psychological human disorder.' KRS-One challenges conventional wisdom on why blacks fail:

I fail in your class cause I ain't with your reasoning / It  
seems to me that in a school that's Ebony African  
history should be pumped up strongly.

And he does just that, reinterpreting Judaeo-Christian culture's central text from an Afrocentric view:

Moses had to be of the black race  
Because he spent forty years in Pharaoh's place  
He passed as the Pharaoh's grandson  
So he had to look just like them

KRS-One has started a collective of 'edutainers' called 'Humanity Educated Against Lies'. Their album 'Civilization vs. Technology' focuses on the rewriting of his-story. KRS-One, as the organizer, is at pains to provide an inclusive theoretical overview: 'Black and white ain't the real fight/That's the only thing the media hypes ... Before you're a color you're human.'<sup>29</sup>

But some rappers under his umbrella are not quite so charitable. Kushite urges his people to 'erase the old' and to 'declare independence from the white bondage'. Since he believes blacks are the 'original peoples', he urges them to 'snatch back authority' and become 'straight up imperialists'.

Some black nationalist-inspired rappers, such as Brand Nubians, express not only cultural pride but superiority:

We come to make people aware that black means first  
400 years we've been made to feel cursed  
But now, it's our time to rule ...  
To be exact, dominant means black  
But some have a hard time trying to swallow that.

Much of rap's ideology comes from a mythologized memory of the black power movement. X-Clan uses code words which signify white inferiority. 'Vultures' or 'culture vulture' refers to the belief that whites have no culture except that which they have stolen from non-Europeans. 'Cave-boy' is a generic reference to white males which signifies a diseased consciousness developed in the absence of the sun. 'Devils' reflects the influence of Nation of Islam teachings.<sup>29</sup> Charles Ahearn, formulated by Elijah Muhammed and popularized by the early Malcolm X.<sup>29</sup> X-Clan uses the 'crossroads' as a central metaphor for what they conceive of as a meeting place for 'the blackwatch' who enact revenge on 'cave boy oppressors'. They place this crossroads in a mythical Egypt and put a 'blacks-only' sign at the frontier - decrying 'the legendary thief who tried to make Greece sinkin' Paris into Egypt'.

29. Charles Ahearn, 'The Five Percent Solution', *Spin*, February 1991

Ice Cube, a 'gangster' rapper who has tried recently to incorporate political commentary, has taken to an extreme tendency in black nationalist thought to fight racism with racism. In 'Horny Lil' Devil', he threatens to kill white males who desire black women. 'Black Korea' advocates arson of Asian shopkeepers in black ghettos. Rejecting any hope of coalition-building, Ice Cube dismisses successful blacks as 'tryin' to be white or a Jew/but who are they to be equal to?' Positively Black takes opposition to its (il)logical end: 'Think like your enemy thinks/Do all you can do to make your enemy sink'. Over a sample of Marley's 'Should You Be Loved', their song 'Enemies Got Me On the Run' repeats Public Enemy's claim of 'the worldwide conspiracy to destroy the black race'. KRS-One, 'conscious rap's' most eloquent spokesman, on the one hand subscribes to the drugs-as-genocide-of-blacks theory; on the other hand, he has denounced the concept of group blame. In 'The Racist', KRS-One lists four types of racism against blacks, followed by this biting indictment of black racism:

The last but not least racial prejudice  
Is the black man speaking out of ignorance  
Whitey this and chingchow that is not how the intelligent man acts  
You can't blame the whole white race for slavery 'cause this ain't the case  
A large sum of white people died with blacks  
Trying hard to fight racial attacks

Queen Latifah expresses frustration at continuing racial hatred and calls for a change:

Why is it so hard to be sisters and brothers / I hate when  
they hate me, I hate when I hate them / There wouldn't  
be problems if we didn't create them / The time is now  
to mend and be friends.

Mixed race British rapper Rebel MC offers his own existence as proof that an interracial culture can emerge - 'Black and white we can unite ... I'm living proof.'

