"It's like DNA you know?":

Analysing genealogies of listening in Australian hip hop

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Contents

Abstract

"It's like DNA, you know?": Analysing genealogies of listening in Australian hip hop.

From 2011-2016, Australian hip hop has diversified, welcoming local and international attention, in a period some believe is the 'Golden Age' (Ziegler 2016) of the genre. Using an ethnographic approach, this thesis provides an exploration of the events and artists involved within this 'Golden Age' and analyses the key issues in Australian hip hop, including; identity, race, gender, community, global traits of the genre and local influences. Ten Australian MCs and four key community events provide reference points which demonstrate distinct genealogies of listening that inform analysis, giving a unique snapshot of the genre within an Australian geography. The thesis highlights that the Australian hip hop scene is in a transitional period, as it becomes more mainstream and inclusive of both artists and fans. The result is a distinct local scene that, while building on a core cultural centre shared by hip hop communities worldwide, provides a more inclusive environment of cultural production. Such inclusion is demonstrated through the lack of tension and separation between those who consider hip hop to be a broader culture, and those who engage with hip hop specifically as a genre of music. The thesis documents that even those Australian MCs who do not strongly identify with hip hop culture are embraced by those that do. Inclusion is also demonstrated by accepting approaches to race and gender purported by key artists within the scene. In analysing the shared listening histories of Australian hip hop artists, the thesis exemplifies the importance of genealogies of listening within the genre, demonstrating how hip hop is used by artists in the formation of their identities, whilst also producing unifying traits that define Australian hip hop as it matures and continues to develop as a distinct local hip hop scene.

Statement of Candidate

I, James Alexander Cox, certify that this thesis entitled "'It's like DNA you know?'": Analysing genealogies of listening in Australian hip hop' has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree to any other university or institution other than Macquarie University. I also certify that this thesis is an original piece of research and it has been written by me. Any help or assistance that has been received in my research has been appropriately acknowledged. Additionally, all information sources and literature used are indicated within this thesis. The research presented in this thesis was approved by the Macquarie University Ethics Review Committee, reference number: 5201100272

James Alexander Cox (42163935)
29th August 2016

Acknowledgements

Chapter One: Architects and Blueprints

Introduction

Hip hop has become a global genre, thanks in part to its "endless capacity for reinvention" (Forman 2011, p.3). This has resulted in numerous hip hop scenes around the world, in which American influences are mixed with local elements to produce new styles of hip hop that represent the places they are from. This thesis explores the intersections and tensions that result from these influences becoming embodied in artistic identities through genealogies of listening, and how, in turn, these influences are used to create 'Australian' hip hop.

Near the beginning of this research project, I came across an interview with the South Australian MC Dialect that discussed these tensions. In talking about the music he makes as part of the duo Dialect & Despair, he explained:

> Our music is straight up hip hop music concerned with preserving
> and respecting the culture's traditions and origins as laid out by the
> architects, all the while progressing our own interpretation of the
> craft (Tang 2011).

This comment became an early point of focus in the initial stages of this thesis. I became interested to know how Dialect, and other Australian hip hop artists, preserved and respected the traditions and origins of hip hop, and what they felt these traditions were. I was also interested in how these traditions are then continued in their music. What emerged is that hip hop artists in Australia learn about hip hop music and culture through the music that they listen to, and this listening practice forms genealogies of listening that can then be seen in the type of music they create. This genealogy of listening also becomes entwined with other aspects of artistic identity[1] and notions of national identity. As Solis has argued:

> ethnomusicological literature of the past two decades has shown
> fairly conclusively that music is consistently used and deeply tied to
> social identities, both as they are experienced by individuals and as
> they are performed, commemorated, and used to motivate
> communities by larger social groups (Solis 2015, p.305).

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[1] As Hess (2005a) has noted, many MCs perform as persona artists, especially by taking on an MC name that is different to their real name. Some of the artists in this thesis use their real name as their MC name (Tkay Maidza, Nick Lupi as examples), thus this thesis will refer to artistic identity rather than other terms like persona to refer to the elements that make up the identity of each artist, given some are performing under their real names.

In order for music to work in such a way, the people within these collectives must have a similar understanding of the history and aesthetics of the music in order to securely forge the connections between them all. This is where the concept of 'genealogies of listening', often connected through a shared listening history, becomes a vital part in the construction of identities around music. These listening practices are just one part of a hermeneutic process, whereby the listening leads the listener beyond the music; the knowledge required to forge these connections is to be found extrinsic to the music. Listening, however, is the first step.

During his research into jazz musicians in Ghana, Feld (2012) discovered that many of the Ghanaian musicians that he was working with had been influenced by many of the same artists and records that had influenced him. He labels this as "genealogies of listening" (2012, p.16), describing how conversations with the musician Nii Noi, and hearing him play his music and invented instruments, demonstrated how listening to the same artists provided the two with a way of talking about and understanding music that is based on a mutual understanding only possible through a shared genealogy of listening. In order to explore this phenomenon in my own research, I engaged in an ethnographic research project that sought to investigate the role genealogies of listening play in the construction of artistic identities for hip hop artists in Australia. This study focusses on interviews with ten Australian MCs[2], and combines digital ethnographic research with analysis of recordings by all ten MCs. This fieldwork was conducted from May 2010 to January 2016, and during this time the Australian hip hop scene experienced a period of change. The research period for this study coincided with the beginning of what many are currently calling a 'golden age' in Australian hip hop (Ziegler 2016). During this time the Australian hip hop scene has diversified, not just musically, lyrically, and stylistically, but also through diversity of gender, ethnicity and artist background. In addition to gaining more attention from local mainstream media, Australian hip hop is also receiving more international attention. This diversification within the Australia hip hop community has had an impact on my research; in examining the artists who were concerned with maintaining and respecting the origins and traditions of hip hop culture, I was also finding newer artists who were keen to acknowledge the history of hip hop culture, but felt that it had less of an

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[2] Of these ten MCs, eight were male and two were female. This gender imbalance represents the scene in that there are far more male participants than female. Further analysis of this gender imbalance in the Australian hip hop scene is outside the scope of this thesis.

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impact on the way that they made their music than some of the artists that had come to prominence before them in the Australian scene.

Nonetheless, the 'origins and traditions' of hip hop formed an important part of the way that all Australian hip hop artists approached the production of their music. In particular, an analysis of an artist's genealogy of listening can be used to illuminate their influences, and these influences have an impact on the aesthetic decisions that these artists make in their music. While not all of the artists in this study aligned themselves with the origins and traditions of hip hop in the same ways, there remained certain aesthetic principles drawn from each artist's genealogy of listening that guided the creation of their music. While these aesthetic principles have often been defined by hip hop from America, the music being made by Australian hip hop artists is rooted in local concerns; in particular, concerns around local and national identities. This intersection between an artist's genealogy of listening, their aesthetic principles, and the creation of identities forms the main focus of this study.

Methodology

As this study is interested in the ways in which MCs engage with the history of hip hop to produce artistic identities, a qualitative approach to primary data collection has been used. As Berg has noted:

> Qualitative research properly seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings. Qualitative researchers, then, are most interested in how human beings arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles, and so forth (2004, p.7).

In order to understand the role genealogies of listening play in Australian hip hop artists' lives, this qualitative approach was combined with a digital ethnographic one. As Brewer argues:

> Ethnography is the study of people in naturally occurring settings or 'field' by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities, involving the researcher participating directly in the setting, if not also the activities, in order to collect data in a systematic manner (Brewer 2000, p.6).

These ethnographic interviews were structured in accordance with Rossman and Rallis' (2012, p.189) suggestion that:

> Much ethnographic interviewing is thematic or topical in structure. The researcher has identified domains of experience in which they are interested and develops questions or topical statements to elicit the participants' understanding of those domains.

Despite going in to the interviews with these themes and questions, it was important to allow the interviewees to raise topics that they felt they needed to in relation to the Australian hip hop scene. This "nonmodel approach" (Beaudry 1997, p.68) allowed for questions to be manipulated and adjusted during the interview, or not used at all:

> Having broadly outlined my interests, I feel that a more general preoccupation with ethnographic enquiry and an attitude of receptivity to whatever people want to teach me is more revealing than a very focussed approach (Beaudry 1997, pp.68–69).

This approach to conducting ethnographic interviews, within a qualitative framework, brought up topics that would otherwise have not been in the thesis. This approach, therefore, worked well in gaining a broader understanding of the Australian hip hop scene and particular challenges facing the ten MCs in the study.

As well as ten primary interviews with Australian MCs, I engaged in participant observation at two regular hip hop events that began during the research period; Speech Therapy and One Day Sundays. The first point of contact in gaining most of the interviews with these artists came from emails to the MCs or their management. This resulted in the initial interviews, and from there more interviews were organised through meeting artists during the participant observation process. These interviews occurred in a place the artist felt comfortable, which was usually a café, and in one case an artist's home/studio. In one case, a phone interview was conducted with Remi, as our schedules did not permit a face-to-face interview to occur. Similarly, the interview with Kadyelle was conducted through email.

Artists to interview were chosen based on two factors, their location in Australia, and their position in the Australian hip hop scene[3]; in particular, artists who represented a more mainstream section of the Australian hip hop community were selected. For the first factor, artists were chosen from across Australia in order to

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[3] Whilst there has been much academic debate about the usefulness of terms like scene, subculture, tribe etc. (See Bennett 1999a; Bennett & Peterson 2004a; Hesmondhalgh 2005 as examples of this kind of debate), the term scene here is used as that is what participants referred to it as.

give a more balanced perspective of the scene as a whole, rather than just an examination of a specific 'local' scene that might exist in a particular city. To that end, the participants came from Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth. Much work has been done on the 'alternative' sections of the Australian hip hop community, and these more mainstream artists were chosen as they present an opportunity to explore the ways in which hip hop origins and traditions entwined with notions of Australian national identity on a much broader scale. In addition to this, artists were also chosen from various cities around Australia in order to present a broader survey than focus on one specific city would have allowed for. All artists chosen for this study have had significant airplay on station triple j[4]. triple j holds a unique position in the Australian broadcasting network. As a taxpayer-funded national youth radio network, triple j has a licence to "support and 'unearth' new Australian contemporary music" (Eltham 2009, p.52). Because triple j is funded by the government, it claims that it is not subject to commercial pressures, which allows the station to provide a diverse range of music that might not otherwise be played on commercial radio stations and heard nationally; and this has particularly been the case with Australian hip hop. triple j has been an early champion of Australian hip hop and is responsible for the ongoing mainstreaming of the genre within Australia.

As this thesis focuses on the experiences of each of the ten MCs interviewed in order to establish patterns of listening that can be seen as genealogies of listening, and then by extension how these genealogies of listening help to create their artistic identities, the interview materials are used in a way that positions the opinions of the artists. This is not done so that the texts operate as positivist data, rather that the interview materials form the basis of understanding the genealogies of listening for each artist. It is understood that the interviewees have an implicit, if not explicit, interest in being represented in specific ways. However, the aim of this thesis is not to deconstruct these representations but to rather see how these representations are used to create the artistic identities of each interviewee.

As well as interviewing artists and engaging in participant observation, I also engaged in an analysis of recordings by each of the artists interviewed. This listening analysis particularly focused on the lyrical references made by each MC, and the results of this analysis are discussed in Chapter Three.

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[4] The station distinguishes itself by presenting its name without any capitals. As Eltham (2009, p.52) points out, "triple j's marketing staff will vet press releases and posters for this punctuation to ensure the network's brand identity is maintained".

This ethnographic approach was further supplemented with an approach that considers the role of the digital world in ethnography. As O'Reilly has suggested, ethnography is:

> a practice that evolves in design as the study progresses; involves direct and sustained contact with human beings, in the context of their daily lives, over a prolonged period of times; draws on a family of methods, usually including participant observation and conversation; respects the complexity of the social world; and therefore tells rich, sensitive and credible stories (2012, p.3).

Building on this definition, Pink, Horst, Postill, Hjorth, Lewis and Tacchi (2016, p.3) suggest that once ethnography begins to interact with the digital world, "most of these ethnographic activities are to some extent transferable to a digital ethnography approach, but the conventional ethnographic practices that they stand for begin to shift". Further to this, a digital ethnographic approach does not require the sustained engagement with a community in the same ways that a traditional ethnographic study has done. This is because much more of the data gathered through this methodology comes from participants' engagements with digital media, which is then supported by the interview materials. Pink et. al. (ibid) suggest that as people increasingly engage with digital media platforms as part of their daily lives, so to must ethnography engage with these platforms. In this study, the digital media platforms YouTube, Facebook, and the website OzHipHop.com, all provided a source of data; especially in regards to the two events that occurred solely in these digital platforms, Rapper Tag and the Hectickest challenge both of which are discussed in Chapter Four.

Origins and Spread of Hip Hop Culture.

There is a general consensus within the genre that hip hop culture began in the South Bronx during the 1970s (Rose 1994; Chang 2005). Hip hop culture is traditionally comprised of four main elements: DJing and Turntablism, MCing, Break Dancing, and Graffiti Art. Often practiced at the same time in early block parties (Chang 2005; Dimitriadis 1996, 2009) these four elements form the initial foundations for hip hop culture and are often still practiced together. Depending on the source, there are also more elements to the culture than just these four. The often-cited fifth element is Beatboxing, and from there more elements have been added. KRS-One (2003) believes that there are nine elements in hip hop culture; he adds Street

Fashion, Street Language, Street Knowledge and Street-Entrepreneurialism. Based on Afrika Bambaataa's statements, Morgan and Bennett (2011) argue that hip hop culture also comprises a system of knowledge that unites all of the elements of hip hop. This knowledge "refers to the aesthetic, social, intellectual, and political identities, beliefs, behaviours, and values produced and embraced by its members" (Morgan & Bennett 2011, p.177). This knowledge then becomes a tool that can be used to show one's affiliation with hip hop culture. As Dimitriadis (2009) suggests, members of the hip hop community (both fans and artists) use this knowledge of the culture as a way to work out their hip hop identities. This is achieved through the "complex positioning and re-positioning around texts" (Dimitriadis 2009, p.xvi). It is this complex positioning of texts that can be seen in genealogies of listening, where artists use these hip hop texts as a way to demonstrate their influences and provide a short hand that describes the type of hip hop artist they are.

Schloss (2009) uses the concept of *foundation* to suggest that participants in hip hop culture, and specifically b-boying in his case, come to understand their place in the culture through a thorough grounding in the culture's history. As Schloss notes,

> dancers who do have a strong understanding of foundation can be boldly innovative, knowing that they are well grounded in the tradition. In fact, when b-boys and b-girls are criticised for being overly abstract or experimental, their first line of defence is usually to demonstrate – either verbally or physically – their knowledge of foundation. It is notable that this defence, if properly executed, is almost always accepted.

For b-boys and b-girls this will be a performance of specific moves that form the foundation of breaking; but for MCs, this foundation takes the form of a knowledge of specific musical works. Thus, knowledge of the foundations of hip hop culture become an important way in through which participants are able to position themselves within hip hop culture. Whilst having knowledge about the foundations of music cultures is not unique to hip hop, jazz and certain genres of rock also prize this kind of knowledge, there is a certain intensity to the ways in which knowledge is valued within hip hop. While Afrika Bambaataa determined that the fifth element of hip hop culture is knowledge (Gosa 2015), this does not explain the continued importance placed by many hip hop participants on knowledge of the culture. McLeod (1999) has suggested that knowledge of the culture is one of the key ways

to demonstrate authenticity within the culture, especially for those who were not there for the origins of the culture.

Since its origins in the Bronx, hip hop culture, and in particular the musical aspects of hip hop, have spread across the globe. Hip hop artists can now be found in most countries around the world, with Osumare (2001, p.171) noting that "global hip hop youth culture has become a phenomenon in the truest sense of the word and has affected nearly every country on the map". Morgan and Bennett (2011, p.176) also suggest that "it is nearly impossible to travel the world without encountering instances of hip hop music and culture". It is not just American hip hop music that we encounter in these places. As Mitchell (2001, pp.1–2) has noted, Hip Hop has "become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world". There are local manifestations of hip hop, and academic work on these local manifestations, in places like Australia (Dominello 2008; Maxwell 2003; Mitchell 2008a; Rodger 2011), Finland (Tervo 2014), France (Rockwell 1992; Mitchell 2000), Germany (Elflein 1998; Bennett 1999b), Japan (Condry 2006), South Korea (Um 2013), New Zealand (Kopytko 1986; Mitchell 2000; Zemke-White 2000; 2005; Zemke 2007, 2011), Nigeria (Shonekan 2013), Senegal (Sajnani 2013), South Africa (Khan 2007, 2010), Sudan (Wilson 2012), Sweden (Beach & Sernhede 2012), Turkey (Solomon 2005a, 2005b, 2006, 2009), Ukraine (Helbig 2011, 2014), the United Kingdom (Bennett 1999c), and Zimbabwe (Viriri, Viriri & Chapwanya 2011)[5].

Much of the existing academic work on hip hop outside the USA focuses on the ways in which hip hop provides local youth with a way to express themselves through the socially and culturally relevant platforms provided by the elements of hip hop culture. As Mitchell (2008a) argues, hip hop can be used as a tool to express an artist's position within society; a way for them to come to terms with who they are and where they are. Mitchell (2001, pp.1–2) argues that "even as a universally recognized popular music idiom, rap continues to provoke attention to local specificities". Much of Tony Mitchell's work (Mitchell 1996, 2001, 2008b, 2008a; Mitchell & Pennycook 2009) on hip hop outside of America, and particularly hip hop in Australia, has focused on these aspects of hip hop being a voice for marginalised peoples. Mitchell (2001, p.10) notes that a common feature of hip hop outside of America is the "multi-ethnic, multicultural nature as vernacular expressions of migrant diasporic cultures".

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[5] This list is merely intended to give an example of the locations where research about Hip Hop has taken place. It is nowhere near an exhaustive list of Hip Hop locations or research about Global Hip Hop.

Whilst this is no doubt true, hip hop has also been adopted by non-migrant, non-diasporic cultures as a musical genre around which identities are formed.

Fernandes' (2011) research into global hip hop also focuses on the ability for youth to use the elements of hip hop culture as a platform for the expression of identity. Her work spans research in to the hip hop scenes in Cuba, Sydney, and Asian American hip hoppers in Chicago, USA. Fernandes' work is based on the premise that hip hop is mainly used for oppositional purposes. She focuses largely on uses of hip hop for political and social movements within each of her study locations. In the chapter on hip hop in Sydney in the 1990s, Fernandes captures the change in the Australian hip hop scene as the music became more accepted by the mainstream music industry and, in her eyes, lost some of its political associations. Using the example of a performance by Lebanese-Australian MC Mohammed W.O.G, Fernandes laments this lack of political or activist content in the music. "Despite the hope many of us had placed in rap as a political voice for disenfranchised youth, this was the other reality of rap as a commodity that objectified woman and glorified consumption and gratuitous violence" (Fernandes 2011, p.127). This examination of the Australian hip hop scene stems from Fernandes' involvement in the community in the 1990s, and since this time the Australian hip hop community has changed markedly. While there is still a small element of the kind of hip hop Fernandes mentions here, largely the Australian hip hop scene remains absent of the images she discussed.

From the early 2000s hip hop in Australia began to achieve more commercial success. The Hilltop Hoods, with their third album "The Calling" (2003), became the first Australian hip hop artists to sell over 75,000 units and have a certified platinum album. This marked a shift in the Australian hip hop community; where once artists had been 'underground' they were now getting more radio airplay and unit sales. Where Fernandes was lamenting that the mainstreaming of hip hop led to this view of hip hop as a commodity "that objectified woman and glorified consumption and gratuitous violence" (2011, p.127), it has become evident that mainstream Australian hip hop has not continued to go down this route. Whilst there are aspects of the Australian hip hop scene that do display such tendencies, popular Australian hip hop artists like the Hilltop Hoods, Bliss n Eso, Thundamentals, Horrorshow and 360 do not objectify women, glorify consumption or display gratuitous violence in their work. In fact, there has been a string of recent mainstream Australian hip hop releases that

contain messages that critique social and political values in Australia (Horrorshow 2013; Jimblah 2013; Thundamentals 2014 are examples).

Hip Hop Nation

Hip hop culture also provides a way for a global generation of young people to connect. In her work, Fernandes (2011) uses Kitwana's (2002) definition of the hip hop generation to define the generation connected through hip hop. Kitwana (2002) describes the hip hop generation as young Black Americans who are born between 1965 and 1984. He later broadens the scope of the hip hop generation, but it is really Chang (2005, p.2) who suggests that the concept of a hip hop generation combines traditional 'barriers' such as "race, age, place, polyculturalism, and hybridity" to forge a Generation that is united through the music. Alim (2009, p.3) extends this idea to form the "'global hip hop nation', a multilingual, multiethnic, 'nation' with an international reach, a fluid capacity to cross borders, and a reluctance to adhere to the geopolitical givens of the present". Maxwell (2003, p.26) suggests that "the hip hop nation is frequently invoked in hip hop literature in the accounts of individuals describing their sense of belonging to a community that transcends national and ethnic differences".

This term, in part, stems from Benedict Anderson's (1983) work on Imagined communities. Anderson (1983, p.6) defines a nation as an "imagined political community" whose members are bound together by shared language or ideas. The community is 'imagined' "because members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion". Thus, the hip hop nation becomes an imagined cultural community; a community with no physical territory, but rather a shared sense of culture provided through artistic endeavours. Touré (2007, p.333) provides this description of the hip hop nation:

> I live in a country no mapmaker will ever respect. A place with its
> own language culture, and history… A place my countrymen call the
> Hiphop [sic] Nation, purposefully invoking all of the jingoistic pride
> that nationalists throughout history have leaned on… We are a
> nation with no precise date of origin, no physical land, no single
> chief. But if you live in the Hiphop Nation – if you are not merely a
> fan of the music, but a daily imbiber of the culture… The Nation

exists in any place where Hiphop music is being played, or Hiphop attitude is being exuded.

Thus, the hip hop nation applies to anywhere around the world where people are engaged with hip hop culture. As Alim (2006, p.12) writes, global hip hop is a "cultural practice embedded in the lived experiences of hip hop conscious beings existing in a home, street, hood, city, state, country, continent, hemisphere near you".

As Spady, Meghelli and Alim (2006) demonstrate, these geographically dispersed hip hop communities are connected by transnational flows of information, products and people. "Hip hop communities worldwide interact with each other… in ways that organize their participation in a mass-mediated cultural movement" (Spady, Meghelli & Alim 2006, p.11).

This is not unique to hip hop culture. During his research into jazz musicians in Ghana, Feld (2012) discovered that many of the Ghanaian musicians that he was working with had been influenced by many of the same artists and records that had influenced him. He labels this phenomena as "genealogies of listening" (2012, p.16). These kinds of "genealogies of listening" are also found in hip hop, with many hip hop artists outside the United States listening to and being influenced by many of the same musicians as American artists.

As Osumare (2008) suggests, for a hip hop practitioner outside of the US to be accepted as a part of the culture, they need to have done their "homework" on African American culture and hip hop's origins and history. Hip hop artists in Australia do this "homework" by engaging with multiple texts through both formal and informal channels. The engagement with such texts has enabled hip hop artists outside of America to learn about and engage with the values and culture of hip hop. Dahlhaus (1983, p.3) further argues that musics from the past hold sway over musics of the present:

> If we accept that the subject matter of music history is made up
> primarily… of significant works of music – works that have outlived
> the musical culture of their age – and consequently that the
> aesthetic presence of individual works will necessarily intervene in
> any account of the past… it then follows that an account of the
> origins and later history of musical works will serve a dual function,
> illuminating the preconditions for a given work on the one hand and
> on the other shedding light on the implications of the present-day

> listener's relation to that work… We arrive at a better understanding
>
> of a thing... by knowing the history behind it.

In this way, a study that is concerned with the musical influences of Australian hip hop artists, like this one, will in turn illuminate the aesthetic principles of the broader global hip hop nation.

In their work on translocal scenes, Bennett and Peterson suggest that translocal scenes are those which, "while they are local, they are also connected with groups of kindred spirits many miles away" (2004b, pp.8–9). This describes two aspects of the hip hop community in Australia. Hip hop fans and artists are in contact with other hip hop fans and artists from all across Australia, but also all around the world. Much of this is facilitated through online media platforms. Thus, hip hop in Australia is both a translocal and global scene.

Building on Bennett and Peterson's work, Fogarty (2012) has shown how many b-boys and b-girls use the Internet to share texts across a global community. This sharing demonstrates the core values and culture of hip hop. Fogarty (2012) describes the process of what she calls "imagined affinities" as a way of making cultural connections across space and time. The texts that Fogarty describes are often made and distributed by the practitioners and fans themselves, working within an established community. This has also been the case with other practitioners within hip hop, as MCs and DJs often share works through similar channels.

Globalisation, Glocalisation, Localisation – Hip Hop Around the Globe

Taylor (1997, p.xvi) notes "that the ever-increasing global flow of capital and cultural forms are providing people virtually everywhere with new ways of looking at and living in the world". As Gebesmair writes:

> More and more cultural goods are produced for and distributed in
> the world market. This development is boosted by transnational
> culture industries which are not only seeking to reach increasingly
> larger markets but also appropriating the creative resources in
> different parts of the world. Facing these global strategies, the
> questions arise of how local and regional music cultures are affected
> by these strategies, if and under what conditions they can be
> sustained   and   which   opportunities   are   given   for   a   global

dissemination of local music – *within* and *beyond* major industry

(2001, p.1).

This kind of discussion about the movement of popular musical cultures, particularly from the United States and United Kingdom to other parts of the globe, usually fits in with broader discussions on globalisation. Inda and Rosaldo (2002, p.2) define globalisation as the "intensification of global interconnectedness"; and there is no denying that the broadening of social, economic and political relations across the globe is occurring (Mann 2001). Popular music can be seen as another aspect of culture that is exported by these countries to the rest of the world, much like films and television series.

Appadurai (1996) sees this movement of cultural products as "transnational cultural flows" wherein media, information, currency, people, history, and cultural artefacts are exchanged across the boundaries of nations and states. For Appadurai this is all possible due to the deterritorialising nature of capitalism, which he sees as a fundamental force that guides the transmission of media and cultural products around the world:

> It is this fertile ground of deterritorialisation, in which money, commodities, and persons are involved in ceaselessly chasing each other around the world, that the mediascapes and ideoscapes of the modern world find their fractured and fragmented counterpart. For the ideas and images produced by mass media often are only partial guides to the goods and experiences that deterritorialised populations transfer to one another (Appadurai 1996, p.38).

This kind of fractured and fragmented transmission of partial guides allows people to use cultural products as they see fit in constructing their worldview.

Roe and de Meyer (2001, p.41) suggest that there has been a tendency among definitions of globalisation to "conflate the commodification of the global economy with the empirically far more dubious homogenisation of global culture". Building on this notion, Basu and Lemelle (2006, p.3) argue that these discussions of globalization "frequently focus on U.S. imperialism, its global hegemony and the injection of its values, lifestyles and commodities across borders into the jugular vein of national cultures". In both Roe and de Meyer (2001) and Basu and Lemelle's (2006) works this notion of globalisation as homogenising force is refuted, and these are not the only studies to do so.

Wheeler (1998) argues that theories of globalisation underestimate the resilience of local identity and cultural differences. Similarly, Waisbord (1998) demonstrates that globalisation does not inevitably lead to shared supranational cultures and identities. Breidenbach and Zukrigl (2001) argue that one of the most common ways that people around the world deal with foreign influences, is to appropriate them and make them their own. "In the process of adopting new influences they are transformed or acquire new symbolic meanings which suit the needs of the given society" (Breidenbach & Zukrigl 2001, p.111).

Wilk (1995, p.118) argues that through globalisation "we are not all becoming the same, but we are portraying, dramatizing and communicating our differences to each other in ways that are more widely intelligible". Wilk suggests that if there is a globalising hegemony, it

> is to be found in *structures of common difference*, which celebrate
> particular kinds of diversity… the global system is a common code,
> but its purpose is not common identification; it is the expression of
> distinctions, boundaries and disjunctures. The 'local', 'ethnic' and
> the 'national' cannot therefore be seen as opposed to or resisting
> global culture, but instead, insofar as they can be domesticated
> and categorised, they are essential constitutive *parts* of global
> culture (Wilk 1995, p.118).

It is this notion of structures of common difference that applies most closely to this thesis. As noted above, hip hop's United States origins continue to provide a structure to the genre; structures that can be seen in hip hop music produced in Australia.

In their analysis of global popular musics, Breidenbach and Zukrigl (2001) have identified four hypothesis concerning the globalisation of culture:

1. People interpret global goods, ideas and concepts in various ways.
2. Authenticity is a highly contested value and is not based on origins.
3. Global cultural flows break open existing centre-periphery relationships.
4. The emerging global culture is a hegemony of structure but leads to a pluralisation of content.

Again, Breidenbach and Zukrigl support this notion that globalisation leads to a hegemony of *structure*, not culture. It is in the differing interpretations of these structures that we find the pluralisation of global popular musics. Despite the US

origins of many popular music forms, we continue to see variations of these styles throughout the world. Global hip hop works in this way, with hip hop musicians around the world making music based on the structures developed during the origins of the culture. In this way, artists are able to use the structure of the genre and can then insert elements of local musical cultures into their work.

Clifford casts these mixing of cultures through globalisation as "translations". He suggests that it is:

> Translation is not transmission. For example, to see the spread of global ('American') culture as a series of translations recasts its apparent diffusion as a partial, imperfect, and productive process. Something is brought across, but in altered forms, with local differences… There is always a loss or misunderstanding along the way. And something is gained, mixed into the message (2013, p.48).

Here Clifford argues that in the translation of cultural objects like music, there are always local elements that are added. This kind of local interpretation of global structures of music often see the addition of local musics into the original structure. Toynbee and Dueck (2011) argue for the use of the term 'translation' to refer to this kind of musical incorporation. They suggest that "in 'doing' another's music you have to bring it across into your own system of conceptual and aesthetic categories, in which it makes sense and has value" (Toynbee & Dueck 2011, p.8).

In his work on Fusion, Fellezs (2011) borrows the concept of the "broken middle" from Armstrong (2000) to describe how music can flow "across, between, and through geographic, temporal, cultural, national, ethnic, and generic limits" (Fellezs 2011, p.8). Armstrong's notion of the 'broken middle' suggests a space of restructuring, and a resulting tension that accompanies such restructuring. Fellezs uses this to demonstrate that musical practices can be situated within a "space of contested, and never settled, priorities between two or more musical traditions" (Fellezs 2011, p.8). Hip hop artists in Australia, like other global hip hop artists, restructure the genre to reflect their "geographic, temporal, cultural, national, and ethnic" identities, and the resulting tensions that stem from this restructuring have proved a fertile ground for studying the movement of the genre around the world.

Whilst hip hop's origins are in New York, and in particular the South Bronx, as Kelley (2006, p.xi) suggests, hip hop should be considered as a global form:

Contrary to recent media claims, Hip Hop hasn't 'gone global'. It has been global… since its birth in the very local neighbourhoods of the South Bronx, Washington Heights, and Harlem. While the music, breakdancing, and graffiti writing that make up components of Hip Hop culture are often associated with African American urban youth, Hip Hop's inventors also included the sons and daughters of immigrants who had been displaced by the movement of global capital. The DJ who is said to have started it all by dropping break beats at dances and parties in the South Bronx was a Jamaican immigrant named… DJ Kool Herc. The first graffiti writer of note was a Greek kid from Washington Heights whose distinctive tag was Taki 183. And Puerto Ricans and other Latinos have been central to Hip Hop from its inception.

Even though the origins of hip hop culture are of a global nature, scholars do not always recognize this. Studies of hip hop in the United States often focus on the ways in which hip hop culture continues some of the musical and cultural traditions of African American culture. As Gilroy (1993, p.33) has suggested, "the musical components of hip hop are a hybrid form nurtured by the social relations of the South Bronx where Jamaican sound system culture was transplanted during the 1970s and put down new roots". Thus, even though hip hop began in the South Bronx, New York, the people who began hip hop came from a range of global diasporas, all of which influenced the beginnings of the genre. It is then no surprise that hip hop has spread across the world as it has, with so many countries now having a significant hip hop community.

Many of the studies on global hip hop use terms like "appropriation", "translation", "localisation", "indigenisation", and "glocalisation" to describe what happens to hip hop when it reaches a new territory. There are similar terms that are used in broader studies of global popular music: syncretic (Nettl 1985) which describes the blending of two disparate but musically aligned forms; micromusics (Slobin 1993), defined as an approach that sees distinct yet flexible sub-cultures and scenes emerge (in opposition to claims of homogenisation); hybridisation, the equal blending of two forms to produce a distinct but combined form (Mitchell 1993). Implicit in all of these terms is the notion that popular music undergoes some sort of

change as it travels the globe; popular music is always adapted to suit the specifics of the local environment.

As Mitchell (2001, p.11) demonstrates, "in its initial stages, appropriations of rap and hip hop outside of the USA often mimicked US models, but in most cases where rap has taken root, hip hop scenes have rapidly developed from an adoption to an adaptation of US musical forms and idioms". The findings in this thesis demonstrate that hip hop in Australia is moving from a period of adoption into a period of adaptation, as the increasing diversity within the scene uses global hip hop forms as a base from which to develop a style of hip hop that is increasingly become unique to Australia.

Levy (2001) points out that Bulgarian artists have appropriated hip hop music in a 'secondhand way', through 'fragmented borrowings' of global pop styles. She suggests that this kind of appropriation was fashionable, in that these artists were appropriating certain stylistic elements of hip hop culture in order to appeal to a broader range of people. However, not all such appropriations are seen in this kind of negative light. Zemke-White demonstrates that the appropriation of hip hop and R'n'B by Polynesian artists in New Zealand, allows them "to put forth positive images, examples and ideas" (K. Zemke-White 2005, p.96) about their people or community. This kind of appropriation allows Māori and Pacific youth to use music to speak on behalf of their community. Osumare (2001) proposes that one of the reasons behind the uptake of hip hop around the world is due to what she terms 'connective marginalities'. These are "social resonances between black expressive culture within its contextual political history and similar dynamics in other nations" (Osumare 2001, p.172). These connections can take the form of a number of different elements such as, class, historical oppression, the culture itself, or the construction of 'youth' as a social status. The examination of the relationship of these elements provides an opportunity to critically engage with how hip hop is taken up all over the world. As Osumare argues:

> The hip hop passport… is a cultural bridge to explore other hip hop
> sites inhabited by young people who have their own issues of
> marginalization, be they class, culture, historical oppression, or
> simply being youths in an adult-dominated world. Global hip hop
> culture becomes a vital pathway through which these connective
> marginalities can be engaged and explored (Osumare 2001, p.180).

This kind of engagement with global hip hop culture places an emphasis on the connections between hip hop sites, and does not focus on the ways in which the culture might have been appropriated as just a style.

Tervo (2014) demonstrates how hip hop in Finland was initially appropriated and then translated (often literally) to suit a Finnish context. Tervo suggests that in the process of this translation, hip hop artists in Finland have had to find a "balance between the origins of the hip hop culture (appropriation), the local contexts (localisation), and the increasing trend of mixing music genres (hybridisation)" (2014, p.169).

Mitchell has written about the "hybridising" (Mitchell 1993), "indigenising" (Mitchell 2003), and "localising" (Mitchell 1996, 2001) of global popular musics, in particular hip hop. Ultimately Mitchell settles on glocalisation (2008b) to describe the process. In many of the studies of global hip hop, there is an emphasis on the origins of the culture in the United States, and its subsequent localisation in communities around the world. As Mitchell (2008b) notes, hip hop in Australia can be considered a 'glocal' subculture, because of this practice of global origins and localized content. Mitchell points to the breadth of local acts that have taken global hip hop culture and made a distinctly local version of it. This process is better described as the glocalisation of hip hop.

Robertson (1995) advances the term "glocalisation" as an attempt to move beyond the discussions of globalization naturally leading to cultural imperialism. Glocalisation can be thought of as a being a global outlook that is adapted to local conditions (Robertson 1995), with the term originally stemming from the Japanese *dochakuka* meaning the principle of adapting farming techniques to suit local conditions; with the term than being adapted for Japanese business practices. In their study of global youth cultures, Kjeldgaard and Askegaard (2006) suggest that the glocalisation of youth cultures involves the simultaneous process of diffusion and appropriation of youth cultural styles and modes of identity.

Malm (2001) uses the example of global hip hop to demonstrate how a local music can become global and then local again; recounting how hip hop emerged in New York, and was then picked up by the music in industry in 1979 who began to distribute it around the world. After this global spread, Malm demonstrates how the music becomes local again:

Young people today practice rap music all over the world. But it has many different local forms and meanings. In Sweden rap in the capital Stockholm is different to rap in Haparanda at the border between Sweden and Finland, in the far north. French rap is different from Greek rap. Rap in East Africa is again a different rap style (Malm 2001, p.93).

Whilst there may be different local styles of hip hop, there remains a constant in this description that allows the music in all of these places to be heard as hip hop. As Malm (2001, p.94) also notes, "the musical form and performance style can be close to US models, but also very localized".

Thus, the globalised nature of the genre provides the structures by which hip hop is made and judged around the world. Through these "structures of common difference" we are better able to see how cultures like hip hop are able to become so globally ubiquitous. Hip hop culture provides the structure, the common code, through which these differences can be displayed. The structure that hip hop culture provides artists allows for comparisons of hip hop communities around the world, thus enabling the display of difference that makes up global culture. The basis for these structures can be linked to the canonisation of particular works.

Hip Hop Canons

This kind of engagement with hip hop texts often follows a canonical path. Alter (2000, p.1) defines 'canon' as a "designation for the corpus of… works implicitly or explicitly endorsed by the established cultural authority as worthy of preservation through reading and study". In her prologue to *Disciplining Music* (Bergeron & Bohlman 1992), Bergeron (1992) discusses how canons create discipline. She uses the work of Foucault (1991) to describe the way in which canons create 'fields' and canons also enforce a discipline on these fields that creates "a standard of excellence" (Bergeron 1992, p.4) that is idealised by canons. These fields are not entirely removed from their cultural history; indeed, Jones (2008, p.7) argues that "the primary function of canons is their ability to bring order to chaos, to essentially tell a story of our own cultural history and present it in its most awe-inspiring light". Thus canons create a field that can be used to shape cultural history. Through the study of works of importance, we can learn the history and standards of a culture.

Bergeron (1992, p.5) suggests that:

> The canon, always in view, promotes decorum, ensures proper conduct. The individual within a field learns, by internalizing such standards, how not to transgress.

In this way canons, by establishing works that are worthy of preservation, create the standard of excellence that artists then either work towards replicating or use as a point of departure in making their own works. Jones (2008, pp.7–8) builds on this notion and suggests that:

> As a collection of exemplary works, canons draw attention to the possibilities of a medium. They also implant the desire to struggle under the weight of the past to achieve comparable greatness. Minor figures in the arts are seen to use canonical works as models; major figures use them as a point of departure.

In musical terms, artists across all genres have engaged with canons at some point or another. Bergeron (1992) suggests that most musicians have come into contact with canons during their musical educations, and as Jones (2008, p.10) argues, "canons do not exist in a vacuum; they are supported and perpetuated by institutions". Through the formal learning of music through institutions such as schools and conservatoires, canons, and the values of the canon, continue to be passed on to musicians. However, in a hip hop context, artists do not always learn their skills in a classroom or formal education setting. Rather, hip hop artists learn informally, often through an engagement with self-selected networks that they value.

Notions of value have great bearing on canons. In particular, "aesthetic value is privileged in canons above practical value, sentimental value, ornamental value, hedonistic value, historical value and financial worth" (Jones 2008, p.15). It is this aesthetic value that has been privileged by the process of canon formation that is of most importance to this study. As Jones (2008, p.15) argues, "canonical works are generally believed to possess great aesthetic strength". Karass (2008, p.118) suggests that the canon works to "exemplify the aesthetics, values, methods and history" of popular music. As the canon suggests embedded aesthetic values (Karass 2008, p.123), an engagement with the canon provides a way for artists and fans to decide what the core aesthetics of the genre are by the inclusion of particular artists and albums in the canon.

Citron (2000, p.1) extends this notion further by suggesting that canons provide:

> A means of instilling a sense of identity in a culture: who the constituents are, where they come form, and where they are going. It can imply ideals of unity, consensus, and order. To adherents such ideals serve moral ends as they forge a common vision for the future... the canon creates a narrative of the past and a template for the future.

In this regard, the hip hop canon provides members of the hip hop nation with a blueprint that enables the identification of the key elements of global hip hop culture.

> Bohlman (1988, p.105) argues that:
>
> Canons form as a result of the cultural choices of a community or group. These choices communicate the group's aesthetic decisions… As socially motivated choices, a community's canons bear witness to its values and provide a critical construct for understanding the ways the community sorts out its own musical activities and repertories.

Thus, engagement with canonical works displays an artist's knowledge of these community based aesthetic values. Further to this, should they chose not to engage with specific parts of a canon, artists are making choices which then reflect their own notions of value in aesthetics.

Stanley Fish (1980), in his classic work on 'interpretive communities', demonstrates how engagement with key texts provides both producers and consumers with the knowledge they need to further understand the works. Fish argues interpretive communities "produce meanings and are responsible for the emergence of formal features. Interpretive communities are made up of those who share interpretive strategies not for reading but for writing texts, for constituting their properties" (Fish 1980, p.14). Thus, a hip hop interpretive community has emerged around the texts produced. This interpretive community provides the genre with a structure for evaluating the works. Through the positioning of these texts within a canon, we are able to see this structure through the emergence of the formal features and properties of the music that the community has deemed to be important to the genre. In this way, a knowledge of, and engagement with, the history of the genre becomes an important way in which the production of an artist's music occurs.

As Forman (2004, p.5) has suggested, despite the problems with notions of canon formation, canons do produce "a sense of history and evolution and it also produces values". The canon of hip hop has charted the history and evolution of the culture but also given it the values that define hip hop. This can certainly be seen in the context of hip hop in Australia, where artists have used the definitions created by the canon to shape their own music. As Morgan (1992, p.44) notes, musical canons constitute "a well-formed and coherent 'language' based upon commonly shared formal and expressive assumptions". In this regard, the canonical language of hip hop culture has ensured that hip hop practitioners in Australia often work within the boundaries of what is considered to be codes of hip hop culture. Morgan goes on to suggest that with the canon comes "a belief that there is a 'proper' mode of musical conduct" (1992, p.45). This can certainly be seen in hip hop in Australia, where the 'proper' modes and codes of musical conduct are evident in the musical productions by artists from these countries.

Guillory (1993, pp.22–26) outlines three propositions about cultural values and canon formation: firstly, canonical texts are the repositories of cultural values; secondly, the selection of texts is the selection of values; and finally, value must be either intrinsic or extrinsic to the work. An examination of these three propositions allows us to learn about the cultural values of hip hop through the analysis of aesthetic values.

Despite this potentially important avenue of analysis, discussions about canons have had some critiques. As Guillory (1993, p.28) argues:

> The critique of canon has always constructed the history of canon formation as a conspiracy of judgment, a secret and exclusive ballot by which literary works are chosen for canonization because their authors belong to the same social group as the judges themselves, or because these works express the values of the dominant group.

In a hip hop context, works are often valued within a community setting through a more democratic and self-selective process. Guillory (1993, p.28) continues by suggesting that "an individual's judgment that a work is great does nothing in itself to preserve that work, unless that judgment is made in a certain institutional context, a setting in which it is possible to insure the reproduction of the work, its continual reintroduction to generations of readers". By incorporating lyrical and musical

references to works that artists feel represent important aspects of hip hop cultural standards, the reproduction and reintroduction of these works is assured. This kind of egalitarian process allows works to be recognized and preserved by the culture, without the need for any kind of formal process to ensure their recognition.

Guillory (1993) does argue that this sort of preservation has to happen in an institutional context. However, historically hip hop culture has not always had this kind of institutional support and so the culture has maintained a way to recognise those artists and works deemed important. More recently there has been a rise of books that celebrate the culture's history and origins. Journalistic texts, for example Ego Trip magazine's "Ego Trip's Big Book Of Rap Lists" (Jenkins et al. 1999), Hess's (2007) "Icons of Hip Hop: An Encyclopaedia of the Movement, Music and Culture" and Kool Mo Dee's (2008) "There's A God On The Mic" have documented many of the founding and, what they consider to be, most influential hip hop artists of the genre's history. This kind of accessible documentation works in many ways to establish canons of hip hop.

Brian Coleman's (2007) "Check The Technique: Liner Notes for Hip-Hip Junkies" has focused the discussions about who should be included in a hip hop canon and who shouldn't be. Coleman's (2007) work takes so called "classic" hip hop albums and presents the reader with new facts about the recordings. Over the course of 36 chapters, each about a different album, Coleman presents his selection of what potentially forms a hip hop canon.

Wang (2003) also presents a collection of 'classic' albums in his work "Classic Material: The Hip Hop Album Guide". Wang has selected 50 essays that discuss around 80 albums. The selection of essays to appear in the book was based on choosing albums that are "most vital to understanding the power, scope, and legacy of hip-hop on its own merits" (Wang 2003).

This kind of attention to "classic" material can also be found in academic works. Dyson and Daulatzai's (2010) collection "Born To Use Mics: Reading Nas's Illmatic" is an academic study of Nas's "Illmatic" album. Illmatic (Nas 1994) is considered by many hip hop fans, critics and artists to be one of the best hip hop albums of the early 1990's, if not all time (Huey 2012). In his forward to the book, the hip hop artist Common (2010, p.xi) suggests that "Illmatic came out fifteen years ago and it will remain a classic album… And it's aged better with time, because it captured an important moment in hip hop". As this quote from American hip hop artist

Common suggests, the hip hop community already regards "Illmatic" as a classic album, and a work that is definitely in the hip hop canon. From this perspective, such academic attention to the album would only help to strengthen the claims that "Illmatic" is an important work in hip hop's history. As detailed above, Guillory (1993) has argued that canon formation happens within an institutional context, and Dyson and Daulatzai's (2010) anthology provides the kind of academic support that the hip hop canon has not had.

There are several magazines that have, at times, held the place of an institution within hip hop (such as The Source and XXL). For hip hop fans outside of America, there has often been little to no institutional support for hip hop culture or dissemination of the culture through such journalistic or mainstream means. As such, hip hop in Australia has developed in a more community orientated way, through less formal networks. Artists have often learnt about hip hop culture from each other, with texts being shared amongst those in the community.

The majority of key hip hop texts that are discussed in this way are from a period known as the Golden Era. This is era is typically identified as being between anywhere from 1979-1994, although this is contested between some academics. Mitchell (2001, p.2) cites Greg Tate in suggesting that this period is between 1979-1991. Peterson (2012, p.607) suggests that the Golden Era occurred between 1987-1993. Chang (2005) dates the Golden Era to 1984-1992, whilst Hess (2007) dates the Era to between 1986 and 1994. The dates of the Golden Era become hard to specify as they move around to include albums and artists that some consider to be worthy of including in this era. In reference to this term, Australian group The Hilltop Hoods named their own record label 'Golden Era' and in the about section of their website (Golden Era Records 2012) discuss why they named the label in this way:

> To some people the golden era of hip hop was '94. Ask someone a
> little older and they'll tell you hip hop's renaissance was back in '88.
> Ask one of our revered pioneers and they'll tell you that the golden
> era came and went three decades ago, before most of today's hip
> hop heads were born. Whatever the case these so-called golden
> eras weren't only defined by the music or the fashion – they were
> characterized by something less tangible – an atmosphere, a
> movement. This label wasn't established to release throw-back
> records; instead we hope to make music that throws you back to

the way you felt during the golden era of hip hop. Whatever year
that was for you.

The wording of this statement demonstrates the ways that discussions of the Golden Era take place, putting the emphasis on an individual to come to a conclusion about when the Golden Era was for them. This statement also emphasises that the Golden Era is about the less tangible elements of the time, things like atmosphere, movement and suggests even feeling. By saying that the label was established to "throw you back to the way you felt" during your specific Golden Era, the Hilltop Hoods here are demonstrating an understanding that these concepts of time and value are up to the individual to self-identify.

Whatever the Golden Era may be, the records released during these periods are believed to have formed a musical blueprint for the hip hop that came after it. In talking about a hip hop aesthetic, Cobb (2008, p.14) notes that the genre "has its own aesthetic, its own standards and measures" and that it is an aesthetic that is built on earlier forms of African American expression, such as blues and jazz. It is this aesthetic, that was developed in the Golden Eras, that has come to define the way that artists make hip hop music today.