A new genre of rap is emerging, groups like Definition of Sound and P.M. Dawn, which some have labelled 'New Age Rap'. It takes a somewhat Utopian view of race relations. Definition of Sound devote much of their album 'Life and Love' to emphasizing the changing character of race relations and the dangers of being frozen in poses of victimization. They advise their peers, 'Life is not an angle it's a 360 spin/To think one way is not to think positively.' Urging blacks not to 'fall down in sorrow for your self-pity', DOS offers this King-like vision:

I'm able to see about a day where the sun of peace shines  
Upon where black, white, yellow and red — they're all intertwined ...  
In this lifetime anything can be done

Forget about the color and unite as one ... It  
could be solved ... anything can evolve.

Rap music is explicitly oppositional, but it is also housed in a structure designed to bypass the limitations of an oppositional stance. Rhythm is the vehicle of this transcendence; rhythm is 'the basis of African American transcendence'. Transcendence is achieved through a dialectical tension - the freedom to 'do one's own thing' within the structure of a moveable unity, keeping it 'on the one'.<sup>30</sup> Rebel MC can signify this entire worldview and cultural tradition by repeating the simple refrain, 'Riddim a full of culture y'all'. This philosophy of transcendence does not respect colour lines - hence Clinton's quasi-millennial vision of 'One Nation Under a Groove', recently reconstituted in Janet Jackson's appeals to a 'Rhythm Nation' which is 'pushing toward a world rid of color lines'.

DJ Shazzy chants that anyone who can 'Keep It Flowin'" will experience her music's healing and equalizing power:

And if your rhythm's sick this song will make it better  
Hear the bass kick strong with every letter ...  
At any age, race, rank or color  
You could move as smooth as any other.

To Euro-Americans or other cultures which have traditionally separated mind and body, this is a call with redemptive appeal. This is quite visible in the film 'Commitments', when an Irish band dubs themselves 'The Saviours of Soul' and speaks explicitly of using soul to bring a healing process to their people.

Ska Banks (of H.E.A.L.) insists on the universality of the African culture: 'Black or white, Indian, Tai or Chi/Half a half, one a one ... Every body African'. This line, echoing Black Uhuru's lyric that 'The Whole World Is Africa' holds out the promise that African culture, and African music in particular, has the potential to unite all people, to write the bassline for a new multiracial song.

The more antagonist rap would seem a forbidding environment for non-blacks. But many of them seem to feel that the bark of their black peers is worse than their bite. Furthermore, as we have seen, they can choose whether to identify with the exclusive lyrics of black consciousness rappers, or the inclusive message of conscious rap.

More fundamentally, 'Rap is postmodern (pastiche) art par excellence,' as Mattson notes. Thus we encounter the irony of a self-consciously "closed" music's obsessive use of samples that must by nature be open.<sup>\*1</sup> There are surprising reflections in this hall of mirrors. Chuck D was inspired by Afrika Bambaataa's 'Zulu Nation', but Bambaataa says he got the idea not from South Africa but from the British movie 'Zulu' starring Michael Caine. Schooly D's 'Signifying Rappers' is built on a sample from rock legend Led Zeppelin, who in turn drew from the blues. De La Soul samples Liberace, and uses David

30. Gregory Stephens, 'Fashion Dread Rasta: On the One in Jamaica with Bob Marley's Children', *Whole Earth Review*, Summer 1988.

51. Kevin Mattson, 'The Dialectic of Powerlessness: Black Identity and Affirmative Action', *Telos*, no84, Summer 1990, pp!77-84; Mark Costello and David Foster Wallace, *Signifying Rappers: Rap and Race in the Urban Present*, Ecco, New York 1990, p87.

Bowie as a career model. As Costello and Wallace put it, 'When you sleep with a source you sleep with everyone your source has slept with.'<sup>32</sup>

By putting past cultural voices in a contemporary context, rap allows the audience to signify anew upon these sources. Thus Malcolm X is reconstituted as the 'white man is the devil' orator, or as the post-Mecca peacemaker, depending on one's orientation. Just as black rappers have used an Afrocentric code to find themselves in historical landscapes previously presumed to be the province of whites, so non-blacks are using rap's double-voiced symbols as entry points to a cultural landscape that often presents itself as only black. And non-blacks, having discovered in rap's symbols a common ground, are proceeding to make their own contributions to this discourse. Having learned the 'linguistic pragmatics' of the predominantly African American speakers in this multicultural form, they are proceeding to engage them in dialogue. Thus, in the cail-and-response tradition, the Rhythm Nation raps back.

V CALL-AND-RESPONSE: THE RHYTHM NATION RAPS BACK *The Caucasian Persuasion*

The cave dweller drops lyrics a capella (3rd Bass)

At least since the 1950s, 'hip' white youth have identified strongly with black music. From early blues-based rockers, to the Talking Heads, the cutting edge of rock music has always been defined on the borderline with black, Latino, or 'world' music. In 1992 this is no different, except that the cutting edge 'rock' musicians just happen to be black.

The process by which white youth have borrowed from black culture has been well documented.<sup>33</sup> There is a less-documented but equally important reverse process: from jazz's assimilation of Euro-American music to rap's 'plundering' of cultural sources such as old TV themes and 'breaks' taken from rock records.<sup>34</sup> A call and response - a dialectic - has been going on between these parallel cultures long enough that we can discern the beginnings of a mutually created language. Now we are seeing the emergence of white rap acts who explicitly signify identification with black (or transracial) culture. For instance, 3rd Bass slams colour stereotypes:

Black cats bring bad luck  
Bad guys wear black  
Musta been a white guy started all that.

On the song 'No Master Plan, No Master Race', 3rd Bass develops this philosophy more fully, professing that 'Original man's a black man/said by a Caucasian'.

The all-white rap group 'Young Black Teenagers' strongly identifies with African American liberation. In 'Proud to be Black', they stake out their claim on this contested cultural arena' with an insistence that 'Blackness is a state of mind':

34. The story of hip-hop's birth and borrowings has been told often. One of the better accounts is Greg Tate, 'Hip Hop Nation', *Village Voice*, 19 January 1988.

32. *Ibid.* ('Zulu' reference is in Costello and Wallace.) On De la Soul's influences, see *Rolling Stone*, no 602, 18 April 1991.

33. Hebdige, *of. at.* See also Roger Hewitt, *White TalkBlackTalk: Inter-racial Friendship and Communication Amongst Adolescents*, CUP, London 1986; Simon Jones, *Black Culture, White Youth*, MacMillan, London 1988; Paul Willis, *Common Culture: Symbolic work at play in the Everyday Cultures of the Young*, Westview Press, Boulder 1990.



#### Young Black Teenagers

So to whom it may concern here's a fact  
That the minute you hear a rap you think black ...  
The truth is sharp and proven that  
It ain't where you're from it's where you're at ...  
New styles, new rules, new facts  
That's why we're proud to be black.

Though YBT begin 'Proud to be Black' with the admission that they are 'born of the Caucasian persuasion', some black DJ's have protested that this is just another instance of culture vultures'. The group defends itself by pointing out that they grew up in black neighborhoods and were considered 'black' by their peers. Soul Records co-owner Bill Stephney (who records YBT and was one of the originators of 'the Public Enemy concept') defends the group by saying that they 'will make African people in this country question what the term "black" really means.'<sup>35</sup>

35. Leah Garchik, 'Personals', *Son Francisco Chronicle*, 9 January 1991.

At the same time, white rappers tend still to be very self-conscious about their presence on this contested turf. You can see this in the way the thin-skinned Vanilla Ice invents ghetto credibility, retracts part of it, and then tells his critics to 'kiss my white ass'.

The New Jersey-based 'Caucasian' Tony D (who produces Poor Righteous Teachers) is blunt in telling his black peers to ease off the white-bashing:

Damn, I said I know who I am  
So you don't have to remind me every time you shake my hand  
Point blank, understand, don't you think I notice  
There's a mirror in my room ... I have 20-20 vision

3rd Bass are more subtle. They invert stereotypes of 'whites' being forwarded by some Afrocentric razz artists, remarking slyly that 'the cave dweller drops lyrics a capella'. But this insecurity manifests itself most of all in the in-fighting that has developed among white rappers. It seems to be almost an inverse manifestation of the conventional wisdom that used to operate about there only being room for one black artist in any field at any given time. Now that white rappers are under fire by their black peers, they often seek to establish their credibility not only by professing their allegiance to the fight against racism, but by attacking the alleged sincerity of other white artists. 3rd Bass spends much of their second album distancing themselves from Vanilla Ice, and even includes a scene in the video 'Top Goes the Weasle' in which a Vanilla Ice lookalike is clubbed by the 3rd Bass Posse.