The discussions of the Golden Era function in many of the same ways as what jazz theorists refer to as a "common practice period" for the genre. This is a term borrowed from classical music scholarship that defines music from the period of 1600 to 1910 that encompasses the Baroque, Classical and Romantic periods of Western Classical Music (Tymoczko 2011). The common practice period for jazz is often considered the bebop period, roughly 1940-1955 (DeVeaux 1997). DeVeaux (1997, p.2) argues that bebop "is part of the experience of all aspiring jazz musicians, each of them learns bebop as the embodiment of the techniques, the aesthetic sensibilities, and ultimately the professional attitudes that define the discipline". For hip hop artists, the Golden Era becomes the "common practice period"; the period in which all the aesthetic blueprints for the genre are put into place.

Lathrop (as cited in Collins 2008) argues that "most artists exist as a kind of active composite of the music they have learned and absorbed over a long stretch of time. Uniqueness emerges most often from the particular way a performer reworks his assimilated influences: in the projection of sound through idiosyncrasies of personality". Collins (2008) continues, "jazz musicians build a vocabulary of licks and phrases that are culled from the wealth of existing jazz music and these are creatively

used in improvised solos". The same is true for hip hop artists, where references to previous works position the artists within a continuum and signals their knowledge of the culture. Through this positioning an artist can display their own history and engagement with hip hop culture and mark out what sort of artist they are.

This referencing process can be found throughout hip hop music, and it encompasses more than just references to hip hop culture itself. Schloss (2004) employs participant observation in order to examine the goals, methods and values of the "sample-based hip hop" community. This community defines itself by its use of samples as a foundation to making music; "hip hop producers who use sampling place great importance on that fact, and... find it difficult to countenance other approaches without compromising many of their foundational assumptions about the musical form" (Schloss 2004, p.5). In the examination of this hip hop community, Schloss identifies an education process that members of this community go through. This process has a long standing in the hip hop community, with its roots going back to the formations of hip hop as a culture. Part of this education is tracing the origins of the 'Breaks' used in hip hop songs.

Hip hop was founded on the idea of the 'Break'. The Break, as Rose (1994, p.74) suggests, is a part of the record "where 'the band breaks down, the rhythm section is isolated, basically where the bass guitar and drummer take solos'". Schloss (2004, p.33) suggests that:

> The breakbeat focus of the Bronx deejays set in motion a number of
> trends that would give birth to the music now known as Hip Hop.
> These included the development of a substantial body of knowledge
> about the nature and location of breakbeats, an oral tradition and
> culture to preserve this knowledge, a worldview that valorised the
> effort necessary to find breaks, and an aesthetic that took all of
> these concerns into account.

This oral tradition has passed along certain breakbeats, in song and through community discussion, that form a cornerstone of hip hop culture. In order to become an accepted part of this community, a sample-based hip hop producer must show their familiarity with breaks that have always been a part of hip hop culture. This is reinforced by a "broader belief that that an individual working through hip hop history can develop a deeper understanding of the more abstract philosophical and aesthetic foundations of the form" (Schloss 2004, p.43). This educational process has

"established a canon of records... that a producer had to be familiar with, an expectation that still stands to this day" (Schloss 2004, pp.37–38).

In an extension of this research, Schloss (2006, 2009) also notes that members of the B-Boy community also have a culturally conservative view on the records used at breakdance events. In this research, Schloss (2006, p.411) notes that he "can count on one hand the number of [B-Boy] performances [he] has seen during which the song "Apache," by the Incredible Bongo Band, was not played". Schloss continues to list further songs that are regularly played at such events. Whilst the songs Schloss lists are not specifically hip hop songs, they do make up some of the most important 'breaks' that hip hop culture is musically founded on. This continued referencing of a few records from hip hop's pre-history shows how culturally conservative some hip hop practitioners can be.

This kind of engagement with hip hop culture's history demonstrates that this history continues to remain an important aspect in the production of hip hop music. What is also clear is that a hip hop canon is not an imposed, institutional phenomenon, but it is an organic community based collection of similar aesthetic values that are reproduced or transformed through the production of new works. For Australian artists, an engagement with this community-based collection of works provides a mechanism for reproducing the values and aesthetics of the global hip hop community in their music.

Cultural Production and Theories of Aesthetics

Born (2010) suggests that in theories of cultural production, aesthetic concerns are not adequately addressed. In her critique of Bourdieu's "The Rules of Art" (1996), Born notes that Bourdieu often ignores issues of form, style and artistic ideology (2010, p.178). By doing so, Born suggests, Bourdieu refuses to address the art object and its aesthetic properties. In this research project, issues of form, style and artistic ideology in the hip hop community will form the basis of the work. By examining hip hop artist's values of form, style and artistic ideology, an aesthetic canon, or genealogy of listening for hip hop in Australia can be developed.
Born (2010) suggests that:

Attention be given to the influence on artists of these formations,

artists' role in reproducing or transforming them… and how as a

27

result such formations are sustained, modulated, radically revised or attenuated (Born 2010, p.179).

In this regard, examining the influences of hip hop artists in Australia can construct a theory of cultural production that places importance on history and examines the ways in which these influences are reproduced or transformed, sustained, modulated, radically revised or attenuated. This examination of influences suggests then that there is an organic community based collection of similar aesthetic values that are reproduced or transformed in new works. Whilst this collection may function in a similar way to a more 'traditional' canon, it cannot be called a canon due to the lack of institutional engagement. Instead, this collection forms a 'shared listening history'; a common genealogy of listening that provides artists with an understanding of aesthetics that underlies the production of their music. Through their engagement with this shared listening history, hip hop artists in Australia are able to learn, and in turn reproduce, the aesthetic values of the global hip hop community in their music.

Negus (1996, pp.145–7) suggests that there are three different types of musical dialogue that may go on at any time and in any place; "genericists, pastichists and synthesists". Negus defines the genericists as "those performers who accommodate their musical practice and performance to a specific genre style at a particular time and stay within this… they compose and perform within the codified convention of a generic style". The pastichists are described as "those artists and performers who recognize that a new style has appeared or has become popular and so include this in their set as yet another style to be performed as part of a varied repertoire". Whilst finally the synthesists are defined as those "who draw on the elements of an emerging generic style, but blend them in such a way so as to create a new distinct musical identity. These are not unique individual geniuses but synthesists working at the fuzzy boundaries where generic codes and stylistic conventions meet and create new musical patterns". Many of the hip hop artists in Australia could be defined as genericists; they work within the generic, aesthetic, confines of hip hop to create music that fits within the generic style of hip hop.

Simon Frith (1996) argues that notions of genre are key to understanding value judgments within popular music. For a work to be deemed "good" or "bad" it must be understood through ideological and social discourses, which Frith suggests "are invariably put together *generically*" (1996, p.95 emphasis in original). Therefore, each genre will have a different understanding about what constitutes "good" and

"bad" music. Frith (1996, p.94) argues that musicians, producers, and consumers have become "ensured in a web of genre expectation". Here, genre names form the shorthand for understanding what the music will be like, and this naming becomes an important question as it "integrates and inquiry about the music (what does it sound like) with an inquiry about the market (who will buy it)" (Frith 1996, p.76).

In writing about the use of genre by classical composers, Kallberg (1988, p.234) has argued that "a kind of 'generic contract' develops between composer and listener: the composer agrees to use some of the conventions, patterns, and gestures of a genre, and the listener consents to interpret some aspects of the piece in a way conditioned by this genre". As Kallberg also notes, some composers depart from the perceived norms or expectations that this generic contract suggests, and this "rejection of the prescriptions of a genre by a composer can be seen as a major force in the promotion of change" (Kallberg 1988, p.234). However, in order to depart these conventions, an artist must know the what the conventions are. Through their listening practices, hip hop artists in Australia have gained a knowledge of the aesthetic conventions of hip hop, and the extent to which they replicate these, or use them as a point of departure forms a significant part of their artistic identity.

Global Hip Hop Aesthetics

Hip hop aesthetics or conventions are, in part, provided by what Osumare (2008) calls the "Africanist aesthetic in global hip hop". Osumare builds on the work of Gottschild (1998, pp.1–2) who has argued that there is an "Africanist presence in American culture [that] has shaped a New World legacy that sets American culture apart from that of Western Europe. It is a potent vital force that plays a significant role in defining the American aesthetic". Osumare contends that this Africanist presence, or aesthetic as she terms it:

> Is the current manifestation of a historical continuum of cultural
> practices that are, in fact, African-based expressivity underpinned by
> a philosophical approach that extended itself into the African
> diaspora as a result of the transatlantic slave trade. I define the
> Africanist aesthetic as a processual mode of expressivity that
> privileges the negotiation of the self in the moment through a
> complex use of rhythmic timing, verbal or nonverbal rhetorical
> strategies, and multiple layers of meaning that draw from its

sociocultural context and its audience. The Africanist aesthetic in the Americas continues to reflect similar musical, dance and oral practices that resemble those in West and Central Africa, the source of the Atlantic slave trade. Though this aesthetic in the United States is no longer African per se, it still retains enough resonances in the performers attitude, artistic methodology, and relationship to audience to make apparent its cultural connections to African expressive practices (Osumare 2008, p.12).

This is not the first time such a perspective has been identified in scholarly work. Gilroy (1993), in his seminal tome, identifies what he calls the 'Black Atlantic'. For Gilroy, the Black Atlantic describes the site of "complex cultural flows among the African diaspora in Europe, the Caribbean, and North America" (Hesmondhalgh & Melville 2001, p.90) and has its origins in the slave trade. As Gilroy (1993, p.33) identifies, the "musical components of Hip Hop are a hybrid form nurtured by the social relations of the South Bronx where Jamaican sound system culture was transplanted during the 1970s and put down new roots". Later in the book, Gilroy discusses the movement of black music in his chapter "Jewels from Bondage: Black Music and the Politics of Authenticity". Throughout this chapter, Gilroy demonstrates that black music, both past and present, moves as part of a "circulatory system" of cultural flow across the Black Atlantic. Gilroy argues that hip hop should not be thought of as an "expression of some authentic African-American essence" (1993, p.34) but rather should be considered as part of a much broader cultural movement amongst African diasporic peoples from the Caribbean, the United States and United Kingdom.

Building on Gilroy's work here, Osumare argues that the Africanist aesthetic is central to hip hop and suggests that "global hip hop is based on a cultural aesthetic, not a black racial essence" (2008, p.31). It is this Africanist aesthetic, as Osumare claims, that has gone on to be taken up and used by hip hop artists around the world, as a central part of hip hop aesthetics. These aesthetics will obviously be shaped around many factors, but there is one feature of this aesthetic that relates back to the African experience.

Gates (1989) in his seminal work "The Signifying Monkey" argues that one of the major aspects of African based expressive traditions is 'Signifyin(g)'. Signifyin(g) is the practice of riffing, repetition and revision that can be found in African and

African American arts, but especially in musical forms like jazz, R&B and hip hop. For Gates (2014, p.xxxii), in the introduction to the 25th anniversary edition of "The Signifying Monkey", Signifyin(g) is a "never-ending intertextual conversation that's been going on in the black tradition" for centuries. It is this practice of signifying that has been taken across the Black Atlantic from its origins in Africa to become a central feature of African American expressive forms. As Gates (1989, p.88) has argued, "When one text Signifies upon another text, by tropological revision or repetition and difference the double-voiced utterance allows us to chart discrete formal relationships in Afro-American literary history. Signifyin(g) then, is a metaphor for textual revision".

Floyd Jr. (1995, p.95), writing about the importance of the Signifyin(g) tradition in African American musical forms, suggests that:

> In African American music, musical figures Signify by commenting on other musical figures, on themselves, on performances of other music, on other performances of the same piece, and on completely new works of music. Moreover, genres Signify on other genres – ragtime on European and early European and American dance music; blues on the ballad; the spiritual on the hymn; jazz on blues and ragtime; gospel on the hymn, the spiritual, and blues; soul on rhythm and blues, rock'n'roll, and rock music; bebop on swing, ragtime rhythms, and blues; funk on soul; rap on funk and so on.

Thus, for Floyd Jr., Signifyin(g) is an integral aspect of African American music, as even the genres themselves refer to each other constantly.

As Potter (1995, p.28) suggests "the historical and social significance of Signifyin(g) itself cannot be underestimated; it stands as the principal bridge between two kinds of distinctly African American stances: on the one hand, a reverential feeling for the past, a sense of ancestral voices; on the other, a deeply agonistic sense of social and verbal rivalry". Through his work, Potter argues that one of the fundamental aesthetic principles of hip hop culture is Signifyin(g); the taking of old texts and versioning, riffing, and recontextualising them in new ways. As Potter (1995, p.28) notes:

> to understand the status of hip hop within its own Signifyin(g) traditions, it is crucial to know the histories of recorded (and performed) African American musics, since without these histories the musical and verbal texts against which hip hop music has

(re)marked its difference would be obscured, and the double
valences and resonances of the Signifyin(g) weave would pass
unnoticed.

Thus, an important aspect of hip hop aesthetics is possessing knowledge of the history of the culture, as this proves to be important in order to fully appreciate the Signifyin(g) that is taking place. As Perry (2004, p.9) proposes:

While the individual artist and the individual composition provide
compelling subjects for analysis, the validity of that analysis in part
depends on knowledge of the community from which it emerges. To
know that community means that the critic possesses both a historic
and an aesthetic body of information relevant for understanding the
music's original context.

Here Perry is focusing on the critic, but the same thing can be applied to hip hop artists from outside the US. For Osumare (2008, p.27), "some hip hop heads outside the United States have done their 'homework' on African American culture and are qualified to both critique and legitimately signify artistically on hip hop and its origins". Consequently, one of the most important structures within hip hop aesthetics is the ability to signify and recognize when another is Signifyin(g).

For hip hop artists in Australia, an engagement with this hip hop aesthetic is complicated by issues of race. While the hip hop community in Australia is currently diversifying, for a long time the genre was seen as a white male space. As will be discussed throughout the thesis, these artists have 'done their homework' about the origins of hip hop, and part of this homework has been listening to hip hop recordings. In listening to these recordings, hip hop artists in Australia have been enculturated into the aesthetics of global hip hop. As noted above, these hip hop aesthetics have largely been theorised to have come from African American cultural forms, and when placed into an Australian context, some of the cultural specificities of these aesthetics might be lost on those engaging with them. That is not to say that hip hop artists in Australian do not recognize the African American origins of the genre; the hip hop artists involved in this study all acknowledged their place in the broader global hip hop community and that they understood that the genre had begun in African American communities. Rather, through listening to recordings as a way to learn about the culture of hip hop, the Africanist aesthetic becomes considered as a hip hop aesthetic and becomes replicated as a hip hop practice,

rather than an African American cultural practice. The way that an MC deals with these issues can have an important effect on their perceived authenticity.

Authenticity

Another of the important facets of hip hop aesthetics is the need to "keep it real". This ubiquitous phrase in hip hop culture can stand for many things, but above all it is a phrase that comes loaded with values of authenticity. As Rodger (2011) points out in her work, hip hop artists in Australia interpret this phrase in multiple, and often contested, ways. This contestation of authenticity is not unique to Australian hip hop either. As Mark Anthony Neal (1997) discusses, African American popular musics have long been affected by mass mediation and corporate control, and this process has often led to debates about authenticity within these music cultures. The mass mediation and subsequent corporate control of the genre globally has led to the position where debates over authenticity are free to reign, especially between those artists often signed to large record companies and those who prefer to remain independent. These discussions of authenticity within American hip hop, as documented in Byron Hurt's documentary *Hip Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes* (2006) and discussed in Rose's *The Hip Hop Wars* (2008) for example, set a blueprint for discussions of authenticity within global hip hop. With the increase in corporate control and mediation of the genre, it is seen that there are artists who are potentially performing stereotyped personas in order to appeal to the mainstream market, thus not being adhering to one of hip hop's central tenants of authenticity; the notion that they represent themselves and their own experiences through their music.

As Morgan & Bennett (2011, p.177) posit:

hip hop culture is based on a democratizing creative and aesthetic ethos, which historically has permitted any individual who combines authentic self-presentation with highly developed artistic skills in his or her hip hop medium to become a legitimate hip hop artist. Because most hip hop artists are self-taught by peers in the hip hop community, hip hop has empowered young people of all socioeconomic backgrounds all over the world to become artists in their own right. That is, it has supported artists whose worth is validated not by commercial success or elitist cultural criticism, but

by the respect of their peers in local hip hop communities as well as

by their own sense of artistic achievement and integrity.

For hip hop artists in Australia this means talking about issues in their society and the things that affect them, rather than simply imitating the work and/or themes of hip hop from other parts of the world. In following this ethos, hip hop artists in Australia demonstrate that the music they make is not a mere appropriation of an American form of music, but rather the taking of an aesthetic form and putting it into an Australian context. It is this notion of authentic self-presentation that defines much of the authenticity in hip hop globally. As noted earlier, the appropriation of hip hop outside the US often began with mimicry, and within hip hop communities this mimicry is seen as being inherently inauthentic. This is partly why hip hop began to be adapted to local contexts; artists needed to be able to present themselves in ways that where not seen as a mere copy of US hip hop.

Mitchell (2001, pp.10–11), states that hip hop outside America is often seen as an "exotic and derivative outgrowth of an African American-owned idiom, confined to national borders but subject to continuous assessment in terms of US norms and standards". In this statement, Mitchell sees this assessment in terms of the norms of hip hop from the United States as something that is problematic. However, whilst these standards may have originated in America, they are not necessarily American. As the work of Gilroy (1993) and Osumare (2008) demonstrates, these aesthetic norms and standards may have been codified in New York, but they are the end result of centuries of cultural flow.

Thus, authenticity becomes an important aspect of hip hop aesthetics. Peterson (1997, p.5) illustrates that authenticity is not "inherent in the object or event that is designated authentic but is a socially agreed-upon construct". Within hip hop culture, the community is certainly responsible for defining its standards of authenticity. As McLeod outlines, "invocations of authenticity are performed often, resonate deeply, and are widely shared by members of the hip hop community" (McLeod 1999, p.138).

Hip hop artists in Australia are just as concerned with authenticity as their American counterparts. As McLeod (1999, p.134) has suggested authenticity in hip hop culture lies "at the nexus of key cultural symbols in hip hop". McLeod (1999) also suggests that authenticity claims in hip hop often take on a cultural dimension. This

means that authenticity within the hip hop community is often judged by one's knowledge of hip hop's history and culture. As McLeod says:

> For one to be able to make a claim of authenticity, one has to know the culture from which hip hop comes. Thus, by identifying the old school and back in the day as a period when a pure hip hop culture existed, hip hop community members invoke an authentic past that stabilizes the present (1999, p.144).

These claims of authenticity and knowledge of hip hop culture's past can be found in music by artists in Australia. As an example, MC Solo from Sydney based group Horrorshow opens their album "Inside Story" (2009) with the repeated lines "don't push me cos I'm close to the edge, I'm tryin' not to lose my head" as made famous by Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five on their song "The Message" (1982). "The Message" has formed a cornerstone of many Hip Hop releases and is highly regarded by the Hip Hop community. The use of lines like those from "The Message" forms one of the ways in which Hip Hop artists can demonstrate their knowledge and thus authenticity within the Hip Hop community.

For Hip Hop artists outside of the United States, this kind of referencing is one of the most common ways to show their affinity with the culture's origins; that they have done their "homework" (Osumare 2008). This kind of Signifyin(g) on the work of previous hip hop artists is not only a fundamental aspect of hip hop aesthetic practices, but is a way of inserting themselves into the lineage of this musical-cultural tradition. As Smitherman has noted:

> What rappers are doing when they sample is revisiting and revising earlier musical work… Sampling is a kind of structural Signifyin… they are commenting on the work of earlier Black writers within the narrative structure of their own literary productions. The sampling of rappers thus represents a conscious preoccupation with artistic continuity and connection to Black cultural roots. In this sense, the hip hop Nation is grounding itself squarely and unabashedly in the Black musical-cultural tradition, even as they extend that tradition and put their own imprint on the game. In fact, there are clear aesthetic distinctions between this kind of sampling, which triggers the cultural memory associated with a given musical work, and

sampling, which simply *duplicates* that work" (1997, pp.15–16 emphasis in original).

This kind of Signifyin(g) is a widespread practice in hip hop music around the globe. Whilst some artists will try to obscure these signified references, others place it proudly and distinctly in their work. This kind of signified referencing practice is just one aspect of how authenticity within the hip hop community can be judged.

McLeod (1999, p.139) identifies six semantic dimensions by which claims of authenticity are judged in hip hop culture, as seen in Table 1 below. For each of these dimensions, McLeod provides two exemplars of oppositionally defined symbols drawn from language used by hip hop artists and fans.

Semantic Dimensions	"Real"	"Fake"
Social-Psychological	Staying true to yourself	Following mass trends
Racial	Black	White
Political-Economic	The Underground	Commercial
Gender-Sexual	Hard	Soft
Social Locational	The Street	The Suburbs
Cultural	The Old School	The Mainstream

Table 1 – McLeod (1999, p.139)

For artists outside of the United States, not all of these semantic dimensions can be used to define one's authenticity. For hip hop artists in Australia particularly, dimensions such as 'Racial' and 'Social Locational' become harder to engage with. As Maxwell (2003) notes, the history of race in Australia is complex and often disturbing. The majority of hip hop artists in Australia could be identified as having come from Anglo-Celtic (white) backgrounds, as Maxwell (2003) encountered; thus for them, they are already considered "inauthentic" because of their skin colour.

As Krims (2000) noted in his discussion of Canadian, Dutch, and French hip hop, there is a prevailing notion that 'real' hip hop is African American hip hop. Rodriquez (2006) has argued that some white hip hop artists and fans in the United States have culturally appropriated hip hop by adhering to the demands of colour-blind ideology. Colour-blind ideology, as defined by Frankenberg (1993), has become the dominant racial ideology in post-civil rights movement America. Colour-blind ideology is an assertion of essential sameness between racial and ethnic groups, despite unequal social locations and distinctive histories. However, it has also been

noted that white artists can overcome these hurdles, with Eminem being the prime example (Fraley 2009; Hess 2005b). The artists involved in this study certainly did not try to avoid dealing with issues of race in discussing their positions as hip hop artists in Australia. As will be discussed in Chapter Five, issues of race are widely discussed throughout the Australian hip hop community, especially in the context of race relations in Australia.

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework that forms the basis of the analysis that occurs over the coming chapters. The thesis will explore the ways in which genealogies of listening are constructed, can be heard in an artist's music, and ultimately how these genealogies of listening provide a platform from which artistic identities can be built. Further to this, the thesis will explore how these genealogies of listening interact with other aspects of artistic and national identities, and the resulting tensions that this entwinement can cause. The next chapter introduces this by exploring how the ten MCs interviewed for this study learned about hip hop culture, hip hop aesthetics, and the skills they need to be MCs.

Chapter Two: Are You Listening?

For nearly all popular musicians around the world, listening to recordings has often been the dominant form of informal learning that they experienced (Green 2002, 2008). This process has been no different for hip hop artists in Australia, who have learned the aesthetic codes of hip hop from a detailed listening to hip hop recordings. All of the MCs interviewed in this study noted that this listening practice was one that they had gone through in their own learning process. As discussed in the previous chapter, hip hop recordings, especially those prized as 'classic' or canonical texts, contain a blueprint of the aesthetic codes of hip hop music; and it is this blueprint that hip hop artists in Australia have picked up and sought to replicate in their own works to varying degrees.

Recordings as a Blueprint

For hip hop artists around the world, recordings from the United States, and particularly the early recordings from New York, became a particularly important source of learning material. As Ochmann (2015) points out, hip hop products have always been an important part of the culture since its origins. He suggests that "hip hop has been a product and about products" ever since its origins. Maxwell further argues that these recordings are important because:

> The accounts of the 'origins' of hip hop [are] gleaned from these
> sources, and the recognition of the generic articulation of these
> origins, both in the recordings and on the packaging surrounding the
> recordings, are of commensurate importance: these materials were
> at once sources of information and models for the production of
> local [hip hop] (2003, p.81).

For hip hop artists in Australia, hip hop products (recorded music, films and documentaries) continue to hold an important place in the culture. The artists in this study all noted, like those in Maxwell's (2003) work, that recorded hip hop plays an important part in setting a model for their own work.

As Maxwell documented, hip hop began to arrive in Australia in the early 1980s, and this was further confirmed to me by Morganics in our interview. The first hip hop products to arrive in Australia were songs like Malcolm McLaren's "Buffalo Girls" and movies like "Wild Style" (1983) and "Beat Street" (1984) (Morganics,

interview with Author). In addition to hip hop recordings and films, the exchange of people between the US and Australia also aided the flow of hip hop culture to Australia. As Morganics further related to me in our interview, an American Australian school friend of his named Randy came back from a trip to see family in the US and brought back with him records and stories of what he had seen in New York. These patterns of cultural flows continued into the late 1990s and early 2000s, when the internet began to become an important source for engaging with hip hop music and other cultural products.

This engagement with recorded hip hop music also plays a role in authenticating the hip hop artist. As McLeod (1999) suggests, one of the ways that hip hop artists in the United States are able to authenticate their works is to demonstrate an association with the history of the culture. For hip hop artists around the world, this kind of association that is prized in hip hop in the United States cannot be achieved because of distance; and this is especially so for hip hop artists in Australia. Thus, an engagement with hip hop recordings serves as a way in which Australian artists are able to learn about the culture and then show a respect for the culture.

Learning through listening is not unique to hip hop, as Rothenbuhler (2007) discusses, the blues musician Robert Johnson "learned his craft from records and radio" and by learning through this way, Johnson's music sounded different from his contemporaries. Rothenbuhler goes on to say that it "has been known for some time … that commercially produced records were likely to have been important and influential examples of professional success for Johnson, providing him musical models from outside the local, oral traditions of his region, and that he learned popular songs from the radio as well" (Rothenbuhler 2007, p.66).

This kind of informal learning has been the dominant mode of learning in popular music. As Green's (2002, 2008) research suggests, many popular musicians have learnt their craft through informal learning strategies. She suggests that "in spite of differences between sub-styles of popular music, context, provision and individual musicians, informal popular music learning practices are undertaken by nearly all popular musicians in nearly all styles of popular music" (Green 2008, p.5). Green argues that enculturation and aural copying are both important aspects of informal musical learning. For Green, enculturation, or the "immersion in the music and musical practices of one's environment" (2008, p.5) is a fundamental aspect of all

musical learning. She suggests that "popular musicians … acquire musical skills and knowledge, first and foremost through being encultured in, and experimenting with, the music which they are familiar with, which they like, and which they hear around them and about them" (Green 2008, p.6).

All of the artists interviewed for this study felt that this kind of enculturation was an important aspect of their development as an artist. For these artists, listening to recorded hip hop works from around the world provided this enculturation, and these works were examples of the musical models, the blueprint, to what hip hop sounds like. Dialect stated in a magazine interview that his music is, "straight up hip hop music, concerned with preserving and respecting the culture's traditions and origins [as] laid out by the architects" (Tang 2011, p.p.22). When I questioned him further on this quote in our interview, he had the following to say:

> I guess, I feel like hip hop is a culture and it is a lifestyle and it is an art that is so much bigger than a song on the Internet or radio… It's a life that the people who created the culture, they stood for these things and they really created a foundation that means I'm even allowed to make music like this now. I mean, I'm from Adelaide in Australia, it goes back to the academics, you want to acknowledge the source, don't tamper… do it in your own way, but acknowledge where the knowledge is coming from. So that's what it's about. It's just like respect for elders (interview with author).

For Dialect, an enculturation into hip hop culture is a vital part of learning how to be an MC. Here Dialect mentions that he is from Adelaide to further make the point that he is removed, geographically, from hip hop's origins. Thus, for Dialect, having this knowledge is a way to overcome the geographical distance he has from hip hop's origins. Dialect here is not alone, all of those interviewed recognized that having a knowledge of the culture was an important aspect of their own musical learning. The statements about the importance of this kind of enculturation are summed up by Solo who said:

> I think it's really important as a participant. If you want to just be a fan of the music and you like the music and the way it sounds, you can do that on whatever terms you like, if that's all you are looking for out of it, just some cool music to listen to, then it's totally up to you with how deep you want to delve into it. But I think if you want to

be a participant in the culture if you want to be someone that rhymes or writes graff or whatever, if you want to be a DJ, if you want to make some sort of active contribution to hip hop then you should really know what's come before you and know how those things have progressed to where you are at doing your thing. And it's like you can't expect everyone to be all up on every hip hop record to ever come out because it's just too big a thing and there's heaps of artists that I wouldn't be aware of, but I think it's important to learn as much as you can about this sort of narrative and the origins of the culture and what it came out of and all the different phases it's been through. Because that just gives you a much better understanding of where you fit within the whole thing (interview with author).

This sentiment continued to be was shared by all artists interviewed for this research. All identified that having a knowledge of the culture and history of hip hop is of great importance to their own practice as musicians. Kadyelle also discussed how knowledge of hip hop and the culture is an important part of her own artist identity:

I think you can be a part of something without necessarily being able to sit an exam on the subject, but I think that if you genuinely love something and have a passion for it, then you should strive to truly know it. I am no rap genius, but I know my own scene, my international community and the roots and origins of what hip hop music was and has now become. I think that you can love something without knowing its past, but to become a 'contributor' to the scene (and not just someone who takes from it) then it is paramount to know the history of the culture (interview with author).

Like Solo, Kadyelle expresses that knowledge of all of hip hop is not essential, but rather a knowledge about the origins, history and some knowledge about the music is the most important thing here. This kind of enculturation into hip hop is seen by all artists as an important part of their learning process.

Along with this process of enculturation, Green notes that listening to recordings of popular music is also an extremely important aspect of musical learning. She notes that "purposive listening" (Green 2002) is a systematic, conscious approach to learning musical skills, and it is this purposive listening that

most musicians do in relation to recordings. Similarly, Liebman (2016) documents how transcribing and learning jazz solos helps musicians to learn how to improvise. Liebman (2016) argues that "the best approach is exact aural and tactile imitation – the first stage of all artistic growth". Through this transcription process, students learn the "language of jazz", and are then better able to construct their own solos and music. Again, in Liebman's method, listening forms an integral part of this process.

For MCs in Australia, this learning practice is no different, with the analysis of hip hop recordings forming the basis for their own learning practices. As Green and others note, this listening also combines an element of playing along to the recordings in order to learn how the music has been put together, but also for MCs, how the words are put together. Where listening in Green's (2002) work led to musicians starting to cover the song they were listening to, for the MCs in this study their listening and analysis of that listening led not to covers, but to MCs working on their own lyrics over the original instrumentals. For the Australian MCs in this study, following along to hip hop recordings was often the way they began rapping. As The Tongue noted during our interview when I asked him how he began rapping:

> I think really rapping starts when you are rapping along to other
> songs because when you are doing that you actually are rapping. If I
> can rap an entire Public Enemy song from start to finish, then I can
> do what they can do. Not as well, I'm not them, I didn't write it. But
> I'm actually doing it. So I guess I was doing that from a pretty young
> age (interview with author).

From this point of copying other's lyrics and rapping along, MCs then begin to develop their own lyrics to these instrumentals. This is a common path, with all MCs in this study noting that they had written their own words to a favourite beat of theirs in their early stages of learning. An example of this is Tkay Maidza, who began writing her own raps over popular hip hop instrumentals:

> Yeah it was just like Lil' Wayne, Nicki Minaj, Drake, like all that stuff
> and then when Azalea Banks came around and then I did I '212'
> cover and that's when my parents said I should write my own stuff. It
> wasn't me covering, I was writing my own words on top of their
> beats. So my mum was like, 'You are wasting your lyrics on covers.
> You should write completely original songs' (interview with author).

Whilst Tkay refers to them as "covers" here, she does note that they are in fact original lyrics over pre-existing popular instrumentals. Solo also noted that this kind of practice is common with the artists that he began listening to:

> I know a lot of my favourite rappers sort of started out by initially copying the structural form of a whole song that they like and rewriting it to be about their themselves or their friends or whatever that's kind of a big thing about hip hop, as an MC or a participant in it you are also, usually that comes from a place of being a huge fan of it as well. And you know, most MCs or producers or whatever are also while they enjoy making their own stuff, they also the thing that a lot of participants in hip hop share is a love for the culture and knowledge of what's come before and I think that's a huge stand out feature for me of hip hop (interview with author).

Again, Solo here notes that this practice is part of the enculturation into hip hop which he has noticed through his own listening history. Solo also commented in our interview that he enjoys rapping over instrumentals produced by some of his favourite US producers like DJ Premier. Solo, and the other members of One Day Crew, discuss this practice of rhyming over their favourite instrumentals in their own re-versioning of New Zealand hip hop artist Scribe's 'Not Many' (2003) for triple j's 'Like a Version' (triple j 2015) segment. This radio segment features artists from all around the world doing a cover version of a song of their choice. In this case, One Day's "cover" of Scribe's 'Not Many' is performed live with the crew's producers recreating the original beat and the MCs providing new lyrics to the song. Of particular note are the lyrics that discuss the crew listening to 'Not Many' on its release in 2003 and then using the instrumental of the track to rhyme over at house parties. The crew discuss in their 'cover' the importance of this track to their own musical development.

This practice of rhyming over popular or favourite instrumentals also can extend to an MC's first releases. For Smiles Again and Willow from Mind Over Matter, their first release was a mixtape called "For Our Hip Hoppers" (Mind Over Matter 2006), which featured beats from a variety of producers such as Pharoahe Monch's "Simon Says" (1999), Method Man's "What's Happenin'" produced by DJ Scratch (2004), and Redman's "Smash Sumthin'" produced by Adam F and DJ

Destruction (2001), amongst others. When I asked Smiles Again about the selection process for these beats he said:

> At the time it was like, we didn't have any money to make a record, it was all coming out of [our pockets]. I was working at Baker's Delight [a bakery chain] and Willow was working at Harris Farm [a supermarket chain] and that's how we funded that mixtape. So we didn't really have money to invest in production. We were downloading instrumentals from the Internet and picking ones that we connected with. It was really fun. That's what the backbone of what a mixtape is anyway (interview with author).

Smiles Again notes here that despite the cost effectiveness of using such pre-existing beats in a mixtape, this practice also demonstrates Mind Over Matter's enculturation into hip hop. By using pre-existing beats from artists they liked, Mind Over Matter are able to not only release a mixtape cheaply, but are also able to demonstrate their listening history through this release. By noting that this practice is "the backbone of what a mixtape is anyway", Smiles Again is further reinforcing the cultural aspect of this practice. Mind Over Matter's choice to release a mixtape of this kind shows that they are aware, through their listening, that this is a common practice in Hip Hop releases and that their own work then fits into this common cultural practice.

This process also highlights the intertextual nature of hip hop recordings. Whilst Mind Over Matter used these beats from other artists, this would have only been obvious to other Hip Hop fans who knew these original recordings. For many of the artists interviewed, this intertextual nature of hip hop is another aspect of the music that appeals to them. In talking to Solo about the importance of this kind of intertextuality, he noted that for him, this was one of the most important aspects of the genre; and in our interview he referred to this as an "inside joke" and as a feature he doesn't see to the same extent in other music. Solo also pointed out that you only get to know these inside jokes by listening to more and more hip hop recordings:

> Being a fan of hip hop is like there is this feeling of like if you are prepared to do the homework and learn what's come before and what's been put out and to study the lyrics and memorize them and stuff, you start to get a real reward out of being a listener because you start to see things repeating, like phrases or samples and things

that are cut off records and you start to build up an appreciation of things that have been referenced and it just includes you in the whole thing so much more because you are getting all these inside jokes (interview with author).

These inside jokes highlight the intertextual nature of the music, and further promote the kind of enculturation that is required to be a hip hop artist.

This intertextual nature of hip hop is one of the reasons that an engaged and sustained listening to the genre is important. As Söderman and Folkestad note, "hip hop is a strong intertextual culture and the listener of hip hop must be able to orientate himself in the 'intertextual jungle'. The listener must identify covered texts in the main text of the hip hop song" (2004, p.315). This is where the aural copying and enculturation that Green identified as primary markers of informal learning come into the fore in hip hop learning. Listening to hip hop works becomes an important way to understand the genre and be drawn deeper into the culture. It is through listening that fans, and would be artists, learn the codes of hip hop music. As Beach and Sernhede note, this intertextual enculturation becomes

their subjectively shared world of *symbols, styles, and other forms of linguistic, meaning-bearing communication*, and it constitutes an important aspect of the learning processes taking place. Learning through hip-hop is thus characterized by an *intertextuality*… However, the *intertextual* aesthetics of hip-hop are complex and often depend on references to such an extent that an uninitiated listener does not always understand what a rap song is about. Even if he or she understands the words, the intertextuality is lost and the artistic expression becomes banal (Beach & Sernhede 2012, p.950).

In this way, listening to hip hop becomes a vital part of the enculturation of a hip hop musician. Whilst the artists interviewed here noted that a knowledge of all of hip hop is not necessary, all agreed that some knowledge about the history of the music is important for their own practices as artists. This knowledge about the music's history can then be seen through the types of references to previous works they make (as discussed in Chapter Three), or by the skills they pick up from other MCs that can be then heard in their own works, particularly with skills like flow.

Listening for Flow

Purposive listening takes on another role in the case of the artists interviewed for this study. During this process of listening all the artists noted that they began copying, and then picking a variety of skills from listening to other MCs. As Smiles Again noted in our interview:

Through listening to heaps and such a diverse amount of hip hop, we gained a greater understanding of it. It's kind of like studying. We've been studying it without consciously knowing it, and we'd been picking things up like flow, delivery and presence, lyrics and rhyme schemes (interview with author).

Although Smiles' admission here that they had been "studying without consciously knowing it" might suggest that he was not engaged in purposive listening, I would argue that given his discussions with future band member Willow about skills such as flow, delivery and presence, lyrics, and rhyme schemes would suggest that they were listening purposefully to these recordings.

Where Green's (2002) participants were listening for chord changes, riffs, and musical structures, MCs are listening for the elements Smiles Again lists above; flow, delivery, presence, lyrics and rhyme schemes. L-Fresh the Lion explained how listening to recordings helped him to work on specific aspects of his vocal delivery, in this case his flow. Flow can be described as the rhyme scheme, both internal and external, and also how this rhyme scheme fits with the beat. For L-Fresh the Lion, the purposive listening to recordings helped him to better understand flow, which in turned helped him to develop his own flow. As he noted in our interview, "what really helped me [with my flow] was I memorized the lyrics to one of Biggie's songs, the one he did with Bone Thugs N Harmony, 'Notorious Thugs' [(Notorious B.I.G 1997)]. And that verse, when I run that verse over and over, flow made sense to me then" (interview with author). Like The Tongue listening to and reciting Public Enemy songs, the learning of a Notorious B.I.G verse helped L-Fresh the Lion develop his skills in a specific area of his rapping technique.

Flow is an important aspect of an MC's skill set. For Remi, flow is what brought him to hip hop, as discussed in this interview excerpt:

RK – I guess it is one of the most direct message musics. It's like speaking to the people and stuff. You know you can kinda relate to it, well, it really hits home. On top of that, the

> patterns of the vocals are so incredible. I'm a real rhythmic
> dude and that's what it's all about, adding an extra rhythm on
> top of that beat.
>
> JC – So the rhythmic aspect of the vocals?
>
> RK – Yeah that's what got me into it first. And then after that I began
> to notice the messages in the songs were important. But it
> was all about the flow (interview with author).

In defining *flow*, Porco (2011, p.65), states that "when rap MCs compose and perform, they subject lyrical content to particular forms of sonic organization, especially rhythm, rhyme, and voice, which, in the aggregate, produce what is commonly known as flow". Further to this, Rose suggests that *flow* is important in order to understand the meanings in a song: "simply to recite or to read the lyrics to a rap song is not to understand them; they are also inflected with the syncopated rhythms and sampled sounds of the music. The music, its rhythmic patterns, and the idiosyncratic articulation by the rapper are essential to the song's meanings" (1994, p.88). Bradley (2009, p.30) has described flow an MC's "lyrical fingerprint", arguing that an MC can be easily identified by the way that they flow over a beat. Flow can also be used to identify other markers of an MC's identity. As Krims notes,

> Rhythmic style [flow] marks several dimensions of rap music at once
> for artists and fans – history, geography, and genre all at once, not
> to mention the constant personal and commercial quest for
> uniqueness. It thus cannot be separated from an exposition of rap
> genres and styles… Just about any rap artist or fan that I have
> encountered has well-developed notions of (and preferences for)
> rhythmic style; but artists and fans tend to refer those notions
> sometimes to particular artists, sometimes to history or geography,
> even sometimes to particular songs.

Krims' argument here, that flow can be linked with genres of hip hop, specific artists, and to specific times and places, is one that was also noted by the MCs in this study. As Smiles Again noted:

> I was actually really big on rhyme schemes at the time. It was a
> stage in hip hop where there were a lot of really simple, basic
> rhymers out there, and not just in Australian hip hop, but hip hop in
> general. And then it started becoming a bit more complex as people

started experimenting with different things. Like if you listen to Run

DMC, they're simple, but they do some cool things as well (interview

with author).

Here Smiles Again is picking up on the unique way in which Run DMC began to experiment with flow. Smiles Again also notes here how flow has changed in hip hop, with flows becoming more complex over time. It is this kind of analysis that MCs perform and through this are able to learn the intricacies of the organisation of words, rhythm, rhyme and voice to further their own skill set.

In doing such an analysis, Connor (2013) has suggested five ways to musically describe an MCs flow:

1. The rate at which they drop rhymes;

2. How they say their words and syllables, whether all rolled together or separated;

3. The nature of the sentences – how long/short they are, where they fall in the music, how many of them there are, etc.;

4. Whether they repeat certain rhythms, or keep making new rhythms as they go along;

5. The nature of their rhymes – whether they are just one syllable long or multi-syllabic, at the end of lines or the beginning of them, whether they always come in the same order, etc.

These five points are useful in analysing an MC's flow. Connor (2013) uses these points to analyse Kendrick Lamar's flow on 'Backseat Freestyle' (2012). Through this analysis, Connor finds that Kendrick Lamar's "placement of rhymes and accents are very idiosyncratic – that is, unique to him. They are rather obtuse, not always coming at the end of rhymes, and not always coming as much as you think they should" (Connor 2013). Similarly, Adams (2009) has suggested that there are two categories of techniques included in a rapper's flow, what he calls Metrical Techniques and Articulative Techniques. Adams argues that the techniques included in these two categories operate in a similar manner to "what instrumentalists call 'technique', a set of tools enabling the performer to most accurately convey his/her expressive meaning. In instrumental performance, these comprise the musician's approach to legato, breath control, pedalling, fingering, and other skills specific to the instrument" (Adams 2009). Analysing an MCs flow through these metrical and analytical

techniques, similar to the work Connor has done above, provides a starting point from which an MC's similarity or difference from another MC can be determined.

Imitating and Being Original

The MCs interviewed in this study are undertaking a similar analysis in their own purposive listening. As L-Fresh the Lion stated above, his own analysis of Notorious B.I.G's flow on 'Notorious Thugs' (Notorious B.I.G 1997) helped him to understand the concept of flow. This analysis leads to an understanding of the concept; although whilst artists may listen to others to learn, they do not copy what they hear but use that to further their own understanding of the key skills needed to be an MC. Because of hip hop's demand for individuality from participants, directly copying another MCs flow would be seen as 'biting'; mimicking another's style is not what an MC is supposed to do. As Bradley (2009, p.147) explains:

> Rap relies on a shared knowledge, a common musical and lyrical vocabulary accessible to all. At the same time, few charges are as damning to an MC as being called a biter. Biting, or co-opting another person's style or even specific lines, qualifies as a high crime in hip hop's code of ethics and aesthetics.

The fine line here is drawn between the straight copy of a work and the learning that can be taken from the work. Whereas those in Green's study were often recreating the works they were listening to through making cover versions, hip hop artists instead are analysing the works for the skills contained within, and not recreating the works wholesale in this way. As Bradley (2009) argues there are few examples of cover versions in hip hop as there is a close association between the writer and performer in hip hop songs. Bradley further contends that this close association is due to the assumption that "the writer is also the performer, the lyricist and the rapper are one and the same… rap is inherently associated with personal expression rather than song craft. Part of the unspoken pact between MC and audience is that the MC is authentic, that what he or she is saying is sincere or real" (2009, p.154). Whilst rapping along to another artist's lyrics, as The Tongue began by doing, provides a good opportunity to learn how another MC uses words and rhythm to construct flow, the object is not to directly then copy that style. Rather, MCs will use those skills gained to form their own "lyrical fingerprint". As Tkay Maidza noted, she began by writing her own lyrics to other, popular, instrumentals. This practice again shifts the

emphasis onto an MC using their own voice in their own way. As Remi noted in our interview, when asked about one of his biggest influences, Black Thought from the Roots:

> RK – Yeah, a dude that makes the most of those elements in hip hop. And his flow is always undeniable and the lyrics, the message, he can sum up so much in a few words.
>
> JC – How does that shape your own rhyming style?
>
> RK – You listen to anybody you find that you like and you put your spin on it. That's the main thing, that's how you learn. Go back to the history and see what people have done before you and see where it sits, see what you like, and see where you fit in. There are so many genres in hip hop, you need to find out where you are to get a creative edge. You could be a thug, which I'm clearly not. But I had to figure out where I fit in. Because I can't rap about what a lot of rap is about. It's about what I know (interview with author).

In a display of just how influential an MC can be on another, Remi recorded a song called 'Get Some (A Tribute to Tariq Trotter)' (2012). The tribute here is to Black Thought, the MC for The Roots, who's real name is Tariq Trotter. 'Get Some' is 62 bars of rapping with no structure. This kind of freeform rapping was something that Remi feels Black Thought is known for, and 'Get Some' demonstrates how this aspect of Black Thought's style as an MC has influenced Remi.

'Get Some' is perhaps most comparable to The Roots' song 'Web' from the album 'The Tipping Point' (2004), with both songs sharing several similarities[6]. Firstly, the beat of both songs consists of a percussion driven breakbeat, with regular bass stabs every second bar. Secondly, both songs are arranged with no choruses, with Remi rapping for the entire 62 bars, and Black Thought rapping for 84 bars. Because of the sparsity of each song, with just drums and bass as accompaniment, each song provides a platform for the respective MCs to demonstrate the elements that make up their flow. In his analysis of the metrical techniques used by MCs, Adams (2009) argues that there are four of these metrical techniques included in an MC's conception of flow:

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[6] Indeed, the links between the songs can be further evidenced in that Remi makes an allosonic reference to 'Web' in 'Get Some' with the line "whoo whoo Remi be the ultimate" based on Black Thought's original line "whoo whoo 'riq Geez be the ultimate".

1. The placement of rhyming syllables.
2. The placement of accented syllables.
3. The degree of correspondence between syntactic units and measures
4. The number of syllables per beat.

Black Thought, as evidenced in 'Web', makes use of all four metrical techniques, but his flow is more reliant on manipulation of the first two metrical techniques outlined by Adams. Black Thought's placement of rhyming syllables and accented syllables in 'Web' demonstrate his unique lyrical fingerprint. Similarly, in 'Get Some', Remi also makes use of manipulation of Adams' first two metrical techniques to demonstrate his lyrical fingerprint. In listening to both songs, it becomes clear that Black Thought has been an influence on Remi. While Remi has not used the exactly the same placement of rhyming and accented syllables as Black Thought, the commonalities in the way that these to techniques have been applied to both Black Thought and Remi's flows demonstrates how Black Thought has been an influence on Remi's conception of flow. 'Web' and 'Get Some' provide examples of how an aesthetic can be demonstrated in one song ('Web') and then incorporated into another song ('Get Some') without the resulting song sounding exactly like the original; in other words, Remi has clearly been influenced by Black Thought, but has not 'bitten' his flow.

'Get Some' is just one example of how an MC's purposive listening to aspects like flow form an important part of their own artistic identity. In riding the fine line between biting and incorporating skills gained through purposive listening, it is often possible to hear how a certain MC had influenced another MC's skills. As Hollerbach (2004) argues, the listening to recordings provides musicians with the aesthetic qualities of the music that then inform their own practice. He suggests that "aesthetics and style, identity and representation combine to evince a constructed socio-musical code both learned and lived, that is, a social signifying system as well as a complex of musical trait" (2004, p.155). L-Fresh the Lion noted that when he listens to other MCs, he can hear the artists that they have listened to in their delivery. Our interview took place after a show called 'Speech Therapy' that we both attended in Sydney. At this particular event, an MC from New Zealand named Tom Scott was performing, and in our interview L-Fresh noted that during Tom Scott's performance he could hear that he was influenced by the US group Bone Thugs-n-Harmony: "Tom Scott, from Homebrew, at Speech Therapy I really felt like,

particularly when he got into his double time stuff, it was definitely Bone Thugs" (interview with author). Being able to pick up these influences in a person's delivery points to the importance of a shared listening history for MCs. An MC's artistic identity is made up of these influences and in particular an MC's flow can be used to reference other artists, or styles within hip hop.