Tony D seeks to delegitimize 3rd Bass at every opportunity. He tells MC Serch 'you forgot you were a bleach boy', compares him to Vanilla Ice, and tells the group they are just 'another replacement for the Beastie Boys'. In rap argot, they're 'frontin':

In the shoe polish you take your bath / You got to learn  
history before you conquer math / You rub it on your body  
thinkin' you'll get knowledge ... The teacher might of taught  
you but you learned wrong / It shows in the writing of your  
songs.

Tony D seeks to legitimize himself, in comparison, by reasserting his awareness of difference:

Black is black and white is white  
There's no changin' or rearrangin' this subject ...  
I'm fillin' my mind up to capacity  
With knowledge of self- I know whom I am  
I'm not down with the kiss ass program.

At the same time, he describes hip-hop as 'the music that we created' and feels qualified to lecture black radio:

Seems to me that the radio should play the truth /  
To enlighten today's black youth / Cause your  
education is not teachin' them / It only weakens  
them as the rebel to violence.

In the end, Tony D comes back to a stance of recognizing but transcending difference that is very like that of 3rd Bass:

When I look at a human you can say I'm color blind / Cause I see them  
with my eyes but I judge them with my mind.

*The Latino Connection*

Being the fine line between the black and the white man. (Latin Alliance)

Latino rappers probably better illustrate rap's ability to cross colour lines, since they are less obsessed with defending their legitimacy. Their multicultural heritage gives them solid ground from which to provide their own unique critique of his-story. For instance, the group Aztlan Nation reframes the illegal alien issue: 'I didn't cross the border, the border crossed me.'

Cuban American rappers like Mellow Man Ace and Mexican American rappers like Kid Frost have staked their claims to hip-hop's contested turf with a richly articulated discourse on Latino contributions to rap in particular and American/New World culture in general. 'What we tried to do is break stereotypes that rap is a black art form,' says Kid Frost - the 'Hispanic Causing Panic'. 'Rap is not a black art form, rap is an *urban* art form,' he explains his philosophy, 'It's not where you're from, it's where you're at' - echoing the YBT.<sup>36</sup>

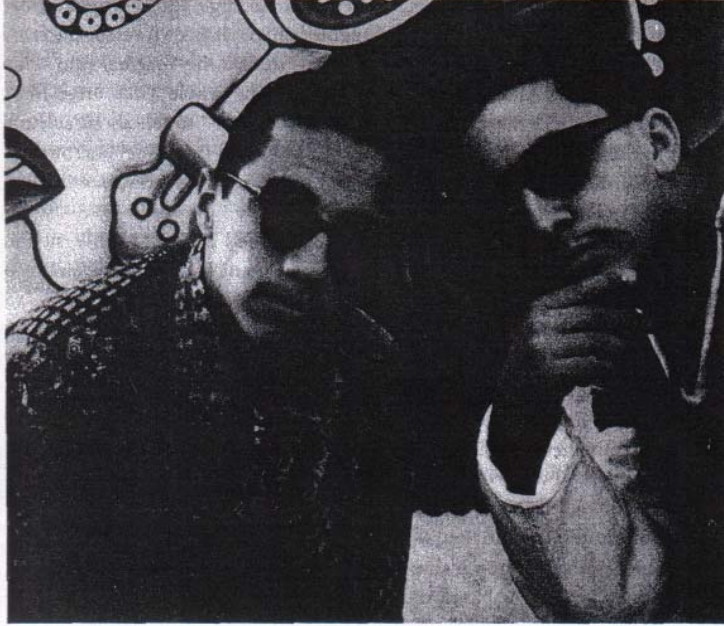
Frost has produced a stable of rap artists - the 'Latin Alliance' - hailing from Nicaragua, France, Spain and Puerto Rico. On their collective album, the concept of a community or a nation which transcends racial/national barriers is quite explicit. On 'Valla En Pas (Go In Peace)', the Hip Hop Astronaut describes his identity as 'being the fine line between the black and the white man'. The song 'Latinos Unidos' describes the Latino connection to African slavery:

Puerto Ricans survived 400 years of slavery / Based  
on pride, persistence and bravery ... That only  
made us much stronger / Now we're multiracial and  
we're slaves no longer.