Dialect noted that during his own hip hop learning, he was drawn to "more hardcore stuff", and the evidence of this can be seen in his flow. An example of this can be heard in the track 'S.A.B.X.' (Dialect & Despair 2012), where Dialect & Despair collaborate with two Bronx based artists, Majestic Gage and D Flow, both of whom are members of the Diggin' In The Crates crew (D.I.T.C.). Through the listening analysis completed in the next chapter, music from members of D.I.T.C. emerged as a particular favourite of Dialect & Despair, with 14 references to D.I.T.C. artists across their two albums; and Dialect & Despair where the only artists who used references to D.I.T.C. artists. 'S.A.B.X', so named because the track is a collaboration between artists from South Australia (SA) and the Bronx (BX), provides an opportunity to compare Dialect's flow with that of two artists from the United States who share a similar listening history to him. In performing this analysis, I will be drawing on Bradley's (2009) notions of flow, in which he suggests that flow is observable through elements like pitch, intonation, accent and cadence. Bradley also observes that MCs consider elements like speed of delivery and relation to the beat (whether ahead, behind, or in the 'pocket') when rhyming to an instrumental.

Dialect's flow on 'S.A.B.X.' is similar to that on all of his other works; his voice is more on the monotonous end of the monotone-animated scale suggested by Bradley. This means that his pitch, intonation and cadence are all fairly constant throughout, with no observable highs or lows in any of these categories. Dialect delivers his lines at a consistent speed that is usually in the 'pocket' of the beat. Similarly, both Majestic Gage and D Flow are also on the monotonous end of the monotone-animated scale, and both also have a consistent speed of delivery, with no great changes to their pitch, intonation or cadence. What is observable though is that Dialect does not sound 'out of place' rhyming alongside these MCs; the style of flow is very similar across all three artists. In saying that however, it is obvious when each MC takes a verse, with all three MCs having a unique style that is heard in the way they deliver words. Dialect has not 'bitten' the flow of these MCs that he has been inspired by; rather, their flows have been analysed and incorporated into Dialect's

own conception of flow. What 'S.A.B.X.' demonstrates is how a shared listening history can influence artists to create similar, but different, rhyming styles whether they are in Australia or the Bronx. Through the analysis that MCs are undertaking in their listening and learning practices, they are able to use aspects like flow to identify another MC's listening history; thus demonstrating how the MC has used their listening history as an influence in the construction of their own style.

The importance of this listening history to an MC is further demonstrated by Smiles Again, who discussed how the artists he has listened to have informed his own artist identity:

SA –I don't think I'd be where I'm at without listening to everything I've listened to.

JC – So it's shaped the way you've made music?

SA – For sure.

JC – In what sort of ways?

SA – Content, like lyrical content. I'm just not rapping about guns and bitches, because I have heard a lot of other hip hop that doesn't talk about guns and bitches. More recently flows have been important. People see that when our new record gets released. I experiment a lot with flows and the record we're working on now, the one after the one coming out, we're doing that even more. Each track has its own entity with flow. And I love doing that, it's just fun for me to experiment in that way. I still put a high focus on what I'm saying, that's the most important thing for me. I'm just having a lot of fun with flow at the moment. Dudes like Andre 3000 (Outkast), I've been studying his work a lot lately. When I say studying I just mean really paying attention to his feel and the way he writes. Recently J Cole is another dude I've been paying attention to – his stuff sounds effortless. There's plenty of others (interview with author).

Here Smiles Again can point to specific artists that have informed part of his own style. These artists are not copied or imitated, but rather serve as models from which artists can learn specific skills. Through a purposive listening to the works of others,

MCs are able to learn about things like flow and in turn incorporate elements from these other artists into their own artistic identity.

Listening as Social Activity

An aspect of this enculturated and purposive listening that emerged through the interviews conducted with the artists, is that this listening often takes place within a social group. As Partti's (2012) work suggests, this kind of learning through social participation allows for musicians to form an identity in relation to the others in their social group. Many of the artists in this study discussed how their introduction to hip hop came through an older brother or friend. They discussed how their enculturation to hip hop came from these circles. An example of this is Dialect, who was introduced to hip hop by his older brother:

> I have an older brother, who is 13 years older than me. He had a crazy collection of hip hop, all the classics from the 80's and 90's. He was into hip hop culture and the music and it was really just like everything I saw around my house while I was growing up was just that. I was particularly impressionable and young and I just wanted to be involved in what he was doing. So he got me into it. Early on he got me onto A Tribe Called Quest and Jungle Brothers, but I was always going for the more hardcore stuff when I got a bit older. So then he started showing me different stuff. So he really showed me everything (Interview with author).

Dialect's story here is not an unusual one. Solo also discussed how his older brother got him into hip hop:

> S – I actually got into hip hop in the first place through my older brother, which I think is a pretty common story. He is three years older than me and when he went to high school he started hanging out with other guys at school who were all really into graffiti. In year 7 and year 8 he was discovering Tupac and Biggie and all this other shit that his friends were exposing him to and him coming home and playing it to me and I just couldn't really get it to be honest. When I was 11 or 12 I couldn't see the relevance of the music to my own life, my own experience. And then one day he came home, this would

have been in year 7 so I would have gone to school and I was starting hanging around with some of the same people. And he came home and played me a Hilltop Hoods track called "1979". And it just like…

JC – That was it? That was the song that connected it for you?

S—Yeah it just put it in a framework or a context where I could understand what it was. When you are that young and really your awareness of music and popular culture and stuff really comes from the radio and television and I think I had a certain understanding or stereotypical idea of what Hip Hop was. And when I came across that song it was kind of like, just having somebody explain something to you in a new way where you can make sense of it and you see the connection. So it's not that I'm unable to appreciate all that other stuff because now I love all that other stuff. I love Tupac, I love Biggie and I listen to all that and I really connect with all that. But it's just that to begin with I needed it explained to me in a way that I could see more easily that was relevant to my own life to my own world and so that came in the form of that Hilltop Hoods track. And from there it was just on, just like I was a fiend for it and got my hands on whatever I could and very soon after that I started listening to American stuff and British stuff and all sorts of stuff (interview with author).

This ability to have someone who can help to give the music context frequently came up in discussions. Whilst it might be an older brother in the case of Dialect and Solo, other peers also play a part in this enculturation, as demonstrated by this interview excerpt with Nick Lupi:

A friend at school, their older brother had a Tupac album and I listened to it and really liked it. One day when I was out shopping with my mum I had to ask her to get the Tupac album for me, because you had to be over 18 to buy it. And she got it and I loved it. And when I got to high school, the school that I started at, there was a big hip hop presence, with graffiti writers and MCs and break-dancers. I became friends with some of them. Solo, from

Horrorshow, his older brother went to the same school. So he and all his friends got us into hip hop. They like schooled us. We looked up to them, as you do when you are that age, you're so impressionable. They kind of helped put us on to hip hop and told us, this is before the Internet really popped off, not that far before, but yeah that's how I got into it (interview with author).

What emerges from both Solo and Nick Lupi's stories here is the "schooling" aspect of this listening practice. Both Solo and Nick Lupi were told what to listen to by Solo's older brother and friends, and were encouraged to discuss what they had been listening to. These discussions also form an important part of the learning for hip hop artists, as it helps to define an artist's aesthetic standards. As these discussions take place in a group setting it provides an opportunity for an artist's identity and aesthetic preferences to be worked out in relation to those around them. Smiles Again, from Mind Over Matter, discussed how he learned about hip hop from his school friend and now ex-group member Willow, and how this then grew into them forming the group:

I played Willow this Dr. Dre song, because I really liked Dr. Dre, and I was just like this is the best song. I was like you've got to hear this; you've got to listen to it. So I played it to him and he was like 'nah not for me'. And was just like 'What?! How?!' And he was like 'the lyrics don't say much to me I'm not connecting with them on a personal level'. And I was like ok, fair enough. And ever since then I've started noticing lyrics more. So once I started paying attention to them, we started writing our own little rhymes in the back of class and passing notes to each other – like I'd write a line and then he'd write a line and we just kept writing off each other's lines. We started freestyling at house parties and from there it just grew and grew (interview with author).

Smiles and Willow were having these discussions at the age of 12, and this is not an unusual age for this to start; it is in line with many of the other artists interviewed. What is unique about Smiles and Willow in particular is that Willow is the cousin of noted Australian Hip Hop MC Eso, from Bliss and Eso. During this time, Eso was enculturating Willow into Hip Hop and was providing him with albums from groups like a Tribe Called Quest; according to Smiles, this is the reason Willow didn't like the

lyrics of the Dre song, as he had been enculturated by Eso to pay attention to the lyrics from a young age.

These listening histories all follow a similar pattern and because they are shared with others, often future band or crew members, this shared listening history becomes a way for artists to communicate the kind of hip hop artist they are in a kind of short hand for those in the culture to understand. The use of intertextual references to other hip hop works provides the evidence of this short hand (to be discussed in Chapter Three), but it also can be seen in the way that MCs choose to phrase certain words and rhymes after the style of an MC they admire; and can also be seen in the type of material discussed in lyrics.

Genealogies of Listening and Lyrical Content

As noted previously, the artists in this study can all be considered 'mainstream' in an Australian context. Through interviewing the artists about how they got into hip hop and learned about the culture and music, all artists have revealed an element of the schooling practice described above. What is notable about this practice is that the same types of artists continue to come up in the discussions about influence; what could be considered an alternative Hip Hop canon (A Tribe Called Quest, De La Soul, Mos Def, Talib Kwali, Common etc.) and this has then informed their own music making practices.

As such, there is a significant lack of sexism and misogyny in the lyrics of mainstream Australian hip hop[7]. The artists interviewed in this project, whilst being mainstream artists, also make frequent political statements in their works, especially about Australia's treatment of refugees, and also comparing the situations of racial tension in the United States that surround the many publicised incidents between the police and young African Americans with similar situations here in Australia that are under reported by local media.

An example of such a statement can be found in the Thundamentals' 'The Groundhog Song':

Call me a cynic, I'm part of the system

Where Trayvon Martin and T.J. Hickey's

Deaths are being swept under the carpet

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[7] As noted earlier, the Australian hip hop scene is still heavily male dominated, with male MCs making up the majority of those heard on radio. Despite this, these male artists generally have lyrics that are respectful of people's gender and sexual orientations with little use of misogynic or homophobic lyrics.

And Zimmerman's free I can picture him laughing

Instead of getting his ass kicked, sittin' here askin'

Yo what would have occurred, if the roles were reversed?

If it was a black man killing a white kid, national crisis

Open your eyelids

It's glaringly blatant we live in a nation that's heavily racist

But if I say it they're labelling me un-Australian, fuck it (Thundamentals 2014)

Here, the Thundamentals are comparing instances of police profiling and brutality in the United States, with similar instances in Australia. In this case, comparing the case of Trayvon Martin with that of an Indigenous Australian minor, T.J. Hickey. Hickey died in 2004 and his death trigged the 'Redfern Riots' of that year. As Budarick (2011, p.38) notes, "Hickey… became impaled on a metal fence in the suburb of Waterloo, next to Redfern, after coming off his pushbike. Witnesses came forward and claimed that police had been chasing Hickey at the time of the accident" and other sources claim that the police car had clipped Hickey's bike, which sent him into the fence. The riot that came after this event, and the surrounding public debates framed by the media, largely told the story that the police were not responsible for Hickey's death and the incident was not motivated by any issues of race. As Budarick (2011) notes however, this mainstream media coverage served the interested of those in positions of power and the underlying issues of racism and social justice were either ignored or diminished by this media. In comparing these examples, of Trayvon Martin and T.J. Hickey, the Thundamentals are drawing attention to the issues of race, racism, and social justice that occur in Australia; reminding Australians that such issues do not just occur in the United States.

The album 'Groundhog Song' is taken from, 'So We Can Remember' (2014), entered the ARIA Charts at number three and the ARIA Urban charts at number one. As such, this album can be seen to represent a mainstream position within Australian hip hop. There are many other examples of such political messages within other mainstream Australian hip hop too. Horrorshow's 'Own Backyard' (2013) addresses Australia's colonial history and the subsequent treatment and stereotyping of the Aboriginal community. The song also features indigenous artist Jimblah. Solo's line "Too many dying in our prisons, Like a Palm Island man left lying on a cold cell floor" refers to an instance of police brutality where Cameron Doomadgee died from injuries caused by the arresting officers (Horn 2014). These lines are just one

example of the issues raised by Horrorshow and Jimblah in 'Own Backyard' and the focus of the song again reminds Australians that they face similar issues to do with race as those in the United States, that are often written off by Australian's as events that only happen in the United States and not something that happens in their 'Own Backyard'.

Listening for Varied Themes

Not all Australian Hip Hop artists are this political in their works; however, they do to promote a different image to that often thought of as the stereotype of hip hop. This more conscious approach to lyrics and themes stems from the artists that served as inspiration. As mentioned above, the artists in this study were often more inspired by those artists often considered to be alternative hip hop artists. As these artists discuss more varied themes this in turn has influenced these Australian artists to discuss similar themes. As Smiles Again noted in the interview quoted above, "I'm just not rapping about guns and bitches, because I have heard a lot of other hip hop that doesn't talk about guns and bitches".

This exposure to more varied themes in hip hop means that the Australian hip hop community tends to be less accepting of artists who portray sexist, misogynist, or racist ideas. This can be seen in the controversy that surrounded Eso, from Bliss n Eso, after he posted some inappropriate pictures to his personal social media account on Instagram. The pictures depict Eso in a wax museum in the US pretending to perform violent and sexually suggestive acts against wax statues of Rihanna and Lady Gaga amongst others. Eso faced immediate backlash after posting these pictures, most of which came from the Australian hip hop community. The Tongue posted on Twitter immediately calling Eso's behaviour into question (Tongue 2014a). Dialect similarly posted on Twitter lambasting Eso's images. Dialect's (2014) post called into question the link between success and making such sexist and misogynist statements, arguing that he would prefer to remain poor and/or a failure than to be seen to promote such images. The Tongue also wrote a piece for the online music press The Vine, where he made it clear that this behaviour is not representative of the Australian hip hop community. "We are progressive, we are positive, we want to change the world for the better with music. That's what our heroes did. We are saddened when we see the potential to do this thrown away in exchange for a gimmick or money or, in this case, for a cheap laugh at the expense

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of abused women" (Tongue 2014b). Quickly after this, Eso posted a video (blissnesoTV 2014) to YouTube apologising for the pictures and removed them from his Instagram account.

This community lead, and very public, backlash demonstrates how mainstream Australian hip hop artists are much more conscious of these issues. As noted above, this is because of their engagement with alternative aspects of hip hop culture from the beginning. In this way, the shared listening history, which then leads to a genealogy of listening, demonstrates the influences of an artist and the type of music that they then make. Given that most of the artists in this study, and in Australian hip hop, have engaged with more conscious hip hop, the music they make reflects the ideals found in this music. A further example of how a shared listening history can impact the music an artist makes can be seen in the way Western Sydney MC Kerser has been received by the Australian hip hop community.

Two Pacs

A shared listening history can have multiple outcomes. Whilst artists may have begun by listening to the same works, there can be very different outcomes from this listening. An example of this can be seen by examining the Western Sydney MC, Kerser, and his work in relation to that of other Australian hip hop artists. Kerser has cited artists like Tupac as influences for his work (Vincent 2014), as did Nick Lupi in the interview quoted above.

Tupac Shakur is often seen as the epitome of the gangsta rapper (Iwamoto 2003). However, as Iwamoto points out, Tupac was often misunderstood, with many of his songs representing "specific aspects of his mentality and value system, including those that express his awareness of and empathy for women, as well as address issues such as racial oppression, and inner-city problems" (2003, p.44).

When comparing the influence of Tupac on both Kerser and Nick Lupi, it is clear that two different Tupac's had an influence on each of them. For Nick Lupi, the Tupac that "would sensitively address his community's lack of fundamental resources, such as adequate school systems and health care…[that] expressed his political agenda through his music, by criticizing major social institutions and the government for being apathetic in regard to the urban communities' needs" (Iwamoto 2003, p.48) was the one that he picked up on. Whereas for Kerser, it was the 'gangsta' image of Tupac that became an influence. Kerser has been quoted as

saying that he didn't really relate to hearing politics in hip hop songs when he was growing up (Vincent 2014), so it may seem surprising to learn that he was so heavily influenced by Tupac. However, because Tupac has these two, often conflicting, sides to his persona (the more gangsta side and the more conscious side) it should be no surprise that two artists can be equally influenced by the same artist with different results.

During the research period, an incident occurred that demonstrated how the differences in listening histories between Kerser and Nick Lupi have affected their ability to get played on radio stations in Australia, particularly triple j. In November 2015 Kerser publicly complained that he felt he had been ignored by the national youth broadcaster triple j. In an interview with the *Sydney Morning Herald*, Kerser said "I feel like I have been ignored by that station and the industry and they are meant to be playing music which appeals to youth. But they just won't play it and I can't put my finger on why" (Moskovitch 2015). Kerser's music is not like that of other Australian artists; he raps about guns, drugs (selling and consuming), sex, and crimes. But this does not explain why triple j does not play his music, as they play music from international artists who discuss similar themes in their work.

triple j holds a unique position in the Australian broadcasting network. As a taxpayer-funded national youth radio network, triple j has a license to "support and 'unearth' new Australian contemporary music" (Eltham 2009, p.52). Funded by the Australian government, triple j prides itself on not being subject to the typical commercial pressures of other broadcasters. As Eltham notes, "triple j is a keystone of contemporary Australian culture and a kind of strange hybrid that sits in an uncomfortable middle ground between its commercial and community radio cousins. Indeed, the level and intensity of criticism the network attracts is a sign of the network's importance" (2009, p.52). It is this strange position that allows the station to play Australian artists that would otherwise get little to no radio airtime on other stations. Many of the artists interviewed for this study remarked how important triple j is to their careers; getting airplay on the station allows these artists to tour nationally and earn a living. triple j has a national audience of approximately 1.8 million listeners across Australia each week, and as Abroms (as cited in Clarke 2014) identifies, triple j

has extensive and rather unique powers when it comes to placing a
young local artist in the national consciousness and providing them

with the opportunity for career success. This is particularly true for artists creating music that is less commercially accessible, where triple j's lack of commercial imperative may provide them with their only avenue for radio exposure at a national level.

triple j does promote Australian content as part of their government funded charter. Because of this, they are more likely to play Australian musicians than other, commercial, radio stations in Australia. The station has been an early supporter of the Australian hip hop scene, as Illy notes, "I don't' know if I'd ever be able to have a music career if it wasn't for the station and their support of grassroots Australian music. triple j supported Aussie hip hop and as a result the scene became more than a scene, it really became a legitimate genre in its own right in the mainstream" (as cited in Clarke 2014).

Whilst the station occupies an important and necessary place in the Australian music industry, there have also been many occasions where artists feel that they have to tailor their sound to suit the station in order to get this airplay. Like any radio station, triple j has a brand that it cultivates, and this brand identity leads to a centralized playlist of songs. Musician Keir Nuttall believes is the main problem with the station: "[the] centralized playlist… is about nurturing triple j's corporate identity rather than reflecting the community around it… Do Kings of Leon or Lily Allen need high rotation on taxpayer-funded broadcasting? … This is not enhancing Australian culture and community, it is just positioning the triple j brand" (as cited in Eltham 2009, p.53). This "brand identity" has been developed by the station's programmers, and is shaped by the musical knowledge of these programmers and specialist announcers, as well as the demands of its listeners for popular songs by established artists. Because triple j plays a variety of music styles, it has been suggested that this "identity" is more of a "mood" than a sound (Kingsmill as cited in Eltham 2009; Sharp-Paul 2014). Either way, whether sound or mood, getting on the centralised playlist is seen as being essential for Australian artists. For Australian hip hop artists, this has meant that a certain type of hip hop has been privileged and artists have expressed that they feel pressure to write music that would be added to this playlist.

Some of the artists interviewed for this study made off the record comments to this effect, and this is in line with Clarke's (2014) findings. Clarke (2014) interviewed five musicians and seven industry personnel who all felt that some Australian musicians are required to alter their sound in order to get airplay on the station. All

those interviewed by Clarke chose to remain anonymous, and as he notes, this "speaks to a curious fear of triple j that exists in the minds of some" (2014). This fear is that to speak out against this practice is to risk being banned from triple j airplay, which would have a severely detrimental impact to an Australian musician's career.

Whilst triple j might have been important in establishing Australian hip hop in the mainstream, there are those who feel that it only established a certain type of Australian hip hop in the mainstream. For Kerser, he has certainly felt that triple j has established a particular Australian hip hop sound, and this sound is different to the music that he makes. "My music isn't like the usual Aussie hip hop you hear. When I was growing up I thought [Australian hip hop] was all barbecues, going to the RSL, maybe some politics and I couldn't really relate to any of it" (Kerser as cited in Vincent 2014). The Australian hip hop that triple j has played and made popular has been the type of hip hop that has been more influenced by images and messages of conscious hip hop from around the world, rather than the gangsta image. Because Kerser has been more influenced by the more gangsta type of hip hop, his music has received far less airplay on triple j than other Australian hip hop artists, like Spit Syndicate who are regularly played on the station.

Kerser's different take on Australian hip hop also represents his background and life experiences. Kerser is from Campbelltown in Sydney's south-west, an area known for its high percentage of public housing, street gangs and crime (McDonald & Moyle 1995). This reputation continues today, and Kerser's music discusses his experiences growing up in this area. In relating to Tupac and other 'gangsta' MCs, Kerser was hearing stories that he felt better reflected his own life and these MCs therefore had a greater influence on the music Kerser makes now. Because Kerser's music is not as influenced by the 'conscious' MCs that many of his Australian hip hop contemporaries have been influenced by, his music, flow and themes sound different to those other artists. Because of this difference in shared listening history, Kerser feels that he is not as accepted by the Australian hip hop community as he should be. However, he is also quite happy with his 'outsider' status as he continually sells out national tours and his albums chart in the Australian charts.

What was heard

Thus, a shared listening history, whether it is shared with someone close to the artist or a hip hop fan from another country, becomes an important way to display

an artist's hip hop identity; whether they are the type of artists that feels the need to display knowledge of the history of the culture or not. The conversation that takes place in these recordings, between old and new works, and between hip hop fans from around the world, demonstrates that an engagement with the genre's history remains a crucial part of determining an artist's identity, no matter where they are from. In the Australian context, this shared listening history has meant that there is a distinct conscious identity that has emerged from the records shared and listened to by the artists, their friends and family. It also demonstrates that through engaging with a different genealogy of listening, artists can create a different identity that is perhaps not always recognised in the same way by other members of the community. The next chapter will discuss how these genealogies of listening can be observed in an artists' work through the analysis of the references these artists make in their lyrics.

Chapter Three: Referencing 'Credible Sources'

This chapter examines how genealogies of listening can be heard in the music made by the artists interviewed for this study. In particular, this chapter focusses on the references to other works these artists chose to put into their lyrics. As Chapter Two demonstrated, all of the artists interviewed for this study acknowledged the importance of listening to previous works to their own learning process and identity construction. This listening process also included the learning of key aesthetic codes of hip hop, and one of these codes identified by the artists in this study was the references to other works in their lyrics. For some of the MCs in this study, this referencing practice was more important to their artistic identity than it was to others. Indeed, Dialect suggested that referencing other works in his songs was a way to "back up his songs with credible sources that support your song" (interview with author). Through analysing the references each artist makes in their lyrics, this chapter furthers the argument about the importance of genealogies of listening to an artists' identity.

Referencing in Music Composition

As Justin Williams (2010, p.1) has demonstrated, hip hop musicians regard "unconcealed intertextuality as integral to the production and reception" of the music, and one of the ways in which this intertextuality is manifested is through the referencing of lyrics. Hip hop artists in Australia approach making music in similar ways to their global hip hop counterparts, and the referencing of lyrics is seen by some artists as an integral fundamental part of the way they make their music. The most obvious, and well documented, example of musical borrowings in hip hop is the practice of sampling of a wide variety of genres and styles by producers (Katz 2004, 2010; Schloss 2004). However, this chapter examines the ways in which the artists interviewed reference lyrics from other MCs in their works.

The type of referencing discussed here can be seen as a type of musical borrowing. Hip hop is not the only musical form that borrows or references previous musical works; indeed, much has been written about musical borrowing. In most genres of music there is always some element of influence and appropriation in new compositions. As Collins (2008, p.2) has argued, "most musical composition is as much a fusion of previous music as it is a new work of creative expression". Arewa

(2006, p.547) illustrates that "musical borrowing is a pervasive aspect of musical creation in all genres and all periods". Arewa continues, arguing that there has been a:

> common vision of musical authorship that embeds Romantic author assumptions. Such assumptions are based on a vision of musical production as autonomous, independent and in some cases even reflecting genius. The centrality of the autonomous vision of musical authorship… reflects an increasing tendency to minimize the importance and continuity of musical borrowing practices generally (Arewa 2006, p.551).

As Leader (1999) suggests, this "Romantic" notion of authorship sees the author as being spontaneous, extemporizing, otherworldly, and autonomous. As Woodmansee (1984) notes, this "Romantic" notion began in the Eighteenth century, where inspiration "came to be regarded as emanating not from outside or above, but from within the writer" (Woodmansee 1984, p.427). Thus, the author comes to be regarded as the sole creator in new works. This position obscures that previous works have influenced the author, or that the author might be borrowing from previous works in the creation of the new. This position does not take into account the reality of how authors work (Arewa 2006; Collins 2008; Leader 1999; Woodmansee 1984), as it fails to note the importance of musical borrowing practices in the creation of new works.

Indeed, there are many famous musicians who have made use of musical borrowings in their works. Street (1986, p.135) recounts how Keith Richards has been quoted as saying that if he is stuck for a guitar solo on stage, he would take something from a Buddy Holly song. And it is not just popular musicians who make use of previous works in their own compositions. As Burkholder (1994) points out, composers from Beethoven, to Mahler, to Ives, have all made use of musical borrowings in their compositions. Keyt (1988, p.433) argues that parody, mimicry and quotation can be found in classical music throughout the ages. Collins (2008, p.3) furthers this argument by suggesting that "classical composers saw themselves as part of a tradition in which originality was seen as a process of selection, reinterpretation and improvement, rather than an act of solitary genius". The referencing of previous musics in new musical works is a part of the creative process, and the practice of incorporating references into a new work should be seen as a vital part of the music making process. This borrowing process has been complicated by

the rise of recorded music and the associated mechanical rights attached to these recordings (Hampel 1992). When borrowing from a recorded piece of music, this borrowing then attracts the attention of corporate interests who are keen to protect their copyrighted material. This change has led to borrowing liken to stealing, rather than being kept within the historical context describe above. A greater examination of this change is outside the scope of this thesis; however, it is important to note that borrowing has a long history within all forms of music.

Potter (1995) suggests that the history of African-American musical traditions are intrinsically linked with notions of borrowing. He argues that "African-American traditions were able to draw upon recorded music as one of their key sources of continuity and communication; not only did rural and urban styles cross-influence one another, but the practice of making performances that copied, referred to, or set themselves in variation against previously *recorded* works became widespread" (Potter 1995, p.27). Thus, borrowing from previous musical works serves many purposes in African-American musical life. For jazz musicians, this process of selection and reinterpretation is seen as an essential part of their musicking. Lathrop (as cited in Collins 2008) argues that "most artists exist as a kind of active composite of the music they have learned and absorbed over a long stretch of time. Uniqueness emerges most often from the particular way a performer reworks his assimilated influences: in the projection of sound through idiosyncrasies of personality". Collins (2008) continues, "jazz musicians build a vocabulary of licks and phrases that are culled from the wealth of existing jazz music and these are creatively used in improvised solos". DeVeaux (1997) argues that many Jazz musicians draw on, and reinterpret music from the bebop period (1940-1955). For DeVeaux (1997, p.2), this is due to bebop being "the embodiment of the techniques, the aesthetic sensibilities, and ultimately the professional attitudes that define the discipline". Hip hop artists continually draw on previous hip hop works for many of the same reasons.

Because of the ubiquity of the use of existing musical works in new musical compositions, there are several terms that have been used to describe the process. Burkholder (1994) notes that terms like musical borrowing, quotation, referencing, modelling, intertextuality, trope, parody, paraphrase, quodlibet, and transcription have all come to describe the practice. Burkholder proposes that the terms "uses of existing music" and "musical borrowings" (1994, p.862) should be applied to, what he describes as, a field of musical research. Burkholder broadly defines musical

borrowing as "taking something from an existing piece of music and using it in a new piece. This 'something' may be anything, from a melody to a structural plan. But it must be sufficiently individual to be identifiable as coming from this particular work, rather than from a repertoire in general" (Burkholder 1994, p.863). This distinction is made, as Burkholder suggests, in order to place boundaries on the field as he argues that the history of musical borrowing is often closely tied with the history of compositional and improvisational practice as a whole. Thus, the examination of borrowing from specific works should be the main preserve of this field. In this study, just such an examination has taken place, whereby recordings from each of the ten artists have been analysed to see how such borrowings or references have been used and where they have come from.

Borrowing or Referencing?

Williams (2014) argues that 'borrowing' is an appropriate term to describe the use of preexisting materials in hip hop music, rather than terms like 'appropriation', or especially 'stealing', and 'theft'. "The term borrowing is used… because it sidesteps the ethical arguments and negative connotations in favour of more detailed analysis, and places these hip hop practices within a well-established lineage of musical borrowing in both African- and European-based musics" (Williams 2014, p.191).

However, in this thesis I will refer to the use of preexisting materials in hip hop as 'referencing'. The artists interviewed for this study all referred to their use of preexisting materials in their works as 'references'. The use of this term in relation to these kinds of uses of preexisting material speaks to the relationship that the artists have with the original work. Both Solo and Dialect explicitly compared the use of preexisting material in their own work to writing an academic essay. In making this comparison, both artists are making a statement about the importance of the contexts and meanings of the original work and how that is used in their own work.

In his work in defining musical borrowing as a field of study, Burkholder (1994) sets out three motivating questions for the continued study of musical borrowing:

First, analytical questions: for any individual piece, what is borrowed

or used as a source? How is it used in the new work?

Second, interpretive or critical questions: why is this material

borrowed and used in this way? What musical or extramusical

functions does it serve?

> Third, historical questions: where did the composer get the idea to
> do this? What is the history of the practice? Can one trace a
> development in the works of an individual composer, or in a musical
> tradition, in the ways existing material is borrowed and used?
> (Burkholder 1994, p.864)

These questions form the fundamental blocks for analysis in the following chapter, as exploring the answers to each of these questions provides an understanding of the compositional process, purpose and motivation behind the production of hip hop in Australia and around the world. In order to answer these questions, an examination of the kinds of borrowing that the artists engaged with has been undertaken.

Referencing – What is used, and how is it used?

In answering Burkholder's first analytical question, what is borrowed and how it is used in the new work, I have undertaken a listening analysis of albums by each of the artists interviewed as part of this study. This listening analysis focused on listening for references that appear in the artists' works. References are made in two ways within the works, and these can be identified as what Lacasse (2000) calls allosonic and autosonic quotation. Allosonic quotation refers to the referencing of material by re-recording the original. In contrast, autosonic quotations are those that make use of the original recording in some way, whether that is through digital sampling, or by having a DJ cut the reference into the song. Both allosonic and autosonic referencing can be found in the work of the artists that are part of this study.

In performing this analysis, identifying allosonic or autosonic references posed its own set of challenges. Autosonic references, as they are sampled or cut into the work are easier to identify as they present a clear moment in the work when a voice that is not the artists can be heard. If the reference has been cut in by a DJ then this further provides a clear indication of the reference, as the scratch also demarcates the beginning and often the end of the reference. However, detecting allosonic references relied far more on my own knowledge of other works. While I am an avid hip hop listener for over 20 years, my own knowledge of every hip hop release and their lyrics is not complete. Therefore, there are undoubtedly references in these albums that I have missed. As Williams notes:

> In any given reference in a rap song, some listeners will understand
> the reference, and some will not, to varying degrees. This is not to

suggest that there are one or more fixed meanings, or a dialectic between past and present, or necessarily between a hip hop song and its source sample, but multiple imagined "sources", based on the previous knowledge of specific songs, artists, or genres… [listeners] bring their experiences to the understanding of hip hop texts, shaping and inflecting these texts through the interaction involved in the listening and interpreting experience (2013, p.14).

By bringing my own genealogy of listening to this analysis, there are references that I have immediately recognised, references I recognise (usually autosonically) but do not know the source, and references which I miss entirely. This experience of recognition and analysis mirrors the listening experiences of those artists in this study. The strength of this approach is the way in which it reflects the listening and learning practices of the MCs themselves. This approach also demonstrates how the extent of what is recognised becomes, in itself, an important aspect of analysis. This can be further connected to identity and association with others that is grounded in individual genealogies of listening.

The way in which MCs incorporate these references into their own lyrics and flows can also work to obscure the references rather than make them an obvious aural nod to hip hop architects. Again, this may result in reference not being immediately detected, or not detected at all. Adding to the complexity of detecting references, there may be references that have been identified through external analysis that have not been made as intentional references by the artist themselves. During the interview process, each artist was not specifically asked about the exact references they have been making in their music, allowing the musical texts and ethnographic data to act as a form of cross-checking.

What this methodology demonstrates is the cultural capital that is gained through listening to a wide scope of texts within the genre. The methodology demonstrates just how the "inside jokes" that Solo refers to in our interview can be made and identified. I have not shared the same listening history with all of the artists interviewed; as such, picking up on some of these references, especially autosonic references, has led to my learning of new artists which have now been added to my own personal genealogy of listening. The methodology therefore reflects the learning and listening practices that artists have engaged with in their own histories as detailed in the previous chapter.

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This analysis covers major album or EP releases by all ten artists between 2009 and 2016, totalling 239 tracks in all. In order to answer Burkholder's first question, a table documenting each track analysed, the references used, when these references occur in the track, and where the references come from has been constructed and can be found in Appendix A (page 232). The majority of references identified have been autosonic. It is noticeable that some artists use references more often than others. Out of the ten artists in this study, three regularly make references in their work (Dialect & Despair, Horrorshow, and Mind Over Matter), four sometimes make references in their work (Spit Syndicate, Tongue, Morganics, L-Fresh the Lion) and three rarely make references in their work (Remi, Tkay Maidza, Kadyelle). There are no artists who make no references in their work; however, the references made by Tkay Maidza and Kadyelle are the least prevalent and least strong.

Adding to this analysis of referencing, I have drawn on the work of Moore (2001 first ed. 1993) and his concept of the 'Sound-Box', which he uses to describe the placement of voice and instruments in a spatial mix. The sound-box concept can be used to better describe the position of sound elements in the recording when placed in a three dimensional sound-box, graphed with front-rear, left-right, and high-low along three axes; where the left-right axis is for stereo placement, front-rear for prominence in the mix, and high-low for frequency range. The mapping of sound elements on the sound-box means that these elements can then be described with increased precision.

Thus far there have been no comprehensive studies of hip hop recordings that map elements in a sound-box, and particularly none that focus specifically on the placement of an MCs voice in the sound space. Whilst this study does not set out to provide such a comprehensive mapping of hip hop recordings to the sound-box, it does draw on the theory to extend on the implied importance of sonic elements within the recordings. This contributes to a better understanding of how hip hop recordings generally fit into the sound-box and thus, this positioning of references influences analysis.

Tillet (2014) uses the sound box to map how a Nina Simone sample is used in a Cassidy song. Moore, Schmidt and Dockwray (2009) map the chorus of Missy Elliot's 'Pass that Dutch' (2003) to demonstrate how the panning applied to the vocals in the chorus "place the listener centrally as just one, albeit a focal, point on the path along which the 'dutch' (joint) travels" (Moore, Schmidt & Dockwray 2009, p.89). They

further continue that this positioning of vocals in the song allows for a physical feeling that the listener is "situated within a sharing group, and of passing something between members of that group with yourself as a point along that path". As Middleton (1993, p.179) has suggested, "modern recording technique has hugely increased the variety of possible configurations, and the sense of specific physical place that can be created has enormous potential effects on the power and types of gestural resonance which listeners feel". As the example from Moore, Schmidt and Dockwray above illustrates, the positioning of sound elements in the sound-box can make a listener feel that they have been included in the metaphorical sharing group in the song, demonstrating the affect that such positioning with tracks can achieve. In addition, Moore, Schmidt and Dockwray further suggest that the central location of listener and singer in the Elliot example, "allows for the listener's identification with Elliot's dominance and stardom" (Moore, Schmidt & Dockwray 2009, p.91). However, I would further suggest that the location of Elliot's vocal, and the location of most hip hop MCs' vocals, allows for the listener to focus on the words being delivered: an aspect of the music that most MCs and listeners identify as being an important part of their pleasure in making and listening to hip hop.

Bradley (2009, p.7) argues that there is a "dual rhythmic relationship" in hip hop music, whereby the beat and the flow of lyrics work together "to satisfy the audience's musical and poetic expectations of rhythm". Here Bradley argues that the beat and flow of the lyrics are just as important as each other to the hip hop work. Whilst the importance of this relationship is certainly true, in recorded hip hop the positioning of the MC's voice is often at the centre of the stereo mix and forward in prominence. As with Moore, Schmidt, and Dockwray's Missy Elliot example above, this allows for the listener to be placed in a position of feeling like the MC is delivering their lines directly to them. This sound-box positioning of the voice is certainly prevalent in the mixes of the songs analysed here, and features in every album by every artist within this study. Although it is difficult to make generalisations about the positioning of each MC's voice in every one of the 239 recordings analysed for this study, the MC's voices are prominent through central location and forward placement. In this way, the prominent, central positioning of the voice in these hip hop mixes means that the listener connects more with the vocal, as it is in a prominent position in the mix. These mixes conform to Moore and Dockwray's (2008, p.227) concept of a 'diagonal mix', whereby the drums, vocals and bass are all centred, with other sound

sources placed on either side. This is not to say that the sound is 'narrow'; rather the drums and bass, whilst being centred in the mix, span the entire stereo field.

Allosonic References

Whilst most of the references identified have been autosonic, there are a sizeable number of allosonic references too. Across all the tracks in the analysis, 30 allosonic references have been identified. Most of these allosonic references are word-for-word references; that is, they are references where the words are repeated by the MC as they appeared in the original. There are however a number of allosonic references where the references have been made with words varied to suit the song that they have been inserted into. Given the high number of allosonic references made in the tracks analysed, each will not be outlined in detail, however conclusions which demonstrate commonality with paired examples from recordings will be used to summarise findings.

An example of allosonic references appearing in a track in an unchanged form comes from Horrorshow's 'In' from the album 'Inside Story' (Horrorshow 2009) [Track 1, Appendix A, page 232]. This track features four allosonic references, where two are made with no alteration. The first is a reference to Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's "The Message" (1982), with the lines "Don't push me cos I'm close to the edge, I'm tryin' not to lose my head". This reference is found at the start of the track and again in the middle of the track (see time code references in Appendix A, page 232). The reference is positioned prominently in the recording, in a centred and forward position within the sound-box. The reference is a direct quote of the lines from the original, with no changes in words. The delivery of this reference also alludes to the rhythm and flow of the original by being delivered with a similar syncopation, although not as pronounced as in the original recording. Solo's delivery of the word "edge" further alludes to the delivery of the original, maintaining the syncopated, elongated pronunciation of the word. The use of the reference here is reminiscent of the original, and by keeping some of the same syncopation in the delivery of the reference, Solo is able to further cement the links to the original.

The second allosonic reference used in 'In' is a reference to Mobb Deep's (1995) "Shock Ones Part II. Solo recites the line "cause I'm only 19 but my mind is old", which is a slight variation on the original line ("cause I'm only 19 but my mind is older"). The variation here can be attributed to Solo rhyming "old" with "cold" in the

next line. Solo's delivery here is not as rhythmically close to the original, as in the first reference used in the song. Rather there is a slight similarity in delivery, but because the Mobb Deep quote is further into Solo's verse, the rhythm used for the delivery works with the flow of the rest of the verse. The fourth reference on the song is used in the same way as the second, with Solo referencing the line "One time for your mind" from Nas' (1994) "One Time For Your Mind". This line is used with no changes and a similar rhythmic delivery to the original.

Allosonic Peer References

The third reference Solo makes in this song follows in the line after the second reference. However, in this case, the reference serves not only as a direct quote, but what Williams (2013, p.36) refers to as a "Peer Reference". Solo uses the line "Sydneysider heatwave to Minnesota Cold" to reference Atmosphere's song 'The Waitress' (2008), but also to refer to the work of Atmosphere as well. Atmosphere are one of the most prominent hip hop groups from Minnesota, and, as Solo mentioned in our interview, have played an important part in his (Solo's) development as a lyricist. In the context of the song, the reference to the "Minnesota cold" can be seen as a reference to the music that Solo is listening to at the time, rather than an actual physical location. The line after this reference talks about the Sydney nightclub district and inner-city suburb "Kings Cross" and again reinforces that Solo is still geographically in Sydney, while making reference to listening to the work of Atmosphere. The reference to 'The Waitress' also serves a purpose here. Atmosphere's song is about a homeless man, their daily visit to a café in order to escape the "Minnesota cold", and their interactions with the waitress who works there. The song initially makes it sound like the man is in love with the waitress, but the last line of the song reveals that there is a possibility that the waitress is the homeless man's daughter. The song discusses the social issues that relate to homelessness, and in a similar way, Horrorshow's 'In' also discusses social issues, ranging from drug abuse, domestic violence and gambling addiction. The reference here serves to draw attention to one of Solo's inspirations and demonstrates how referencing can be used to give greater meaning to a work through social commentary.

There are a number of references made to commonly recognised traditional hip hop lyrics. Lines like "On and on to the break of dawn" (which Horrorshow reference on both of their albums in this study [Tracks 2 & 15, Appendix A, pages 232

and 234 respectively]) and "Make money money take money money money" (referenced by Spit Syndicate [Track 68, Appendix A, page 251]), are lines that have no real identifiable origin within hip hop. Lines like these are heard in many recorded hip hop works and arguably come from the pre-recorded hip hop era; a time that is greatly mythologised by many hip hop artists and fans (Williams 2013). In this way, references to these origins of pre-recorded hip hop work as a way to further present an artist's knowledge of, and respect for, the culture. A further example of this is Dialects' use of the line "You know my steelo" in "Low Pro" [Track 49, Appendix A, page 245]. Whilst not originating in the pre-recorded era of hip hop, the phrase "you know my steelo" and the use of the word "steelo" to mean style, has its origins in New York street slang in the early 1990's. According to contributors on "The Right Rhymes" (2015) the first use of the word "steelo" appears in 1993 on Mobb Deep's "Hit It From The Back" (1993), but there are three other songs from 1993 that also feature the use of the word and a further 66 examples of the word occurring in hip hop lyrics. As such, it is not clear where the exact reference is coming from, but in making this reference Dialect is demonstrating his knowledge of hip hop slang through his lyrics.

The majority of allosonic references made can be classed as 'peer references'. As Williams (2013, p.36) notes, these references are often made "to provide knowledge about the genre's past … and to demonstrate some sort of connection with the artists named". For artists in Australia, making such references serves both purposes. In this case, these artists are displaying their own knowledge of the history of the genre, but also demonstrating their connection with the artists they reference. Where Williams' peer references made use of the name of the artist in the reference, the peer references I've identified in this study, from the recordings by Australian artists, do not always use the name of the artist they are referencing, at least not always obviously, but rather by using a famous line from that artist to make the connection. An example of this can be found in Horrorshow's track 'On The One Hand' [Track 25, Appendix A, page 235-6], where Solo references Jay-Z using the line "You could have 99 problems like the best alive". Here Solo uses a reference to one of Jay-Z's most known works (99 Problems from the Black Album (2003)), to create this peer reference. Solo's line here further references Jay-Z by suggesting he is the "best alive", a statement often heard on Jay-Z recordings (by Jay-Z himself), an

example of which can be heard on "Dirt Off Your Shoulder" (Jay-Z 2003) from the same album.

Dialect makes very few allosonic references in his lyrics, but three of the four that have been identified in this study can all be considered peer references. The first of these references comes in "The Revival" (Dialect & Despair 2010) [Track 33, Appendix A], when Dialect explicitly references Big L by saying, "Like Big L said I can't understand it why these MCs take the rap game for granted". This is a fairly obvious peer reference, stating the name of the artist he is referencing and then quoting a line from Big L's "I Don't Understand It" (1995). The next two allosonic Dialect makes are similar to this; in "Ageless" [Track 35, Appendix A, page 239-40] Dialect says "Listen to "They Reminisce Over You" and see the CL point of view" and in "My Only Vice" [Track 37, Appendix A, page 240] Dialect has the line "Run for president like Barack and Eric did". In both of these references, Dialect uses the name of the track he is referring to and the artist that performed it. In the example from "Ageless", Dialect is referencing the song "They Reminisce Over You (T.R.O.Y.)" by Pete Rock and CL Smooth (1992), naming the song and MC, and in "My Only Vice" Dialect references "Eric B For President" by Eric B and Rakim (1987), again referencing the artist and title of the source.

Whilst a number of the peer references are made to artists from the United States, there are some that are made to Australian hip hop artists. Mind Over Matter reference Seth Sentry's 'Waitress Song' (2008) in their song 'Just Like Fireworks' [Track 144, Appendix A, page 259-60]. The choice of reference here is an important one for Australian hip hop. 'Waitress Song' was Seth Sentry's first single and became the most requested song on triple j during 2008, going on to amass over 43,000 downloads from the triple j unearthed website[8], the most for any artist at that time. Thus, 'Waitress Song' marks a turning point for Australian hip hop when artists like Seth Sentry began to get more mainstream airtime and support from the domestic music industry. Making reference to this song in their own work is a way for Mind Over Matter to pay homage to this song, and note its importance to the scene.

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[8] triple j unearthed is a website established by triple j in 1995 that fosters new, independent Australian artists. The site allows artists to upload their own works that might then get played on a specialist digital radio station and ultimately can lead to airtime on triple j itself. Unearthed bills itself as a site that allows for these artists to connect with fans through this platform.

Allosonic References and Stylistic Allusion

Allosonic references are also made when artists use the same rhyme scheme as well as using some words from the source material. An example of this can be found in Horrorshow's 'Nice Guys Finish Last' (2013) [Track 19, Appendix A, page 234], where Solo imitates the same rhythm and inflections as used in Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's 'Superrappin'' (1979) to deliver the line "It was a Friday night and the treble was clanging and the hipsters was hanging and the ladies were banging". The first part of this line "It was a Friday night and the treble was clanging…" directly references the cadence, flow and substance of the source: "It was a party night everybody was breaking the highs were screaming and the bass was shaking…". Here "party night" is exchanged with "Friday night", and reference is still made to the audio being played at the venue: "the treble was clanging". However, the lines have also been altered to fit in with the rest of the song. This kind of repetition with difference is common to this kind to reference. The stylistic allusion used here by Solo further reinforces the notion that he is referring to the past without making an obvious, direct reference to the past. If the listener was unfamiliar with the original source, the stylistic allusion to the rhythm and inflections would not be picked up on.

A further example of such stylistic allusion to earlier hip hop recordings comes from Spit Syndicate's 'Kings Only' (2010) [Track 79, Appendix A, page 253], where Jimmy Nice recites the introduction to the song where all the lines end with "… and it don't stop". This is a combination of the stylistic allusion described above, with references to the pre-recorded hip hop era also described above. The rhythm and inflection used by Jimmy Nice to deliver these lines that end in "…and it don't stop" recalls this period, whilst the words that precede "and it don't stop" are altered to fit in with the song.

Ironic Allosonic References

Not all are used with such respect however. At the end of Horrorshow's 'She' (2009) [Track 9, Appendix A, page 233-4], Solo allosonically references the Sean Kingston song 'Beautiful Girls' (2007) by singing the chorus from the song as the outro for 'She'. Throughout 'She' Solo's voice is in the usual sound box position identified above, centred and forward in prominence. For this outro section and the Kingston reference, Solo's voice is slightly to the left and further back in the mix. At this point in 'She', the song is fading out, however, Solo's voice does not change in

volume or prominence throughout the reference. The beat fades out before Solo has finished the reference and he finishes the lines acapella. In delivering the reference, Solo uses the rhythm and inflection of the source, further reinforcing the origin of the reference. During his delivery of the reference, Solo audibly tries not to laugh, and his voice briefly cracks and stumbles over the words. Further to this, once Solo has finished the reference, we can hear people laughing in the background, far to the left of the sound box and very far back in prominence. Solo's delivery of the reference, his laughter during, and the laughter of those present at the recording after the delivery of the lines, suggests that this reference has not been made in the same way as the other allosonic reference discussed above. In the references discussed so far, they have been incorporated into the songs in a way that makes them feel like they are part of the MCs own words. However, this reference to Sean Kingston stands out from those other references in the way that it is delivered. The reference here is an obvious one, not like the others, as it is delivered at the end of the song and not placed into a context like the other references. Whilst the reference does match the thematic content of the song, where Solo has been talking about his luck, or lack thereof, with women, the sound box placement of the reference means that it is distinctive because it does not appear in the same sound box position as the rest of the references. This means that the listener is more drawn to it that than the others as the prominence and position of the reference is different. Hearing Solo audibly laugh and then struggle with the words also suggests that this reference is not made in the same kind of serious way that the other references are made. At no other point during any of the references made by Solo, or any other artist in the study, does the MC laugh whilst delivering the reference, and this laughter is continued by others after Solo has finished the reference in 'She', and this laughter further reinforces the comedic nature of the inclusion of this reference. Kingston's 'Beautiful Girls' entered the Australian charts in the top position and stayed there for five weeks, also appearing in the year end chart in the tenth position (ARIA 2008). These statistics position Kingston and 'Beautiful Girls' very much in the mainstream of hip hop. As Solo's references usually come from artists that can be considered alternative, or conscious, and not mainstream like Sean Kingston, the inclusion of this reference further stands out as being unusual, and would also explain the laughter; Solo is joking around and including the chorus from a song that was popular during the recording of the album.

Autosonic References

Autosonic references have typically been used to reinforce the content of the songs. This was highlighted by Smiles Again during our interview where he commented: "you want [the references] to relate. You wouldn't have a song about a girl and have like 'my rhymes are thick in your face like bluh-ow' as a reference, it just wouldn't work". In this way, references are always selected to support the thematic content of a song. In discussing how such references are chosen for a song, Dialect said:

> I kept a notes thing in my phone, or a note pad. And whenever I'm
> listening to music and I hear a line that would work in a cut I always
> write it down. Despair does the same thing. We just keep notes and
> sometimes we just refer to it. Sometimes a cut will be so cool that it
> will make me want to write a whole song and I'll say I want this to
> be the cut. Sometimes we'll have a track and then we'll look at the
> list and see what will work there and make it all fit together. So
> yeah, we both come together on the table with that and then
> Despair does the cuts (interview with author).

This approach to including references was shared by all artists in this study who use such references, namely Mind Over Matter, Dialect & Despair, Horrorshow, and Spit Syndicate. Dialect, however, was the only one to mention that an idea for a cut inspires him to write a whole song based on that cut, with the other artists all looking back on their lists for a cut to match the thematic content of the song once it has been written.

As mentioned earlier, the nature of an autosonic reference means that it is more easily identifiable in a work as there is a clear distinction made between the voice of the MC/s and the voice heard in the reference. The autosonic references occupy the same positions within the soundbox as do the vocals and allosonic references; that is, they are centred and forward in prominence. Because of this placement, it can be inferred that these references are meant to be heard; they are certainly not "hidden" in the mix. Some autosonic references are cut into the song by a DJ, and so feature the scratch and repetition associated with this practice, making their identification even easier.

Despite the ease of identifying when an autosonic reference was being made, identifying the source of each reference was not always easy. In performing this analysis there were times when the voice of the MC from the reference source could be identified, but then identifying the exact work by that MC proved difficult. An example of this can be found in Dialect & Despair's 'Out The Aeon' (2010) [Track 29, Appendix A, page 236-7], where the first reference made comes from a KRS-One recording, as identified by KRS-One's distinctive voice, but finding the exact source of this reference proved hard. Despite knowing the who the original MC was, the reference is a two-word reference that could have come from a number of KRS-One recordings. Similarly, in Spit Syndicate's 'Exhale' (2010) [Track 76, Appendix A, page 251], two autosonic references appear that sound like they could be from a Rakim work, but again the exact source alluded me. Similarly, the references are short, one word and three words respectively, and this makes it harder to find the exact source. However, the majority of autosonic references made have been identified, as can be seen in the table in Appendix A (page 232).

From all of the ten artists listened to in this study, Dialect & Despair use references, and particularly autosonic references, the most frequently. Out of the 32 songs from the two albums analysed, only two songs contained no references of any kind. These two songs both appear on 'The Vortex' (2010), the duo's first album. Dialect & Despair use autosonic references most frequently, with 29 out of the 32 songs analysed here containing at least one autosonic reference. These autosonic references are used at various points during the songs, but for Dialect & Despair, these references can be divided into three categories; 1. at the beginning or end of the song; 2. used in the place of, or part of, the chorus; 3. used in the place of a bridge. These three categories are not exclusive, with some Dialect & Despair songs making use of one or more of these categories per song. An example of this comes in 'Circus of Clowns' (2012) [Track 30, Appendix A, page 237], where an autosonic reference from Royce Da 5'9" is used in the introduction to the song, and then a reference from O.C. is used as part of the chorus of the song, with the Royce Da 5'9" reference returning at the end of the song.

The next Dialect & Despair song analysed, 'Games Wired' [Track 31, Appendix A, page 237-8], also features two references used in place of the chorus. The two references are cut and scratched into the song, with the full reference being heard in the first instance in both cases, followed by smaller sections of each reference being

used afterwards. The sequence of the references is repeated at the end of the song, with the references appearing in the same order both times and lasting the same amount of time each repeat. The references used here are also an example of how autosonic references can be identified, because of their distinct difference to Dialect's voice, but the origin of each reference is unknown; that is, I can hear there is an autosonic reference being made, but do not know where the reference comes from. Transcribing the words from the reference and using Google to search for the lyrics resulted in no hits that match the reference exactly. This would suggest that the lyrics for these particular songs have not been transcribed and placed online. Dialect is an artist who values obscurity in his works, and using references from works that are not known by a majority of people supports this position[9]. Lyrics from songs that do appear online are often those to well-known songs, and the advent of the websites like genius.com (formerly Rap Genius (2016)), that began by allowing users to provide annotations and interpretations of song lyrics, have provided platforms for the increased attention to lyrics by member of the public. Despite this, there are many works that still do not have lyrics online, and the references used in 'Games Wired' would appear to come from just such songs.

Dialect & Despair continue this pattern of using references as a chorus in their second album 'Self Evident' (2012), with songs like 'Top Status' [Track 53, Appendix A, page 246]. In this song, Dialect & Despair use five references during the each of the three choruses. However, in this example, the sequence of references is not the same each time it is returned to. In the first instance, the chorus begins with references from Klashnekoff, Smiley the Ghetto Child, The Beatnuts, returns to the Klashnekoff, and finishes with a reference to Gang Starr. In the second instance, the chorus begins in the same way: Klashnekoff, Smiley the Ghetto Child, The Beatnuts, Klashnekoff, but then leaves out the Gang Starr reference and inserts a Jeru the Damaja reference instead. This second sequence is then repeated in the third chorus which also ends the song. Again, each reference here supports the content of the song, suggesting that Dialect & Despair are "legends" with "top status" in hip hop.

Similarly Mind Over Matter's 'So I Showed Them' (2011) [Track 149, Appendix A, pages 260-1] uses a sequence of references as a chorus. The song begins with an unknown reference as an introduction, and when this reference finishes the chorus

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[9] It is also technically possible to produce certain clips that may sound like samples and references, but in fact have been produced in the studio using filters, plugins and noise. These could also be present in the recordings and could further obscure classification.

sequence begins. This sequence features references from Nas, Tha Alkaholiks, Jay-Z, back to the Nas reference, returning to Tha Alkaholiks and then instead of going back to the Jay-Z reference, the sequence introduces another reference to the same Alkaholiks song referenced at the start of the sequence. In this instance however, the sequence is kept the same all three times it appears as the chorus in the song.

This use of references as a chorus is not unusual practice in hip hop, especially given the genealogies of listening that emerge when looking at the artists referenced. The majority of artists referenced could be classed as "Jazz/Bohemian" or "Reality Rap" artists, based on Krims' (2000) genre system for rap music. In these genres, it is not unusual to find choruses replaced by sequences of cuts, as described in the examples above. Given that these are the styles and practices of the artists that have been referenced, it is unsurprising that these practices and styles of referencing can be found in the music of Australian hip hop artists.

Not all the autosonic references used come from hip hop recordings. As Williams (2013, p.30) notes, most verbal quotations come from hip hop films and recordings; and there are certainly a number of autosonic references that come from broader hip hop cultural productions. Spit Syndicate use references from the landmark hip hop documentary 'Style Wars' (Chalfant & Silver 1983) in their song 'Kings Only' [Track 79, Appendix A, page 253]. Whilst Dialect & Despair use autosonic references from interviews with Dr Dre (on 'Bottom Line' [Track 45, Appendix A, page 243]) and Tupac Shakur (on 'Affiliates' [Track 52, Appendix A, page 246]. The use of such references to these hip hop cultural products further documents the ways in which these artists are displaying their knowledge of the history of the culture.

Autosonic References to Non-Hip Hop Texts

There are also a sizeable number of autosonic references that have been taken from broader popular culture, in particular references to films and TV shows that are not specifically within the genre of hip hop. These references maintain a connection with the thematic content of the song, but do not have the same connection with hip hop culture that those described earlier do. Horrorshow use such references across their albums using references from films and TV series such as; 'Serenity' (Whedon 2005) in their song 'In' (2009) [Track 1, Appendix A, page 232]; references from the TV series 'OZ' (Fontana 1997) in 'On The One Hand' (2013)

[Track 25, Appendix A, page 235-6] and 'Human Error (Outro)' (2013) [Track 28, Appendix A, page 236]; and also a reference from the TV series 'Californication' (Kapinos 2007) in 'She' (2009) [Track 9, Appendix A, page 233-4]. Horrorshow are not the only artists to reference non-hip hop specific works; there are a number of references across the songs analysed the come from news stories, particularly stories on social issues.

Spit Syndicate open their song 'Kill That Noise' (2013) [Track 63, Appendix A, page 250] with an autosonic reference taken from a recording of a 1993 talkback radio show of an exchange between then Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating and an unidentified audience caller. The exchange was over the issue of the recent High Court of Australia's decision to overrule previous cases and reject the doctrine of Terra Nullius[10] and instead recognise native title in Australia for the first time (Mason et al. 1992). This decision sparked a debate in Australian society at the time that led to some Australians thinking that Aboriginal peoples were "much more equal people than the average white Australian" (Green 2012). In the exchange between this unidentified caller and Prime Minister Keating, the caller is trying to argue this point and Keating tells them that they have no knowledge of the issue apart from a misguided feeling that highlights their prejudices, and therefore they cannot be part of the discussion. In making a reference to this exchange, Spit Syndicate are drawing attention to similar issues that continue to occur in Australia. The song is "dedicated to the disengaged" (Spit Syndicate 2013) and discusses issues of gender equality and politics by suggesting that much of the discourse in Australian media around these issues is dominated by the angry and uniformed; particularly on talkback radio platforms. The reference played at the beginning of the song is an example of just such an angry and uninformed member of the public trying to have this debate, only to be told by Keating that they are not entitled to enter the discussion without having a better knowledge and understanding of the issues at hand. It has also been argued that Paul Keating was one of the last Prime Ministers of Australia that would have done such a thing, and that since his final term the level of public engagement in such debates has decreased (Green 2012).

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[10] Terra Nullius is a Latin expression that derives from Roman law meaning 'Nobody's Land'. On his arrival to Australia, Captain Cook declared Australia 'Terra Nullius' despite the fact that there were Indigenous people living on the land. This meant that Great Britain could colonise Australia without breaching international law.

Morganics uses references from old TV news reports in his song 'The Enemy's Within' (2016) [Track 236, Appendix A, page 270-1]. These reports are most likely from 1973 and discuss the end of the "White Australia Policy" where the Whitlam government removed race as a factor in Australia's immigration provisions. Despite the changes in 1973, Australia effectively remained 'white' on the immigration front until 1975, when the implications of the dismantling of the policy were tested by the influx of refugees from Vietnam in the wake of the end of the war there. These news reports are interviews with presumably white Australians who are being asked about their feelings towards the change in the White Australia Policy. The responses reference by Morganics here all are from Australians who believe that the White Australia Policy should not have been dismantled. Morganics uses 'The Enemy's Within' to discuss issues of race and racism that continue in Australian society today, and by using these references Morganics is further suggesting that these issues stem from Australia's long and problematic history with such unresolved issues.

Similarly, in their song 'Hollow Eyes' (2011) [Track 158, Appendix A, page 264-5], Mind Over Matter use references sourced from old TV news reports about an area in Sydney called Kings Cross. As Nowra (2013) notes, Kings Cross is an area known for being a notorious red light district, with drug dealers, brothels, street walkers, junkies, gangsters, strippers and police corruption all being linked to the suburb. Mind Over Matter's 'Hollow Eyes' tells of their own experiences in Kings Cross, and how they feel sorry for the drug addicts and prostitutes they encounter there. They particularly point out how they feel that some of the prostitutes there might not be there through choice, and that human trafficking might have a part to play in this, hence the "hollow eyes" in the women they see there as prostitutes.

Mind Over Matter also use references from comedian Bill Hicks (in 'Just A Ride' (2011) [Track 155, Appendix A, page 262-4]) and from writers, and advocates of psychedelic drugs, Aldous Huxley and Terence McKenna (in 'The Calm Before the Storm' [Track 137, Appendix A, page 257] and 'Society's Pyramid' [Track 135, Appendix A, page 257] respectively). The references to these figures further demonstrates the extra-musical influences of Mind Over Matter, and helps to further position their work as not being part of a mainstream hip hop scene. The use of these kinds of references, ones that demonstrate an engagement with critical social thinkers, works to further support the social commentary Mind Over Matter are making in their works.

Autosonic Peer References

As the autosonic references continue to fulfil many of the same objectives as the use of allosonic references, autosonic references are also used as peer references. Spit Syndicate include a reference from Bliss n Eso's 'It's Working' (2006) in their song 'Kings Only' (2010) [Track 79, Appendix A, page 253]. The reference first appears after the introduction to the song, and then is reused before each of the two choruses. 'Kings Only' is also a song that features many peer references in the lyrics, with the song being about how Nick Lupi and Jimmy Nice were taught about hip hop music and culture by older members of the Sydney hip hop scene. There are allosonic peer references made to older Australian artists like Comrade Kos (from the group Third Estate), Sereck (from Def Wish Cast), Dr Phibes (who ran the influential Sydney record store 'Next Level Records'), dmote (Sydney graffiti writer), Pegz (through a reference to his work 'Capricorn Cat'), Bliss n Eso, Delta, and Urthboy. The song functions as an homage to these hip hop artists who all inspired Jimmy Nice and Nick Lupi, often by encouraging them to continue making music. In this way, the reference from Bliss n Eso further reinforces this peer education from earlier Australian artists. The other autosonic references used in 'Kings Only' come from the movie 'Style Wars' (Chalfant & Silver 1983), and as discussed earlier, this marks the song as one that positions Spit Syndicate in a hip hop lineage. The inclusion of allosonic and autosonic references to Australian artists in 'Kings Only' further demonstrates the lineage of Australian, and particularly Sydney, hip hop that Spit Syndicate are a part of. The title of the song, 'Kings Only', suggests that Spit Syndicate believe that all those they mention in the song are 'kings' of the Australian hip hop because of their contributions to the scene.

This lineage is also demonstrated through the genealogy of listening that is evident in the shared references made by Spit Syndicate and Horrorshow. As discussed in the previous chapter, Solo and Nick Lupi grew up together, went to the same high school, and had similar influences shared between them by having Solo's older brother and friends 'school' them on hip hop. Because of this shared listening history, it is no surprise to see many of the same artists referenced on the albums of both groups. Both Horrorshow and Spit Syndicate use references from Black Star, Jehst, MC Shan, and The Roots, and are the only artists in this study to refer to these specific artists in their work. What this demonstrates is the closeness of the genealogy of listening between these two groups. Also of note here is the reference to

Jehst, which further demonstrates that not all references are made to artists from the United States or Australia, and that hip hop artists from the United Kingdom have also influenced Australian artists. The Jehst references used by Horrorshow and Spit Syndicate also come from the same album, 'The Return of the Drifter' (2002). The references made here to two songs from the same Jehst album further support the close listening history that Solo and Nick Lupi alluded to in their interviews and discussed in the previous chapter.

Horrorshow and Spit Syndicate do not only use references from the same source album; the song 'Respiration' by Black Star (1998) is referenced on five occasions over three songs by both the two groups. 'Respiration' is referenced on Horrorshow's 'Nothing to be Done' (2009) [Track 6, Appendix A, page 233], and 'Listen Close' (Horrorshow 2013) [Track 18, Appendix A, page 235], and also on Spit Syndicate's 'Exhale' (Spit Syndicate 2010) [Track 76, Appendix A, page 252]. Assessing the use of the reference to 'Respiration' on 'Nothing to be Done' is harder than for most songs that feature references. 'Nothing to be Done' is an interlude song that features an instrumental beat and four references played over the top at various points throughout the song. The context of the references here is harder to ascertain as there is no obvious overarching story linking these references together. On the other hand, both Horrorshow's 'Listen Close' and Spit Syndicate's 'Exhale' discuss aspects of city life, much like the Black Star source does. As Rosenthal (2006, p.668) notes:

> 'Respiration' portrays New York City as alive: Mos Def can hear…
> 'the city breathing'… The song similarly describes a speaker who
> 'stood lookin at my former hood' and notices that although the moon
> rides 'high in the crown of the metropolis', the 'back streets stay
> darkened' in a 'dog eat dog world'. Rappers Mos Def and Talib
> Kweli feel dispossessed as real estate investors want to raze the
> ghetto to establish more lucrative condominiums: 'Outta the city
> they want us gone/Tearin down the 'jects creating plush homes'.
> Further, they experience the city as alienating.

'Respiration' describes a scene of gentrification in New York and both 'Listen Close' and 'Exhale' discuss similar issues. While speaking about Sydney specifically in 'Listen Close', Solo discusses how Australian cities are built on "The legacy of a colonial dynasty/In a city still growing out its infancy/Built on Invasion, displacement

and misery/Foundations laid by blood sweat and industry/Of convicts inspired by aspirations of liberty" (2013). Solo continues, rapping "I see it every day, the heritage fades/Gentrification, nothing's gonna get in the way/Of this concept that we call progress/Locked in a contest with our superiority complex" (2013). For Solo, the gentrification he is observing in Sydney is working to further obscure the history of the city, taking away the landmarks that used to remind people of the troubled past of the city, but also of Australia. Horrorshow's choice of the two references they use from 'Respiration' both allude to the metaphor of the city being alive, and Solo's lyrics work with these references to suggest that "if you listen close/You can still hear the whispers of the ghosts" of the old city, reminding people about the past.

Whereas Horrorshow reference several lines from 'Respiration', Spit Syndicate only use a two-word reference to the song ("Breathe out"). However, despite only using these two-words, 'Exhale' picks up on the themes of the pressures of living in big cities that are articulated in 'Respiration'. Nick Lupi and Jimmy Nice both discuss how they feel that they "Can't breathe in this place that I call my home/No I can't breathe" (Spit Syndicate 2010), and this is being caused by the stress from the pressures of city living. The song suggests that by periodically escaping the city they are finally able to "breathe out" and momentarily escape these pressures.

References as a Documented Genealogy of Listening

By looking at the references used by each artist, it is possible to analyse how their listening history has shaped their individual artistic identity. What is clear from looking at the list of artists used as references (a table showing the number of times each artist has been referenced can be found in Appendix B, page 272), is that the majority of artists used as references fit into either the "Jazz/Bohemian" or "Reality Rap" genres identified by Krims (2000)[11]. Krims defines "Jazz/Bohemian" rap as:

> a permeable genre, often extending into the closely-related
> 'science' sub-genre or reality rap… Nevertheless, jazz/bohemian's
> devotees are often fans who scorn all other genres, thus forming a
> 'connoisseurs' culture. And it is not coincidental that those who wish
> to disdain it often refer to it as 'college-boy' rap, probably referring

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[11] Krims' genre system was based on music made in the mid-1990s and as such are sometimes problematic when applied to music made after this period. These genres were invented by Krims and have been seen as questionable even in the context of the 1990s. However, given that Krims' work does focus on the period in which most of the music that the artists in this study have been listening to, the use of these genres is still applicable here.

less to any official demographic than to a perceived projection of artistic arrogance among some of this genre's devotees (Krims 2000, p.65).

Whilst "Reality Rap":

> may designate any rap that undertakes the project of realism, in the classical sense, which in this context would amount to an epistemological/ontological project to map the realities of… inner-city life. These realities might range from the rather fanciful and mystical rhetorical flights of fancy of the Gravediggaz to the more popularly 'realistic' portraits of the ghetto proffered by the likes of 2Pac and Mobb Deep (Krims 2000, p.70).

As Krims notes above, these two genres are often closely linked, with some artists fitting into both of these genres easily. But one of the common aspects that is shared between both genres is the "speech-effusive" (Krims 2000) delivery style adopted by most artists in these genres. This delivery style can also be seen in the Australian artists that are part of this study, further demonstrating how their listening histories have influenced their own works. Krims defines the speech-effusive style as a delivery that tends:

> to feature enunciation and delivery closer to those of spoken language, with little sense often projected of any underlying metric pulse. The attacks need not be particularly sharp or staccato, since that would be more the province of percussion-effusive delivery. But the rhythms outlined are irregular and complex, weaving unpredictable polyrhythms. The polyrhythms, in turn, trace their elaborate patterns against the more regular (albeit often themselves complex) rhythms of the musical tracks. Also notable in many speech-effusive performances are large numbers of syllables rhyming together, so that once a rhyme is established, quite a few rhyming syllables will be produced before the next series of rhymes begins (Krims 2000, p.51).

Where this influence is most seen is in the work of Dialect & Despair. Looking at the references Dialect & Despair choose to include in their works demonstrate that they have a preference for New York based hip hop artists, particularly from the 1980s and 1990s. As can be seen in the table below, out of the 34 artists referenced

by Dialect & Despair across the two albums in this study, 22 references come from New York based artists, and the majority of these references have been taken from recordings made in the 1980s and 1990s (21 out of the 22). The time and place these references come from is also important here. As has been noted in previous studies, (Forman 2002; Krims 2007 for example) hip hop music has strong ties to place, and as Negus (1996, p.188) points out "particular sounds [become] connected to and come to signify place identities through quite specific historical circumstances rather than through any essential connections to a people or piece of land". The artists Dialect & Despair reference here, especially those from New York, have all become associated with a particular kind of sound and place identity that has gone on to influence Dialect & Despair's own work. The artists referenced, even those not from New York, can all be considered part of the reality rap genre, and all make use of heavily speech-effusive deliveries in their works. In analysing Dialect's delivery, it can be clearly seen how these speech-effusive MCs have been an influence in the way that Dialect constructs his own flow. This is demonstrated in the table on the following page.

Artist	Decade of References	Place
Rakim (Including as Eric B & Rakim)	1980s-90s	New York
KRS-One	1980s-90s	New York
Gang Starr	1980s-90s	New York
Mobb Deep	1990s	New York
Showbiz & AG	1990s	New York
Nas	1990s	New York
Jeru The Damaja	1990s	New York
A Tribe Called Quest	1990s	New York
Lord Finesse	1990s	New York
D&D All Stars	1990s	New York
Mos Def	1990s-2000s	New York
1982	2010s	Massachusetts
Royce Da 5'9"	2000s	Detroit
O.C.	1990s	New York
Big L	1990s	New York
Pete Rock & CL Smooth	1990s	New York
Del The Funky Homosapien	1990s	California (Oakland)
King Tee	1980s	California (Compton)
Scarface	2000s	Texas
Ghostface Killah	2000s	New York
Wu Tang Clan	1990s-2000s	New York
Dr. Dre	1990s	California (Compton)
Diamond D	1990s	New York
Poor Righteous Teachers	1990s	New Jersey
Tupac	1990s	Born in New York worked in California
Smiley the Ghetto Child	2000s	New York
Klashnekoff	2010s	London, UK
The Beatnuts	1990s	New York
Redman	2000s	New Jersey
Phat Kat	2000s	Detroit
Group Home	1990s	New York
Mykill Miers	2000s	California
D.I.T.C.	1990s	New York
Dr. Octagon (Kool Keith)	1990s	New York

Table 2 – Artists referenced by Dialect & Despair in their albums The Vortex (2010) & Self Evident (2012)

Referencing – The Functions and History of the Practice

In returning to Burkholder's (1994) motivating questions on music borrowing, it is important to note that the second and third questions are interlinked in the study of referencing in hip hop music. Burkholder's second question asks why the material is borrowed and used, and what musical or extramusical functions does it serve. The third question interrogates the history of this practice, "where did the composer get the idea to do this?" (Burkholder 1994, p.864). As discussed previously, referencing in hip hop music is seen as a cultural practice with a long tradition. For the artists in this study, such referencing formed a part of the way that they learned more about the genre. Thus this referencing practice serves both musical and extramusical functions in hip hop music, and the MCs in this study all recognised that this is a cultural practice that they wish to continue through the use of references in their own works.

As Williams argues, "the fundamental element of hip hop culture and aesthetics is the overt use of pre-existing material to new ends" (2013, p.1); while Tricia Rose (1994) describes sampling in hip hop as a "tactical priority". This attitude toward the use of existing material is primarily due to the ways in which hip hop music developed during the 1970s. As Schloss (2004) notes, there was an increasing focus by DJs on the 'break'. The break is a small section of a record, usually a point where there is only percussion and no other instrumentation. DJ Kool Herc is credited with inventing the break, or breakbeat, as he noticed that the dancers would respond more to these drum break sections. Herc began to play only these break sections, extending them by further by using two copies of the same record on two turntables and mixing back and forth between the two to only play the break (Smith 2000). Schloss argues that this:

> breakbeat focus of the Bronx DJs set in motion a number of social trends that would give birth to the music no known as hip hop. These included the development of a substantial body of knowledge about the nature and location of breakbeats, an oral tradition and culture to preserve this knowledge, a worldview that valorised the effort necessary to find breaks, and an aesthetic that took all of these concerns into account (Schloss 2004, p.32).

As Rose (1994, p.73) notes, "samplers allow rap musicians to expand on one of rap's earliest and most central musical characteristics: the break beat". Samplers can be seen as the logical extension of the acts of the DJ repeating the break; instead of a

DJ mixing between two copies of the same record the break could be sampled and replayed endlessly. At the time, samplers were not a new addition to the music industry. Rose explains how samples were initially:

> used to 'flesh out' or accent a musical piece, not to build a new one. In fact, prior to rap, the most desirable use of a sample was to mask the sample and its origin; to bury its identity. Rap producers have inverted this logic, using samples as a point of reference, as a means by which the process of repetition and recontextualization can be highlighted and privileged (Rose 1994, p.73).

This is an important distinction to make, here the sample and its origin are just as important as the new piece of music. It is this celebration of the sample's origin that becomes a fundamental aesthetic in hip hop music.

Williams proposes that "although all music genres use and adapt pre-existing material in different ways, hip hop music celebrates and flaunts its 'open source' culture through highly varied means" (2013, p.1). As both Rose and Williams illustrate, hip hop artists often do not try and obscure the origins of their musical borrowings. These borrowings, whether they be sampled or replayed, are often used to demonstrate the artist's knowledge of previous African American musics or hip hop itself. Following this line of enquiry, Demers (2003, p.41) argues that such sampling practices in hip hop culture have "long been a means of creating lineage between hip hop and older genres of African-American music such as funk, soul, and rhythm and blues". Demers (2003, p.42) goes on to note that "these citations most often originate from the period between 1965 and 1980 in American society. This era is depicted as a time in which African American identity coalesced, and a new political consciousness was born".

However, not all samples or references used in hip hop are done so with this sense of history in mind. As Schloss (2004) has pointed out, hip hop producers are often unconcerned with the original contexts and meanings of the recordings they sample. In this case, these producers are using these samples because they feel that they sound good or fit with the intended use in the new work. Thus, while some samples are used with a historical intent, others are used simple because of the audio qualities they contain.

Ultimately, the use of pre-existing materials in hip hop has become a fundamental building block of the culture. It is not just materials from other genres that

get used in hip hop music, hip hop artists also reference the history of the culture in their works too. As Williams (2013, p.12) argues:

> The self-referential nature of [hip hop] is crucial to understanding the intramusical and extramusical discourses in the genre. As hip hop matured into a genre… it became an internalized discourse. The number of peer references, linguistic idiosyncrasies, and quotes became a feature not just of rap lyrics and music but also of the relevant journalism… The same can be said for intertextual references within hip hop recordings – the listeners understood many of the references. References not only draw attention to hip hop's internalized discourse but often draw attention to various traditions outside of hip hop as well. And what is considered intrageneric rather than outside the genre is largely evaluated by who is listening and by an ever shifting play of signifiers that may or may not become embedded in a generic nexus.

As discussed in the previous chapter, many of the artists in this study felt that these references, and learning where these references come from, is an important part of hip hop culture and music. In our interview, Solo pointed out that these "inside jokes" are one of the aspects that drew him to the music, and that once he learned more about the history of the practice, the more important to him it became. The practice of including references to hip hop works in their own music further positions these artists within the history of hip hop culture. Williams (2013) notes that one of the main agendas behind the referencing of previous hip hop works in new hip hop works has been to forge connections with hip hop's history and thereby create historical authenticity for the artist. For many artists in the United States, this has entailed referencing the pre-recorded era of hip hop. As hip hop has continued, these references increasingly begin to come from the era of recorded hip hop. But as Williams argues "this still represents a nostalgia for the history of the genre in line with earlier examples" (2013, p.38). Given Australian artists' distance, both geographically and temporally, from the origins and from pre-recorded hip hop, it is no surprise that the majority of their references would come from recorded hip hop, given that this has been the main form of the genre with which they have had interaction.

As Williams (2013) notes, the voices of both Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G. have been extensively sampled after their deaths. Williams argues:

the voices of Tupac and Biggie… [are used] as tribute, but also as an appeal to authority to reinforce their own status as… rappers… many rappers invoke these names, creating a number of effects: as boasting, as attempting to include oneself in the canon, and as reinforcing key events in the history of hip hop culture. These voices function as powerful relics, a reference to a 'higher' figure with symbolic immortality… The strong sense of historical identity and the frequency of musical borrowing in hip hop help facilitate such instances of postmortem sampling… to use the iconic symbols of Tupac and Notorious B.I.G. give legitimacy to rappers (Williams 2013, pp.138–9).

This kind of sampling from hip hop artists, whether dead or alive, is something that is maintained by hip hop artists in Australia. The artists interviewed in this study all recognised that such borrowing formed a way for them to display their knowledge of the history of the genre, and saw these references as a way to insert themselves into the lineage of hip hop artists.

In our interview, I asked Solo about his own use of references in his music, particularly his reference to Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's 'The Message' (1982):

I just reference, well, the track opens and in fact it's the first track on the album. So the whole album ('Inside Story' Horrorshow 2009) opens with just the line from 'The Message' – "Don't push me cos I'm close to the edge, I'm trying not to lose my head". And I think the reason I did that is because that is such a classic song and it really is one of the earliest, most prominent examples of socially conscious rap. This song comes from a time when rhyming was really about rocking the house and the party element of the music and it was the first record to come out on a really big scale that was talking about things happening in the street and problems in the community. I think that it's a really, really important record and the reason I quoted it is because, personally, it's a song that I connected with but also because I want my audience to know about that song and the place where we are coming from (Australia) making music sort of 20-30 years later and being so far away on the

other side of the world it's possible for an Australian hip hop audience to identify with us or our contemporaries without necessarily knowing about that history or knowing about those records or those foundations that all of us as artist draw on. So I put those things in my music for myself, because I personally want to pay homage to them, but also because I want my audience to be aware of these things and to pick up on those things just like I've done over the years listening to other people's music and picking up on the references they are making. It's kind of like, the best way I can think of it is to explain it is like an inside joke and the more you burrow into it and follow the little clues that are dropped for you and you find someone quoted KRS on one song so you go and listen to that song and then you go and listen to all his albums and then you start hearing all this other stuff that has been sampled or quoted and you just put it all together gradually and that's something that I want my audience to do in the same way that I've done (interview with author).

Here Solo notes the importance to him of putting quotes like this in his work. For Solo this is not only about paying respect, or demonstrating his knowledge of the history of the genre, but also about allowing his listeners to go on the same journey of "inside jokes" that he went on as a listener and fan.

Dialect further supports this point. In our interview he suggested that the use of lyrical references was like referencing in an academic essay:

The way I would put it is like you are writing an essay, you want your essay to be strong and you want it to be backed up by real credible sources and you need to reference those sources in your bibliography. Well, for me the scratch is using sources that you are using for your argument. Well, not your argument, but for your story or your song. A good cut or good scratch section is a nice little quote to make something that you feel that just expresses that in a different way. It also just, it shows what you are into, and says, you listen to an artist and they use a cut, and you go 'Oh, they've used that track, I love that track. It's cool that they like that' and that. It's like DNA you know, it all just links up together. It's a way of backing

up your story. In a cool way it also shows what you are into and pays respect (interview with author).

Again, Dialect stress here that this kind of referencing is something that he has observed happening in the music he listened to, and also that the reference serves as a way to demonstrate these influences and pay respect. What emerges from Dialect's and Solo's position is that the practice of including references in their work is something that they have learned through the listening to the history of the genre, with both feeling that it is an important aspect of the culture's history and traditions. As Williams has noted:

> Intertextuality in hip hop culture always lies at the crossroads between technology and history, between African and African American artistic traditions and newer technologies like digital sampling that allow practitioners to extend older traditions in new and varied ways. Each composer and listener hears particular, varied elements from this chronological imaginary spectrum, and from this larger patterns and questions can emerge (2013, p.5).

As the quote from Potter used at the beginning of this chapter suggests, the history of African-American musical traditions are intrinsically linked with notions of borrowing and referencing. One of these African American artistic traditions that is continued through the practice of referencing in hip hop works, is 'Signifyin(g)'. As Gates (1989) has identified, Signifyin(g) is the practice of riffing, repetition, and revision that can be found in African and African American arts, especially in musical forms like jazz, R&B, and hip hop. As Williams argues,

> like ragtime, swing music, bebop, hard bop, cool, reggae, dub, dance remixes, and mash-ups, hip hop is a musical form that was Signifyin(g) on what came before. Furthermore, musical texts Signify upon one another, troping and revising particular musical ideas. These musical 'conversations' can therefore occur between the present and the past or synchronically within a particular genre (2013, p.4).

These musical conversations continue to occur, and in this context are occurring across a vast (geographical) distance; between Australian MCs and their global counterparts, synchronically within global hip hop.

Referencing and Race

As Armstrong (2004, p.338) has noted, "white involvement in black art forms is immediately problematic", and the continued use of African American cultural forms like Signifyin(g) by Australian MCs could also be considered problematic. The problem here is that, as Kelley (1999, p.9) notes, "the history of black music has been a continuous one of whites' lucrative expropriation of black cultural forms"; and certainly the majority of Australian hip hop artists are white. However, the artists interviewed for this study all openly acknowledge the African American origins of hip hop. This is not to say that a simple acknowledgement of the history and origins of the genre stops this problem. Rather, that Australian, and particularly white Australian, hip hop artists engage with the culture knowing that they are in a position that is often perceived as being problematic. This problem is often overcome by these artists through their assertion that by learning as much as they can about hip hop culture, and by representing themselves authentically, they can become part of the culture. This is a position not unfamiliar in hip hop scholarship. As Harrison (2009) observed in the San Francisco Bay Area's underground hip hop scene, young people have constructed their own standards of belonging and authenticity that render rigid notions of race obsolete. By mastering hip hop's formal elements and knowledge of its history, young black, Asian, Latino, and white rappers find common ground and create new forms of community. Although there are still issues of race that emerge, as Harrison points out, hip hop has come to embody, for many of its practitioners, a meritocratic field where status is awarded by achievement alone.

> In his work on hip hop in Sydney, Maxwell discovered:
>
> debates raged over the appropriateness of people from what were perceived as being middle-class backgrounds claiming hip hop authenticity, while those from the 'West Side' argued vehemently that socioeconomic status was irrelevant: that what counted as being 'true' to the 'ideals' of hip hop. This kind of assertion necessitated the finding, or the creation of, and 'ideology' of hip hop that literally transcended race and class… it actually doesn't matter whether or not you are black, as long as you are representing… what you have got and do so with skill (Maxwell 2003, p.65).

Again, the importance here is placed on a participant's knowledge and skill in representing themselves and hip hop culture. As Kajikawa notes, "for many, the

perceived 'colour-blindness' of hip hop – that it often seems open to anyone who can demonstrate significant mastery of its formal elements – is one of its most attractive qualities" (Kajikawa 2015, p.17). This is certainly the case for MCs in Australia. As Tongue discussed in our interview, "if you can show that you have skills, I don't care where you are from. If you are a great rapper, cool, you can be Russian, you can be Chinese whatever, if you can bust your skills and are dope, you're dope" (interview with author).

It could be suggested here that this kind of engagement with hip hop fits into a 'colour-blind appropriation' of the culture. Colour-blind ideology is a set of ideas "that are used in a variety of ways to deny the reality of inequality" (Rodriquez 2006, p.646). As Rodriquez further argues:

> the mass marketing of racially coded cultural symbols such as hip
> hop allows whites to experience a felt similarity with communities of
> colour. Whites who pick up on African American styles and music
> do not necessarily want to be black; they seek to acquire the
> characteristics of blackness associated with being cool (2006,
> p.649).

However, as Mitchell has argued, hip hop "cannot be viewed simply as an expression of African American culture; it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world" (2001, p.2). Or to put it another way, "the rules of hip hop are African American, but one need not be African American to understand or follow them" (Schloss 2004, p.10).

Kajikawa (2015) draws upon Baraka's (1968) concept of the "changing same", which provides a model for musical aesthetics that is concretely grounded in African American culture, but flexible enough to be creatively reimagined across time and space. Thus, there is the groundwork for musical aesthetics to travel, in this case from the United States to Australia, and be picked up by Australian artists and recreated. As Mitchell has noted, the main way in which this travel occurred is through engagement with the "models and idioms derived from the peak period of hip hop in the USA in the mid-to-late 1980s" (2001, p.3). This engagement can certainly be seen in the references made by the artists in this study as discussed above.

Thus, the practice of referencing in this way becomes an aesthetic position. This is not to devalue the significance of Signifyin(g) as an African American cultural practice; but rather to acknowledge that the ways in which Australian MCs learnt

about hip hop culture (as discussed in the previous chapter) was through a sustained engagement with hip hop recordings. Contained within those recordings was a model of musical aesthetics of which Signifyin(g) was a part. Thus, the practice was learned and practiced by Australian hip hop artists, with the intentions to continue what they saw as a hip hop cultural practice. It is not that race is not important here, or that the racial origins of the music are trying to be obscured through some sort of colour blind ideology, but rather that the specific cultural aspects of the practice of Signifyin(g) were lost in translation. The practice of referencing in hip hop recordings was viewed by Australian artists as an aesthetic practice, but also a cultural practice – specifically a hip hop cultural practice. Given Australia's distance from the United States, the cultural specificities of African American culture, and the practice of Signifyin(g) in particular, where lost on Australian hip hop artists. Thus, referencing was viewed as a musical aesthetic of hip hop, without the specific African American cultural attachment that it has in the United States.

This is further problematised by the increasing numbers of African Australians who are part of Australian hip hop. Artists like Remi and Tkay Maidza are proving that popular hip hop in Australia is no longer (nor has it ever been) the preserve of white Australian artists. For Remi, the inclusion of references in his work is a choice that he has made based on the music that he has listened to; he described it by simply saying "that's hip hop" (interview with author). Again, the choice to include references here is one that stems from an engagement with hip hop culture and hearing these references used in other recordings makes the practice an aesthetic and hip hop cultural one.

As Schloss (2004) discusses, there is potential in the academic critical analysis of hip hop to overcomplicate what is going on in the music. Citing the mistakes made by some scholars in applying postmodern interpretations to the use of what they considered "ironic samples", Schloss argues that often aesthetic decisions in the production of hip hop are made because it "sounds good". In the same way, the aesthetic decisions of Australian hip hop artists to include references in their works should not necessarily be seen as the further appropriation of an African American cultural practice, but should be seen as an aesthetic decision based on what sounds good and what they have heard in previous works.

As Kajikawa posits, "in what ways do rap musicians and fans draw upon a wide range of cultural and musical knowledge to articulate particular aesthetics and

ideological positions through music?" (2015, p.23). As this chapter has investigated, one of these ways is through the inclusion of references to other, both hip hop and non-hip hop, works in artists' own works. As Maxwell has identified, Australian hip hop artists have always "engaged in struggles or negotiations in order to legitimate and authenticate their practices within various narratives of a continuous cultural tradition" (2003, p.179). These struggles and negotiations often form around ideas to do with an authenticity that comes from a sustained engagement with hip hop history. As Ochmann points out, "being authentic in hip hop means knowing and respecting hip hop history, while at the same time mastering and creatively developing one or more of the elements" (2015, p.434). Thus, the continuation of an aesthetic and cultural practice that these Australian artists have identified is one of the ways through which they can claim this authenticity within hip hop culture. As Taylor has argued,

> If the aim is really to preserve the culture, then it shouldn't matter what the members look like. What matters is that they learn the traditions, master the relevant techniques, and internalize the proper sentiments and values. Unless we go back to the classical racialist idea of physiology determining character and sensibility, there's not much reason to think that a black person would do this any better than anyone else (2005, p.89).

What about those who do not reference?

As noted above, not all artists in this study use references in their works. Tkay Maidza, Kadyelle, and L-Fresh the Lion rarely use references in their work. However, all but Tkay Maidza identified the practice as a part of hip hop culture. In our interview, Kadyelle noted that the practice of referencing is common to hip hop, but explained why she does not include such references in her own music:

> I don't feel a need to display anything in my music. If my music has a message, it tends to be a personal one. I very rarely involve pop culture or rap culture references because that's not what my I use my music for. I use it as release and as a confessional so I don't feel the desire to educate or include or assert my opinions (interview with author).

In the analysis of Kadyelle's albums in this study, only three references have been identified, all coming from the Earthworthy album (Kadyelle 2010). In talking to

Kadyelle about this, she commented that they were lines from the songs sampled to make the beats and were left in because these lines reflected the themes of the songs well. As such, the inclusion of these lines from the sample sources can still be considered references as they fulfil the same purposes as many of the references discussed above. Kadyelle also noted that these lines had been left in by the producers of the tracks and she chose to leave them there. For the majority of her songs though, Kadyelle does not use any references, which matches up with the statements made to me during our interview.

L-Fresh the Lion made similar comments to Kadyelle about the importance of referencing in hip hop, but again mentioned that it was his choice not to use too many references in his own works. The one song on the two albums analysed that does feature references came about in a way that is unique to all the other references discussed so far. L-Fresh the Lion's album 'One' features a freestyle introduction and four autosonic references from KRS-One. In our interview, L-Fresh described how this introduction came to be. While KRS-One was on tour in Australia, the promotors of the tour arranged several community workshops and engagements where KRS-One was to attend. At one such engagement, KRS-One gave a speech about the history of hip hop. L-Fresh was at this speech and talked with him afterwards about getting a 'drop'[12] for his upcoming album release. At the time, L-Fresh told me, he was trying to get a few such drops from international and local hip hop artists. However, instead of doing a simple drop for L-Fresh, KRS-One instead did a freestyle after which he told L-Fresh the Lion to use the freestyle as the introduction to 'One' (2014). As L-Fresh said in our interview, "I was trying to get a stamp of authority, to say that boom, people need to know this album if you are a hip hop head, and that came through with that freestyle" (interview with author). On 'Survive' (L-Fresh the Lion 2014) [Track 162, Appendix A, page 265] there are four autosonic references that were taken from a recording of the speech mentioned above. L-Fresh described to me how there were initially not going to be any cuts on 'Survive', or on the whole album, but MK1, L-Fresh's DJ, was in the studio as they were recording 'Survive' and began to "play around" with sections from the recording of the KRS-One speech. It was at this point that they realised that the references not only worked with the themes of the song, but also presented an opportunity to use references that no one else could have used.

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[12] A 'drop' in this sense is a quick few lines from a hip hop artist that will feature as an interlude on an album. These drops work to further authenticate the artist, by demonstrating that they have an association with, in this case, historical hip hop figures.

Whilst the choice to use the references was ultimately made on aesthetic grounds, the added bonus that they were the first, and potentially only, artists to be using these references also did not escape L-Fresh the Lion. This obscurity of the references further works to provide that "stamp of authority" that L-Fresh was looking for on this album.

As noted previously, Tkay Maidza was the only artist in this study who did not comment on the use of references in her work; and this stems from her genealogy of listening. In our interview, Tkay discussed how she first became interested in hip hop through listening to the music of artists like Lil' Wayne, Nicki Minaj, Drake, and Azalea Banks. These artists are typically associated with what can be considered as mainstream hip hop, an aspect of hip hop music where the associations to hip hop culture are often tenuous. As such, there is less likely to be references to other hip hop works in the same way as those found in other types of hip hop. This is not to say that there are no references to be found in these genres, but that the emphasis is not placed on replicating the history and culture of hip hop in the same that that it is in other hip hop styles. Given Tkay's genealogy of listening to such artists, it is then no surprise that she does not feel the same need to replicate these cultural elements in her music, just like the artists she has been inspired by also do not feel this need.

However, that does not mean that there are no references to be found in Tkay's work. In the first song heard on "Switch Tape" (Tkay Maidza 2014), Tkay uses vocables and a recurring allosonic allusion that references M.I.A.'s "Boyz" (2007). When I asked her about this Tkay replied that M.I.A. has always been a big influence on her and that that particular reference came about unconsciously; it was not planned and just happened as she was in the recording session. Tkay's use of the reference here is more about aesthetics than anything else, it sounded good to her so she used it. In making the reference, Tkay is not claiming any cultural position within hip hop, but just making music that sounds good to her.

To Reference or Not to Reference?

Ultimately, the choice to include references in your music is just that, a choice. For some artists it forms an important part of their authenticity and identity as a hip hop artist, marking them as artists who wish to maintain hip hop cultural practices through their works. The history and importance of the practice, as the analysis using Burkholder's key questions has demonstrated, can be seen through the artists'

genealogies of listening. Artists like Mind Over Matter, Dialect & Despair, Horrorshow and Spit Syndicate all make reference to artists who similarly make use of such hip hop cultural aesthetics in their own works. Similarly, although they do not reference as much as the others, Kadyelle, L-Fresh the Lion, Remi, Morganics and The Tongue, all recognise that referencing does form an important aesthetic function within hip hop, but have chosen either not to include references, or include them sparingly in their works. While she did not discuss referencing directly in our interview, Tkay Maidza does include some stylistic allusions in her work, particularly to artists like M.I.A., and often uses her voice like Nicki Minaj. This would suggest that while she does not explicitly consider using references in her work, the practice has shaped the way that she makes music through her genealogy of listening.

As these genealogies of listening provide artists with a way of thinking about and constructing their identities, they also structure how fans gather around artists. Because genealogies of listening are displayed through their music, in particular through the referencing practices discussed above, fans are able to come together around artists who share a common genealogy of listening. The next chapter discusses how these communities come together to form communities with Australian hip hop, particularly in the context of four key events that occurred during the research period.

Chapter Four: Community, Identity & Events

The previous two chapters have explored how genealogies of listening come to produce artistic identities. This chapter explores how these genealogies of listening also engage audiences and fans in creating communities. Ties between music and social identities have been fairly conclusively demonstrated over the past two decades (Solis 2015), so it is no surprise that music is used in this way. As Maxwell (2003) demonstrated in his study on the Sydney hip hop scene in the early 1990s, claims of community are strong and frequent within Australian hip hop. Such claims to community, and events to help create community, are still commonplace in the hip hop scene 20 years later. During the course of this research period, four events began that particularly aimed to create, display and foster community and identity within the Australian hip hop scene. These events are the One Day Sundays parties, Speech Therapy, Rapper Tag, and the Hectickest Challenge. All four of these events present examples of artist established and run events, and this has meant that the genealogies of listening for each artist has had an impact on the way the events are organised and run. While all four of these events provide examples of community building, two of these events, Rapper Tag and the Hectickest Challenge, use digital technologies to facilitate this community building. This chapter analyses these events and demonstrates how these extra-musical activities helped to coalesce the scene during this period. In some ways, these events also privileged a certain type of genealogy of listening, which will also be discussed. This chapter provides an insight into creative experiments, uses of new technology, and changing audience interactions in Australian hip hop, all while still acknowledging the traditions of hip hop culture. On occasion, there is often tension between the upholding of these traditions and the way these events operate.

Methodology for Event Analysis

In examining these four events as part of the fieldwork for this research project, I engaged in what is considered as multi-sited ethnography. Each of the four events described below is a site that provided an opportunity to observe how artists and fans came together through social activities to produce community in Australian hip hop. As Marcus has suggested, multi-sited ethnographies require an:

> analysis of the internal life of the locales or places it considers.
> What constitutes identity and how it is constructed with some sense
> of credibility and commitment on such moving ground remains an
> orienting question for the continuing tradition of ethnographic place
> (1998, p.54).