Pride in a multiracial and multicultural identity is a persistent theme of Latino rappers. ALT, a rapper on the Latin Alliance compilation, asks, 'What is the true definition of American/Does it belong to any one race or culture?' The answer, from a Latino perspective, is clear: an American lives on a crossroads, a convergence of cultures. ALT comes from 'Two mountain streams flowing together/It's Hispanic and French blood, create a lyrical flood.' The Lyrical Latin (from the Latin Alliance) looks to his Nicaraguan heritage; others even look back to Germany, since Germans have had, of course, a major impact on some Latino nations - particularly in Argentina and Brazil.

Like their Afrocentric peers, Latino rappers sometimes entertain messianic

36. Kid Frost interviewed on KALX-Berkeley, 24 June 1990.



A Lighter Shade of Brown

Or imperial dreams. 'If for once all Chicanos got together/No longer the minority but the majority', dreams Kid Frost. The Hip Hop Astronaut imagines, 'maybe one day we'll have the upper hand'. And like Afrocentric rappers, Latinos are intensely critical of Eurocentric education. 'What they teach in school is the dumbest/And don't talk no shit about Christopher Columbus', say Frost and ALT on 'Runnin'. They see a quite different history behind the history of the United States flag:

Red for the bloodshed  
White for the white man  
Blue for the women of the red man, right man?

But like KRS-One and many black 'conscious' rappers, the Latinos are primarily concerned with uplift, and not with 'dissing' any other group. In the words of the Hip Hop Astronaut:

To the Latin community, it's time to get the immunity  
Free from any type of racial negativity ...  
Don't be misled, we're not trying to put any ethnic group down  
We're just trying to bring ours up.

This uplift is accomplished, in part, by recontextualizing Latino cultural heroes and musical fragments. For instance, a Lighter Shade of Brown retells the story of 'Pancho Villa' from a Chicano perspective - that of the 'original vato' who, acting as a sort of Mexican Robin Hood, 'had the whole USA after him'. Another cut reworks the Latin Rascals classic 'Groovin'" to tell about cultural values in the contemporary Chicano community. 'Spill the Wine' borrows the old Eric Burdon/War song and refashions it as a sort of Latino variant of Bob Marley's 'Three O'Clock Roadblock'.

The ethnicity of Latinos is marked by an unabashed pride in its diversity, in its multiracial, bilingual adaptability. A particular point of pride is the ability to engage in what the Speech Communication field calls 'code switching'. In 'Ya Estuvo', Kid Frost announces to a sceptical black rapper that 'I'm going to bust this one in a bilingual mode', and then proceeds to run each verse down in both Spanish and English. A Lighter Shade of Brown advises 'suckers dissin'" to 'Pay attention to an invention that caught your attention/We call it Spanglish/A Bit of Spanish combined with English.'

The group is 'always comin' funky to any old tempo' because they've got 'Paquito Soul' - a little bit of soul, or Latin Soul, by inference. It is when we look at what constitutes 'Paquito Soul' - at the structural foundations of Latino rap -that we understand just how inclusive this variety of hip-hop is. For instance, the song 'Latinos Unidos' is based on samples from Dr John's 'Funky Nassau', Average White Band's 'Cut the Cake', Herbie Hancock's 'Palm Grease', and 'Subway to Venus' by the white punk/funk band, the Red Hot Chili Peppers.

This celebration of hybridity in Latino culture can be seen in Latino rappers' widespread use of War samples. We could almost say that War is to Latino rap what James Brown is to black rap. The significance is in War's musical history as a multicultural crossroads: they are a primarily 'black' band who first made a name for themselves backing an Englishman, Eric Burdon; then developed a uniquely Latin sound in songs like 'Low Rider' that used the harmonica of Denmark's Lee Oskar as its signature.

The implications of this cultural and ethnic gumbo for race relations are clear: 'the true definition of an "American" - quote, unquote,' as ALT put it, cannot 'belong to any one race or culture'. Rayski Rockwell (Latin Alliance) advises, 'So don't be enemies, know that I'm saying? / Negative lifestyles bring bad memories'.