Thus, the main focus of multi-sited ethnography is to examine how identity is constructed and maintained across these sites in order to more fully understand the community as a whole.

In performing such a multi-sited ethnography of hip hop in Japan, Ian Condry developed the notion of '*genba'* in order to provide a focus on the actual sites where this kind of community building took place. The term *genba* comes from the Japanese for 'actual site', and is used by Condry to describe a site "that become[s] a focus of people's energies and where something is produced" (2006, p.6). The fieldwork undertaken by Condry focused on performative aspects that took place in nightclubs and recording studios, rather than an ethnography based on one specific place. In this way, *genba* becomes a way to conceptualize fieldwork that happens across multiple sites where the performative aspects of producing culture occur. He also uses *genba* in relation to issues of globalisation, arguing that *genba* provide key examples of:

> cultural globalisation because they actualise the global and local
> simultaneously. Instead of *cosmopolitanism*, I use the term *genba*
> *globalisation* to highlight the actualisation or performativity, rather
> than subjectivity, of intersections of foreign and indigenous ideas
> (Condry 2006, p.90).

Rather than term this as *hybridisation*, Condry proposes that *genba* allows for a more thorough exploration of the often messy and fluid complexities of cultural globalisation. The use of *genba* in this way further shifts the debate away from mapping the routes Appaduraian scapes traverse, toward an exploration of how these scapes are actualised through negotiation and contestation in specific places, or *genba*. Condry argues that "global flows are not so much localised by their performance in *genba*, but rather that artists in the *genba* actualise the intersection of and negotiations between the global and the local" (Condry 2006, p.183).

Further to this, Condry suggests that:

by using participant observation methods to explore key sites that are a kind of media crossroads, we can observe how globalised images and sounds are performed, consumed, and then transformed in an ongoing process. I use the Japanese term *genba* to emphasize that the processing of such global forms happens through the local language and in places where local hip hop culture is produced. In Japanese hip hop, these clubs are important not only as places where fans can see live shows and hear the latest releases from American and Japanese groups, but also as places for networking among artists, writers, and record company people (Condry 2013, p.243).

Thus, the actual sites where hip hop occurs become important in producing the culture and community that go along with the music. As Condry notes above, the *genba* in his study allow for a range of cultural facets to occur in addition to the production of the music itself. The four events, or *genba,* described in this chapter all function in a similar way, operating as spaces in which people gather to enjoy the music, but also work to create community and identity within these spaces.

Condry argues that "unlike aspects of globalisation spread by multinational corporations and powerful governments, hip hop in Japan is particularly instructive because it represents a kind of globalisation that depends on *genba* for its force" (Condry 2006, p.90). Japanese hip hop has received little support from major record companies until it proved to be a viable concern (Condry 2006); much in the same way as Australian hip hop continues to be mainly released through independent record labels, with little support from major international record companies. Thus, the *genba* of both the Japanese and Australian hip hop communities provide important sites for examining the ways in which the community comes together to produce itself. The four events discussed in this chapter are all examples of artist driven events; that is, they have been established by the artists themselves, rather than by a festival organizer or other such promoter. Given the lack of major music industry association in Australian hip hop, it is not surprising to see the artists driving such events. As Maxwell (2003) found in his research, many in the hip hop community were willing to do such things 'for the love of hip hop'.

Genba also implies a consistency of cultural enactment dispersed across a range of places and sites: which in Condry's case was clubs, studios and special

events in which Japanese hip hop performs itself into being. Condry further argues that by focusing on these *genba,* the ethnography:

> draws attention to the sociable side of global cultural movements. The circulation of media depends on building collective energy, not only filling a niche. … Thus the concept of *genba* offers a different model of social organisation, of defining authority and success, one that depends not on turning a profit, but on moving the crowd. This points to an alternative to some multinational brand-name corporations as a path to extend the reach of cultural globalisation (2006, p.219).

Genba is thus useful because it allows for a focus on the social collectives that produce culture. In each of the examples to be discussed in this chapter there is a social element to the production of hip hop culture within Australia that demonstrates local, national, and global constructs of hip hop. As Condry mentions in the quote above, genba suggests a type of social organisation that centres on 'moving the crowd', or engaging with them in ways that go beyond a traditional artist/fan/consumer relationship, moving toward a social structure where fans, consumers and artists have a closer relationship that is based on socialisation rather than consumption. *Genba* become sites where the production of culture occurs, where standards are taught, observed and enacted. Thus, *genba* as sites of cultural production also offer an opportunity to observe how genealogies of listening come to be enacted through engagement between artists and fans, fans and fans, and artists and artists. Each of the four events described below offer an opportunity to observe how genealogies of listening create specific kinds of identity, and how these sites play a role in framing and shaping these identities. Through the examination of the tensions, creative experiments, uses of technology and changing audience interactions, that occur in each of the four *genba* described here, a picture emerges of how the hip hop community in Australia constructs its identity through the negotiations and contestations of their conceptions of what it is to be 'hip hop'.

One Day Sundays

In 2013 two events began in Sydney that allowed for the hip hop community to come together in ways other than attending performances and club events by the artists. These events, One Day Sundays and Speech Therapy, were both started and

run by the artists themselves. One Day Sundays[13] was set up by the One Day Crew (hence the name, One Day Sundays). According to Nick Lupi:

> The inspiration for our One Day Sundays parties simply came from us wanting to put on the sort of parties that us and our friends would want to attend: a relaxed, inclusive and fun environment where people from all walks of life could come together and enjoy music, art, food and drinks and good vibes (interview with author).

In many ways, the One Day Sundays events mirror the 'block parties' that were a staple feature of the early hip hop scene in New York. As Dimitriadis outlines, hip hop:

> originated during the mid-1970s as an integrated series of live community-based practices. It remained a function of live practice and congregation for a number of years, exclusive to those who gathered together along NYC blocks, in parks, and in select clubs… Early MCs and DJs, graffiti artists and breakdancers, forged a scene entirely dependent upon face-to-face social contact and interaction. Indeed, the event itself, as an amalgam of dance, dress, art, and music, was intrinsic to hip hop culture during these years (Dimitriadis 1996, p.179).

Nick Lupi's suggestion that One Day Sundays was created so that people could enjoy music, art, food and drinks, mirrors the environment created in these early hip hop block parties; themselves based on sound system culture from Jamaica brought to New York by DJs like Kool Herc (Chang 2005). Although the One Day Crew might not have set out to establish these events as a way of paying homage to the origins of hip hop, the way that these events were structured and advertised was very much in the spirit of a traditional hip hop block party.

One Day Sundays began in Sydney and are held on the last Sunday of each month at the Vic on the Park Hotel[14] in Marrickville, in Sydney's Inner West. This venue was chosen at it has a large area behind the pub with a wall for

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[13] For a sense of what One Day Sundays events look like, please watch the music video for Spit Syndicate's 'Know Better' which was partly filmed at a One Day Sundays event: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QsLAm_nrSyY

[14] Despite being called a hotel, the 'Vic' is actually a pub. Many pubs in Australia are called hotels, as they traditionally were forced by liquor laws to provide accommodation. These laws continued until the 1980s. Despite being called hotels, these were effectively pubs, with one or two rooms set aside for accommodation to comply with the laws. Because the naming has become so enshrined in Australian culture, many pubs are still called hotels even if they no longer have any accommodation available.

graffiti, a basketball court, and adequate space for a DJ booth and dancefloor area. Initially, One Day Sundays were a free event in Sydney, encouraging people to come along and enjoy the music, food, drinks, and all elements of the event with no entry fee. At One Day Sundays parties, most members of the One Day Crew are there, either performing or just attending. In addition to this, many other hip hop artists who are based in Sydney, or who happen to be in Sydney at the time, attend the parties. This enables the kind of face-to-face interaction Dimitriadis noted occurring in the block parties that happened in New York in the 1970s. This face-to-face interaction occurs between members of the public; between members of the public and artists; and between artists. Thus, the *genba* of One Day Sundays presents an opportunity to examine the ways in which these socialisations build a community within a local hip hop network.

As these parties were held in Sydney, they mainly attracted people located in Sydney as an audience. This resulted in the event becoming a place for fans of Sydney hip hop, and particularly the One Day Crew to come and hang out as a community. As part of my field work I attended several of these One Day Sundays parties, both in Sydney and in Brisbane. Each time I attended one of the parties, I became a participant observer; I was both a participant in the parties, but also a researcher in the 'field'. This position of dual identity allowed me to examine the socialisations that occurred at these *genba*. As participant, I engaged with other hip hop fans in conversation about the event, artists and the local and national hip hop scenes. Many of the fans that I talked to were enjoying the event, and kept mentioning how similar One Day Sundays were to the block parties that established hip hop in New York. This sentiment is summed up in the following comment from a conversation I was having with one of the members of the public in attendance at my first Sydney One Day Sundays:

> This is what those block parties must have been like, I could never be there, I guess this is the closest I will ever to come to that. And that's why I come as often as I can. I mean, what's not to like, good food, good drinks, good music, you get to see some live graffiti being painted. I guess the only thing missing is the breakers, but that's not really my thing anyway (Adam, 26 May 2013 personal communication).

Whilst the crew might not have intended the parties to be this homage to those original block parties, certainly those in attendance saw the link. Adam's note here that the only thing missing are the breakdancers is correct; there were never any breakdancers, at least none breaking, at any of the One Day Sundays I attended, and there was no area for them to break either. This is perhaps because hip hop cultural elements like breaking and graffiti were harder to commodify and thus have not been commodified to the same extent as hip hop's musical elements. Because of this lack of commodification, these elements have not been as easily visible to those outside the culture. As Dimitriadis notes, "the majority of peoples now exposed to rap (including most artists) are receiving this exposure by way of an institutional context which has only commodified hip hop's musical discourse" (1996, p.183). While in some cases people listen to the music and are then drawn in deeper to the culture and discover those elements, this lack of commodification of breaking in particular has meant that it is often the least visible element of hip hop cultural practices in public spaces. This lack of visibility has meant many hip hop fans are not as well versed in their appreciation for breaking, something Adam picks up on in his comment above. With or without breakdancers, most of the members of the public I spoke with at these events all commented on the similarities between One Day Sundays and the original block parties that started hip hop. While the One Day Crew might not be saying it outright, in setting up the events in the way that they have, they have also mirrored these original block parties. And while the original intent of setting up One Day Sundays was not to invoke these block parties, it certainly had that effect on many of those that attended because of the structure of the event.

What also is evident from these exchanges is the level of knowledge about hip hop culture that these participants have. This has been gained through listening to records and researching in much the same ways as the artists have, as detailed in previous chapters. Genealogies of listening then become enacted in *genba* such as One Day Sundays, as ways of producing hip hop identities that operate as a short hand for displaying the participant's knowledge.

An example of how the genealogy of listening of Spit Syndicate, and by extension the One Day Crew, has effected the *genba* of One Day Sundays can be found in the song 'Day in the Bronx' (One Day 2015). Here, Spit Syndicate talk about their experiences visiting the Bronx, a place that they have heard and read about from their interest in hip hop. The song talks about the musical elements of hip hop

and also about the graffiti they have seen in various books and movies about the Bronx and hip hop; but at no point in the song do they mention any breakdancing. Spit Syndicate here privilege some of the elements of hip hop culture over others. In talking with both Nick Lupi and Solo about their introductions into hip hop, they both mentioned how they were 'schooled' by Solo's older brother and his friends about the music, but also about the graffiti element of hip hop in New York. In our interview, Solo mentioned that the first element of hip hop culture that he really gravitated toward was graffiti:

> S – I was really nuts for Graff before I ever really started rhyming or anything like that.
>
> JC – Did you paint?
>
> S – Yeah. And that's the same with all my mates, you know. A lot of my closest friends today are people that I have found a bond with through my teenage years through writing graffiti together and ultimately listened to the same music and as a result of that wanting to go to the same concerts and wanting to buy the same kicks and all the rest of it. So, me and the boys continued to write graffiti for a number of years, but I don't really write anymore because my music keeps me busy. But also I never really had incredible talent for graffiti, I loved it and I still love it, and I look out for it all the time and probably will until I die. But I didn't have the skill at it that some of my friends had. After a while I discovered rhyming and making music and this sort of reward that comes from that. So I switched my energy over to that, and that's what I've been focusing on for the last few years (interview with author).

In the enculturation into hip hop that Solo and Nick Lupi had, they were more focused on the visual and musical elements of the culture, rather than breakdancing. Given this history with their, and the One Day Crew's, association with hip hop, it is not a surprise that One Day Sundays are so focused on the musical and visual elements of the culture. The graffiti walls are a feature of every One Day Sundays party, with graffiti artists painting the walls during the event. As Nick Lupi said in the quote above, the parties were based on the parties that the crew would like to attend, and at no point did he mention breaking in his description of this kind of event. This

genealogy of engagement with hip hop culture explains why breakdancers are not a part of One Day Sundays.

Being at One Day Sundays also allowed me to observe the relationships between artists and members of the public. The opportunity that One Day Sundays offered for fans and artists to party together at these events is unique in the Australian hip hop community. The artists are there for the same reasons as the fans, because they want to attend a good party. This means that for the most part, the artists are with their friends and fellow artists; but occasionally fans do approach the artists and when they do, the conversations are friendly. Fans are treated like anyone else.

At one of the One Day Sundays I attended, I met The Tongue while in the queue for drinks. We got talking and then another friend of his came along. The Tongue introduced him to me and told me he was Paco, one of the founders of Sydney based streetwear clothing label 'Geedup'. We all talked for a bit about the party and then went our separate ways. What this brief encounter demonstrates is the ways in which One Day Sundays operates as a *genba* for the social networking between artists and people in supporting industries. Geedup have been very active in providing their clothing for hip hop artists in Australia to wear, especially in their music videos. This type of cross promotion has been seen in many other hip hop markets around the world, and is not a great surprise. But what One Day Sundays provides is opportunities for these networks, both business and personal, to develop and the *genba* provided by the parties is the site in which these social networks are built.

After starting in Sydney, the One Day Crew expanded the event to other locations around Australia, including interstate events in Melbourne, Brisbane and Perth on a rotating basis. This resulted in the collective holding at least one party every weekend around the country. Like in Sydney, each One Day Sundays event was made up of people mostly from that geographical place. As part of my fieldwork for this event, I attended two One Day Sundays in the Queensland capital city of Brisbane. What I noticed was that the parties offered the same types of opportunities for socialisation whether it was in Sydney or in Brisbane. However, a main point of difference with the Brisbane events was that there were always fewer people in attendance when compared to Sydney One Day Sundays. In the two Brisbane One Day Sundays that I attended, there were more fellow artists and industry members

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than members of the public. This might be why there has not been a recent One Day Sundays event held in Brisbane, with the crew continuing to hold the events in Sydney, Melbourne and Perth. Each of the events in these cities, whether that be Sydney, Melbourne, Perth, or Brisbane, was an opportunity for community building to happen at this local level; they provided a space for the local hip hop communities to get together and have a good time. By holding the events in cities across the country, One Day Crew are also stringing together a sense of national community, as each local hip hop community feels that they are then a part of the broader, national community through taking part in these events.

As Nick Lupi told me during our interview, One Day Sundays has gone on to become the most successful regular hip hop party in Australia. In 2015 the Sydney based One Day Sundays events had to be moved to a larger venue as they had outgrown the original Vic on the Park venue. The party was moved to the Factory Theatre, still in Marrickville in Sydney's Inner West. In order to hold the parties in this venue, and control numbers, One Day Crew began to sell tickets to gain event entry. In selling the tickets, the Crew also let those attending know that 100% of the proceeds from the ticket sales would be donated to different charities. The charity selected for the first ticketed One Day Sundays was the Refugee Advice & Casework Service, the leading provider of free legal advice to asylum seekers and refugees in Australia. The choice of charity here further illustrates the 'conscious' nature of the Crew's genealogy of listening; where the discussion of social and political issues has become a major part of their artistic identities.

The fact that you needed to buy a ticket to attend the Sydney parties did not stop people attending; every One Day Sundays that has been ticketed has sold out. This kind of popularity suggests that the parties are important for those that attend, especially as most people did not complain about now having to pay to attend what was once a free party. As Nick Lupi commented to me, One Day Sunday's:

> definitely wasn't intended to be something which would take up so much of our time, but it's become clear to us that there was a definite gap in the market, as it were, because three years later the parties are continuing to grow at a rapid pace and we're expanding into several new markets (interview with author).

One Day Sundays in fact proved so popular that the One Day Crew decided to put on their own single day mini-festival, 'One Day Only'. One Day Only was held on the 21st

of November 2015, and mainly featured artists from across Australia, but also included two international artists, Anderson .Paak from the United States and P-Money from New Zealand. One Day Only proved to be very successful and One Day Crew have suggested that there will be another One Day Only in 2016.

One Day Crew, in their role as organisers of the parties and festival, chose the artists and DJs that play each event. While there is usually a wide range of artists and DJs at each party, there is also a fairly consistent theme that emerges from their selection of artists and DJs. This theme is evident in that those chosen to perform all have a similar genealogy of listening to the One Day Crew, and this further reinforces the genealogies of listening between the artists and fans. The *genba* of One Day Sundays thus provides an opportunity to see how these genealogies of listening become enacted in a social setting. Once in this setting, these genealogies of listening work to provide a quick way for people who share similar tastes and values in music to come together and form social networks that are based on shared identities constructed through a shared listening history. The networking opportunities offered by the *genba* of One Day Sundays provided the community with a chance to come together and forge an identity based around the shared act of participating in the production of hip hop culture in Sydney.

Speech Therapy

The second of the events that began in 2013 offered a similar experience of community for the Sydney based hip hop community. The Tongue began a series of events called Speech Therapy[15], providing a space in which MCs are able to recite their work in a spoken word format for fans and other artists. As The Tongue describes the events "you're sitting next to some of your favourite artists, having a great time in a relaxed atmosphere, listening to some of the best lyricists in Australia, having a beer, how could you go wrong?" (interview with author). The Tongue also uses words like 'stripped back', 'intimate' and 'unpredictable' in his descriptions of the event. When I asked The Tongue about Speech Therapy and why he set it up, he said

I wanted a platform for the lyrics to be heard. We have some dope

lyricists in Australia, and when they perform live, you often don't get

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[15] For a sense of what the Speech Therapy events looked like, please watch this YouTube video: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=eHvFdQBlbU8

to hear the lyrics that clearly. Also, when you spit your lyrics in a spoken word form, they come out differently. So Speech Therapy gives everyone a chance to hear the lyrics in a different way (interview with author).

There have been similar events around the world before Speech Therapy, most notably in the United States, where the 'Def Poetry' (Simmons 2002) TV series aired on HBO from 2002-2007. Def Poetry featured poets, musicians and actors performing spoken word poems. The show was hosted by hip hop artist Mos Def (nka Yasiin Bey) and often featured hip hop artists performing their work in a spoken word forum. While The Tongue did not cite Def Poetry as a direct inspiration for Speech Therapy, he was aware of other events like this around the world and wanted to establish this event to celebrate Australian lyricists.

The main draw for both artists and members of the public in coming to Speech Therapy is that the spoken word format does provide this ability to focus on the lyrics in a way that is only possible when there is no beat. MC Dialectrix, a regular performer at the Speech Therapy events, said that "speech therapy gives me a chance to let people listen to the meanings behind my words, which often gets lost in a normal live setting" (Box Of Hip Hop 2015). MC Mantra has also suggested that he enjoys performing at Speech Therapy because it is "very much like a conversation between the artist and the audience, it's really like a conversation, but you're the only one talking (Box Of Hip Hop 2015). Mantra notes that even though the MCs are the only ones doing the talking, the audience's focus is more intently on the MC and they got more feedback from the faces and body language of the audience than they would in a normal performance setting.

This focus on lyrics means that only a certain type of artist is invited to perform at a Speech Therapy event. The Tongue serves as the curator of each Speech Therapy, and chooses the artists he wants to see at each event. Each Speech Therapy event has an often diverse range of lyricists present, but what unites all of the artists who perform is an underlying attention to lyrics that tell stories. In a promotional video for the events, The Tongue lists some of the artists that have so far appeared in Speech Therapy: "Urthboy, Dialectrix, Mantra, Ellesquire, P.Smurf, Rappaport, myself [The Tongue], Ozi Battla, Solo, it just goes on. You know it's so important to maintain that quality, that's something I'm really proud of that we do every month" (ULT Film 2014). What is common to the list of artists he mentions is

that they are all artists who use their music to tell stories and make social statements. These artists also share a listening history that has influenced this lyrical position they take. In this statement, The Tongue is also privileging this kind of artist by suggesting that they are 'quality'. As The Tongue is the curator of Speech Therapy, he has chosen artists who share a similar listening history to his own, thus further reinforcing that this genealogy is 'quality'.

This focus on the 'quality' of lyrics is also what brings many of the members of the public to the event. In talking to some of these attendees it became clear that what attracted to them to the event was the opportunity to hear some of their favourite artists deliver lyrics in this spoken word format. Many also attended because of the atmosphere and the opportunity to meet the artists in this relaxed and friendly environment. However, the majority of people I spoke with at Speech Therapy events all mentioned the ability to hear the lyrics in this acapella setting. This comment from Sam is typical of this: "I'm here because I really like Tom Scott [one of the performers that night]. I like how complex his lyrics are, and I can't always hear them properly in usual live performances, so I'm really looking forward to hearing them here!" (2014, personal communication). At this particular Speech Therapy, Sam was not the only Tom Scott fan in attendance. During his performance, many fans joined Tom Scott in delivering some of his lines. Such audience participation is normal at hip hop performances, but you usually can't hear others repeating the lines at the same time as the artist due to the beat and amplified nature of a live show. However, at Speech Therapy events, this kind of participation engages more of the crowd and artists because it is heard by everyone. This kind of participation further enhances these feelings of community through the sharing of these particular lines.

With the focus on quality, and the ability to hear the lyrics of these artists in new ways, the *genba* of Speech Therapy demonstrates how the privileging of certain values through a genealogy of listening works to further produce identity. Given the highly curated nature of the events, only artists who meet The Tongue's criteria are invited to perform, and because of this, a certain type of fan will attend. Thus Speech Therapy provides an opportunity to explore how identity and community are formed through the *genba* of the event.

Rapper Tag

The third of these events that began during the research period is a cypher[16] that took place on YouTube, started by the Melbourne based artist 360. This digital cypher was called 'Rapper Tag', and 360 took the original idea from US producer Ramzo (ABC 2010). In Ramzo's 'Rap Tag Game' or Cypher, Ramzo provided the beat and then tagged the first MC into the cypher, who then delivered their lines over the Ramzo beat and tagged the next MC into the cypher at the end of their lines. Each MC then repeated the process, delivering lines and then tagging in another MC after them. In this way, Rapper Tag operates like a traditional cypher but it is performed via YouTube posts. 360 began the first Rapper Tag post by saying:

> We're going to play a bit of rapper tag. So, usually in a rap cypher there's a circle of rappers. There's the guy rapping and then the next guy next to him is the person to go next. So seeing as we're not in a circle right here, and this is like a YouTube cypher, you have to call out the person you want to go next. So I'm going to start this off! (3ree6ixty 2010a).

The start of Rapper Tag makes explicit reference to the circular practice of the traditional cypher.

The cypher holds an important place in hip hop culture. Schloss (2009, pp.98–99) describes the cypher as:

> an informal circle of onlookers, in the center of which b-boys and b-girls take turns dancing. The term comes from the Nation of Gods and Earths (known colloquially as the Five Percenters), a sect that separated from the Nation of Islam in the late '60s, whose terminology has been extremely influential in New York hip-hop (Allah 1993; Miyakawa 2005). Gods and Earths use the term cypher to represent anything associated with circles or cycles, including the numeral zero (0), the letter O, and especially the circles of people in which their lessons are propagated. It is this usage in particular that has made its way into hip hop, most commonly referring to any hip hop activity that is performed in a circle, particularly rapping and b-boying. A cypher can be 'built' virtually anywhere at any time: all that

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[16] There are various spellings of 'cypher': 'cipher', 'cipha', and 'cypha'. All four of these variations appear in scholarship on the topic. This thesis will use cypher, as this is the variant used by participants in this research.

is required is a group of dancers. It does not require a stage, an audience, a roof, a dance floor, or even a designated block of time. The cypher's very informality and transience are part of its power; it appears when and where it is needed, then melts away. Rhetorically, it is often referred to as 'the' cypher, rather than 'a' cypher, which suggests that all cyphers are, in some abstract way, connected.

The cypher is one of the original spaces within hip hop performance, and can be for either MCs or break dancers; but in each case the cypher offers a space for the display of skills, with the cypher often being a competitive space. This is supported by Alim, who notes that "the cypher is the height of community and competition within the hip hop nation" (Alim 2006, p.18). The cypher functions as a space for communities to come together, and through competition the values of the community are forged. Johnson, in talking about breakdance cyphers, states that the cypher brings "together disparate groups, competing interests, and artistic innovation in a shared cultural space where these elements mingle and sometimes clash" (2009, p.2). Chang has suggested that "in the cypher, Hip Hop's vitality is reaffirmed, its participants recommit to its primacy, and the culture transforms itself" (2006, p.4). As Morgan has argued the cypher is at the heart of hip hop culture "because all styles, values, norms and beliefs of hip hop must come together" (2009, p.59) in order for a hip hop practitioner to do well in this space. Alim (2006, p.2) posits that "the cypher offers all participants a chance to sharpen their skills, while sharing ideas in the spirit of both teaching and learning". As Bradley describes "Rap's proving ground is the cypher, a competitive and collaborative space created when MCs gather to exchange verses… the cypher is a verbal cutting contest that prizes wit and wordplay above all else". Thus, in taking part in the cypher, participants are able to work on their own performance skills, learn from other's performances and create aesthetic judgements about the appropriateness of these performances. Morgan also notes that the cypher is not just a space for competition, but also a 'workshop' space where MCs and audience alike are expected to "take part as evaluators of skills, demonstrate their MC skills to be evaluated, or both" (2009, p.102). Thus the cypher is just as important for non-participants in the community, as learning the skills of evaluation are just as important as demonstrating MC or breaking skills are to the participants.

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The first Rapper Tag post was made by 360 in September 2010 and by September 2014, when the last Rapper Tag post was made, 56 artists had been part of the cypher. However, this period includes almost a year when no Rapper Tag posts were made. One of the reasons 360 has said that he began Rapper Tag was that many of the artists in the Australian scene could no longer get together and cypher in the same ways that they had used to. By using YouTube for the cypher, Rapper Tag was able to fulfill many of the same community building roles as traditional cyphers. Lange (2008) has argued that YouTube is more than just a site for sharing video – it is also a site that affords socialisation and communication. In this way, YouTube has functioned as a platform from which the Australian MCs that have been part of Rapper Tag have been able to build networks of socialisation and community within the scene. As Chau (2010, p.65) has identified, virtual spaces like YouTube are "becoming portals to communities where youth bond with peers, engage in public discourse, explore identity, and acquire new skills". Whilst not all those in the Australian hip hop community could be described as "youth", the other factors Chau describes are certainly evident in the Rapper Tag posts on YouTube. As Bagozzi and Dholakia (2002) note, continuous social interaction is the basis for the creation and maintenance of a community online. This community then becomes an important reference group for the members as the users have an influence on the opinions of others. The *genba* provided by Rapper Tag presents an opportunity to observe how socialisation occurs online between members of the hip hop community, including fans and artists, and how this socialisation works in conjunction with the listening history of each fan or artist to produce identity on a national level.

Much of the research on YouTube communities focuses on the ability for anyone to post their content to the site, and engage in what Burgess (2006) describes as "vernacular creativity". However, Rapper Tag is perhaps not an example of this kind of creativity, given that it was made up of posts from established artists rather than posts from any musician. Despite this, Rapper Tag still provides a *genba* through which multiple layers of community building took place within Australian hip hop. As Light, Griffiths and Lincoln (2012) note, people are appropriating social networking sites like YouTube in a socio-creative fashion. These sites then become spaces in which they can engage in, and support, creativity through social networking. The *genba* of Rapper Tag allows for social networks between artists, and between artists and the broader hip hop community in Australia,

all of which helped to further a sense of community within the scene. Through the Rapper Tag posts, fans and artists within the Australian hip hop community were able to connect with peers, engage in discourse about each MCs performance in their video, and as is the case with the traditional cyphers discussed above, this practice allows for the community to explore its identity through discussions around what is and is not good about the posts. These discussions took place in various forums. Initially this discussion began in the forums of the website OZHipHop.com, and where then also seen as comments below each of the YouTube videos, and also could be seen on the website that was created to collate all the Rapper Tag posts, RapperTag.com. The emergence of RapperTag.com also provides an interesting example of *genba* community building within the scene. The website emerged from the community as a place to collate all the Australian Rapper Tag posts, and also provided forums where each post could be discussed. The site was successful, with many community members visiting frequently to watch the cypher. However, in the two years since Rapper Tag ended, the site is now no longer online, which is understandable given the costs associated with maintaining such a site for community members. All but one of the Rapper Tag posts are still available on YouTube however, and have been collated into a playlist by Fubex, who appeared in Rapper Tag 33. Nonetheless, each of these websites and forums provided users and artists with ways of discussing the Rapper Tag posts, and these discussions shed light on the ways in which community building was occurring in this *genba*.

One of the aspects of community building that was discussed frequently on these sites was the choice of artist in each post. Because MCs were free to choose whoever they wanted as the next MC in the cypher, patterns of networks emerged that were previously unknown. This was picked up on by fans of Australian MCs and Australian hip hop in general, and the forums on the site OZHipHop.com (OHH) about Rapper Tag provided an opportunity for fans to discuss these networks and connections. What emerged from these posts was a sense of the diversity of the Australian hip hop community that Rapper Tag was able to display. As user chrissnake (2010) picked up:

> Nice to see the diversity. Urthy coulda just passed off to an e tracks
> [Elefant Traks, Urthboy's, record label] artist and it might have got
> stuck in a same label circle… very nice to see the diversity so far.

Similarly user Part2 (2010) was equally interested in this aspect of diversity:

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> Looking at the lineup of the people involved so far it's awesome how diverse it is. If you look at Urthboy, 360, Brad Strut, Fraksha and Bias B on paper it's a strange combo but that's probably why the concept works so well. I hope Newsense chooses someone really out of left field to spice it up.

The reason that many fans thought that the first five posts were a "strange combo" is because each of these artists makes a different kind of hip hop. The tags are also unexpected, as many fans thought that these MCs would not have a relationship with each other. In discussing these tags, OHH user Nerje (2010) points out:

> I reckon it goes to show how much respect these guys all have for each other. I hope it leads to some offbeat collabs in the future and more fans from each side of the fence get to discover other classic artists they normally wouldn't have heard otherwise.

It is this aspect of community building that fans and artists alike enjoyed about Rapper Tag. As Solo discussed in our interview:

> what was cool about Rapper Tag was the way it developed and morphed and moved around through all the different sorts of people. For me, what I liked about it, was the way that it revealed the connections between some different people within the hip hop scene that you wouldn't necessarily guess would connect with each other, or would be friendly with each other. For example, when Urthboy tagged Brad Strut you know what I mean? It was a cool way to expose some of those connections that maybe just as a listener of the music and judging people purely on their aesthetic, by their music, you wouldn't get that they were connected or had an appreciation for what each other does. And I enjoyed that side of it (Interview with Author).

Here Solo notes that the artists tagged all make different styles of hip hop, and that Rapper Tag has shown many that there are connections between all these different styles within the Australian scene. The inference in Solo's comment here reveals that he has experienced fans of Australian hip hop pigeon-holing artists in certain boxes and not thinking that they are connected to each other. Rather, as Rapper Tag demonstrates, these artists are connected and do have respect for each other; it is unlikely that an MC would tag in an MC that they don't like or respect to follow their

post. Solo's pinpointing of the example of Urthboy tagging Brad Strut demonstrates this point further. Both Urthboy and Brad Strut have been a part of the Australian hip hop scene since the 1990s. Brad Strut was a part of Melbourne's influential group Lyrical Commission formed in the 1990s, and since 2007 has worked as a solo artist. Urthboy was similarly part of a group called The Herd, before also having a solo career. However, this is where the similarities end. Brad Strut lists a genealogy of listening that includes Rakim, Kool G Rap, Big Daddy Kane, and Lord Finesse (Unkut Recordings 2016), and this has influenced Brad Strut's style in that it has become reminiscent of these New York artists who are known for their often complex rhymes. Comparatively, Urthboy's music is often referred to as 'Nerd Rap' by some in the Australian hip hop community; his style is less complex and he is known for his lyrics that deal with personal stories and political issues. These are two very different MCs and the fact the Urthboy would tag Brad Strut into the cypher was a shock to many in the Australian hip hop community.

The original idea behind Rapper Tag was that each MC would use the same beat to deliver their lines over, in the same way that MCs in a cypher would be using the same beat. The original Rapper Tag beat was made exclusively for Rapper Tag by long time 360 collaborator, producer Styalz Fuego, and was used in the first 12 Rapper Tag posts. The first MC to use a different beat to the one by Styalz Fuego was 1/6 in Rapper Tag 13. Instead of the original beat, 1/6 decided to use a beat made by the artist he was going to tag in at the end of his post. This tag also broke with the way in which Rapper Tag posts were filmed by recording his post whilst he was performing live in support of Evidence (Dilated Peoples) from the United States. Reaction on OHH to 1/6 using a different beat in his post was mixed. Some users felt that this was a good thing, as they didn't like the original beat. Others felt that by using a different beat, 1/6 was not conforming to the requirements of the cypher. However, as user gerling (2010) noted, "every cypher I've ever seen outside of the Gaelic Club [Sydney live music venue] after a show before the cops turned up in mid-late 2002 had a beatboxer who would change up the beat every so often". This mention of traditional cyphers here serves to remind users of the OHH forums that it is common practice in a cypher for the beat to change. As user lou_lou (2010) also commented:

did I miss the post which contained the Rapper Tag rule book? Who gives a shit if he switched the beat up? Whenever I attend a non-

internet cypher, the only beats that get a rewind are crowd pleasers like 'Simon Says' [Pharoahe Monch] and "Gravel Pit' [Wu Tang Clan].

Again, the mention of "non-internet cyphers" here further reinforces that the practice of using more than one beat is common in the traditional cypher. The use of different beats in Rapper Tag posts continued from tag 13 up to tag 16, where Lazy Grey returned to the original beat. It is unclear why Lazy Grey returned to the original beat, with no mention of it being made by Lazy Grey himself, or in any of the forums on OHH. The Styalz Fuego beat was used again in post 17, by BVA, and post 18, by Class A, but was once again changed by The Tongue in post 19 who used the instrumental from Notorious B.I.G.'s 'Kick In the Door' (1997). From tag 19 to 56 inclusive, the original beat does not reappear, instead being replaced by a mix of beats made especially for Rapper Tag, pre-existing beats taken from hip hop from around the world, instrumentals performed by a live band, or in some cases the posts are made acapella, and in one example the post (Rapper Tag 28) is made with an MC providing a beatbox.

Although there was initial debate about the appropriateness of using different beats in the cypher, as the discussion above suggests, this was quickly put into context by some users on OHH. The use of different beats was shown to be a function of a traditional cypher and then became acceptable. Another traditional element of the cypher is that the MCs taking part are all expected to freestyle their lyrics. As Alim (2006, p.63) notes, freestyle rapping is when an MC does not "write the lyrics; they say them as they think if them off the top of their heads". Many fans expected the MCs involved in Rapper Tag to be performing freestyle; that is, not performing lyrics that have been written down.

Being able to freestyle is regarded as being essential to an MCs participation in the cypher. As Newman (2005, p.404) notes, the cypher is "one of the two main freestyle, or improvised genres of rap... Because freestyling involves participation, it is performed mostly by and for other rap artists and core fans in the underground". Given that many fans and artists alike viewed Rapper Tag as a cypher that was performed through YouTube, it was therefore expected that the MCs involved would be delivering freestyle rhymes.

However, it quickly emerged that most of the Rapper Tag posts were not freestyled; they were written. This was particularly evident in Rapper Tag 6, where

Newsense recorded his post whilst using a public toilet and reading a newspaper (BrokenToothEnt 2010). Newsense keeps referring to the newspaper he is holding, and obviously has his lyrics written down inside the newspaper. As OHH user aka_Karnage (2010) noted about Newsense's post, "Concept was funny. Looked like you were reading your cypher though…". This led other users to ask "do you think the other dudes were freestyling? Don't think so mate" (Eloquence 2010). User SunOfMan followed this up with: "It's obvious no one is freestyling. Newsense is the first cat to not know his lines without having to read them" (2010). In fact, Urthboy in his post comments that he is delivering lines that are "a little bit written" (3ree6ixty 2010b), and this comment seems to have gone unnoticed by many of those on the OHH forums. In fact, most of the users on these forums don't appear to mind that the posts are written, with only a few noting that they should be freestyled. However, artists were quick to point out in their posts if they were freestyling. Hunter, in Rapper Tag 8 (3ree6ixty 2010c), is an example of this, where he clearly states in his rhyme that he is freestyling. These claims to freestyling are typically made by older members of the Australian hip hop community who value freestyling as a tradition in the cypher. However, many of the younger members of the Australian hip hop community felt that Rapper Tag was more about publicity and exposure than freestyling.

Cayari (2011, p.2) notes that through YouTube, "users have developed a community in which technology has enabled new kinds of musical creativity". Through this research, Cayari (2011) documents the ways that a YouTube based musician used the platform to make and share music, gain new fans, interact with their audience, and for promotion of live events. Another facet of this research focused on the ways in which the videos posted to YouTube formed musical communities through interaction and ultimately collaboration. Rapper Tag operates in a similar fashion, with each post and tag an example of the interactions between artists. As Cayari (2011) These interactions help to forge a stronger sense of community amongst those who take part and the audiences who watch and listen to these musicians. This has certainly been the case with Rapper Tag and the Australian hip hop community. As noted above, the premise of the cypher allowed for artists and fans to be exposed to the links between artists that they might not have otherwise known about. This kind of visible networking further supports notions of community within Australian hip hop. Whilst these community building practices

through YouTube are a part of Rapper Tag, there is also another aspect to the phenomenon.

While Cayari's research, and much of the research on musicians and YouTube, focuses on amateur musicians, there are still similarities in the way that all musicians, both amateur and professional, use the platform for the same goals. Ultimately both groups are using YouTube as a platform through which they can gain exposure and new fans. The exposure gained by appearing in Rapper Tag has been helpful for many of those Australian MCs who were featured. In an interview with journalist Richie Meldrum, 360 commented on the exposure aspect of Rapper Tag:

> The whole industry has changed with infinite downloads and shit like that. Album sales have dropped, so it's really about finding other ways you can get your shit out there and promote the shit out of your stuff and make little ideas like this work in your benefit. You've got to be really on point with that shit. If you're just doing gigs and releasing CDs, you sort of get overlooked (Meldrum 2010).

Whilst not explicitly saying that he began Rapper Tag for the publicity, 360 is saying that the kind of exposure generated for each artist by being part of Rapper Tag is beneficial for their careers. As Solo noted in our interview:

> the other thing to understand about 360 is that he is very savvy about marketing and promotion. He conducts his whole online presence, which has become this other interesting element to being an artist in the first place, your online presence and how you control and feed it. He's really, really gotten flack for that, even before he really blew up and starting selling records in the last couple of years, he'd really built himself a fan base on the internet. And Rapper Tag for me is like symptomatic of that, or is one outcome of that. It's an idea he had that he knew would create a lot of attention on him, and everyone else, but mainly him. And initially he did get a lot of publicity out of it (interview with author).

Whilst this might sound like Solo is being dismissive of 360 here, in the context of the conversation we were having this is not the case. Solo noted that starting Rapper Tag in Australia was a "very hip hop thing to do" (interview with author) by 360. Whilst Solo notes that starting a cypher is one way for 360 to demonstrate his

credibility in hip hop, he is also remarking that whilst this might have been one of the reasons 360 started Rapper Tag, it was certainly not the only one.

The opportunities for self-promotion were not lost on The Tongue either. During our interview, I asked The Tongue about his involvement in Rapper Tag and what he thought of it:

the thing I'm glad about with my Rapper Tag is that you know, you can get your personality across. I don't like taking myself too seriously either. That shit about believing you're good and confidence, you also need to be able to take the piss and catch people off guard. Like people who are the same all the time, I find that kind of boring. Like artists that are just the same all the way through. So that's why I had the whole get up and wig and guitar. I was having fun with it. I didn't want to be like 'yeah, Rapper Tag yeah yeah yeah'. Like nah man, relax. You've got to be you. That was fun. Funnily enough, it started off as something people didn't take too seriously, but YouTube is going to be like an historical archive for our generation, so it does capture a moment in time and being part of it does kinda say that you were considered worthy of being tagged in (Interview with Author).

The important part of Rapper Tag for The Tongue was the aspect of being able to get his personality across in his post, further reinforcing the notion that Rapper Tag was a valuable promotional tool as well as being a cypher. I asked The Tongue if he had noticed that he had any new fans or an increase in sales of his music from his Rapper Tag appearance. Whilst not confirming exactly how Rapper Tag had increased his profile, he did say:

It all helps, being seen and being heard helps. I definitely had people coming up to me and being like, yo that Rapper Tag. I mean in one of the battles [I was in], the battle for supremacy, I dressed up as Osama Bin Laden and did the battle like that. That was 2005, that was 9 years ago, and it will still come up. People will be like Osama Bin Rapping! Osama Bin Rapping! So like, it all helps you know. If that means that they might listen to an album or come to a show, then it all helps.

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Solo also commented on how appearing Rapper Tag aided his, and Horrorshow's promotion:

>I'm really glad I got to be a participant and got a massive amount of promotion out of it, let's be honest. The video has had over 100,000 views on YouTube, all of our other videos, our official videos have like a quarter of that. So it was a massive promotional phenomenon while it was happening (interview with author).

Again, Solo here reinforces the promotional aspect of being involved in Rapper Tag. For many of the artists involved, this aspect of promotion was a key factor in their choice to be involved. As 360 noted, many of those that took part chose to do so, in that they would get in touch with the artist who had been tagged in to the cypher, asking to be tagged in next; "I know when Class A did her thing, she was getting everyone hitting her up trying to get tagged" (ABC 2010). In our interview, Dialect also confirmed to me that he had been approached by some of the rappers tagged who asked him if he wanted to be next in the cypher:

>JC – Did anyone ever approach you, asking if you wanted to be tagged in?
>
>D – Yeah, Yeah, they did. A couple of times. I dunno… Not for me (interview with author).

I was initially surprised that Dialect didn't want to be a part of the cypher. Given Dialect's other statements about respecting the origins and traditions of hip hop, I thought that he would have been keen to be a part of Rapper Tag. However, his views on Rapper Tag were far more conservative than I had anticipated. In the following exchange from our interview, Dialect explains his perspective on Rapper Tag:

>D – It's cool, I probably wouldn't do it. But it's cool.
>
>JC – Why wouldn't you do it?
>
>D – I don't know… Yeah… Maybe I'm just… I just feel… I don't want to say anything that will get me in trouble.
>
>JC – I'm not trying to get you in trouble!
>
>D - Yeah I know…
>
>JC – I'm just interested…
>
>D – I just think it's kinda corny, man. I wouldn't be… As I get older I'm slowly trying to like remove, not like dilute what I believe in or

like make… just be cool. I don't have to be anti, just because it's on the net and viral. A lot of that online stuff is just over the top. I feel like it was definitely different for our generation, to those who came up in the 80s and 90s, even for me, I've noticed the differences. When I was coming up in the early 2000s, you went to shows. You went and rapped and you were nervous. It was a cultural experience. I just feel like the net is just, there's nothing really cultural about it. It's cool, it's an amazing thing and you can see so much, get so much. But with that comes a cost. And I think part of that is experiencing the cultural movement. It's a different cultural movement now with technology. So that's my long way round explaining why I'm not keen on it. It's just the rebel in me I don't know. It seems played out now. That's the rebel nature of Hip Hop, somewhere along the line it became uncool to be a rebel. I don't understand that (interview with author).

Dialect's hesitation and reluctance to talk about Rapper Tag for fear of saying "anything that will get me into trouble", speaks to where he sees his comments fitting within the community. That Dialect is suggesting that Rapper Tag is not for him might be viewed as not being supportive of those that have appeared in Rapper Tag. The point Dialect is making here is that for him, hip hop should be experienced in a way that allows people to experience the culture. But Dialect's position is that the internet has mediated this cultural experience and now instead of the community coming together in physical spaces, these experiences take place online. This removal of face-to-face interaction is seen as a negative factor by Dialect, who holds a view that such community building should be taking place in such an environment; much in the same way that he experienced during his enculturation into the community.

I suggested to Dialect that some artists I'd spoken to viewed Rapper Tag as a good opportunity to get exposure for their music, rather than as a replacement for a hip hop cultural practice.

D – Yeah, ok. I probably don't think about that shit enough. The opportunity came up for me, it did, and I'm probably stupid, I probably cut my nose off to spite my face. I should have taken the 30,000 hits I would have got, why not. But also part of me

just says, I've done things in the past where I've done them because I think they will be good marketing and promotion, and then I've just felt like… I've looked back and gone what was that? When I'm 80 or 90 do I want to look back on my like and be like… Look, it's not a horrible thing, I'm acting like it's some abomination – It's not, it's cool, I should have embraced, I should embrace this stuff. But part of me is just… It's not just really my thing. And if it's not really my thing then I'm not just going to go and do it because everyone else is doing it. Let me do my thing in a different way (interview with author).

Dialect is very keen to ensure that he makes his music and image in a way that demonstrates his authenticity. As he makes the effort to say in our interview, he is not against Rapper Tag in any way, but participating in Rapper Tag is not how Dialect wants his artistic identity to be portrayed. As he notes above, he feels that sometimes he should do more to get the exposure, but it can't come at a cost to the identity that he has created as an artist; one that focuses on the construction of an authenticity to a certain type of hip hop identity as evidenced through his genealogy of listening. Dialect's hesitance in taking part in the *genba* of Rapper Tag further demonstrates the tensions that can be observed through work in these spaces. This *genba* again illustrates how specific genealogies of listening work to produce identity that can be seen in the tensions discussed above. These tensions were also based on the medium through which the *genba* of Rapper Tag was delivered.

Dialect's comments about Rapper Tag also touch on the fact that the cypher is being conducted through the internet, and this is perhaps the reason why it is seen by him as being inauthentic. He notes that the phenomenon has 'gone viral', and feels that a lot of the "online stuff is over the top". In this way, Dialect is expressing an anxiety over the mediation of the community and hip hop culture through the internet. Similarly, Morganics displayed a preference for the cypher to happen in a non-mediated space. In our interview, I asked Morganics what he thought of Rapper Tag:

M – I think that was a really cool thing. Why not! I didn't follow it really closely; I've only watched a couple. But yeah, all good.

JC – 360 billed Rapper tag as, let's get back to the cypher, let's get back to old hip hop. But let's do that from the web, we can't get together anymore.

M – Ok, but he came up in Melbourne, there are cyphers in
      Melbourne.

JC – He said in his opening video, we don't really get together much
      anymore, we can't cypher. Instead of having a physical cypher
      let's do it through YouTube.

M – That's all good. Good use of technology (interview with author).

Despite concluding that Rapper Tag might be a "good use of technology", Morganics' voice changed when he said that there are cyphers in Melbourne. His tone suggested that he seemed to think that 360 should be getting involved in those cyphers in Melbourne if he was really serious about wanting to take it back to the culture as he said in interviews and the opening video. However, participating in the cyphers in Melbourne would allow for MCs to cypher with other Melbourne based MCs, or MCs who were in Melbourne at the time. Whilst this is still a positive thing, it doesn't allow for the broader community building opportunities of the larger national cypher based on YouTube. Whilst a physical cypher is good for building local communities and honing the skills of an artist in 'real time', Rapper Tag allows for a display of the diversity of the Australian scene and allows fans and newcomers to Australian hip hop the chance to get a feel for the scene. In this way, Rapper Tag operates more effectively in building a sense of national community, rather than local community. It also allows for the demonstration of the diversity of sounds and identities within hip hop in Australia, showing that there is also no one 'local' Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Perth, or Brisbane sound; with artists from the same cities sounding and appearing completely different to each other. An example of this can be found in looking at The Tongue's Rapper Tag (number 19), and Tuka's (number 20). Both are Sydney based artists, and their Rapper Tag posts display their different artistic identities. The Tongue begins his Rapper Tag in a character, before going back to his normal self for the actual post. The Tongue also uses the instrumental from Notorious B.I.G.'s (1997) 'Kick In The Door' for his Rapper Tag post. On the other hand, Tuka uses one of his own instrumentals for his post and does not appear in character, preferring to begin his Rapper Tag with a close up of the cover of his latest album release before delivering his lines. Tuka also sings parts of his Rapper Tag, a break in the convention of the format. Even though these are two Sydney based artists, their approach to their Rapper Tag posts is completely different, highlighting the possibilities for individual artistic expression afforded by the Rapper Tag format.

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Further to this, an artist's choice of instrumental to rhyme over demonstrates another opportunity to explore how genealogies of listening are able to enact identity in the *genba* of Rapper Tag. While many of the original posts used the beat provided by Styalz Fuego and 360, from Rapper Tag 19 onwards, this beat is not used. For each of the remaining 37 posts, the MC was then free to choose the instrumental they used. An example of this can be seen in Rapper Tag 49 (Thundamentals 2013), where Jeswon from the Thundamentals uses the instrumental from Black Star's 'Respiration' (1998). His choice of instrumental here further solidifies this song's place in the genealogies of listening for many hip hop artists in Australia. As discussed in the previous chapter, this song has been referenced by both Horrorshow and Spit Syndicate in their works, and the continued use of the song by an artist who is not a member of the One Day Crew further reinforces the importance of Mos Def and Talib Kweli as artists, and the song itself, to the hip hop community in Australia.

Another way that an artist's genealogy of listening can be heard in Rapper Tag posts is by the continued presence of references in these posts. An example of this can be found in Solo's Rapper Tag (number 37). Solo's post is filmed in New York, with the Brooklyn Bridge in the background of the shot; Solo begins the post by saying that he is "coming live from rap's natural habitat" (horrorshowcrew 2011). Solo references what he perceives to be key non-musical hip hop cultural texts in his post, by referring to both Style Wars (Chalfant & Silver 1983) and Wild Style (Ahearn 1983). Both of these films hold an important place in many hip hop artist and fan genealogies of listening as they are some of the first films to feature all the elements of hip hop and were both shot on the streets of New York City. As Solo discusses in his post, watching these films with his friends led them to idolise the city, and he is reminiscing about this whilst rapping next to the Brooklyn Bridge.

During the post, Solo makes a few allosonic references to other songs in his lyrics. The first of these references comes at 0.12, where Solo says "BK", which at first listen could be referring to the fact that he is in Brooklyn, as evidenced by the Brooklyn Bridge in the background of the video. However, Solo's use of "BK" is not only a reference to where he is, but also a reference to the instrumental he uses in his Rapper Tag. Solo's Rapper Tag uses the instrumental from Masta Ace's (2004) 'Beautiful', and the opening words in the original are "BK". Thus, Solo's reference here is to the original, using exactly the same word in exactly the same place.

A further example of the allosonic references comes at 1.51 in the post, where Solo allosonically references "It's been a long time, I shouldn't have left you, without a dope beat to step to" (horrorshowcrew 2011). These lines are a direct reference to Aaliyah's 'Try Again' (2002), which in itself allosonically references with variation Eric B and Rakim's 'I Know You Got Soul' (1987). Eric B and Rakim's original line is "It's been a long time, I shouldn't have left you, without a strong rhyme to step to", which was changed in the Aaliyah song where it is voiced by Timbaland. Solo's use of this quote was in response to many of the fan comments that concerned the time it took for Solo to post his Rapper Tag. As Rapper Tag went on, the fans became impatient for each successive post, often getting angry in the forums when posts were not put up within a few days; with some even getting angry if it was not done within a few hours. There is a gap of a month between Rapper Tag 36 (Eso) and Rapper Tag 37 (Solo), and many fans thought that this had been far too long between posts. Solo makes light of this in his post, saying "yeah I took too long, but I gotta say man, chill, even rappers need a fucking holiday" (horrorshowcrew 2011). The reference to Aaliyah/Eric B and Rakim here further makes light of the time it took Solo to do his Rapper Tag.

In our interview, Solo discussed how this aspect of the fan interactions with Rapper Tag began to take its toll on the artists:

> it was cool, it really… there was real excitement about it for a while and it seemed to create this flood of enthusiasm. But, just like everything else, the fucking Internet just eats itself. The kids just got too impatient and started bitching all the time and being really negative all the time about how they hadn't gotten another free piece of entertainment in a week or two weeks, or god forbid four or five weeks. And the negativity of it all just seemed, that came from the audience, with their increasingly miniscule attention spans just really seemed to poison the whole thing (interview with author).

This negativity from the fans carried on throughout all the Rapper Tag posts. Fans were responding to Rapper Tag as if it were a traditional cypher and wanted to see the next posts done as quickly as possible in order to carry on the momentum of the cypher. This is evident in the forum posts on OHH from the beginning, but particularly becomes prominent around Tags 12 and 13. Form this point on, fans became insistent on the quick turn-around between an artist getting tagged and them posting

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their video. As Solo mentions, this kind of negativity toward Rapper Tag became something that the artists didn't enjoy, but it is not what stopped Rapper Tag.

In Rapper Tag 47, Def Wish Cast tagged in Trem to be next in the cypher. As Maxwell (2003, p.26) noted in his research, Def Wish Cast were part of the early wave of Australian hip hop artists in the late 1980s and early 1990s, and were some of the first to begin the "process of marking out a distinct *Australian* hip hop culture by 'rapping with Aussie accents'" (italics in original). Starting out in hip hop at the same time as Def Wish Cast, Trem is also considered to be one of the founding fathers of the Australian hip hop community and performs as a solo artist and as a founding member of the group Lyrical Commission. Because of their position as some of the first Australian hip hop artists, both Def Wish Cast and Trem are held in high regard by the community, and both place importance on the values and traditions of hip hop, as laid out by those in New York during hip hop's early years. In theory then, both Def Wish Cast and Trem would be keen to participate in the cypher of Rapper Tag, given the cultural associations Rapper Tag has with the cypher. However, after Def Wish Cast tagged in Trem, Trem refused to participate and the cypher stopped. Solo brought this up in our discussion about Rapper Tag:

> Somewhat ironically perhaps the last people to do a tag where Def Wish Cast and they tagged in Trem and they are some of the truly, truly, authentic guys. And they are the ones with whom it died. Maybe that's kind of revealing of how much the game, so to speak, of releasing music and being an artist has changed. But you know, maybe at the same time as some new dogs that turn their backs on new tricks, some old dogs can't learn the new tricks, you know what I mean. Things are moving on in a natural sort of way. And that's always been the thing with hip hop music, is finding the balance between being a traditionalist and paying homage to what has come before and doing something new, because it's also just a cardinal sin to just bite and copy what other people do. To me, that's the art of being an MC and being a participant in hip hop culture is finding that line of being original and being traditional. To me that's what it is all about.

Solo's point here about finding the balance between being traditional, and upholding the values of hip hop culture, and doing something new, is key to understanding why

the cypher ended with Trem. In a magazine interview, Trem describes himself as "definitely a [hip hop] purist and at times a fraction jaded as any traditionalist would be" (trem1 2012). In the quote above, Solo notes that Trem, as an "old dog" has perhaps not learned the "new trick" of using the internet to gain exposure for his music. As Dialect, another self-proclaimed 'traditionalist' noted earlier, because the cypher took place on the internet, this is perhaps why it was viewed as being "kinda corny" and therefore not an event that aligns with the traditional values of hip hop culture.

However, Def Wish Cast certainly felt that Rapper Tag was an important aspect of the Australian hip hop community. A year after their original post, Sereck from Def Wish Cast posted another video stating that they felt "it's essential that it [Rapper Tag] continues, for other artists to have a go, and for everyone else to see what's around in Australia as well; and people have fun with it" (DefWishCastAUS 2013). Here Sereck, and Def Wish Cast, have identified the community building aspect that the *genba* of Rapper Tag has provided the Australian hip hop community. While they recognize that the cypher has potential for exposure for many artists around Australia, Sereck's comments about restarting Rapper Tag highlight the importance of the cypher's place within the community. Whilst Trem has not spoken publicly about why he did not participate in Rapper Tag, P.Smurf touches on Trem's possible reasons in his Rapper Tag post that restarted the cypher a year after it had 'died' with Trem. P.Smurf says:

> I can understand why you didn't want to take that tag,
>
> Don't know the whole story,
>
> Much respect to you and the rest of the fam,
>
> Only thing I know and it might be just spitting,
>
> But simply it's the fact that this Rapper Tag idea was bitten by 60
>
> (BigVillageRecords 2013).

As mentioned above, 360 has been fairly honest about the fact that the idea for Rapper Tag came from an existing YouTube based cypher set up by Ramzo in the United States; he has not tried to claim it as his own idea. It could that Trem did not want to be part of Rapper Tag was because it was not an original idea. However, it is more likely to do with Trem's perception of 360 as an artist, than Rapper Tag as a whole.

At the same time as 360 began Rapper Tag, he was just about to release his

latest album, 'Falling and Flying' (360 2011). This album went on to be certified double-platinum based on sales figures and earned 360 an ARIA (Australian Recording Industry Association) Award for 'Breakthrough Artist' in 2011. On this album, 360 broke away from the traditional sound of Australian hip hop and incorporated influences from genres like dubstep, electro and pop. As Solo commented in our interview, this change in his style has led many in the Australian hip hop community to question his authenticity as a hip hop artist:

> S – what's tricky, or what I think's important, is that we continue to represent the culture or the "scene" that has given so much to us growing up and finding our own identity and all the rest of it, and we continue to represent that in a way that it should be represented in so that we can keep it alive and allow new audiences and new people to get the same thing out of it that we have gotten out of it. I think when you look at the history of 60's career, he's come a long way from where he started and I think you can put that down to aesthetics, and I think he often does when he is asked these sorts of questions, he talks about his own taste in music changing over time and being influenced by different artist and all the rest of it. But I think there is something a bit deeper at play. Culturally, it becomes a bit dangerous when you want to start borrowing bits and pieces of something without really trying to represent the whole thing intact.
>
> JC – So like his flirtations with dubstep and things like that?
>
> S – Yeah, and I don't think there is anything wrong with doing that. Music is music. People have been cross-pollinating music forever, and that's what Hip Hop is in the first place. I just think, it's not just 360, there's a massive trend in popular music in general at the moment of taking a dance beat, either like dubstep or four on the floor kind of house beat, putting rap lyrics over the top of it and creating a hook that's kinda of like really highly treated and highly auto-tuned and digitized and really strung out and it's kind of a formula that is being used over and over again in popular music because it's hot and it's got all these

different elements of things that have been hot over the last few years. To me, that's not what making music is about, and I think a lot of hip hop heads in this country who hold hip hop and the culture very dear to their hearts, I think it's totally understandable why there has been some backlash amongst those people against 60 and what he's doing with his music. Especially when we, and I think this is the bit that makes it valid, we were there when 60 was spitting really, really super-aggressive Big L style raps over really dark sample based boom bap production. We were there. The first time I ever heard 60 was coming up under the direction of like Lyrical Commission and all those dudes who are like some of the most traditionalist, staunch boom bap value holders in the country. 60 has said that that is not him and all the rest, and I can accept that and that's cool, but as participants or just people who the music and the culture and the tradition matters to a lot, it's not that hard to see how a transition from that origin to where he's at now would cause some sort of backlash or some sort of questioning of his authenticity. 60's a mate of mine, you know. I've got love for 60 and I wish him all the best, but I just don't see how, if the way that somebody's communicating and representing themselves changes so drastically I can also see how it's quite a natural reaction to question the authenticity of someone who is representing themselves that way (interview with author).

Here Solo is touching on the change of 360 as an artist by discussing his genealogy of listening and who this has shaped the artist he has become. Solo points out that 360 was encultured into the Australian hip hop community through an interaction with Trem and the other members of Lyrical Commission. This meant that 360 would have been encultured into the traditionalist approach to hip hop that Trem and Lyrical Commission espoused. His subsequent change from this hip hop perspective and his move to a more pop orientated sound has seen 360 be accused of 'selling out' as he has changed his sound away from this more traditionalist, 'boom bap' sound he began his career with. This is perhaps ultimately why Trem did not want to be a part of Rapper Tag. As Trem has said, "I never hate on people doing the kind of music

they want, my discontent comes in when either the artist themselves, or their label, or even media, go on to categorize them as hip hop when they are far from it" (trem1 2012). Certainly 360's music was no longer seen by many in the hip hop community as being authentically hip hop, as Solo discussed above. During our interview, Solo noted that starting Rapper Tag was "certainly the most hip hop thing he [360] has done in a while". Given 360 was promoting himself as a hip hop artist through starting the Rapper Tag cypher, Trem's discontent with the cypher stems from his position as a 'traditionalist' who is concerned with maintaining the authenticity of the culture in the face of artists like 360 who are challenging this authenticity. Trem could also have felt a sense of betrayal having encultured 360 into the community only to see him make music which he feels lacks the very authenticity Trem had taught 360 about.

This incident demonstrates the importance of a genealogy of listening, and how going against your previously stated genealogy of listening can have serious consequences for how an artist's music is viewed within the community. What this incident also demonstrates is the closeness of the community within Australia. Where Dialect was afraid to speak about Rapper Tag for fear of "getting into trouble", similarly Trem's silence over not wanting to appear in Rapper Tag can be seen as not being happy with 360 and the concept, but also not wanting to say anything that would undermine 360 as an artist, or cause tension within the community. As The Tongue noted in our interview, within the Australian hip hop community "there's people who don't really like each other, but there's not people beating each other up, or shoot outs, anything like that" (interview with author). This comment was made in the context of talking about the way the community interacts, and The Tongue suggested that while there are artists who might not like each other, they generally keep that to themselves in order to maintain a feeling of togetherness within the community.

Overall, Rapper Tag as *genba* offered a chance to see how the community, as both artists and fans, engaged in a discourse about hip hop identity and artistry in Australia. In addition to the "official" Australian Rapper Tag begun by 360, several versions of Rapper Tag also began around Australia that focused on specific regions: Sydney Rapper Tag; Blue Mountains Rapper Tag; Canberra/Queanbeyan Rapper Tag; Perth Rapper Tag; South Australian Rapper Tag; North Queensland Rapper Tag; and a Broaden City (Northern Territory) Rapper Tag. In addition to this, several

members of the Underground hip hop community in Australia felt that they were not getting enough exposure through the "official" rapper tag, and began their own Underground Rapper Tag. Each of these cyphers demonstrates the effectiveness of Rapper Tag in providing a *genba* where the community comes together to produce culture aligned with genealogies of listening. The success of Rapper Tag in fostering this community in Australia has been picked up on by MCs all over the world, with a Rapper Tag starting in the United Kingdom, Latvia, Lithuania, and Bulgaria; also an Arab Rapper Tag. Each of these Rapper Tags was influenced by the Australian version. I contacted the MC that began the Latvian Rapper Tag, MC Armija, and asked him to describe were he got the idea to start the Latvian version of the cypher:

> I saw a Rapper Tag that was made by Bliss n Eso and I really got
> amazed by the idea that you can have great fun amongst the artists.
> At the time, the Latvian scene was a bit quiet so we decided to make
> the Rapper Tags to keep things lively (2016, personal
> communication).

Because he mentioned Eso's Rapper Tag post in particular, I asked Armija if he had been a fan of Bliss n Eso and that is how he came across Rapper Tag. He replied: "yes, there was a time that all I listened to was Bliss n Eso. I used to wander around YouTube and Soundcloud looking for music and came across them and they blew my mind" (2016, personal communication). Being a Bliss n Eso fan brought Armija to Rapper Tag, and from there he saw how effective the *genba* of the cypher was at producing community within the Australian hip hop community. His comment that the Latvian scene was quiet, and that starting a cypher would liven the scene up, speaks to the community building possibilities offered by the *genba* of Rapper Tag. What is also evident through the transmission of Rapper Tag across countries and languages, is that these artists have shared a similar genealogy of listening that has allowed them to understand that such a cypher forms part of the core codes of hip hop culture. Thus genealogies of listening enable not just local, or national, constructs of identity, but constructs of identity that can be recognised and engaged with globally.

Hectickest Challenge

Rapper Tag was not the only internet based community building activity 360 began during the research period. In early 2016, 360 released a mixtape that

featured a song called 'Hectickest' (2016a). The song picked up on the slang use of the word 'hectic' in Australia, to mean someone or something that was, depending on the context, awesome, crazy, fun, or busy. In the song, 360 talks about young Australian men who take a lot of drugs and participate in often illegal activity to appear cool. At times it sounds like 360 is referring to himself as the hectickest, however, the song is more likely to be a metaphor about other's behaviour given 360's public problems with drugs and his now clean self. After releasing the mixtape, 360 uploaded the instrumental of 'Hectickest' to his Soundcloud and on Facebook issued a challenge to his followers to "out hectic the hectickest" (360 2016b) by recording videos of themselves rapping their best verse over the beat. 360 then would post the videos that he enjoyed to his Facebook page for everyone to see. The challenge attracted many of his followers to post their own verses over the instrumental, and whilst most of the posts were made by unknown or amateur MCs, there were a couple of 'Hectickest' posts made by established MCs such as Ivan Ooze, Maundz and Smiles Again. The challenge called for MCs to provide a verse in a battle style of rapping, rather than the cypher style that Rapper Tag called for. After the challenge had run for a week, 360 posted that he had been enjoying the challenge entries so far, but that he was concerned by the comments some had been posting that criticised those involved.

> I've seen a few posts of dudes saying 'they're all shit blah blah'. Just fuckin relax ay, most of the people getting involved are young, up and coming rappers who are still learning the ropes, this is giving them a platform to reach a wider audience than usual. Instead of saying something is shit why not give some legitimate constructive criticism on how they can get better and evolve as an artist? Also guess what, some people like all sorts of different styles of hip hop, just because someone is doing something you don't seem [sic] as 'real hip hop' doesn't mean it isn't. Taste is subjective, if you don't like it just ignore the shit. Why are you going out of your way to try and insult some young kid who's having a go? Why don't you drop a video and see if you can actually do better? Lead by example bruz (360 2016c).

In making these comments, 360 is performing an important role within the community by suggesting that criticism is good, but it should be constructive, and not just a

blanket criticism for not performing in a certain style. Further to this, four days later, 360 posted his own constructive criticisms about the posts he had seen so far and how they could generally be improved[17].

In many ways, the post is a version of the kinds of learning through listening and enculturation discussed in previous chapters. In the post, 360 is highlighting the importance of rhyme, flow and cadence to an MCs skill set; as he says, "this is usually the first thing I teach someone when I see potential in their craft and take them under my wing and try to help them" (360 2016d). 360 then goes on to outline some of the ways in which an MC can improve their skills by discussing the use of rhymes specifically:

> When it comes to rhymes, when most kids start out they rhyme very
> simply, 'bat' with 'hat' etc. But if you listen to the best MC's they
> actually rhyme more than one syllable with usually more than one
> word. These are called 'multis' (multi-syllable rhymes) - when you
> are rhyming multis you are rhyming and matching each syllable in
> the rhyme scheme. You can rhyme simple two syllable rhymes or
> you can get technical and rhyme as many as you like, but try not to
> do one syllable rhymes very often (360 2016d).

This kind of enculturation and education is something that 360 has gone through himself. As discussed above, 360 'came up' in the Melbourne hip hop community through the guidance of people like Trem and Lyrical Commission, who place great importance on their lyrics, and on the why that they use skills like rhyme and flow in their works. In his enculturation, 360 would have received similar advice from Trem and the other members of Lyrical Commission, and the post that 360 makes here gives some of the same advice he would have received during this period. In his post, 360 goes on to give examples of 'multis' and how they should and should not work. He ends the post by saying that "if you have any questions feel free to post them below – I'll try and answer them when I get the time, but if there are other rappers out there who understand the question feel free to help out" (360 2016d). This post, and in particular comments like this last one, highlight the community building aspect that the *genba* of the Hectickest Challenge provides. By giving any one a chance to rhyme over his beat, challenging them to write and perform their 'hectickest' verse, and then

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[17] The post is over 1000 words long, and I have provided a copy of the full text in Appendix C, page 274.

further providing advice to those who do participate, 360 is performing the same learning and teaching roles he experienced but through a social networking site. There were a few questions in the comments after this post, all of which 360 answered. But overwhelmingly, the comments to this post were all thanking 360 for posting this advice. As Claudee Rowe comments, "360 this is probably the most selfless thing you could do, taking the time out of your own success to help your fans who want to follow the same journey as you. Well done mate. Shit like this makes you such a champ" (360 2016d). This kind of sentiment is echoed in the vast majority of the 261 comments to this post. From these comments, it is clear that some in the Australian hip hop community are grateful to 360 for providing this kind of advice to everyone.

In the posts, 360's followers were also commenting on artists who they thought did this kind of multi-syllable rapping well, encouraging other followers to go out and listen to these artists specifically for their flow and rhyme schemes and to learn from them. This kind of posting further continues the community learning practices and provides other followers with a genealogy of listening that allows for them to discover new artists in order to improve their skill set as an artist. An example of this kind of post can be seen in the one made by 'Remarcable Marc Blyton', who commented:

> Absolutely spot on 360. I'm 28 I have been rapping since I was 16
> coming from an underground background in Tas[manian] Hip Hop. It
> [multi-syllable rhyming], to me, is the most important thing in rap,
> examples like Rakim, Tech N9ne, Method Man, Eminem, Lloyd
> Banks, early Fabolous, the list goes on. People who hate it,
> generally are unable to comprehend it. Simple as that (360 2016d).

This is just one example of these kinds of posts; there are many others, each giving a list of MCs that the poster feels are good examples of multi-syllable rhymers. Through this kind of engagement, the Hectickest Challenge offers an insight into the ways that genealogies of listening are discussed and can be used to further enculturate participants into the genre. The *genba* offered by the challenge provides an opportunity to observe how community building practices entwine with listening practices to produce community standards which are negotiated through participant's engagement with each other and artists.

Concluding Observations

Each of the four events discussed above provided an opportunity to observe the importance of genealogies of listening and how these genealogies become enacted during these events to produce identities. Both Speech Therapy and One Day Sundays prove examples of artist run and curated events, where specific genealogies of listening, and the resultant artistic identities, become privileged in the community. This privileging of a certain kind of identity and listening history in these spaces works to recreate these listening genealogies and reinforce them as identities amongst both fans and artists. These events also offered the community a chance to come together in the kinds of face-to-face ways that Condry discussed as being important for the development of the Japanese hip hop community. In the Australian hip hop community these events have been just as important for the community, as evidenced by the demand for One Day Sundays parties in particular. The four events are current examples of how the tensions, creative experiments, uses of new technology and changing audience interactions come together in these *genba* to produce a hip hop identity at the local and national levels that is based on these genealogies of listening.

Chapter Five: Race, Skip Hop and Diversity

As the previous chapter has discussed, Australian hip hop artists are developing new ways of interacting with their fans, driven by a set of core hip hop values. This chapter examines the tensions that have become apparent between some fans of Australian hip hop and the artists over issues of race and xenophobia. These tensions are often marked out by fans who do not share the same genealogies of listening as the artists they like, and often do not appreciate the social and political statements found in their music. Nonetheless, Australian hip hop artists are clearly marking out a space that helps to explore issues of race in a distinctly Australian context, while drawing on their genealogies of listening to authenticate their practice. As the Australian hip hop community continues to become more diverse, discussions of issues like race and xenophobia become more apparent in the music of hip hop artists in Australia.

Race and Authenticity

Much of the research on Australian hip hop has focussed on white MCs, and has examined the strategies they use to legitimate their 'use' of hip hop. As Maxwell argued, white hip hop artists in Australia felt the need to demonstrate their authenticity to hip hop culture. This authentication was achieved by establishing an "authenticity deriving not from colour or race, but from a notion of truthfulness to one's self. It turns out that it is okay to be white and into hip hop as long as you don't *misrepresent* who you are, as long as you do not simulate blackness" (Maxwell 2003, p.161 emphasis in original). Arthur (2006, p.148), building on Maxwell, furthers this conception of race to include nationality, arguing that "in the Australian hip hop scene there is not a problem being 'white' and Australian as long as you do not misrepresent who you are, and simulate blackness, or where you are from and simulate Americanness". It is not only in Australia where this kind of authenticating of race occurs, as Ochmann (2015, p.443) proposes about European hip hop artists, this kind of authenticity could be considered "heartcore – having the right motivation, an honest interest in hip hop and its cultural tenets".

This position is common among the artists interviewed for this research. As Solo suggested in our interview:

I think that's a really important thing to understand about hip hop music and to appreciate it as, you know, a Caucasian dude from Sydney, Australia, practicing the same culture or attempting to sort of share the same culture as what basically emerged out of the ghettos of New York in the 60's and 70's. I think it's important to appreciate how different the origins, like the place and the time of the birth, the thing that I love so much is so different to my own context but I don't think that necessarily means that my practicing of it or my participation in it is less valid or whatever, it just means that it is important for me to understand that and appreciate that.

The artists interviewed for this study agreed with Solo's position here; that having a knowledge about where hip hop has come from is an important part of the identity as a hip hop fan and artist.

Similarly, Bynoe (2002) suggests that this kind of knowledge is important if someone from outside of the United States wants to be a part of hip hop culture. Bynoe asks:

if international artists are selectively taking parts of hip hop culture and reconfiguring them to fit their own histories and experiences, without understanding the framework in which the components developed, how can these new cultural expressions still be called hip hop? (Bynoe 2002, p.78).

While arguing that an understanding of the underlying framework is necessary for global hip hop artists, Bynoe then asserts that hip hop culture cannot be observed outside of the United States. The underlying assertion that Bynoe makes here is that:

while rap music has been globalized, hip hop culture has not been and cannot be. Anyone can be taught the technical aspects of deejaying, breakdancing, writing graffiti, and rhyming, or can mimic artists' dress or swagger, but the central part of hip hop culture is the storytelling and the information that it imparts about a specific group of people. The experiences of Black people in America – coupled with their beliefs, customs, language, and style – continue to fuel what is called hip hop culture (2002, pp.77–78).

Bynoe's position here is in contradiction to the position of many scholars on global hip hop culture. Her assertion that hip hop culture cannot be found outside of the

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United States appears to be based on her assumption that "international interpretations of hip hop more often than not, are based on ill-informed notions about the United States in general, and about Black Americans in particular" (Bynoe 2002, p.80). Bynoe provides examples of hip hop in South Africa, Cuba, and Japan to support her claims here, but her essential argument is that hip hop culture is a Black American cultural form and therefore cannot be reproduced outside of the specific context of America. Bynoe's overgeneralisation that all international interpretations of hip hop are based on "ill-informed notions" is also problematic, as this position ignores those outside of the United States who actively seek out to be informed on such topics.

Further to this, Bynoe questions:

are the permutations of hip hop culture abroad merely branches of the original tree, or do they actually constitute new cultures in their own right? Undergirding that query is the question of whether hip hop culture can legitimately exist divorced from general Black American culture and history (Bynoe 2002, p.78).

One of the problems with Bynoe's line of questioning here is that she has completely ignored how artists interact within global hip hop. Her claims that hip hop culture cannot exist when removed from an American context is put into question by American hip hop cultural organisations such as the Universal Zulu Nation, who have chapters in various countries around the world including Australia. As Chang has noted (2006, p.247), "Afrika Bambaataa was the first ambassador of hip hop and [the] Universal Zulu Nation [was] the first global hip hop institution"[18]. It stands to reason that if one of the founding fathers of hip hop culture (Chang 2005) has established chapters of his hip hop cultural organisation in many countries around the world, then he feels that hip hop culture can travel beyond the United States; as Chang suggests, "as Bambaataa foresaw, hip hop's concerns with identity and pride of place travel very well" (2006, p.247).

Bynoe is not the only one to think that hip hop is an essentialised Black form of music. Mitchell argues that Rose's (1994) call to study hip hop outside of America is based on an assumption that "this would involve studying the appropriation of rap and hip hop as an essentialised, endemically African American cultural form"

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[18] During the writing of this thesis Afrika Bambaataa was removed from his position as the leader of the Universal Zulu Nation due to allegations of child sexual abuse. The statements about Afrika Bambaataa in this thesis were made before these charges were brought, and as such reflect that time.

(Mitchell 2001, p.5). As Mitchell and others have pointed out, there is a long history of Latino, specifically Puerto Rican (Flores 1994; Forman 2002; Rivera 2003; Chang 2005) influence in the beginnings of hip hop culture. As S. Craig Watkins (2006, p.150) has noted:

> Even during its humble beginnings hip hop was never strictly a black thing. It has always been multiracial, multicultural, and multilingual. Those qualities formed a movement that has defied all attempts to impose the strict racial definitions and caricatures that endeavor to limit its potential reach and influence. By insisting on borrowing from various cultural, musical, aesthetic, and political traditions, hip hop became an incredibly rich fountainhead of youth creativity and expression. While black youth play a central role in hip hop, white, Latino, and Asian youths continue to make their mark on the movement, too.

However, Bynoe conflates African American, Caribbean American and Latino American into one category, as they "all… have roots in Africa" (Bynoe 2002, p.79). Whilst this might be a reality in the United States, Bynoe provides little evidence of this, and such a statement appears to oversimplify the issue in order to make her point that hip hop culture cannot be globalised.

Bynoe's comments bear resemblance to the debates concerning the long history of white musicians, in particular, 'borrowing' African American musics (see Lott 1993; Starr & Waterman 2003 for example). Thus Bynoe's arguments here in the context of the US have to be seen in the light of these histories and the politics of cultural borrowings that occurred in the context of specific, uneven power relationships. However, the contexts of power relationships and issues of race are different in every country where there are hip hop artists. Bynoe's work here oversimplifies the issues of race and power in hip hop outside the United States, and conflates African American culture and hip hop culture.

Taylor warns of the dangers in conflating African American culture and hip hop culture. As "a black American man who grew up in the Seventies and Eighties when hip hop burst on to the world stage" (2005, p.80), Taylor discusses why he doesn't 'love hip hop' and what it means that he doesn't. Using Cornel West's (2001) notion of 'racialist reasoning', Taylor argues that if you want to "demonstrate my racial ties to hip hop culture, you'll have to show that hip hop counts as black culture in a way

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that makes some claim on me. This means showing that cultures can correspond to racial groups, and that it is possible to speak coherently of races at all" (2005, p.85). Taylor further suggests that:

> if the aim is to preserve the culture, then it shouldn't matter what the members look like. What matters is that they learn the traditions, master the relevant techniques, and internalise the proper sentiments and values. Unless we go back to the classical racialist idea of physiology determining character and sensibility, there's not much reason to think that a black person would do this any better than anyone else.

Thus for Taylor, hip hop culture cannot, and should not, be conflated with black culture. This is not to say that we should ignore hip hop's origins as a culture that emerged from black culture; and certainly this is not what the artists interviewed for this study wish to do. Rather, that hip hop must be considered as its own culture, with its own codes and conventions that have been taken up by people all over the globe; and some of these codes and conventions have no doubt come from black culture. As Kajikawa notes:

> although unified by a common set of Afro-diasporic tendencies, rap music's projections of race are neither monolithic nor static. In other words, one could say that rap is 'culturally black' but that the meaning and significance of blackness (or any other racial identity projected by the genre) often varies widely from artist to artist and from song to song (2015, p.195).

Therefore, while it might be hard to separate hip hop culture from black culture, the two do not necessarily need each other to survive. Bynoe states that:

> while rap as a creative tool is portable and adaptable, it belittles hip hop culture to continue to insist that as a cultural entity it can be disassociated from its roots and dissected at will. Like any other culture entity, hip hop culture should be appreciated, studied and respected for who and what it represents (Bynoe 2002, p.83).

This assertion that hip hop culture represents only Black Americans and Black culture, and that these are the only valid expressions of hip hop culture, belittles the fans and artists of hip hop culture around the world who are genuine and sincere about their participation in the culture. Those interviewed in this study all discussed

how important learning about the history and origins of the culture is to their own sense of being part of hip hop culture. Learning about these origins and history can only go so far. Many fans and artists in an Australian context might not get all the nuances of Black culture that are in hip hop, and they won't have an experience of what living as a black American in America is like. However, many of the artists I've spoken with all note that learning about hip hop has helped them to understand Black culture and the situation for Black Americans in America more so than any other media form. As Solo discussed in our interview, having a knowledge of the history and cultural context of hip hop has given him and many others a view of the world that they otherwise might not have received:

> I think that's a really big thing that Hip Hop culture has done for
> international relations and race relations amongst young people. It's
> the thing that has opened up a dialogue between people from all
> around the world who live in very different contexts and societies
> and that's why I think it's important that if you are coming into the
> culture and building an awareness of it, it is important to go back
> and study those original texts and books so that you appreciate
> where this thing has come from that has found its way to you
> somehow (interview with author).

Solo's suggestion above that engaging with hip hop culture has taught him more about issues of race, racism, and global injustice than any other source in his life, supports Sharma's (2010) notion of 'global race consciousness'. Sharma suggests that this is a concept in which race constitutes "a matter of critical understanding – of the ways of thinking about and being in the world, rather than a reference to an individual's biology or phenotype" (2010, p.2). Rather than a site of deracination, Sharma views hip hop as a potential site for race-based identifications that shed light on the complexities of intergroup dynamics. In her work on South Asian Desi artists, Sharma notes that "hip hop is not *either* a multiracial art form *or* a black one. Rather, it is a multiracial production of black popular culture" (2010, p.215). She goes on to pose the question:

> how much more productive would it be if we were to
> reorient the ownership/authenticity debate by focusing
> on an artist's *approach* to hip hop, rather than on an
> artist's identity? This anti-essentialist approach

evaluates the artists' motives, skills, and locations within urban culture without erasing hip hop as an American Black cultural formation deeply attendant to the politics of race that also extends beyond those commonly considered 'Black' (Sharma 2010, pp.215–6).

This perspective allows for the analysis of an artists' approach to the making of their music, paying particular attention to the ways in which they engage with the history of the genre in their own artistic practice. This position on hip hop culture recognises the importance of listening to hip hop and learning about its origins and history. Again, this points to the genealogies of listening that artists have engaged with that tell them about this history, and points to the ways in which they demonstrate this in their music.

Through this engagement with hip hop culture, and learning about what the culture has been able to achieve in terms of discussions of race in America and beyond, many Australian hip hop artists feel that they would like to use their music for a similar purpose in the Australian context. As noted previously in this thesis, this is perhaps due to the genealogies of listening for many Australian hip hop artists that has placed an emphasis on alternative hip hop music; music that discusses such themes and places an emphasis on hip hop's ability to get a message across through the lyrics.

Race and Australian History

As Maxwell has documented, "Australia has a profoundly racist history, and … it is still plagued, if not defined, by unresolved racial tensions" (2003, p.xi). This 'racist strain' within Australian society began with the first European settlers to arrive in Australia in 1788, and as Maddison (2011, p.3) explains, "white Australia was settled on a land that did not belong to us". From this point on, "non-white non-Indigenous Australians also walk on stolen ground" (Ahmed 2005, p.78). Hage (1998) demonstrates how race and nation are intertwined in the contemporary landscape of Australian cultural, social, and political life. As Barclay and West have argued:

there has also been a strain of racism in the Australian national identity. Fear of the Chinese on the goldfields led to violent acts against Chinese gold-seekers in the 1850s. The Australian nation

was formed in 1901 in part because of fear of Japan and fear of cheap labour from the Pacific Islands. And white Australians have historically been neglectful and complacent about Aboriginal people. The racist strain is there (2006, p.75).

This history of racism extends from the colonisation of Australia, right through to the 'White Australia' policies that were repealed in 1973. The 'White Australia Policy' was established at the time of Federation in 1901 and were a set of policies that effectively only allowed immigrants to Australia from the UK and other European countries. As Jayasuriya, Walker and Gothard (2003) note, the legacies of this policy are still felt in contemporary Australian society. After the white Australian policy was ended, Australia entered a period where the government promoted a vision of a multicultural Australia. However, Stratton (1998) identifies three problems with this official multiculturalism: firstly, it suppresses discussions of race; secondly, it postulates a core white culture; and finally, it is formulated around a notion of stable and discrete cultures. As Hage furthers, "certain cultural forms of White-ethnic power relations remained omnipresent in a multicultural society, and were reproduced by the very ideologies of cultural pluralism and tolerance that were supposed to transcend them" (Hage 1998, p.15). Thus, contemporary accounts of race within Australia still focus on a core assumption that the 'everyday Australian' is white (Dolby 2000). These issues of race, racism and xenophobia are thus at the heart of contemporary visions of Australia as a nation state. Conceptions of Australian national identity have tended to focus on a white Australian identity, and while this is slowly changing, there is still a long way to go.

Race and Hip Hop in Australia

Like many other forms of popular music that reflect the societies in which they are created, Australian hip hop is at the forefront of negotiating the issues of race, racism and xenophobia in contemporary Australian society. As Iveson (1997) has noted, Australian popular music, in the form of the Bush Ballads of the nineteenth century, has always had a connection to politics and the construction of a national identity. Iveson further suggests that "Australian hip hop is, like the ballads, engaged in challenging dominant visions of our national identity and building an alternative agenda. This alternative vision is a more genuine form of Australian multiculturalism" (Iveson 1997). Given the increasing diversity within the hip hop community in

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Australia, this vision is promoting many different voices that have traditionally not been heard in mainstream Australian discourse. Australian hip hop artists see this as a core part of hip hop culture; that hip hop promotes peace, love, unity and having fun. The hip hop artists in this study all viewed hip hop's potential for discussing issues of race, racism and xenophobia within Australian society as an important function of the music. As Solo explained in our interview:

> I think it's really true that Hip Hop has done heaps in terms of improving relationships between different sorts of people it's not an ethnic identity, it's not a religious identity it's another way of looking at and thinking about the world that ultimately comes from the people in it, the people who participate and contribute to it. That's really cool I think, that it has done so much for breaking down barriers between, it's given me so much more of an understanding and an insight into lots of problems around the world and what's it's like to be someone who lives in London, New York or France, or whatever. It's such a direct way of getting access to what someone else thinks and feels and in that way, the sharing of all of that in this format is what has brought all those people that much closer together (interview with author).

Through his enculturation into hip hop Solo has picked up on this aspect of the culture, and it is one he is keen to see replicated in his own music. There are plenty of examples of Australian hip hop artists dealing with issues of race, racism and xenophobia in Australian society. In particular, three songs typify the ways that Australian MCs deal with issues of race in their music.

In Horrorshow's song 'Own Backyard', Solo and guest artist Indigenous MC Jimblah tell two perspectives on racism within Australia. Solo uses his verse to tell his own story of how he went from simply believing what he was taught in school, to discovering the truth of Australia's bloody past for himself. Jimblah then discusses similar issues from an Indigenous perspective, demonstrating the continued racism he experiences in Australia. Again, Jimblah, like Solo, questions the history of Australia taught in schools with the lines

> What they taught you in a classroom consumed you?
> Well, here's the truth
> See they tried to wipe us off the face of the Earth dude,

Do the math, need proof? Look around you (Horrorshow 2013).

'Own Backyard' discusses issues with Indigenous deaths in custody, the over-representation of Indigenous peoples in custody, the history of colonialism in Australia, the massacres of indigenous peoples as part of this colonialism, and the continued negative media depictions of Indigenous areas like Redfern in Sydney. The song further discusses the impacts that issues of race have on Australian national identity, with Solo's lines:

> Now fate beckons, hear the echoes,
>
> As the pain resonates devastation,
>
> Every January 26 I'm torn between wanting to celebrate
>
> And hang my head in shame
>
> There's got to be a better way, let me say (Horrorshow 2013).

Solo links this history and Australia's national holiday, Australia Day, which is celebrated every January 26th. The date of this holiday is further complicated but what it marks; the arrival of the first fleet of British settler ships in 1788. As Pearson and O'Neill (2009, p.79) document, "for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, 26 January 1788 marked the occupation of the continent by the British. Dispossession, discrimination, disadvantage, and death of the first Australians is a tragic aspect of the Australian story". For this reason, Australia Day is often referred to as 'Invasion Day' by many Indigenous people. Pearson and O'Neill go on to note that the terms 'Invasion Day' and 'Survival Day' began to be used from Australia Day in 1988, the Bicentenary of this arrival date. "This language explicitly acknowledges the dispossession, but it also celebrates the resilience of the Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people" (Pearson & O'Neill 2009, p.81). Thus, Solo here is further drawing attention to these issues of race and racism that Australia is founded on, questioning the national identity and nationalism that is generated through a celebration such as Australia Day. This questioning of national identity here leads to further questioning about the ways in which Australian national identity and race are worked through. As Iveson notes, "far from representing the loss of Australian national identity in the face of global capitalism, Australian hip hop artists are engaged in the project of attempting to build a multicultural national identity in place of a racist monocultural model that is now regaining strength in Australian national politics" (Iveson 1997). Horrorshow's 'Own Backyard' is one such example of hip hop in Australia being used

to question, challenge and promote discussion around a new national identity that takes into account this history.

The second example of this kind of discussion of race in Australian hip hop can be found in Remi's 'Ode To Ignorance' (2014). Remi is a Nigerian-Australian, his father coming from Nigeria, and his mother from Tasmania. In 'Ode to Ignorance', Remi discusses his own experiences growing up in Australia and facing racism, both subtle and overt. One of the racist incidents that Remi alludes to in this song occurred in 2013, when television and radio host and President of the Collingwood Australian Rules Football Club, Eddie McGuire, made comments in the media about Indigenous Australian Rules Football player Adam Goodes. A week before this incident, Goodes had been subject to racist jeering from a 13-year-old female Collingwood supporter in the crowd, who had called him an ape. McGuire then appeared on his radio show and suggested that Goodes would be a good person to promote King Kong the Musical by saying: "Ya know, the ape thing, the whole thing. I'm just saying, the pumping him up and mucking around, all that sorta stuff" (Duffy 2013). This was not the first, nor last, time McGuire would make such racist or sexist statements; and yet McGuire still maintains a high profile within the Australian media and his presidency of the Collingwood AFL team. Remi uses these moments to show how ingrained such attitudes are in Australian society with the lines:

> So tell McGuire cram it before I go ape shit,
>
> Though I guess it's not his bad,
>
> That mindset is old, probably got it from his dad
>
> Copy and pasted,
>
> And just reiterated what ignorant racists,
>
> Have thought since my mother's ancestors invaded (Remi 2014)

The chorus of 'Ode to Ignorance' furthers this point:

> Fuck foreigners. Those Africans aren't worth shit,
>
> Fuck the origins. Aboriginals aren't worth shit,
>
> Fuck Foreigners. Indian, Islander, Arabic, Asian,
>
> If you're not male and Caucasian, you ain't shit (Remi 2014).

Further to this, Remi also talks about his own experiences as a person of colour in Australia and how this has affected his own and his father's lives:

> But let's take a back step,
>
> Even if you can ignore all of the facts then,

> You can't eliminate my experience,
>
> Of being made inferior,
>
> Or my dad's cause of his accent,
>
> I fucking hated seeing him get knocked back when,
>
> Ever he went for jobs,
>
> Just because of his black skin,
>
> They said he's over qualified,
>
> I said he's over colour-fied,
>
> They said I pulled the race card out of the pack man,
>
> You think I wanna play that shit?
>
> This isn't an arcade,
>
> This isn't a game,
>
> This shit is degrading,
>
> Can't take that shit,
>
> We've gotta cremate it,
>
> But they keep fanning the flames with… (Remi 2014)

Here, Remi's depiction of his own experiences provides more weight to his description of race and racism in Australia. Before this section of the verse, Remi also notes that his white friends think that he is overreacting; that issues of race and racism are not as bad in Australia as he suggests. However, Remi uses the section of the verse quoted above to argue that he has experienced this kind of racism first hand in Australia. Remi also discusses the under-representation of people of colour in the media in Australia, and the problems with newspapers stirring up fear and hatred of migrants and refugees; particularly citing the News Corp owned Herald Sun newspaper as an example (Remi 2014). As such 'Ode to Ignorance' works to describe contemporary race relations in Australia, and provides a perspective that is otherwise not heard from in Australian media; one that Remi, as a Nigerian-Australian, is well placed to provide.

Remi's rhyme scheme and flow in 'Ode to Ignorance' are also worth noting. Instead of his usual, 'smooth', style of rapping, Remi's delivery here is more abrupt and jagged; Remi often goes in and out of being 'in the pocket' of the beat, often rushing and slowing down his delivery to emphasise his words. In addition to this, Remi often enunciates words in ways to make them rhyme or have more impact. An example of this can be heard in the way that he delivers the lines "They said he's

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over qualified/I said he's over colour-fied". These lines and the ones that follow, are an example of the type of multi-syllabic rhymes that 360 mentions in his advice to the Hectickest Challenge discussed in the previous chapter. Remi's delivery and flow in 'Ode to Ignorance' further accentuate the personal nature of the lyrics he is delivering.

The fact that this is an issue that Remi wants to discuss in his music can be evidenced through his genealogy of listening. While Remi doesn't make too many references in his work, during our interview he did discuss the artists that have inspired him the most in music, and mainly named conscious MCs in this list. Remi also discussed how he feels that through his genealogy of listening he has learned where he sits within hip hop music:

> That's the main thing, that's how you learn. Go back to the history
> and see what people have done before you and see where it sits,
> see what you like, and see where you fit in. There are so many
> genres in hip hop, you need to find out where you are to get a
> creative edge. You could be a thug, which I'm clearly not. But I had
> to figure out where I fit in. Because I can't rap about what a lot of rap
> is about. It's about what I know (interview with author).

Remi here is noting that he feels that he needs to rap about "what I know", which is in line with the practice of many of the artists in his genealogy of listening. Further to this, his tackling of social and cultural issues such as racism in Australia, continue to reinforce the effect that this genealogy of listening has had on Remi in developing his artistic identity.

The third example of this discussion of race in Australian hip hop music can be heard in L-Fresh the Lion's 'Hold Up' (2016a). In this song, L-Fresh and guest artist Remi discuss incidents of racism and ethnocentrism that they have experienced while performing at shows in Australia. L-Fresh the Lion is of Indian decent and is a Sikh, and as part of his religious beliefs maintains the Sikh article of faith 'Kesh' that obliges the wearing of uncut hair. As such, L-Fresh wears a turban and has a long beard. In his first verse, L-Fresh discusses how he frequently gets people at shows asking to touch his beard. After describing fans who have "cigarette stained hands and a breath full of beer", L-Fresh says:

> Put your ignorance on ice man, you better chill,
> I ain't here to be laughed at I ain't here to be degraded,

> My personal space isn't an issue up for debating,
>
> My beard ain't a hipster trend but when I'm done explaining,
>
> This chick comes by and asks 'that's a nice beard, do you mind if I braid it?'
>
> (L-Fresh the Lion 2016a)

Here, L-Fresh is describing the ignorance people have toward the Sikh religion and the obligation to not cut hair that is part of the articles of faith. He also discusses how some people become offended when he says that they cannot touch his beard.

In his verse on 'Hold Up', Remi talks about an incident that involved two white girls at the end of one of his shows:

> White girl named Tani, come up kissing my cheek,
>
> Saying she really like the way that I freak the,
>
> Freak the mic with many styles,
>
> Now she want me to smile for one of her Fuji polaroid pictures,
>
> It's all going so well, about to bid farewell,
>
> When she grabs one of her friends, Alicia, saying 'Doesn't he look like Wiz Khalifa?'
>
> What? Girl, tell me you're on drugs,
>
> Tell me your vision's impaired or you were dropped on,
>
> The side of your head as an infant by your drunk mum,
>
> I know you think we all look alike but that's one dumb statement,
>
> Now she's saying my flat top looks amazing,
>
> Want to play with it like gorilla in cages
>
> I said, well I want a Ferrari but that's not going to take place in this lifetime ladies,
>
> Neither is you touching my noggin like tradies,
>
> It's degrading and mildly racist,
>
> But I know you have no idea so I politely say to ya,
>
> Your behaviour's not okay, just hold up (L-Fresh the Lion 2016a).

Remi deals with many issues in this verse: the sexualisation of black male bodies in society; the notion that some white people think that other ethnicities all look alike; and the touching of his hair as a further fetishisation of the black body, and how this action is degrading and racist. Combined with L-Fresh the Lion's verse above, the two verses demonstrate a lack of understanding amongst some white Australians of how these actions are seen as racist and degrading. By bringing them to light in a

song like this, both L-Fresh the Lion and Remi are attempting to change people's perceptions on this issue.

In L-Fresh the Lion's final verse, he discusses the further stereotyping of people with brown skin as being terrorists:

> Man, the shit people be saying at gigs,
>
> Yo, that's some of the stupidest shit,
>
> After a few drinks some'll get ignorant quick,
>
> And I gotta laugh coz if not it's screw with my head,
>
> Now the show's wrapped up, I pick my back pack up,
>
> Thinking to myself there's no more cats around to act up,
>
> But as I'm leaving with the band considering we're all finished,
>
> I hear 'hey, that's a nice bag. I hope there's no bombs in it!' (L-Fresh the Lion 2016a)

This final verse and the lines about bags and bombs is again inspired by real events that L-Fresh the Lion has encountered in his life as a touring artist. In a recent interview, L-Fresh the Lion discussed how often and where these incidents of racism and ignorance most often occur:

> Sometimes dealing with ignorant punters, and travelling to and from
>
> a show, being constantly treated as a suspect at airports by fellow
>
> passengers and security. I don't share these experiences to attract
>
> sympathy. I tell them because they exist. And that's what I have to
>
> deal with as a professional artist, and as a human being…. It's not
>
> the experiences themselves that frustrate me most. Rather it is the
>
> systems that exist, which allow for experiences like these to happen
>
> on a regular basis. That's the real enemy right there (L-Fresh the
>
> Lion 2016b).