In a broader sense, artforms primarily pioneered by American blacks (like hip-hop) do not belong to Americans, any more than they can be owned by blacks. As Simon Frith has pointed out recently, American artforms are essentially cultural myths which have some geographic roots but few geographic limitations. 'America itself, as a pop cultural myth, no longer bears much relationship to the USA as a real place *even in the myth*,' writes Frith, since 'its very cultural forms are now everywhere available.'<sup>37</sup> African American liberation theory and the 'black beats' which carry it have gone international. It can no more be called only black than Christianity can be called 'only Jewish', or

37. Simon Frith, 'Anglo-America and its Discontents', *Gutteral Studies*, Vol 5, no 3, October 1991, p268.

democracy can be defined as only the concern of the white male landowners who wrote the United States constitution.

Eco's assertion that a group which discusses the message, or 'challenges the sender' as Asante says, is able to 'reverse the meaning of that message', seems to be precisely the point of 'droppin' science', in its multicultural application. We have seen how conscious rappers apply an Afrocentric code to recover their place in historical landscapes from which they had been written out. With a knowledge of double-voiced discourse, non-blacks can in turn decode concepts such as 'blackness', 'soul', and 'America'. In the process, they are discovering in rap's double-voiced symbols and musical architecture a world in which cross-fertilization between 'blacks' and 'non-blacks' is a historical and ongoing process.

No matter how far back we go in cultural history, we find a crossroads — a site of intercultural dialogue. Martin Bernal and others have represented the evidence, for instance, that Mediterranean culture was a hybrid byproduct of the cross-fertilization of African, European, and Semitic peoples. So to look for 'pure' origins in Greece, Egypt, or the Middle East - or in contemporary cultures — is to perpetuate 'symbol imperialism' against which both Euro- and Afrocentric critical theory have aligned themselves.<sup>38</sup>

## VI THE ROLE OF THE CALL-AND-RESPONSE PARADIGM IN MUTLI-ETHNIC SOCIETIES

The case of non-black participation in rap demonstrates that, although the social landscape between race and culture is still contested turf, a type of linguistic pragmatics is emerging on this cultural frontier which transcends racial boundaries. Groups like Young Black Teenagers are helping to inspire a long-overdue debate on the cultural meaning of 'blackness'. While blackness has been vigorously defended in racial terms in the United States, the term has been given a more inclusive meaning in other locales. For instance, Asians in South Africa often designate themselves as black because they identify with the anti-apartheid movement rather than the white minority regime.

Dub poet Linton Kwesi Johnson was a nationalist in 1980 but today rejects the idea of colour-coded identity. 'Blacks have a stake in the future of Europe because we're Europeans, too,' he says. 'A couple of black guys took great offence because they couldn't come to terms with that fact. For them, European is a racial category; for me it is a geographical one.'<sup>39</sup>

In a critique of Young Black Teenagers, Joe Wood poses the challenge this 'way: 'We blackfolk need to redefine our changing blackness ... Can right-thinking whites be a part of our "we"? He concludes that YBT, as culturally black, represent 'Phase II' of America's 'racial reconstruction project', which consists of 'redefining the fictions of blackness and whiteness.'<sup>40</sup> This process can begin by naming our common discourse. This is not an assimilationist stance, but a recognition that in addition to our unique Afro- and Eurocentric roots, we also share a common culture. This is the culture Janet Jackson names when she speaks of a 'Rhythm Nation'. We can also see

38. Martin Bernal, *Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*, Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, NJ 1987.

39. Jason Fine, 'Poet Evokes the Pulse of the Streets', *Daily Californian*, 2 March 1990.

40. Joe Wood, 'Who Says a White Band Can't Play Rap?', *Village Voice Rock & Roll Quarterly*, 19 March 1991.

41. Everett and Helen Hughes, *Where Peoples Meet: Racial and Ethnic Frontiers*, Free Press, Glencoe, IL, 1952, p. 19; Jack Forbes, 'Frontiers in American History and the Role of the Frontier Historian', *Ethnohistory*, vol. XV, Spring 1968.

42. Quoted in Michael Banton, *Racial Theories*, CUP, London 1987, p. 10.

43. John Chernoff, *African Rhythm and African Sensibility*, University Chicago Press, Chicago 1979, p. 167; Roger Abrahams, *African Folktales*, Pantheon, New York 1983, pp. 1-15; Lawrence Levine, *Black Culture & Black Consciousness*, OUP, New York 1977, pp. 33, 221.

44. John F. Callahan, *In the African-American Grain: The Pursuit of Voice in Twentieth-Century Black Fiction*, University of Illinois Press, Chicago 1988, p. 15.