L-Fresh the Lion believes he has to include these kinds of stories in his music so that people can learn from them and so this kind of behaviour can stop. During our interview, L-Fresh discussed that one of the reasons he was drawn to hip hop as a genre was that it had the capacity to discuss these issues in the music. Because of his genealogy of listening, L-Fresh the Lion feels that he also should include these messages in his music as it is a good way for these issues to gain attention and be resolved.

In all three of the examples discussed above, the artists have been inspired by their genealogies of listening to make social commentary on issues which are pertinent to them. As Solo, Remi and L-Fresh the Lion have all commented, they have learned about this aspect of hip hop through their genealogies of listening and all three place importance on this social function of hip hop as an important part of their own artistic identity. In an interview with themusic.com.au, Solo has said that

> while I see a lot of my younger contemporaries making hip hop and
> sticking to safer topics and wanting to make party tracks, I see
> myself as having something of a responsibility in bringing some of
> these issues to light, and to speak on them in a public way. I think
> that's a really powerful tool in working out what we're going to do
> next (Yates 2013).

As noted in previous chapters, Solo has discussed how he feels that the emphasis he places on making music that does discuss issues of race, racism, class, and gender in Australian society, comes from his listening history. Solo has listened to many artists who have provided this kind of social commentary in their music, and this has in turn inspired Solo to do the same in the Australian context.

Artists, Fans and Tensions over Race in Australian Hip Hop

Whilst the artists, through their genealogies of listening, are of this view, one of the themes that emerged during the research was how artists are beginning to notice a strand of Australian hip hop fans that only engage with hip hop from Australia. This is not necessarily a problem, but with this overly loyal support of Australian hip hop has come a rejection of many of the values that make up hip hop culture. These fans are often racist and make statements about how they don't want "their" artists to be discussing issues to do with refugees and other matters of race within the music.

In July 2012, Thomas Rock, of Def Wish Cast, appeared on the triple j hip hop show and suggested that there is a problem with racism within the Australian hip hop community. Rock said:

> I've been seeing a rising trend of young people taking on the name
> Australian hip hop but they are really latching on to the Australian
> part as something completely different than it's intended. They're
> forgetting the hip hop part. So they're seeing the phrase Australian

as a badge of white Australia and that's very separate from everyone from my generation that saw hip hop as hip hop. It's a culture that's universal, it's global and it's everyone. But these guys are saying no it's just for white Australians. And I'm seeing it more and more, to the point where it's attracting people that have that lean towards the white pride and white power thing which has no place in hip hop whatsoever *(ABC 2012)*.

As a long standing member of the Australian hip hop community, Rock's comments carry some weight, and as Rock points out, this kind of attitude is not a part of the hip hop that he and many other hip hop artists in Australia know and are part of. In the wake of this incident, the internet lifestyle magazine The Vine interviewed 14 Australian hip hop artists and asked them all "Does Australian hip hop have a problem with racism?" (Shea 2012). All 14 MCs agreed that there is a problem with racism in the community, but all also pointed out that this is a problem that is not confined to hip hop and in fact stems from the broader Australian society. As Urthboy pointed out:

Local rap's become fairly mainstream because it mirrors Australian society, so it's inevitable that we also reflect back some of the uglier sides of our identity. And it's not something perpetuated by the artists (Shea 2012).

This statement is similar to the other 13 MCs, who all point out that this issue of racism is not something that is perpetuated by the artists, but rather is found amongst the fans. As Ozi Batla noted:

I think in a broader sense you could ask the question, 'Does Australia have a problem with racism?' Culture doesn't exist in a vacuum, and obviously the broader attitudes in society are reflected in the music. I think what happened was that post-9/11 we had these two parallel things going on: a lot of flag waving and nationalism coming up, and then the rise of Australian hip hop. Some young fans and teenagers who were perhaps more impressionable at the time seemed to conflate the two. In the past few years I've watched friends of mine who I think are really talented artists struggle to make an impact, because they're Indigenous or they're African-Australian. They don't fit the mould that seems to

have been created, which is white and suburban and predominantly middle class. For me, hip hop is supposed to be about those voices that often go unheard.

Again, the emphasis in Ozi Batla's comments here is on the fans, not the artists having this problem. Ozi Batla does point to the broader cultural changes that have occurred in Australian society, and that these changes are then felt in the Australian hip hop community as well. Here Ozi Batla also points out that there is a pattern for Australian hip hop artists and fans, to be white, middle-class and suburban. This stereotype has become a target market in many ways for some Australian hip hop releases. This point is picked up on by Azmarino, one half of Diafrix, an African-Australian hip hop duo from Melbourne. Azmarino notes:

Aussie hip hop is not targeting that urban non-Anglo music community. In Melbourne, if we do a gig and get 600 people, half that crowd will be multi-cultural, and those people don't listen to triple j or Nova or other radio stations. So 50 percent of our crowd aren't voting for us to be played on triple j and so on. We have a lot of talented MCs in Aussie hip hop who are of various backgrounds, but they are having trouble crossing over because they won't get that request or support from Australian radio. We supported Bliss N Eso recently, and at the concert you could see that patriotic 'Aussie-Aussie' thing going on. Which is great, because it's giving young Australians from an Anglo background a voice. But now the genre's gotten so big that it's time for it to spread its wings and become a bit more inclusive of other stories, immigrant and indigenous…. I would totally agree with the idea that it's part of a wider problem with issues of race in the country… That affects us as MCs, but it just means that we have to work twice as hard to bring that commonness back together, and hip hop is a beautiful way to do that because no matter what their background, young people listen to rap music (Shea 2012).

What comes through in all the comments from the Vine interviews is that the problem with racism in Australian hip hop stems from problems with racism in broader Australian society. Each of the 14 MCs also points out that they grew up listening to American hip hop by predominately African American artists, and note that the hip

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hop they listened to did not contain any such racism. As MC Nay, from the Indigenous group The Last Kinection, points out, "hip hop… emerged from the struggles of African American people, so how can there be any racial issues within this music genre when that's what it originated from?" (Shea 2012). Again, comments like this reinforce the idea that there is a disconnect between the genealogies of listening for these artists and the fans that hold these racist attitudes. This disconnect is further illustrated by Urthboy, who in a blog post outlines:

> Racism has become an ugly characteristic of the local hip hop *experience* – whether it be the subtle forms '*I like your music cos it's not about bling and bitches*' (barely anyone *doesn't* say that) to the more overt '*I only like Aussie hip hop, fuck that n***er shit*' (the comments section). **There's little to no overt racism in local hip hop 'songs' but there's no shortage of straight-up boneheaded racism in our audiences. Why is that?** (Urthboy 2013 emphasis in original)

While also noting in his post that this racism and xenophobia are part of broader Australian society, Urthboy's questioning as to why this is appearing in hip hop picks up on the disconnect between an artist's genealogy of listening and the fans. However, there is more to the appearance of these attitudes in the Australian community than this disconnect in listening histories.

As many of the MCs interview for The Vine noted, the development of this attitude began to appear at the same time as the broader nationalistic and patriotic notions started to appear in Australian society. As Nick Lupi pointed out:

> none of the people I know who are involved in making hip hop music could be described as racist. Growing up listening to hip hop music from the States you tend to develop more of an awareness of issues such as racism and prejudice. And maybe that's why this is a little bit puzzling for artists like us, who have grown up listening to conscious, politically charged rap. Using Australian hip hop as an instrument of white pride is unsettling and bizarre, and has no place in our scene. I think the Cronulla Riots were a real turning point – the certainly blurred the line between pride and outright racism; it really bastardised the Southern Cross and the image of a flag draped over a shirtless dude's back. That wasn't necessarily

connected to hip hop, but I remember the notion of Australian

patriotism certainly changed after that (Shea 2012).

Again, Nick Lupi here is recognising that the genealogies of listening between the artists and fans has become disconnected. He further points to the issues of race, racism and xenophobia that have become entwined with Australian national identity as discussed above. Nick Lupi here also identifies a moment in Australian history when this entwining of national identity, patriotism and racism coalesced; the 'riots' at Cronulla Beach.

The Cronulla Riots occurred on 11 December 2005 at Cronulla Beach in Sydney, and have been described as "the racially motivated riots… where drunk and angry young Anglo men engaged in overt displays of Australian national symbols as they verbally and physically attacked young men of 'Middle Eastern appearance'" (Maddison 2011, pp.151–152). As Maddison notes here, the riots combined the racism of the white youths with overt displays of national identity. The riots displayed racist and xenophobic language and sentiment, with one of the defining images of the riots being the shirtless white males, many with tattoos of the Southern Cross, holding the Australian flag in one hand, a beer in the other and chanting slogans including, "we grew here, you flew here"; indicating their perceived 'right' to call Australia home. As many have pointed out (Barclay & West 2006; Maddison 2011; Perera 2007), including Nick Lupi above, the Cronulla riots have marked a turning point in Australian conceptions of national identity, patriotism and racism, as demonstrated by Perera:

Since Cronulla Beach new articulations of the flag have emerged

that overlie and reinflect its previous uses…. to what had become,

post-Cronulla Beach, almost a naturalised relationship between the

flag, Anglo-Australian identitarianism and racist violence (Perera

2007, p.13).

In addition to the flag, the Southern Cross has also become an image of Australian national identity. The constellation is always visible in the Southern Hemisphere, and has importance in many cultures in the pacific. As Cook notes, the Southern Cross is the most recognisable constellation of stars in the Australian night sky, and "seems a fitting emblem for uniting all Australian with a sense of national identity. After all, we all live under the same stars" (Cook 2014). The Southern Cross appears on the Australian flag, but has also become a symbol of the type of

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Australian national identity that is so closely associated with whiteness and racism. As Gurrieri and Cherrier (2011, p.361) suggest, the Southern Cross, particularly in tattoo form, "has taken on connotations of racial vilification, leading some to brand it the 'Aussie Swazie'". Because of these associations of whiteness, racism and national identity, both the Australian flag and the Southern Cross, when used in specific contexts, have become what Perera (2007, p.12) calls "emblems of exclusionary violence". Exclusionary violence is a term that refers to:

> a one-sided, nongovernmental form of collective violence against an ethnic group that occurs when one ethnic group (usually the majority) no longer expects to receive redress from the state for the (perceived) threat caused by another ethnic group (usually the minority) (Hoffmann, Bergmann & Smith 2002, p.12).

In this way, the Australia flag and images of the Southern Cross come to symbolize the racist and xenophobic elements of Australian national identity that are particularly tied up in notions of violence.

As Ozi Batla and Nick Lupi note above, this kind of nationalism and patriotism has become linked with Australian hip hop as at the same time Australian hip hop entered the mainstream, events like the Cronulla Riots were occurring. As Ozi Batla notes, somehow the rise in Australian hip hop and the rise in nationalism and patriotism got linked together. This has gotten to the point where there are now fans of only Australian hip hop; they do not listen to hip hop from anywhere else in the world. This was first brought to my attention my Morganics during our interview:

> I was down in Albury-Wodonga[19] and one of the guys in the group was like 'You know I've got your album?' and I was like, wow! Awesome, that's pretty rare! And I started talking to him about Australian hip hop, and he knew his lineage of everyone. He could track down who taught whom and could trace it back to the beginnings. And I thought, Wow! This is great! So I start talking to him more and more and I said 'So great, you really know your Aussie hip hop I'm very impressed. This is fantastic'. You know, who would have thought a 16-year-old fella in Albury-Wodonga would

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[19] Albury-Wodonga is a settlement that incorporates the twin cities of Albury and Wodonga. The cities are separated by the Murray River, which doubles as the state border between New South Wales and Victoria. In many ways, the two cities operate as one community and have a total population of around 105,000. Thus this is a small community in a regional area of Australia.

know this much about Australian hip hop. So I said, 'What other hip hop do you listen to?' and he said 'I don't really listen to any other hip hop, I just listen to Australian stuff, because I just really relate to the voice'. And I went, oh mate, that's fucked! And us slightly older cats, and I've spoken to a few other guys about that story and we've all gone, 'ah man that's terrible' because actually, you know 5-10 years ago, it's unthinkable that a guy would do that…. I don't think people should listen to just Australian hip hop, or just American hip hop. I don't think either one is that healthy. We need to go back to the source constantly and see what's going on. You shouldn't just get stuck with Australian hip hop you know, that's terrible. You have to put it in context, Australian artists, anyone I know, and they listen to other shit.

On the one hand, it is good to see that Australian hip hop provides this person with the voice that they feel they can relate to; certainly hip hop has filled this role for numerous peoples around the world. What this particular incident makes clear is that it is now possible to have a genealogy of listening that only includes Australian hip hop artists, a situation that Morganics notes would not have been possible 5-10 years ago. Given the mainstreaming of hip hop from Australia that has occurred during this time, and the proliferation of new artists that have emerged because of this mainstreaming, it is now possible to only consume Australian hip hop. However, as Morganics notes, this consumption of hip hop from one place runs counter to the values of many of the hip hop artists themselves.

The Tongue also raised this issue, and added that there is also a sense of blind support amongst some fans for Australian hip hop. The Tongue also felt that this was problematic, and brought up the 'Support Australian Hip Hop' logo that began to emerge in the early-2000s. Rodger (2011), in her analysis of the 'Support Australian Hip Hop' logo, devised by the Obese Record label, notes that many in the community are:

concerned that 'Australian' hip hop… is being uncritically championed. By that I mean that hip hop that is not very 'good' is being accepted and in some cases, praised, merely because it is Australian. The size of the Australian hip hop scene is the oft stated rationale for this behaviour. People do not want to offend other hip

hoppers who they know, possibly like, and will have to often deal with. This perceived lack of impartiality is seen to lead to lower quality hip hop gaining popular support (2011, p.147).

However, given the mainstreaming of Australian hip hop noted above, the community is now much larger, and these issues of blindly supporting any and all hip hop from Australia has become more problematic. While this movement no doubt had good intentions, as Rainman suggests, this phrase has been twisted from its original purposes.

The whole 'Support Australian Hip Hop' tag has definitely been contorted along the way to a situation now where we have a generation that sees 'Support Australian Hip Hop' as having after it in brackets, 'Fuck US hip hop'. And it just doesn't make sense because that's where it came from and where most of the established hip hop acts today learnt about rap music (Shea 2012).

Further to this, The Tongue remarked during our interview:

If you see that poster or little label that says support Aussie hip hop? Now this is a problem. Because there are some people, fans who come to my shows included, who seem to have this idea that Australian hip hop is superior to other hip hops because it's Australian. Nothing from Australia is better is superior to something from somewhere else because it's Australian. It's superior because it's superior. Or it's not. So, unfortunately there is an undercurrent of people confusing the fact that it is Australian with unnecessary patriotism. We all love our country and we love that fact that it is Australian hip hop and whatever, but … I have fans that come up to me and say [putting on a broad 'bogan' accent] 'mate, love the Aussie stuff mate, love Aussie hip hop yeah, I'm not into that American crap you know?' It's like saying, [same bogan voice] 'yeah I love Australian jazz, but I'm not into that Louis Armstrong mate. I'm not into that Miles Davis'. What are you talking about?! Honestly, if you care about the art form, you should be appreciating the art form regardless of where it is from. There is no denying that the Americans have all the classic artists. I mean, we've got some great artists here but, you know, I could name 100 to you who are

incredible and from the States and who are culture changing artists. So yeah, there is that aspect there. I'm sure they have it a bit in the States, but it seems to be that sort of mindless patriotism, does creep in a little bit. But none of the artists are really down with it. Like there's racism amongst the fans as well, but I can't think of any of the artists I know that are racist. There wouldn't be any point. We grew up listening to Black artists you know? It wouldn't make any sense. So there is a redneck element, but it is pretty small and the artists constantly speak out against it and we try and lead by example. Horrorshow are playing today at an apology event in Melbourne doing a combined set with Jimblah. You know what I mean. So we don't condone any discrimination of any kind. We are trying to move beyond that. It's what hip hop was about I thought.

Again, both Rainman and The Tongue bring up the genealogies of listening for most Australian hip hop artists and fans. This is a genealogy that sees them engaging with hip hop from all over the world, as discussed in previous chapters. As such, they see someone who only engages with hip hop from Australia as missing out on learning much about the culture. This is not to say that hip hop from Australia does not include these cultural lessons, as discussed in previous chapters, the way in which Australian artists include cultural elements in their music means that only consuming Australian hip hop will mean that people are still exposed to these. However, by ignoring the origins and the history of the culture by disregarding and denigrating American hip hop, the artists feel that these fans are not able to fully appreciate the culture.

'Skip Hop'

This consumption of Australian hip hop has been combined with a particular type of nationalism and patriotism and in the view of some artists, this has been taken too far. As Fluent Form, has noted:

It's like national pride mixed in with this strange sense of ownership, and I think a lot of it is pure ignorance rather than racism. They've taken that patriotism the wrong way: 'This is ours and fuck the rest' is not what 'Support Aussie Hip Hop' means… The more awareness and the more MCs from ethnic minorities are seen and heard, the

more it will help make a lot of these people realise that hip hop isn't

for Aussie white people who grew up in middle class

neighbourhoods. It's not just about larrikin rap (Shea 2012).

Fluent Form notes here that this sense of Australian hip hop has a particular identity attached to it, what he calls 'larrikin rap'. The figure of the 'larrikin' is an important part of Australia's national identity. As Berry (2013) notes, the Australian government recognises that the larrikin attitude has a significant impact on national identity. The larrikin is a man or women who is often seen as defying social or political conventions in an interesting and often likable way; often by being boisterous or mischievous, but ultimately a good hearted person. For many, the larrikin is best seen in the character of Crocodile Dundee from the movies of the same name (Krausz 2002). Because of its associations with national identity, the figure of the larrikin has become attached to the nationalist and patriotic forms of national identity discussed above. As Fluent Form suggests here, there is a patriotic element to a particular kind of Australian hip hop, that becomes supported because of its connections to a certain type of national identity.

This larrikin attitude and its ties to national identity have produced a 'genre' in Australian hip hop called "Skip Hop". First applied to all Australian Hip Hop, "Skip Hop" was a media invented term that arose during Australian hip hop's rise to prominence in the early 2000s, and came to describe "white-boy hip hop heavy on the Australian accent" (Hendrie 2015, p.175). Skip Hop was a term used in media descriptions of Australian hip hop, but also in the sections of music retail stores such as JB Hi-Fi, who would have a separate section for hip hop from Australia that used to be labelled "Skip Hop". The music labelled as Skip Hop drew in many young Australians because of its associations with accent and the larrikin nature of the lyrics, that often described parties, BBQ's and beers. As Hendrie writes, the *skip* in Skip Hop also became a "reclamation of skip, the disparaging schoolyard slang for Anglo-Australian" (2015, p.178). *Skip* was used by Australians of non-English speaking backgrounds (Zevallos & Gilding 2003) to refer to Anglo-Australians. As a slang term, *skip* is believed to have been "based on a popular children's television series from the 1960s, 'Skippy the Bush Kangaroo'" and is "presumably also a reference to a common international perception that strongly associates Australia/Australians with kangaroos" (Walton, Priest & Paradies 2013, p.81).

While Skip Hop has been used to describe all Australian hip hop, the term is not as common now as it once was, and artists are certainly not a fan of the term, especially because of these associations with some of the fans it attracted. Solo has argued that he has a problem with:

> this idea that hip hop coming out of Australia approaches identity in such a way that it should be classified as separate from other countries. People talk about 'Aussie hip hop', and you go to JB Hi-Fi and there's a 'Skip Hop' section – I'm not a fan of that at all. I think when we look at racism in general, there's that fine line we seem to find so difficult to navigate in this country between pride in one's own background and nation, and the flipside of that, which is racism and prejudice. And that's one thing about our genre compared to other scenes: a lot of Australian indie-rock bands you couldn't tell they come from Australia, but when you listen to hip hop it is distinctively Australian. There's a lot more to latch onto if you're someone who's really proud to be Australian. The danger is when that spills over into intolerance of other kinds of hip hop and other kinds of people. Racism exists in Australia but in no way is it a uniquely hip hop problem – it's just that it's extra unacceptable in hip hop, a genre that's about understanding and respecting other people, not rejecting them (Shea 2012).

As Solo points out here, the fact that Australian hip hop is so easy to identify as coming from Australia, usually because of the accent used in rapping, is perhaps why it was easy for those who are "really proud to be Australian" to become drawn to. The suggestion here is that these fans have begun listening to Australian hip hop not because it is hip hop, but rather that is it Australian and enacts a certain type of Australian identity that they have responded to.

One of the groups that were labelled as Skip Hop by the media were the Hilltop Hoods. The Hilltop Hoods, along with Bliss N Eso, were one of the first groups to take hip hop to mainstream audiences in Australia. They are the first Australian hip hop artists to have albums achieve platinum status in the ARIA charts (for their album The Calling in 2006). Like others, the Hilltop Hoods did not like the term Skip Hop, and have also been concerned with the racism that has crept into some of their fan base. As Suffa, a member of the Hilltop Hoods, noted:

Yeah, I think there's racism in local hip hop. That's part of what inspired us to do the track 'Speaking in Tongues' on the latest record: we'd noticed some xenophobia in our fan base through the social networks. Which was confusing to us, because we'd been raised on everything from Public Enemy to Poor Righteous Teachers. So we just wanted to re-enforce with our fan base: 'This is what we're about. Hopefully you're about it too' (Shea 2012).

Immediately here Suffa is noting that the racism and xenophobia in their fan base is at odds to their own genealogy of listening, which includes artists who do discuss issues of race, racism and xenophobia in their work. Suffa also discusses how the Hilltop Hoods have sort to redress some of this disjuncture through their music. However, this has not always gone over well with their fans either.

The video for 'Speaking in Tongues' was uploaded to YouTube and as Suffa alluded to in the quote above, the comments for some of the Hilltop Hoods videos provide an opportunity to see the disjuncture between the Hilltop Hoods and their fans. While 'Speaking in Tongues' is a song about global unity and not hating anyone for their gender, sexuality, language or religion, the song attracted some comments that were full of hate for these things. User halcncod posted a comment on the video saying "great stuff. I fucking hate boat people though, don't bring your leftard [sic] politics into your songs" (Hilltop Hoods 2012). Similarly, user xenharmon1c commented: "Catchy song, but the whole 'progressive unify the people as one' theme is lame. Hope you enjoy losing your own European culture, Hilltop Hoods" (Hilltop Hoods 2012). It must be stated that such comments are in the vast minority to this video. However, they do represent the disconnect between the genealogies of listening between artists and some fans.

Further to this, Suffa also noted that it was not only their social and political commentary that they were receiving hate for, but also the fans became overly patriotic about the Australian-ness of their work:

We'd see it on YouTube. You might have someone coming over from Louisiana and saying, 'I really like these guys. Shout-outs from Kentucky [sic],' and you'd have all these guys leap on him saying, 'Fuck off you American shit!' and just attack. It was bizarre, and confusing. I know where it comes from: it's all about the accent debate. Really early on, people like us, Def Wish Cast and others

were really pushing to be ourselves because that's what hip hop's about. So it came from this position of not being ashamed of sounding like who you are, but it's not turned into: 'I'm proud of what I am, and dislike what you are'. So it came from a good place where we were trying to find our own identity, and I'm really proud of that, but I'm disappointed that it's spun into this this thing where it's gone from not being ashamed of who you are to being overtly patriotic without cause (Shea 2012).

Again, Suffa is demonstrating in this quote that the work that artists like the Hilltop Hoods and others did in the early days of Australian hip hop to create an identity around their work has become connected to this over-patriotic nationalist Australian identity. In the comments section for the video 'Speaking in Tongues', comments that support this patriotic, nationalistic, position can be found. User Jak Jarvis commented: "I hate American hip hop because its [sic] all bout [sic] women and drinks, well Australian hip hop don't have that plus I like Hilltop Hoods songs" (Hilltop Hoods 2012). Similarly user noahfirefly commented: "I'm not offending you but I'm just saying Aussie rap will always be better because we talk about more than drugs women and partying (sorry but that's ALL that America raps about) AUS sings about real life situations so I don't see how we got ANYTHING from America :/" (Hilltop Hoods 2012). What both of these comments expose is the user's lack of knowledge about American hip hop. It demonstrates an engagement with the music that they hear on the radio and through mainstream media outlets, but not the same engagement that artists like the Hilltop Hoods have had. Thus the disconnect between the genealogies of listening of artists and fans is further exposed.

It is this type of crowd that many Australian artists have become weary of. During our interview, Morganics told me of the time that he was a support act for the Hilltop Hoods, and how he became angry with their fan base.

I've done support slots for the Hoods' years ago and had them [the crowd] yell 'speak fuckin' English ya cunt' when I did my rap in 15 languages. I just know that's not my people. I don't want to perform to that crowd. Whereas, some people, I understand if it's purely mathematics, if it's sheer mass, then in Australia you can get that more BBQ, Rum & Coke, White, Southern Cross tattoo on my neck,

crowd and you can go for it. But I'd rather be out somewhere in a remote community (interview with author).

Morganics comments here came in the context of talking about getting airplay on triple j, and how this has become essential for any Australian artist's career, especially if they want to make money solely from their music. While Morganics didn't accuse the Hilltop Hoods of targeting this specific market of the overly patriotic fans, he did point out that unfortunately this type of fan has become a fixture of the Australian hip hop community, and is particularly associated with that Skip Hop label. But as he notes, it is the type of fan he would rather not have at his shows. Morganics does a lot of work in regional and remote communities, providing hip hop workshops for indigenous communities, and as he notes in the quote above, he would rather be there.

Hip Hop as a Solution

What all the MCs in this study, and in the Vine interview, note is that while there is a problem with racism and xenophobia in the broader Australian community, hip hop has the ability to help change this situation. As Solo noted in our interview:

I think that's one thing about the potential power of the music in Australia is to start exposing these things more and trying to get us to engage a bit more with the narrative or idea of what it is to be Australian. It's just some shit that I've been thinking about lately and I feel like in the same way that hip hop has really served as a forum in America for a lot of those issues, those issues of gang violence and racism and all of these social issues to be pulled out from under the rug and talked about really explicitly and challenged. I think that's part of the potential power of the music and it's something that I would like to see happen a bit more in the music here. We've kind of really have got our heads around the idea that we are Aussies and we like to party and not take ourselves to seriously and have fun. And that's been a really dominant theme in Aussie rap and now things are starting to diversify a bit more looking at different, other elements to bring up and discuss in what it means to be authentically Australian (interview with author).

Here Solo is acknowledging the way that hip hop in Australia has established an identity for itself, but is suggesting that as hip hop in Australia matures he hopes that it continues to challenge Australian society to discuss issues of race, racism and xenophobia. During our interview, I mentioned this idea to The Tongue who suggested:

> Yeah, it's getting there, it's definitely getting there. I mean, there's a lot of… As I said before, we try and lead by example. Look at The Herd that was like six or seven different races there. Downsyde there a few different races there. I'm pretty sure that DJ Izm from Bliss n Eso is from Palestine [actually of Arabic Moroccan heritage] I think. I dunno, if the fans would open their eyes, sorry not the fans, the racist fans, if they would open their eyes they would see that it is there and we are trying to lead by example you know? And it's about getting together for something positive, that's what hip hop is about to me. And again getting back to that show and prove, if you can show that you have skills, I don't care where you are from. If you are a great rapper, cool, you can be Russian, you can be Chinese whatever, if you can bust your skills and are dope, you're dope. It's about putting bullshit aside and looking for the essence of the person, being true to what they say. I think Jimblah is an important artist. We were talking before about for example, the Indigenous story, the Indigenous point of view can really get through via Australian Hip Hop. I think it is already with Jimblah (interview with author).

As both Solo and The Tongue note here, the Australian hip hop community is beginning to diversify and we are seeing more and more voices from minority groups in the scene. However, as The Tongue notes, this diversity has been there from the beginning, but it has often been overlooked. The diversity of voices in Australian hip hop is certainly expanding, and this was a point picked up on by most of those involved in this study. The Tongue went on to further say that this increase in diversity is good, but that he:

> would like to see more than that in Australian hip hop. It's all well and good to have your song on triple j, and certain artists think that that's the be all and end all. But to me it's not, it's about giving back

to the community, it shouldn't just be about being the centre of attention and getting YouTube hits. People that think it's about that are missing the point a little bit (interview with author).

The Tongue's point here about giving back to the community also comes from his genealogy of listening, and his knowledge of hip hop history; with organisations like the Universal Zulu Nation providing community projects since the beginning of hip hop in New York. This element of community work is something that has been picked up on by many of the hip hop artists in Australia, with many of them engaged in community work and activism; an example of this is L-Fresh the Lion's work with refugee charities in Australia and his ambassadorship for All Together Now, Australia's only national charity that exists solely to address racism.

Towards Diversity

Diversity is making some hip hop artists and fans reflect more on what it means to be an Australian making hip hop. As Solo discussed in our interview, he wants to use his music to "make people reflect more on what it is to be Australian or what it is to be from Sydney", and part of the way that artists like Solo are doing this is by challenging the traditional conceptions of what it means to be an Australian hip hop artist.

The next chapter discusses the ways in which the continuing diversification of the Australian hip hop community has led to a challenge to the concepts of national identity discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, this shift has also seen the emergence of hip hop artists in Australia who do not share the historical focus of many of the early Australian hip hop artists; artists who prefer to make hip hop that moves beyond the 'boom bap' aesthetics so prized by these artists. This in turn is leading to further challenges to the notion of what it means to be an Australian hip hop artist.

Chapter Six: Australian Hip Hop or Hip Hop in Australia?

Continuing with the themes of the previous chapter, this chapter examines the continuing diversification of hip hop in Australia. This increasing diversification has led many artists to challenge the term Skip Hop, and its association with a particular kind of Australian national identity. In this chapter, I examine the many artists fighting back against this term and questioning what it means to be an Australian hip hop artist. Are they Australian hip hop artists, or the they hip hop artists in Australia? The distinction here questions which identity takes precedence, an identity based on Australian national identity, or one that is based on an identity forged from hip hop culture that just happens to have occurred in Australia. Further to this, I argue that a move away from the term Skip Hop is particularly important for Indigenous and other ethnicities involved in hip hop in Australia. This is due to the continued media use of the term in describing all hip hop from Australia, despite the fact that this term has become associated with a specific type of white national identity. Because of this, hip hop artists from a non-white background in Australia struggle to see a place for them in the genre. During the research period, one artist came to epitomise the way Australian national identity and hip hop came to be discussed; Iggy Azalea.

The Future of Australian Hip Hop?

Every September there is an international music industry conference held in Brisbane, Queensland called Big Sound. This event draws together industry personnel and stakeholders within the area of the commercial music industries in Australia and ancillary industries such as media (radio, television, press), education, policy makers and lobbyists. In 2014, the Big Sound conference held a panel discussion on the "Hotly Debated Future of Australian Hip Hop" (Big Sound 2014), which I attended this as part of my research for this thesis. The panel comprised of four hip hop artists (Jimblah, L-Fresh the Lion, Tkay Maidza, and Urthboy), and two industry personnel. One of the topics discussed during this session was Iggy Azealia's influence, or lack of, on the local industry. This discussion was taking place in light of much of the popular discussion of the time that focussed on Iggy Azalea as an Australian musician who, during 2014, held the first two spots on the Billboard charts for her song 'Fancy' (2014) and her appearance on Ariana Grande's song 'Problem' (2014); a fact that led Boffard (2014) to label Azalea as both the biggest

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thing to ever happen to Australian hip hop and also the least important thing to happen to Australian hip hop. Boffard's sentiments were shared by the Big Sound Panel; Iggy Azalea offers the world an insight into Australian hip hop, but Azalea bears no resemblance to the type of music being made by Australian hip hop artists.

Iggy Azalea was born in the small town of Mullumbimby in northern New South Wales. At the age of 16, she moved on her own to Miami, and as Morrissey argues, "the genesis of 'Iggy Azalea' the rapper [occurs] *after* her relocation to the USA" (2014, p.4 emphasis in original). Before leaving for the United States, Azalea was not part of the Australian hip hop community. On several occasions she has mentioned in interviews how she did not associate with the hip hop being made in Australia, instead relating more to the sounds and voices coming from the American south. An example of this can be found in her interview Kyle Anderson for the United States magazine edition of 'Entertainment Weekly'. When asked about hip hop in Australia, Azalea replied:

> There's a really small scene, a few Australian artists, but I never liked them. There's a reason why they don't make it off the continent. A lot of the rappers in Australia that I would have heard then were so stereotypically Australiana that even I couldn't identify with it. I think a lot of people thought that. It was trying so hard to be Australian that I can't actually fucking take it. That's part of the problem. I don't think countries are as cut and dry and stereotypical as you think. Not everyone is *Crocodile Dundee*. In terms of what's flying up the charts in Australia, it's American rap music (Anderson 2014).

Azalea certainly has a point here; American hip hop is still much more successful in the Australian charts than hip hop from Australia. However, her statements show that she was not engaged with the hip hop community, and given that she grew up in a regional part of the country this is understandable given the main centres for Australian hip hop have been the major cities like Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide. Her lack of association with the local hip hop community also means that Azalea did not realise that she was only talking about one aspect of the local scene.

In interviews such as this, Azalea also points out that there was a difference in sound between what was being made in Australia and the type of hip hop she

wanted to make. This has come from her genealogy of listening, which is not as steeped in the same kinds of styles that many of the current generation of hip hop artists in Australia have listened to. Azalea notes that she felt that in order to make the music that she wanted to make she had to leave Australia, as there was no place for her and her music in the Australia scene. This is certainly a valid point from Azalea, with hip hop in Australia still not sounding like the kind of hip hop that Azalea herself produces. Given that the music being made in Australia still reflects a genealogy of listening that is based in conscious hip hop, Azalea's music certainly does not fit this mould, with her style being more mainstream orientated than that of most Australian hip hop artists. However, Azalea has also said that she wanted to be a bigger star than the music industry in Australia could produce, and this has certainly appeared to be the case.

As many have argued, including in her notorious 'beef'[20] with Azealia Banks, Iggy Azalea 'puts on' an American accent in her rapping, while continuing to use an Australian accent in most interviews. As Eberhardt and Freeman (2015) note, Iggy Azalea uses the features of African American English in her rapping, and unlike other white artists, does not include linguistic features that mark her as white. Because of this, and her apparent rejection of the notion that hip hop remains an African American cultural art form, Iggy Azalea has come under for much scrutiny for her appropriation of Black language, accent and culture (Chang 2014; Eberhardt & Freeman 2015; McIntyre 2014; Morrissey 2014). This approach to the construction of her identity further puts her at odds with many in the Australian hip hop community, who value the cultural origins of hip hop, and feel that one of the central tenets of the music is staying true to yourself, a value that has come to include accent use while rapping. As Maxwell (2003), Mitchell (2008a), O'Hanlon (2006), and Arthur (2006) all note, the association of rapping with an Australian accent is closely associated to authenticity within the Australian hip hop community. As discussed in the previous chapter, this has to do with the ways in which authenticity and identity have been constructed from the genealogies of listening of many Australian artists, with an emphasis placed on this authenticity coming from a representation of the self as being true and real; thus putting on an American accent is seen as not being true to

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[20] As Chang (2014) has documented, the 'beef' between Iggy Azalea and Azealia Banks "began in 2012, and was born of fine distinctions over identity – some speculating that it had to do with professional jealousy in a highly competitive niche market, others wondering whether… Azalea had in fact taken … Banks' name to burnish her cred. For her part, Banks said she was really angry about Azalea's lyric in a song called "D.R.U.G.S." in which she referred to herself as a "runaway slave master". Although Azalea apologized, the beef has continued".

yourself and therefore marks you out as being inauthentic. This was a topic discussed by the Big Sound panel, and the general consensus amongst those there was that Iggy Azalea would not have been as popular an artist if she had maintained her Australian accent in her rapping; it would not have been as marketable and as successful in the American market in particular.

Given her lack of engagement with the Australian hip hop community before she went to America, the Big Sound panel noted that Iggy Azalea does not represent Australian hip hop. Given her entire career has been in the USA, all the artists on the panel agreed that she in no way represents anything to do with the local scene; as Jimblah said, "Iggy doesn't represent our hip hop community", with Urthboy adding "Where is her Australian-ness? If that's even what we are looking for?". This further ties in with Azalea's own statements about her relationship with the hip hop community in Australia, certainly her music is not about representing Australia in any way.

The panel moved on to discuss the potential benefits of Iggy's rise to fame for Australian hip hop artists, and as Urthboy noted, "one of the benefits is that people will ask what else is going on? The ramifications of the profile that Iggy has, that's something we should embrace". However, this was the only real benefit the panel could come up with. Many felt that because Iggy Azalea does not represent anything 'Australian' in her music, that there was no real benefit to the Australian hip hop community.

While Iggy Azalea's rejection of the Australian hip hop scene was not discussed at length, the panel did discuss many of the same issues that Azalea raised in her disavowal of the Australian community. As mentioned above, Azalea felt that the scene was made up of artists who "were so stereotypically Australiana that even I couldn't identify with it". This is a position that is familiar to many who wish to be part of hip hop in Australia. As Joyner notes, around 2012,

> Aussie hip hop was considered a joke for anybody who didn't connect with Hilltop Hoods and Bliss n Eso… by 2012 four of Hilltop Hoods' albums had peaked at number one on the ARIA charts and they were selling out venues around the country. Aussie hip hop may have been popular, but it was filtered through skip hop and the perspective of white suburban males (Joyner 2016a).

For many artists and some fans, there was a certain 'cultural cringe' associated with Australian hip hop, something that Iggy Azalea picked up on. This cultural cringe is not new to Australian cultural products. As Phillips discussed in the 1950s, there is a "disease of the Australian mind" that means that there is an "assumption that the domestic cultural product will be worse than the imported article" (Phillips 1950, p.299). As Phillips goes on to explain:

> the cringe mainly appears in an inability to escape needless comparisons. The Australian reader, more or less consciously, hedges and hesitates, asking himself 'Yes, but what would a cultivated Englishman think of this?'.

Phillips was writing specifically about authors, but the Cultural Cringe extends across large areas of Australian life. Cultural Cringe is not unique to Australia either, with the concept common to New Zealanders among others as well. As can be seen in the example above, Cultural Cringe used to be focussed on relationships with the British, as the colonial power. This is perhaps due to "the fact that Australia was founded as a convict settlement in the late 18th century, the dependence of the colony on England (the 'mother country') for its existence, and the isolation of the colony from centres of culture in the northern hemisphere may have sown some of the seeds of low pride in the Australian culture" (Feather 1993, p.182). However, 'The Cringe' has since expanded to cultural products from all over the world; but in the Australian case, the cringe still occurs mainly in comparison to cultural products from the United Kingdom and the United States.

As Feather (1993, p.182) argues, "It is commonly asserted in the Australian media that Australians suffer from a cultural cringe and that they tend to devalue the products and achievements of their own culture relative to other cultures. For example, Australians might say that… their actors, entertainers… have to prove themselves overseas or win international recognition before they can be said to have made it in their chosen pursuits". Certainly these comparisons and feelings of 'Cringe' have been applied to hip hop in Australia, and these feelings have been seen in the media depictions of hip hop in Australia. Lauren Ziegler's recent article, 'In Defence of Australian Hip Hop' (Ziegler 2016) brings up the cringe that is associated with Australian accents in rap; whilst Hannah Joyner's article on MC Ali Belmont suggests that:

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for a long time Aussie hip hop felt like the last remnants of cultural
cringe. We had the 'tell what you see' aspect of rap down, but the
other dimensions of hip hop were yet to be felt. We had no cool or
finesse, and definitely, it seems, not that much to get angry or even
boast about (Joyner 2016b)

In both of these articles, the cringe is felt around the 'old' conception of what hip hop
in Australia is; white suburban males and a strong sense of national identity. This old
conception of hip hop in Australia is also built around a particular genealogy of
listening. As discussed in previous chapters, many Australian hip hop artists have a
genealogy of listening that is focussed on hip hop from the 1980s and 1990s, and a
particular focus on artists from New York during this time. As the Australian hip hop
scene increasingly diversifies, this predominant genealogy of listening is also being
broken down. As Ali Belmont has suggested, "Aussie hip hop used to be too Boom
Bap focussed, but now it's less of a boy's crew" (Joyner 2016a). Here Belmont is
picking up on the increased gender diversity in Australian hip hop, with more female
MCs taking part in the scene in the course of the research period, but also making a
point about the genealogy of listening for many artists changing.

Because Australian hip hop has become linked with this specific type of
identity, the image of what it means to be a hip hop artist in Australia has become
fixed on this white male stereotype. This stereotype has become a major obstacle for
new artists wanting to enter the Australian scene. As Jimblah noted during the Big
Sound Panel:

I do a lot of youth work, with a wide range of people, different races.
The amount of times in my experience where young kids who are
from, say a Lebanese background, and they look at Australian hip
hop and go, 'well how can I take part in that?' I'm pretty sure that's
unintentional from the artists themselves and the scene, but here
you have this thing where all the white fellas are at the top, and
there's so many that kids can look at it, when I was coming, we
looked at it and go, where am I? Where do I fit in that? I know for the
indigenous artists, a lot of them feel really jaded in terms of
Australian hip hop and they don't see a place in it. And there's a lot
of frustration there. And it's also about communication. A lot of the
young indigenous guys don't know that the white guys at the top are

cool dudes and are not racists, but that's what out there right now, this is how they are seen.

For Jimblah the issue here is that for a long time the stereotyped depiction of Australian hip hop as a white male genre has had negative impact on the ways in which Australians from different ethnic backgrounds have perceived the genre. Jimblah's concept of 'place' here is interesting. As he suggests, it is easier for someone to aspire to be a hip hop artist when they see someone that is like them already in that role. Thus there needs to be a place for everyone in hip hop. As Jimblah acknowledges, there is a place for everyone in hip hop, but for some young people in Australia this place is not as visible and obvious as they would like. Jimblah also noted that the then recently published book 'Rise' (Hunder 2015), the first photobook to document Australian hip hop, was a good start in seeing the diversity within the community. However, whilst 'Rise' represents a good start, Jimblah felt that there was still a way to go:

It's like I was saying, if young kids don't see a space for them then they get turned off. And I know a few that feel that way. You know this new Rise book that's just come out? Looking through that you know, there's a handful of coloured folk, and there's even less females. Love to Michelle Grace Hunder, you did a great job. But I see that as a huge problem, one we need to work on.

Jimblah was not the only one in the panel to pick up on this point.

L-Fresh the Lion also saw that there was work that needed to be done, but also pointed out that much of the work being done in this area, was already being done by some young artists themselves.:

There are stories from all over Australia that people really want to hear, and that's what hip hop in Australia is doing. But we also have so many people from different backgrounds who just do not give a shit about the barriers any more they make their own pathway. You know, growing up in south-west Sydney you meet so many people that engage with hip hop in a totally different way to what the music industry is used to. They don't care anymore. They don't care if they don't get played, as long as the people in their area love it.

L-Fresh here recognises that hip hop is providing young people from all over Australia with a voice, but that this voice is often not heard as much and as broadly

as it could because of the various barriers that they face from the music industry. Despite Australian hip hop largely being an independent scene, there are still music industry barriers, in the form of radio in particular, that affect a musician's career in Australia. In a previous chapter I discussed the role of triple j as a radio station that can make or break an Australian musician's career. Failure to get played on the station means that it becomes much harder for an Australian musician to build up a national following that will allow them to tour and operate as a viable musician. As L-Fresh went on to say:

> It's a systemic problem. We have a lot of artists out there, a lot of diverse artists, a lot of good artists, male, female, all different backgrounds. But I think the barriers start to exist on all levels, within the music industry, within record companies, wherever it may be. That needs to be diverse too. Otherwise where are people going to know where to look? I talk with different journalists every now and then and they always ask who should I be looking out for. I think it's bigger than just the artists.

As L-Fresh the Lion comments here, there needs to be more diversity within the music industry in order for there to be more diversity in the artists and audiences. As he notes in the quote above, he often gets journalists asking him where the next artist will come from, as they assume that he is more in touch with the diverse communities these artists will come from. While the assumption is probably correct, L-Fresh does a lot of youth work with refugees and diverse communities, L-Fresh is arguing here that the music industry as journalists and record companies should also be doing this work in finding and promoting new talent in the Australian hip hop scene.

During this discussion, Urthboy also noted that there was a disconnect between the audience and artists. As head of Elefant Traks, Urthboy signed the female rapper Sky High to his label and during the panel he discussed some of the issues they faced in releasing her music in Australia:

> A big part of this conversation is our audiences. You know a lot of the bigger hip hop artists grew up with Afrocentric hip hop, it was a huge influence on us growing up. So, you've got people who are trying to do the right thing. But it is a holistic issue, just as Jimblah and L-Fresh were saying. It is bigger than any individual. I also see

it from the label perspective. You have to actually put your money where your mouth is. It's all good to talk about getting more females, but where are the labels signing female artists and developing them? Nothing was more illuminating to me than when we put Sky High's record out. I watched not only our crowds, the so called progressive end of the hip hop scene, shut her down. In a polite way of course! I know you're on the label but I'm not going to listen to you, I'm not going to call you names. Through to the very blatantly violent online vitriol that was directed at her. Now I have never seen that with any other artist the we have put out. Never. Like anything with the Herd, like when we were getting the attention of the Alan Jones' of the world, not even close to what we got with Sky. And I felt it from the label, we had to monitor the YouTube videos, we had to take down the comments because they were so poisonous. Now that is a fucking problem in our society. So that is a point where the people who are in a position to do something have to stop talking about how this is a problem and not being something that they are personally not being involved in.

Elefant Traks is known as a label that releases a range of material, and is regarded as one of the most 'progressive' record labels in the hip hop community. This is because many of the artists on the label's roster are known for their political and socially conscious lyrics that often challenge Australian society[21]. Urthboy here is bringing up the disconnect between artists' and audiences' genealogies of listening, noting that the artists have come from a place of accepting everyone in hip hop. However, the release of Sky High's album provided Urthboy with an insight into the gap between the artist views and those of the audience. Urthboy notes that Elefant Traks, and the label's artists, have been the focus for some criticism for their comments on Australian society in the past, however none of this was on the same level as that they experienced with Sky High. As Urthboy highlights, the music industry and the media in general like to discuss such online criticism and vitriol as a problem in society but do little actual work to address the issues.

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[21] It should also be noted that in much of the 'progressive' music cited by Urthboy and others in this thesis as being influential in their genealogies of listening, is far from free of issues like misogyny and homophobia. However, these artists have recognised that these issues are present in the music but have chosen not to include it in their own, rather choosing to promote a more positive and inclusive version of hip hop music.

Similarly, Jimblah noted in the panel discussion that society has a problem with these kinds of online discussions. He used the example of the debates that emerged in light of Eso's sexist social media posts, as discussed previously, where there was a particular section of society that felt Eso had not done anything wrong, and that they should not be so sensitive about the issue:

> The mentality of white men who feel they have the right to go in and tell people not to be so sensitive about this shit that they wouldn't have a clue about what it's like to go through. We all went down in terms of Eso, I think he made a mistake, but, I think it was picked up and handled well. But I think there is a huge problem here, every time I would see them, these white males, justify what he did. They were telling people to harden the fuck up and stop being so sensitive. I've seen this stuff.

Jimblah's comments here further indicate the disconnect between artists and audiences in the hip hop community within Australia. During these discussions, there were no hip hop artists who publicly supported Eso for these posts, every artist engaged in the debate called for Eso to remove the images and learn from his mistakes. But, as Jimblah notes, the fans of Eso, particularly the white male fans, felt that there was nothing wrong with the images and that it was all a joke; "people should lighten up and stop being so sensitive" was the main view of this audience. As the panel noted during this discussion, this particular incident provided an opportunity for this discussion to emerge in the both the Australian hip hop community, and broader Australian society. Whilst the broader Australian media at times held this incident up as an example of the problems with hip hop, the community saw it as an opportunity to discuss these issues, both within hip hop and the broader community. As Urthboy noted:

> What other genres of music engage with this stuff, in Australia? I'll ask that question and anyone can respond. But what other community tackles these issues? And I'm not saying that we are right or that we are doing it well, but what other music communities generally talk about this stuff? Like we are all part of this because we are all participants in our communities and our communities have these problems. But what other music communities talk about this shit. Like it comes up as this like problem with hip hop. But what

other communities are talking about? Indie? Electronic? Dance? Rock n Roll? Who's talking about it? No one. I think the hip hop community is one of the only genres of music in Australia, the only culture that tries. I would defy anyone to say otherwise.