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 16, 19; Thomas Luckmann, 'Social Communication, Dialogue and Conversation', in Ivana Markova and Klaus Foppa (eds), *The Dynamics of Dialogue*, Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990, p. 47.

46. The concept of an 'ideal speech situation' is spelled out by Jürgen Habermas in *Legitimation Crisis*, Beacon Press, Boston 1975.

47. Asante, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

potential transracial cultural communities in what Linton Kwesi Johnson calls 'Bass Culture', in Bob Marley's ideal of 'One Love', or in what Junior Reid, Definition of Sound and others call 'One Blood'.

After Everett Hughes, I see this turf as a *racial frontier*. Hughes wrote: 'The true unit of race and ethnic relations is not the single ethnic group, but the situation, embracing all of the diverse groups who live in the community or region.' For Jack Forbes, 'the very essence of a frontier is the interaction of two or more peoples.' Thus, 'frontier studies must properly focus their attention upon inter-ethnic behaviour.'<sup>41</sup>

The sociology of race relations has often been, as Blumer once remarked, 'fixated on a prejudice-discrimination axis.'<sup>42</sup> However, as critical sociology and communication studies move towards interactive paradigms, there has been an increasing recognition of the need to define shared values.

In this light, it is important to understand that call-and-response, the Afrocentric dialogue paradigm, is a communication process ideally suited to multicultural settings. Chernoff speaks of 'the reciprocity inherent in rhythmic call-and-response'. Abrahams notes that stories or discourses in a call-and-response context 'are called upon not just to deliver a specific message but to initiate talk about that message.' Thus, the 'antiphonal structure' of such interactive communication puts 'the individual in continual dialogue with his community, allowing him at one and the same time to preserve his voice as a distinct entity and to blend it with those of his fellows.'<sup>43</sup>

The utility of call-and-response for intercultural problem-solving is that it allows speakers to 'turn to their advantage dissenting as well as assenting voices in the audience.'<sup>44</sup> This is clearly evident in the way in which, for instance, Public Enemy samples irate callers to their own radio shows. 'Call-and-response is a distinctively African and African American form of discourse,' writes Callahan, but 'it is also especially well suited to the vernacular culture of an experimental democratic society.' Black speakers imagine national identity as 'a collaborative improvisatory national tradition of call-and-response'. Such an adaptive 'ideal speech situation' requires a society that 'remains emergent and experimentally open and responsive to new voices, new stories'. Rap music is call-and-response in a multicultural style; a form of reciprocity that features a 'continuous alternation of feedback' between speaker and audience.<sup>45</sup> It may be, in practice, the closest thing multiracial (would-be) democracies like England and the United States have to a popular, inclusive 'ideal speech situation', despite the attempts of some to define it as an exclusive family debate.<sup>46</sup>

If 'symbol imperialism, rather than institutional racism, is the major social problem facing multicultural societies,' as Asante suggests,<sup>47</sup> then rap's multicultural audience must challenge its speakers as to whether its 'most debatable symbols' are being used inclusively. And if speakers within 'black' forums are to be 'under tutelage of their audience', as that audience becomes more and more multicultural, they will have to adopt appropriate speech patterns. To pretend to be 'only black' in this context is to be untrue to Afrocentric concepts of communication.

'Black' music acts like a 'wave' at sporting events: once the wave starts rolling, you can't ask certain people not to stand up. When the call-and-response starts cooking, you can't pick and choose who's going to answer. It seems to me that instead of trying to draw colour lines around our music, we ought to be proud that black grooves are writing the basslines to a new multicultural song.

In hip-hop, white rappers like Third Base and Tony D, biracial rappers like Rebel MC and Neneh Cherry, Latino Rappers like Kid Frost, and black rappers like KRS-One, all use black music and liberation theory as a base. But they use this tradition inclusively. The *outgroup* can no longer be defined along colour lines. With this mutually created language, participants can engage in 'negotiation strategies' through which they can 'transcend the trappings of their respective cultures'.<sup>48</sup> This dialogic discourse provides a model of our movement towards the cultural crossroads where we can truly come to know 'what diversity means'.

48. Stella Ting-Toomey, 'Identity and Interpersonal Bonding' in Molefi Asante and William Gudykunst (eds), *Handbook of International and Intercultural Communication*, Sage Publications, Newbury Park, CA 1989, pp369-70.

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