There was a sense of pride in Urthboy's words here; he was proud that the hip hop community, despite being called a 'problem' by some media outlets, could stir this discussion in broader Australian society. After making this statement, no one in the room disagreed with Urthboy; in fact, looking around the room, most of those listening to the discussion were nodding in agreement at Urthboy's statement. Certainly there was no one to challenge his statement, that hip hop in Australia is the only genre of music that regularly opens up the potential for discussions on race, gender, sexism, and xenophobia in Australian society.

In the panel discussion, Urthboy further argued that the increasing diversity within Australian hip hop is the key to getting Australian hip hop more international attention:

Where the appeal lies internationally to audiences that don't share the same context culturally to us as Australians, is different voices and different perspectives. And that's one of the challenges we face is that a lot of the most popular artists in Australia come from one demographic, the white male MC thing. Far be it from me to pass judgement on that, I mean, look at me! But at the same time, what we… there's an originality and there is a story that people are wanting to find out about and if we have the same people who are being propelled into higher profile spots. You play the percentages, I mean, there's not really going to be the same chance with an international audience going to be captured by it right? It's a really simple thing. We have the same voices getting through and you can only do that for so long until you really need to have different voices, different perspectives and different genders offering up a new take on things. That is the only thing I can imagine being the key to having some artists make genuine impacts beyond our shores.

Certainly this perspective has some merit. Both Remi and Sampa the Great have been featured on the international hip hop website OkayAfrica (Mazaza 2014; Killakam 2015), and Tkay Maidza has also been featured on the site (Killakam 2014).

Tkay Maidza has also been nominated for a United States BET Award (BET 2016), and although she did not win this award, the exposure generated through being nominated certainly has heightened her profile both in Australia and internationally. The common thread with all three of these MCs is that they are all "African rooted artists" (Killakam 2016), and certainly this is why OkayAfrica has run stories on all three MCs; OkayAfrica was established to report on "all the latest music/culture/politics coming from Africa and the Diaspora" (OkayAfrica 2016).

During our interview, I asked Remi what he thought about appearing in such publications overseas. As a big fan of The Roots, who established Okayplayer and OkayAfrica, Remi was very happy to be profiled by the sites. He told me that it was:

> Crazy man. I know that Aussie Hip Hop doesn't really get a lot of
> shine overseas unfortunately. So I don't take it for granted, not even
> a little bit (interview with Author).

As humble as he was here, Remi was also quick to note that he was appearing on such websites as he offered a point of difference from the standard view of Australian hip hop. I then asked Remi if he thought that Australian hip hop in general was getting more press attention internationally:

> It's hard to tell, because I'm honestly not all about Aussie hip hop in
> general. I'm not really, like savvy that much. Like I said I was pretty
> much I hip hop novice when I came into doing hip hop so all I really
> knew about was Hilltop Hoods, to me they were getting that press
> and their shows were large. Like last month they sold out a big show
> in London and then in Germany. It's hard to tell, it's also… People
> for the first time in a while are able to do what the fuck they want in
> Australian hip hop. Which is nice. Like, we wouldn't have been able
> to do what we do a few years ago in Australian hip hop, people were
> very clicky. But it's starting to open up which is great. It's no
> disrespect to anyone that's done it before me, it's just that it's such a
> young thing. At the beginning of normal hip hop, there was Boom
> Bap and that was the shit and then Gangsta rap came along and
> then conscious rap and all this other shit. You know, production
> changes, rap changes, it's just evolution.

Remi's admission here that he has never really been into Australian hip hop fits in with the statements above from Jimblah about not seeing a place for you in the

community. Remi also noted in out interview that for him, hip hop in Australia was a "pretty white genre" (interview with author), from what he knew about it. Here Remi also discusses how the change in the Australian hip hop has allowed for not only a diversity in voices, but also a diversity in the styles of hip hop that has been made. As Ali Belmont noted above, for a long time Australian hip hop was associated with the 'Boom Bap' production style, and for many this was not a style of hip hop that they engaged with in that way; their genealogies of listening where different. As hip hop in Australia continues to expand in diversity of voice and style, so do the genealogies of listening expand as artists bring in their influences into their works.

As noted above, as part of Australia's cultural cringe, there is a sense of needing Australian artists to prove themselves internationally before being truly recognised in Australia. This is certainly a factor in much of the discussions about Australian hip hop becoming successful internationally, but as Urthboy mentioned in the Big Sound Panel, "there is nothing more rewarding in an artist's career than to be viable". While the increasing diversity within Australian hip hop is opening the genre up to new audiences domestically (Ziegler 2016), the market for hip hop, and particularly Australian hip hop, within Australia is still relatively small. While exact figures on the size of the market are hard to obtain, many artists discuss how hard it is to be a viable artist within Australia. During our interview, The Tongue mentioned that it is hard for Australian artists to make a living. We talked about how there are now hip hop artists in Australia who have families to support and The Tongue noted that: "they're not buying houses and raising kids on a hip hop budget I'm telling you that!" (interview with Author). The Tongue does not live solely from being a hip hop artist, he also works as a teacher of English and Geography at Sydney Boys High School. As such, developing an international market for Australian hip hop could be very beneficial to many Australian artists in making their music careers sustainable.

Skip Hop and Diversity

As discussed in the previous chapter, there has been widespread condemnation of the term 'Skip Hop' by the hip hop community. Many feel that its blanket use on all Australian hip hop is problematic, due to the connections to race and the particular strand of nationalistic and patriotic identity described in the previous chapter. Certainly the cultural cringe that many associated with Australian hip hop also stems from the stereotypes that skip hop as a term gave people. In his

song "Skip Hop" (2015), Hau discusses why he feels the term skip hop has become irrelevant to describe hip hop in the Australian context. As Hau discusses in the liner notes to the album 'The No End Theory' on which 'Skip Hop' appears:

> I wanted to express how I was feeling about people labelling local hip hop as Skip Hop. I really dislike that term. As with 'Aussie hip hop'. Cringe-worthy. There are too many scenes, too many sounds and most importantly too many artists with different cultural backgrounds to simply categorise it as Skip Hop (Hau 2015).

The main point Hau notes here is that Skip Hop has become, and always was, too narrow a category to describe Australian hip hop. The lyrics for 'Skip Hop' describe how Hau feels that the hip hop community in Australia is bigger than Skip Hop would imply. Allosonically referencing the Dead Prez song "Hip Hop" (2000), the song begins with the lines:

> It's bigger than skip hop,
> Stereotypes ain't fitting it cos we are bigger than
> Skip hop
> Eh, are you listening? (Hau 2015)

The main point of the song is laid out right in the beginning, that skip hop is a term that Hau feels has become a stereotype of Australia hip hop. In the second verse, Hau further discusses the ways in which Skip Hop as a term was used to label hip hop in Australia:

> It's bigger than,
> Any label they gave you,
> That made you cringe every single time they would,
> Categorise you and downsize you more if they could,
> But you remain faithful and stay true,
> When it came to the act of pay dues,
> Jesus, and I salute you pour me a grey goose,
> Cheers to the fears that we wipe away,
> And the issues that we bringing to the light of day,
> Always keep your head up no what type of day,
> And get along with no slight delay,
> We built this city, but not on rock n roll no not at all,
> We turned up and got busy, hell yeah we got busy,

> With two turntables and a microphone,
>
> We earned our stripes and broke down barricades like marinades…
>
> (Hau 2015)

What emerges from this verse is the sense of community that arose due to the labelling of hip hop in Australia as Skip Hop; the community came together to band against the term, rather than the term having a positive effect on the community. As Hau also details in this verse, the artists themselves built the hip hop community in Australia and it has had very little influence or support from the mainstream music industry.

The video for "Skip Hop" (Hauie Beast 2015) features appearances by many Australian hip hop artists, all of which come from a diverse background of genders and ethnicities. Early in the video (0.15 and 0.21), two signs are held by some of these artists, the first reads "This is not Skip Hop" and the second reads "This is hip hop in Australia". The wording of this second sign provides an interesting distinction here from the usual terminology. There is a very intentional use of "hip hop in Australia" here, not Australian hip hop. This shift in terminology reflects a change in the conceptions about identity created within the hip hop community in Australia, where the emphasis is placed on being a hip hop artist who comes from Australia. Thus the allegiance is to hip hop first, rather than to Australia first. During our interview, Morganics brought up a conversation he had had with United Kingdom based MC Ty about artistic identity and fitting in with local hip hop scenes. Morganics noted that Ty felt that he didn't really fit in with much of the hip hop scene in the United Kingdom:

> So I said so how do you see yourself in the UK hip hop scene as a
>
> UK hip hop artist. He said, well look, the biggest liberation I've had, I
>
> just switch my mind. I'm not a UK hip hop artist, I'm a hip hop artist
>
> who is from the UK. Of course he's also Nigerian, but he puts it very
>
> nicely. But, he's a hip hop artist. And that's how I keep myself in
>
> check. I stop and look at myself and say, well Australia's very small,
>
> we have a small hip hop population. I just see myself as an MC
>
> (interview with author).

This shift in thinking for Ty and Morganics is very much in line with the way that Hau also sees his own identity; hip hop comes first, nation second. This distinction may seem minor to some, but for the artists, this is a way to change their thinking about

identity to demonstrate where they see themselves in the global music community. As noted above, newer artists in the Australian hip hop scene like Remi have not always connected with Australian hip hop, but they have connected with hip hop from other parts of the world and have established themselves as artists within the hip hop tradition, rather than Australian hip hop artists.

In the same way, Tkay Maidza has been heralded in the media, both in Australia and the UK, as the "next big thing in Australian hip hop", and the Australian artist who will take Australian hip hop to the world (see Harris 2015; Mathieson 2015; McCabe 2014; Moore 2015 for examples of this kind of press treatment). The day before the Big Sound Panel discussed above, I got to interview Tkay Maidza. Given the media hype about her being the next big thing in Australian hip hop, and her participation on the panel, which itself was called the "Hotly Debated Future of Australian Hip Hop", I asked Tkay if she described herself as a hip hop artist:

> TK – I would describe myself as a vocalist. I just do whatever I feel like. I think my main project as Tkay is rap and hip hop, but generally I do whatever I want, so I say vocalist. Because I think vocalist leaves it open. So maybe hip hop vocalist?!
>
> JC – So in saying vocalist that would combine elements of rapping and singing?
>
> TK – Yeah, rapping, singing, yeah.
>
> JC – Do you align yourself with Australian hip hop, as an artist?
>
> TK – This is such a hard question. I don't think so, I don't sound…
>
> JC – Well this is what they are going to talk about tomorrow…
>
> TK – I'm so scared for that interview; I don't even know what to talk about. They want to talk about Iggy Azalea, and she's not Aussie Hip Hop. Like what is Aussie Hip Hop though? When you think of Aussie Hip Hop it's like old school beats and men talking about being a bloke and whatever, I dunno. But no, I don't class myself as Aussie Hip Hop. I just, I class myself as Electronic Pop. I think that's more what I am. I've practiced the elements, but I don't consider it as like Aussie Hip Hop (interview with author).

What came across during our interview is that Tkay, like Remi and many other young artists, did not see a place for themselves within Australian hip hop. As she mentions

in the quote above, she does not class herself as an Australian hip hop artist as she still feels that Australian hip hop is about white men and a particular genealogy of listening that values the 'old school', Boom Bap style beats. Tkay does mention that she has practiced the elements of hip hop culture, and therefore she could claim to be a hip hop artist. However, she feels that the kind of music she makes does not sit comfortably within Australian hip hop. I pressed Tkay further on this point, asking her if she feels she uses elements of hip hop music in her own:

> TK – Yeah, I'm not Aussie hip hop though. Although I'm playing with Illy, I wouldn't want to be on a hip hop line up, because I'm not the same. It would be weird for me.

> JC – Do you think that's just happening in Australia because the scene is small?

> TK – I think so, because people just think, "she raps! So let's put her on a hip hop line up". It's like, no, I'd rather be on a DJ line up than a hip hop line up. It's more suited to what I do (interview with Author).

Tkay does say that she uses elements of hip hop in her music, specifically rapping, and in talking to her about her influences she mainly cites hip hop artists like Nicki Minaj, Azealia Banks, Lil' Wayne, and Drake. However, Tkay also discussed how her choice of beats to rhyme over puts her more in the category of Electronic music than hip hop. Recently the boundaries between hip hop and electronic music have become more blurred with subgenres like Trap, and MCs using Dubstep inspired beats, increasing in popularity. This is perhaps why many still class Tkay's music as hip hop; it fits in with current trends in the genre. Tkay also cites M.I.A. as an influence in her music. M.I.A. is often classified as a hip hop artist and also mixes elements of electronic music in her works. In this regard, Tkay's classification as a hip hop artist by the media is not strange, there is a precedent for this. In the quote above though, Tkay is recognising that the audiences for hip hop in Australia might not always consider her as a hip hop artist, and that she would rather appear on line ups that are more focussed to EDM than to hip hop. She feels that she is being included with hip hop artists because of the strong associations between rapping and hip hop, even though her music does not sound like the music typically associated with hip hop in Australia.

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After suggesting that she does not consider herself a hip hop artist, I asked Tkay if this was something she wanted to change:

JC – Tomorrow you are on a panel that will discuss "The Future of Australian hip hop", and people are saying that you are the future of Australian hip hop. Is that something you want to change? Do you want people to see you as something other than a hip hop artist?

TK – Yeah, I think it would be cool to be a top rap act in Australia. To be known as the Queen or whatever. But I dunno. I just like making music, I don't think about anything. When people ask me what's this, I'm like I dunno. It's not like this is going to be a rap song and I want it to be the best rap song ever. I think it would be cool to be one of the pioneers, to innovate hip hop in Australia, I think that would be cool. And if I'm one of the first hip hop acts to break overseas that would be sick. I guess so, but like I want to change the scene and change it up a bit. But I don't think people's minds will change, like she's the hip hop act of Australia like everyone thinks (interview with Author).

At this point in our interview, Tkay's friend and fellow musician Erika Fedele, who was sitting in on the interview, joined the conversation and suggested that:

EF – There's not many female Australian hip hop artists and I think Tkay's going to change the mindsets of Australians. Because it's evolving and bringing in new stuff and showing… Because people were just used to it [Australian hip hop] being all like straight boring, worn out hip hop talking about this and that. And it's cool that you are bringing in a new age. This could be the new thing I think for hip hop (interview with author).

Despite Tkay suggesting that she is not a hip hop artist, or at least not an Australian hip hop artist, both Tkay and Erika end up coming back to calling Tkay a hip hop artist during the interview.

The points that both Tkay and Erika make here suggest that whilst Tkay might not consider herself an Australian hip hop artist, she is a hip hop artist who happens to live in Australia. As discussed above, this shift in mindset has allowed for the hip

hop community in Australia to diversify and incorporate these new sounds and voices in a way that opens up the genre from its traditional emphasis on the 'Australian-ness' of the music. Artists like Tkay Maidza and Remi represent the way that hip hop in Australia has moved on from needing this emphasis and demonstrate the ways in which hip hop in Australia is now able to include more voices and views than it once did.

Hip Hop in Australia as an Inclusionary Scene

Despite Tkay's doubts about being included in Australian hip hop, the Australian hip hop community certainly felt that she belonged within it. An example of this can be seen in her appearance with the Hilltop Hoods in their performance of their song 'Cosby Sweater' at the 'Beat The Drum' concert in 2015. 'Beat the Drum' was a concert organised to celebrate triple j's 40th year as a national youth broadcaster, and featured a range of Australian musicians all performing in the Domain in central Sydney. The Hilltop Hoods were billed as the last act for this concert and during their set they played their latest chart topping song 'Cosby Sweater' (Hilltop Hoods 2014), named for the Coogi sweaters that Cosby wore on the Bill Cosby Show. 'Cosby Sweater' was a big hit for the Hilltop Hoods in 2014, becoming a four-time Platinum selling single and going on to get the third place in the triple j Hottest 100 songs of 2014. For the performance of 'Cosby Sweater' at Beat the Drum, the Hilltop Hoods invited a number of Australian hip hop artists to join them for the song, including Illy, Horrorshow, Drapht, Seth Sentry, and Thundamentals. In addition to these white, male artists, Tkay Maidza also featured in the performance. The Hoods performed the song as it was recorded, and brought the guests in one by one as a surprise for the audience when the song should have ended. This meant that the crowd was excited to see each artist come out; they didn't know who was coming next. The crowd response to Tkay's appearance on the stage with these other Australian hip hop artists was just as loud as it was when the other artists took to the stage, suggesting that the audience was happy to see her on the stage just as much as the other artists up there. This further supports the view that Tkay is widely seen as a hip hop artist in Australia, both by the audience and the artists alike.

When I asked if she associated with Australian hip hop, Tkay felt that she did not because of the associations of race and gender that go along with that label. Her discussion of identity and place within the music community in Australia subsequent

to this still places her within hip hop, not quite as hip hop artist in Australia, but she still associated herself more as a hip hop artist in Australia rather than an Australian hip hop artist.

Traditionally, Australian hip hop artists have placed an emphasis on making connections with the history, origins and traditions of hip hop culture. While this is still an important facet of identity for many hip hop artists in Australia, the emergence of artists like Tkay Maidza, who place less of an emphasis on this aspect of their artistic identity demonstrates the evolution of hip hop in Australia. As many artists have noted, the decrease in the importance of these origins and traditions has had a freeing effect on them, and they now feel that they are able to make the kinds f music that they would like, rather than having to fit in with the stereotyped, 'Boom Bap' focus of much of the early Australian hip hop artists. This change in focus has meant that hip hop artists in Australia are now able to use the genre as inspiration rather than feeling tied to reproducing the culture of hip hop through their music. Artists like Tkay Maidza and Remi have been inspired by hip hop artists, recognise the importance of the history and traditions of hip hop culture, but do not feel bound to reproduce those values in their music.

As Neal (1997) discussed in relation to hip hop from the United States, the music was annexed by corporations and often stripped of its connections to the culture of hip hop. Through this process, hip hop became a genre as well as a culture. This distinction, between hip hop as genre and hip hop as culture, is marked by a series debates about what was lost in this annexation; with those who feel hip hop is a culture often seeing that the more mainstream side of hip hop lacks authenticity, amongst other things. While many hip hop artists in Australia have been influenced by the hip hop as culture side of the music, there are increasingly those that have only been influenced by hip hop as a genre. As noted above, for a long time, Australian hip hop has been dominated by those that feel that hip hop is a culture, and as such take pride in demonstrating these cultural links in their works. Now that a shift in the way that hip hop artists think about their identity is occurring in hip hop in Australia, this is allowing those who recognise that hip hop is a culture, but do not feel that they need to represent this culture in their music, a space in the hip hop community. Where in the United States these two groups might be at odds with each other, within the hip hop community in Australia, these two groups work together and there appears to be

no outward animosity toward each other[22]. This can be seen in the way that Tkay Maidza has been embraced by the community, and her performance with the Hilltop Hoods is an example of this.

These differences between hip hop as genre and hip hop as culture mainly stem from the genealogies of listening for each artist. As mentioned earlier, Tkay Maidza has been more influenced by artists who are firmly in the mainstream of hip hop, and who do not reflect the culture of hip hop in their works. This is then reflected in her own music. In opposition to this is artists like Dialect & Despair, who have been influenced by artists who uphold the cultural values of hip hop, thus influencing them to do the same in their works. While this is a position that many hip hop artists around the world relate to, what is different in the Australian context is how these two groups seemingly have no animosity toward each other. This may be a result of the size of the hip hop community in Australia. In talking with The Tongue about this aspect of the hip hop community in Australia, he noted:

> T – There's a lot of diversity in sounds, you know. And also there's a lot of collaboration, but there's not a lot of beef. I mean there's people who don't really like each other, but there's not people beating each other up, or shoot outs, anything like that. We are much more likely to get together and collaborate. Kinda because we have to.
>
> JC – Do you think that is because of the size of the scene?
>
> T – Yeah maybe. I mean it's changing man. Like over your shoulder there's a poster for a show that has Bliss n Eso, Horrorshow, and Seth Sentry at the Domain. That would have been unthinkable not that long ago, that local Sydney Rappers would fill out the Domain. So it's changing. It's becoming less required, but then again they are probably going to have a bigger crowd when Bliss n Eso and Horrorshow come together, so it helps. We've got more in common than we do differences so most people get along (interview with Author).

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[22] McLeod (1999, p.142), for examples, has demonstrated how authenticity discourse in alternative hip hop is "loaded with broadsides against mainstream or commercialized artists whose music is played on television or the radio… Real underground hip hop is defined in opposition to these symbols". As McLeod notes, these debates are often one directional in that mainstream artists do not engage with them; only alternative artists make these claims to authenticity. Similarly, Rose (2008) also comments on these tensions in her work.

The Tongue recognises here that the community is small and that most artists realise that because of this size, the artists have more to gain through working with each other than not. The Tongue also points out here that the popularity of hip hop in Australia has grown to a point where Sydney based hip hop artists can draw on a crowd big enough to need to play the Domain, a venue that has the capacity to hold 25,000 people (Vincent 2015).

More Voices

With the demand for domestic hip hop in Australia increasing as it is, it is only natural for the audience to want to hear more diversity in voices, ideas, music, and genders. While it would be wrong to suggest that the Australian hip hop community is a musical utopia where there are no issues to be dealt with, there is certainly a more tolerant attitude toward the diversity of artists within hip hop in Australia at the present time than there has ever been. As Remi noted earlier, this change in hip hop in Australia in many ways mirrors the changes hip hop has gone through in other places, most notably the US. As such, it could well be that in the future, this tolerance between those who engage with hip hop as a genre and those who view hip hop as a culture could be eroded, similar to that which occurred in the US. However, for the moment, hip hop in Australia offers an interesting take on the relations between the two groups.

Chapter Seven: Facilitating Dialogues & Directions

On the 19th of August 2016, Indigenous Australian hip hop duo, A.B. Original released the track 'January 26'. In considering the issues raised throughout this thesis and its analysis of music tracks, events and artists, this new release provided a unique summation, intertwining genealogies of listening with core problems raised within my ethnographic work and fieldwork observations. The following conclusion discusses how such a release encapsulates current dialogues and directions for the Australian hip hop community and considers it as a place for continued discussion for matters of contention for hip hop artists, fans, and the broader Australian population.

'January 26'

The Indigenous duo A.B. Original, consisting of MCs Briggs and Trails, released a song called 'January 26' (2016) with fellow Indigenous musician Dan Sultan. The song is a single from their upcoming album release titled 'Reclaim Australia'. The title of the album, and the thematic content of the songs released so far, all suggest that this will be an album that will spark debate within the Australian community about issues of race, racism and national identity by discussing the realities for Indigenous Australians in contemporary Australian society.

Both Briggs and Trails have had music careers before coming together to form A.B. Original in 2015. Trails is a member of Adelaide based group Funkoars, who have been part of the Australian hip hop scene since 1999. As the only Indigenous member of the Funkoars, Trails has stated that:

> from day one, I've always had people telling me that I should address my heritage and that I should rap more about that. But I wanted to be recognised as an MC before an aboriginal MC. You know, I'm an MC that's it (SBS 2015).

Because of this approach, Trails has not always discussed issues of identity in his music, preferring to stick with the themes of partying that the Funkoars have explored. However, this approach to his lyrics has changed. Trails has said that it has been part of him getting older, but also his experience meeting other Indigenous MCs at live shows that has changed his approach. As he has said:

> Going to shows and meeting other aboriginal MCs that told me specifically that they had heard my tape, and knew that I was black

and that I rapped, and that's when they started rhyming. That just

blew my whole mind, like ahh, I should've been saying heaps more

then if you were listening to what I was saying! (SBS 2015).

From this change, Trails now feels that he has:

a definite responsibility for someone who's got a platform like I have

been given now, to say things and to air grievances. Especially,

identity and culture, because it's an issue that gets so underlooked

and overlooked, especially in politics, which is something that

absolutely kills me. Since we've got such a big platform, we might

as well slip a sneaky line in here and there! (SBS 2015).

From this point on Trails has included more political and social commentary in his lyrics, especially comments that concern Indigenous issues within Australia.

While Trails might not have always discussed politics and social issues in this music, the same cannot be said for Briggs. From his first releases, Briggs has always discussed issues of race and racism in his work. His most recent album, 'Sheplife' (2014) featured the song 'Bad Apples' which talked about the experiences he and his community have faced growing up in a small country town (Shepparton). In talking about the album generally and the song 'Bad Apples' in particular, Briggs has said:

with Sheplife, I've put a lot on the table, right? But, now that it's on

the table, it doesn't mean there's a weight lifted off my shoulders.

It's just that now I've put it on the table, it's gotta be talked about …

So, the discussion is there—I tried to not 'beat around the bush'

with 'Bad Apples' and that was my ultimate goal: to make a track

that was 'in your face'. That was scary for some people. That did

make some people squirm; make some people think. I wanted to

put that fear back in hip hop. That voice, you know, that fist back

into rap music, because I hadn't seen it in this country for so long

(Browning 2014)

While the song might have made some people uncomfortable, it did go on to make number 87 in triple j's hottest 100 list of 2014. Given that places on this list are awarded by audience votes, this would suggest that there is certainly an audience for people that want to hear and engage in this kind of public debate, even if it makes them uncomfortable.

As A.B. Original, Briggs and Trails have combined to form a duo that explicitly tackles issues of race and racism in Australia as it pertains to Indigenous people in Australia. The name A.B. Original further demonstrates this intent, with A.B. Original being a division of the word 'aboriginal'. As Trials has said about the group:

> Given the nature of our project, we're gonna be talking about a lot of Indigenous issues and what that means in music. We get to find out these things first hand through our family and the fact we get to bring it to national attention, is something Briggs and I feel that is very, very important (Nikora 2016).

The title of their upcoming album release, 'Reclaim Australia', provides a dual meaning in this context; the title is a reference to a small, yet vocal, group of Australians also called *Reclaim Australia*, who protest immigration to Australia, fearing that 'their' country is being taken away from them; much in the same way that the country was taken away from the Indigenous people during British colonization beginning in 1788. As mentioned in Chapter 5, the date the British arrived to colonize Australia was January 26th 1788, a day which would later become the Australia Day public holiday. In releasing their song 'January 26', A.B. Original are issuing an explicit challenge to the notions of national identity that get brought up on this day. As Briggs has said about the song, "since 1788, the trials and tribulations that we have to overcome are often brought back to the surface on January 26th" (triple j 2016). Because the date of Australia Day marks the colonization of Australia by the British, there have been many calls for the national holiday to be moved to another date that would allow all Australians to feel included (Liddle 2016). Thus, 'January 26' is a direct challenge to the notion of Australian national identity, and a song that Briggs has described as the "first ever rap track that disses a public holiday" (triple j 2016).

In the first verse of the song, Briggs discusses the issue of a date change for Australia Day:

> They said, 'Hey Briggs, pick a date' (okay)
>
> 'You know; one we can celebrate' (for sure)
>
> 'Where we can come together
>
> Talk about the weather, call that Australia Day'
>
> I said, 'How about March 8th?' (that's a good one)
>
> And we can do it on your Nan's grave (got that bitch!)
>
> We can piss up, piss on her face

Get lit up and burn out like Mark Skaife

They screamin' 'love it or leave it' (love it!)

I got more reason to be here, if you could believe it

Won't salute a constitution or who's underneath it

Turn that flag to a noose, put a cease to your breathin'

I can't get in my whip; I get a ticket for that

I get a DWB, and that's a 'Driving Whilst Black'

I turn the other cheek; I get a knife in my back

And I tell 'em it hurts, they say I overreact

So fuck that (fuck that!) (A.B. Original 2016)

Briggs here uses the analogy of picking a date and then celebrating on the grave of a relative, in much the same way that Australia Day is celebrated on the graves of the ancestors of Indigenous people. In this verse, Briggs also brings up the 'love it or leave it' attitude of some white Australians, an attitude that became especially prominent after the Cronulla Riots. This kind of statement is likely to be brought up when Australians question aspects of national identity, particularly in relation to issues of immigration and Indigenous sovereignty. However, as Briggs points out, as an Indigenous man, he feels he has more right to be here than those that say this slogan, as he is descended from the original inhabitants of the land. Briggs then discusses the racial profiling that he, and other Indigenous people, are subject to by the police; getting pulled over for no reason and receiving a 'Driving Whilst Black'. Briggs ends the verse by suggesting that he is often told to try an ignore this, and to move on, but he is now tired of this approach.

In the second verse, Trials discusses the lack of attention that Indigenous people receive on days like Australia Day, and the problems of celebrating a national holiday on the day of the British 'invasion'.

I said celebrate the heretic anytime outside Jan. 26 (anytime)

That's the date for them suckas doin' that sucka shit (that's true!)

That's that land takin', flag wavin' attitude

Got this new Captain Cook dance to show you how to move (move it!)

How you wanna raise a flag with a rifle

To make us want to celebrate anything but survival?

Nah, you watchin' tele for *The Bachelor*

But wouldn't read a book about a fuckload of massacres? (what!)

I remember all the blood and what carried us (I remember)

They remember twenty recipes for lamingtons (yum)

Yeah, their ancestors got a boat ride

Both mine saw them comin' until they both died

Fuck celebratin' days made of misery (fuck that)

White Oz still got the black history (that's true)

And that shirt will get you banned from the parliament

If you ain't havin' a conversation, well, then we startin' it

(A.B. Original 2016)

At the start of the verse, Trails again argues for a change of date for Australia Day. Trails further argues that this has become a date for the display of overly patriotic symbols, like the flag, and that this day has very different meanings for many Australians. The lines "how you wanna raise a flag with a rifle/To make us want to celebrate anything but survival" particularly draw attention to these issues of the overly patriotic displays of nationalism. He then goes on to say that most Australians would prefer to watch television shows like The Bachelor, rather than to read the books that have been written about the British invasion of Australia that discuss the massacres that took place as part of this process. Solo also references this attitude in Horrorshow's 'Own Backyard' (2013) [as discussed in Chapter Five], where he uses the line "no question, blood stains the wattle" (Horrorshow 2013). Solo's use of this line is in reference to a book called 'Blood on the Wattle' (Elder 1999) that documents the massacres and mistreatment of Australia's Indigenous people since 1788[23]. Thus using lines that draw attention to the history of colonisation and symbols of national identity further challenges notions of Australian national identity.

Trails then goes on to discuss how the history that has been told to him by his elders has included these massacres, while the discussions of history for some other Australians instead includes the passing down of recipes for lamingtons[24]. Again, references to symbols of national identity are used to question and promote discussion in this track.

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[23] The wattle has been a floral emblem of Australia since 1901, and was formally announced as the national floral emblem in 1988 (Australian National Botanic Gardens 2016).

[24] The lamington is a cake that has also become a symbol of Australian national identity. The cake has its origins in the late 19th and early 20th century and is believed to be named after Lord Lamington, who was governor of the state of Queensland at the time (Veenhuyzen 2014)

The last three lines of Trails' verse reference an issue that occurred when a visitor to Parliament House in Canberra was asked to turn his shirt inside out in order to enter the building, as the shirt had the slogan 'White Australia has a Black History' printed on it. After this issue was picked up by the media, The Department of Parliamentary services issued a statement noting that "protest paraphernalia, including banners, placards and clothing with specific messages are not permitted into Parliament House" (Peters 2016). As Trails is noting in 'January 26', the statement that 'White Australia has a Black History' is true, and should not be seen as a symbol of protest, but rather a symbol of truth. By raising this issue in this way, Trails notes that A.B. Original hope to spark debate in Australian society about these issues.

The chorus of the song further references the flag waving tendencies of many of those that celebrate Australia Day:

    You can come and wave your flag,

    But it don't mean a thing to me,

    No, it just don't mean a thing

These lines further reflect the way that Briggs and Trails feel about the national holiday. The song ends with a focus on the flag, with the lines of the outro:

    Wave it, wave it baby

    Wave it, wave it (eat the flag)

    Wave it, wave it mama

    Wave that flaggy (wear the flag)

    Wave it, wave it baby (what you gonna do?!)

    Wave it, wave it (wave it baby!)

    Wave it, wave it mama

    Wave that flaggy

As discussed in Chapter Five, the Australian flag has become a symbol of exclusionary violence (Perera 2007) after the Cronulla Riots, and the patriotic displays of the Australian flag around Australia Day has increased since this time (Liddle 2016). By focussing on the flag in 'January 26', Briggs and Trails are targeting their critique at those who are overly patriotic and who use the flag in this way.

'January 26' is not subtle in its discussions of the issues that Australia Day as a national holiday raises. As Briggs has said, A.B. Original are "subtle like a sledgehammer. Being subtle and humble is what the oppressor wants. And we're not

about that" (Nikora 2016). This direct approach to the discussion of the issues A.B. Original raise in their music has been inspired by their shared listening history. While neither Briggs nor Trails make any references to other works in their lyrics, their listening history is still present in 'January 26'. Many in the media have noted the similarities between A.B. Original's songs and those of N.W.A. and G-Funk era Snoop Dogg and Dr. Dre (The Lesson 2016; Moskovitch 2016; Nikora 2016). Indeed, when Ghostface Killah heard one of Briggs' songs whilst appearing on triple j radio, he commented that Briggs reminded him of Ice Cube in his delivery and use of voice (triple j 2014). Briggs has cited Ice Cube as one of the first artists that got him interested in hip hop. In an interview with the Shepparton News, the newspaper of his home town, Briggs related how he saw the music video for Ice Cube's song 'It Was a Good Day' (1992) and from there he "thought Ice Cube was the coolest person on the planet. It was the beat, it was the story. That was it, that's when I really knew. It made so much sense" (Mills 2012). Briggs has tried to maintain what he saw as one of Ice Cube's defining traits in his music; the trait of telling honest stories that reflect the world around him. The stated nature of this listening history also allows Briggs to construct, and potentially modify, this history in order to produce a specific genealogy that positions him as this type of artist.

Listening Histories and Genealogies of Listening

Whilst many might see artists like Ice Cube, N.W.A., and Snoop Dogg as the epitome of gangsta rappers, with all the stereotypes associated with this trope, Briggs, and many others, do not see these artists exclusively in this light. As Rose has argued, "a key aspect of much of the criticism that has been levelled at hip hop is the claim that it glorifies, encourages, and thus causes violence" (2008, p.34). In particular, Rose here is talking about the kinds of artists mentioned above that have inspired Briggs and Trails; the 'gangsta' rap artists. However, as Rose explains, these artists also provided social critiques in their music. As she identifies, the lyrics in N.W.A.'s song 'Fuck the Police' (1988) were often "mistakenly perceived as simply pro-criminal statements of intent" (Rose 2008, p.34), rather than the social commentary that they really were. As discussed in Chapter 2, this is a phenomenon that is commonly associated with Tupac, an artist who has been seen both as the epitome of the gangsta rapper and as an artist who made social and political statements in his work. As Iwamoto points out, Tupac was often misunderstood, with

many of his songs representing "specific aspects of his mentality and value system, including those that express his awareness of and empathy for women, as well as address issues such as racial oppression, and inner-city problems" (2003, p.44).

As noted above, A.B. Original was formed with the intent of explicitly discussing issues of race and racism as they pertain to Indigenous Australians in Australian society. Briggs' and Trails' shared listening history has influenced the way that they include social and political critique in their works. The artist biography for A.B. Original that appears on the Golden Era Records website notes that the duo:

> began writing songs in the spirit of N.W.A. and West Side
> Connection, while lyrically bringing attention to issues closer to
> home. Respectively coming from the Yorta Yorta and Ngarrindjeri
> Tribes, Briggs and Trails are socially conscious outspoken
> Indigenous artists. They bring a new voice to Australian hip hop as
> A.B. Original (Golden Era Records 2016).

In many interviews and profiles of the duo, their shared listening history is discussed, with a particular reference to N.W.A. and Westside Connection. The one common denominator between N.W.A. and West Side Connection is Ice Cube, who is a founding member of both groups. While the music of N.W.A. can be read as having social and political commentary (Kelley 1996 and Rose 2008 for example), the music of Westside Connection has been harder to categorize as containing the same kinds of social and political commentaries. As Ogbar notes:

> Westside Connection (1996) brings together incredible talent and
> potential. W.C. and Mack 10 [the members of Westside Connection
> along with Ice Cube] are popular in their own right. The former
> offers a 'street consciousness' similar to Ice Cube's… Together, the
> three abandon all remnants of Black liberation and pro-Black lyrics.
> Instead, they copiously glorify drug dealing, killing, and the
> oppression of women (1999, pp.173–4).

However, as Kelley (1996, p.121) notes, "sometimes… gangsta rap lyrics have been misinterpreted as advocating criminality and violence". Kelley argues that these kinds of lyrics fit into a larger pattern of signifyin(g) practices deployed by the artists. As Kelley further argues, "while I'm aware that some rappers are merely 'studio gangsters', and that the *primary* purpose of this music is to produce 'funky dope rhymes' for our listening pleasure, we cannot ignore the ties of West Coast gangsta

rap to the streets of L.A.'s black working class communities where it originated" (Kelley 1996, p.122 emphasis in original). Thus, while some like Ogbar might not immediately see the social and political commentary in the music of Westside Connection, that does not mean that it is not there; rather that it is an exaggerated form of storytelling that continues a tradition of practices that provide social and political commentary.

As noted above, Briggs' delivery has been compared to Ice Cube's by the media and Ghostface Killah. This similarity in delivery can further be heard on 'January 26', where Briggs' flow and delivery resemble Ice Cube's flow and delivery on songs like Westside Connection's 'Bow Down' (1996). Given that an MCs flow is their "lyrical fingerprint" (Bradley 2009, p.30), this type of flow can be heard on many songs that Ice Cube appears on; it is not a unique flow to one song. The similarities in Briggs' and Ice Cube's deliveries come in the way that they use both metrical and analytical techniques described by Adams (2009); in particular the similar placement of rhyming and accented syllables and the degree of articulation of consonants used. As discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis, flow is an important aspect of an MC's artistic identity, and is often learned in relation to the flows of other artists. It is clear here that Briggs' flow has been inspired by Ice Cube, and given his often-quoted appreciation of N.W.A. and Westside Connection, two hip hop groups that Ice Cube was a member of, this genealogy of listening is easy to trace in his work.

In this way, 'January 26' represents an opportunity to observe how the shared listening history for Briggs and Trails has come to influence the ways in which they make their music. Through analysing this one song, it can be seen how these listening histories effect not only the musical aspects of an artist's work, but also the themes they discuss in their works and the ways in which these themes are discussed. For Briggs and Trails, the influence from their shared listening history has provided examples of socially and politically charged music that deals with issues of race and racism as it effects their communities. These listening histories can then be traced as specific lines of influence, leading to genealogies of listening which help to bind artists together around issues such as identity. These genealogies of listening then allow for community building, forging connections between artists based on their histories of listening. An example of this can be seen in the links that develop between artists, in this case between Briggs, Trails and the Hilltop Hoods.

A.B. Original are signed to Golden Era Records, established by the Hilltop Hoods. While for many, the Hilltop Hoods have become the faces of Skip Hop [as discussed in Chapter 5], their genealogies of listening have instilled in them that hip hop is about unity, in line with Afrika Bambaataa's vision for hip hop culture. The Hilltop Hoods have included messages of social unity and inclusion in their works, but this often gets overlooked by their fan base. However, the Hilltop Hoods have also championed artists from a diverse range of backgrounds by signing them to their record label, Golden Era Records. Such artists include Palestinian Australian DJ and producer Adfu; and indigenous artists Briggs and Trails (Funkoars) and A.B. Original. Golden Era Records have also entered into a supportive role in the creation of Briggs' label, Bad Apples Music. Bad Apples Music has been established as "an Aboriginal owned record label who's objective is to genuinely nurture, develop and provide structure and opportunity for emerging and established Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander artists" (Bad Apples Music 2016). With the support of Golden Era Records, and their distribution deal with Universal Music Australia, Bad Apples Music aims to "propel the artists into the mainstream music industry – a feat that previously seemed impenetrable to many emerging Indigenous artists for a multitude of reasons" (Bad Apples Music 2016). Some of these reasons were noted by Jimblah [as discussed in Chapter 6] in the panel discussion on the future of Australian hip hop. During this discussion, Jimblah commented:

> I know for the indigenous artists, a lot of them feel really jaded in
> terms of Australian hip hop and they don't see a place in it. And
> there's a lot of frustration there. And it's also about communication.
> A lot of the young indigenous guys don't know that the white guys at
> the top are cool dudes and are not racists, but that's what out there
> right now, this is how they are seen.

Having an indigenous owned and run record label, supported by the Hilltop Hoods through their Golden Era Records label, gives visibility to these indigenous hip hop artists. The support offered by the Hilltop Hoods for artists from a variety of backgrounds can further be seen in the initiative they established to help new and emerging hip hop and soul artists in Australia.

The Hilltop Hoods established the Hilltop Hoods Initiative, which offers a $10,000 incentive funded by the Hilltop Hoods in association with APRA AMCOS[25]. The initiative works to help emerging Australian hip hop and soul artists to manufacture, market, and release an album (Hilltop Hoods 2016). The initiative was founded in 2005 and was initially only open to musicians from South Australia, the groups' home state. Since 2009, the initiative has been open to artists from all over Australia. Previous winners of the Initiative demonstrate how this initiative has worked to promote diversity within the Australian hip hop community: previous winners include, Jimblah (2007), an indigenous MC from Adelaide; 1/6 (2010) an African Australian MC from Melbourne; Chelsea Jane (2013), a female MC from Brisbane; and Sarah Conner (2015) a female MC from Sydney. This diverse range of winners demonstrates how the Hilltop Hoods' genealogy of listening has become enacted in their practice as hip hop artists. The core cultural tenets of hip hop culture, especially those around unity and community support, are taken up by the Hilltop Hoods through their work with initiatives such as this one. As well as representing these values in their music, the demonstration of these values in community building and support of the Australian hip hop community further reinforce the inclusive nature of the Hilltop Hoods, and marks their identity as very different to the Skip Hop identity which they have been labelled with.

Through analysing A.B. Original's song 'January 26', it is possible to see how these listening histories provide trajectories which can be traced as genealogies. These genealogies of listening serve to link people, help define particular social bonds, and aid in identity construction through music. Tracing these genealogies of listening through the music demonstrates the interconnectedness of global hip hop, particularly in the ways in which hip hop from the US gets used as a blueprint for artists around the world in their own music making.

Concluding Genealogies

This thesis has demonstrated the importance of genealogies of listening to an artists' identity construction. This genealogy becomes an identifiable product of their artistic self and can be heard in the way that they make their music. By examining how Australian MCs have learned about hip hop [Chapter Two], how these

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[25] APRA AMCOS is the alliance formed between the Australasian Performing Rights Association (APRA) and the Australasian Mechanical Copyright Owners Society (AMCOS).

genealogies are heard in their music [Chapter Three], the engagements with community that these genealogies inform [Chapter Four], and how these identities become entwined with issues of race and identity [Chapters Five & Six], I have shown how this concept is central to positioning an artist in the continuum of hip hop artists around the world.

My findings add to the growing body of literature that examines hip hop outside of the United States. This thesis clearly demonstrates that while hip hop artists from the United States continue to be a major source of inspiration for hip hop artists in Australia, the hip hop made in Australia is not an imitation, or copy, of American hip hop. While Mitchell (2007) has argued that Australian hip hop artists "tend to distance themselves from any direct US influence, projecting a distinctly local hip hop subculture", my research demonstrates that all of the artists interviewed for this thesis have been influenced by hip hop artists from the United States, amongst others, as can be demonstrated by the references they make and their genealogies of listening. These influences from overseas are internalised and come back out to discuss local issues and do form a local hip hop community, but they have been influenced by hip hop from the United States. These artists work to position their practices in continuity with American hip hop, and the growing number of Australian hip hop artists who refer to themselves as hip hop artists from Australia demonstrates how they are choosing to position themselves in this continuity of practice. Thus genealogies of listening provide the structure through which this positioning can be observed.

In focusing on the Australian hip hop community it can be demonstrated that the scene has been influenced by a specific line of listening that has privileged socially and politically conscious hip hop artists from around the world. This has then been related into an Australian context and used by the artists to discuss similar issues as they occur in Australian society. These genealogies of listening in an Australian context also demonstrate how the scene has come to be one that has a lacked many of the stereotyped issues that other hip hop scenes have faced; those lyrical themes of misogyny, drugs, and crime. As Australian hip hop continues to move into the mainstream in Australia, new concepts of identity, both artistic and national, are being presented by the artists. These are again reinforced by each artist's genealogy of listening, as this has provided each artist with the basis for their works. While these identities are often accepted, there are occasions when these

identities are challenged. As Urthboy discussed, Australian hip hop is the only music genre in the country that is dealing with issues of sexism, racism and xenophobia in the music. This means that as Australian hip hop continues to gain in popularity in Australia, more people are exposed to these issues and this has the potential to change perceptions of Australian identity and change the future to be a more positive one where all people are treated equally.

The tensions that emerge between artists and fans demonstrate that while artists might approach making their music with positive aims (in terms of socially and politically conscious lyrics) this is not always picked up on, or appreciated by their fans. In the Australian context this has been because some fans have come to Australian hip hop because of the possibilities it has offered for a certain type of national identity to be enacted. However, much of the music by many of the artists considered Skip Hop should still be viewed in the light of the positive, conscious MCs that inspired them. Artists like the Hilltop Hoods and Bliss n Eso, two hip hop groups that have come to be synonymous with Skip Hop, have many songs that uphold and maintain the ideals of the hip hop community, in particular Afrika Bambaataa and the Universal Zulu Nation's concepts of peace, love, unity and having fun.

The analysis within this thesis contributes to the existing theoretical work on scenes, identity, the spread of musical styles, and associated cultural practices. In moving beyond a discussion of the surface musicological style elements of geographically and culturally dispersed genres, it becomes clear that meaning within these genres is rooted in long lines of shared experience and understanding built up through a sustained engagement with the music. When these lines are mapped out, as evidenced in this thesis, a more nuanced understanding of what it means to be a hip hop artist in Australia emerges. In tracing genealogies of listening, particular patterns of influence emerge that demonstrate how a sustained engagement with hip hop music provides a blueprint for hip hop artists in Australia. The specific types of hip hop that these artists engage with then works to help define identities and social bonds that link people in the community together. Thus, genealogies of listening are, as Dialect suggested in our interview, "like DNA you know, it all just links up together".

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Appendix A

Table documenting references found in the analysed albums

Track Number	Song	Artist & Album	Time code	Reference (Autosonic/Allosonic)	Source
1	In	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)	0.10-0.19 2.02-2.11	Don't push me cos I'm close to the edge, I'm tryin not to lose my head a ha ha ha (Allosonic)	Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five – The Message (1982)
			0.34-0.37	I'm only 19 but my mind is old (Allosonic)	Mobb Deep – Shock Ones Part II – The Infamous (1995)
			0.39-0.41	To Minnesota Cold (Allosonic) – not so much a reference to the song, but a reference to the artist. However, the song does talk about issues of homelessness and social issues as does Solo in this song....	Atmosphere – The Waitress – When Life Gives You Lemons, You Paint That Shit Gold (2008)
			3.42-3.44	One time for your mind (Allosonic)	Nas – One Time For Your Mind – Illmatic (1994)
			4.05-4.15	So, here is us on the raggedy edge. Don't push me, and I won't push you (Autosonic)	Serenity (2005)
2	The Show	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)	1.43-1.46	On and On to the break of Dawn (Allosonic)	Hip Hop Traditional
3	Thoughtcrime – Doin' My Think	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)	3.31-3.35	That's how we usually start, once again it's the Thought (Autosonic – Cut)	The Roots – The Next Movement – Things Fall Apart (1999)
			3.35-3.40	Are you tired of lyrical liars, passing flyers, Wannbe MC's, but really good triers? (Autosonic – Cut)	KRS One – Mortal Thought – Return of the Boom Bap (1993)
			3.40-3.42	What gets air play can't always be trusted (Autosonic – Cut)	Muph and Plutonic – Heaps Good – Hunger Pains (2004)
			3.42-3.44	Turning it on is like putting on a blindfold (Autosonic – Cut)	Dead Prez – Radio Freq - RBG: Revolutionary But Gangster (2004)

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#	Title	Album	Timecode	Lyrics	Sample source
			3.50 – 4.04	You can do it... (Allosonic with altered words)	Ice Cube – You Can Do It – Next Friday Soundtrack (1999)
4	Truth Be Told	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)	1.03-1.13 1.57-1.58 2.07-2.08 2.18-2.28 3.24-3.34	Truth be Told... (Autosonic – Cut)	Jay Z – Moment of Clarity – Black Album (2003)
5	Inside Story	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)			
6	Nothing to Be Done – Interlude	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)	0.21-0.26 1.13-1.18	So much on my mind that I can't recline, Blastin holes in the night till she bled sunshine (Autosonic – Cut)	Black Star – Respiration – Black Star (1998)
			0.38-0.42	Never the silence to meet, and the feelin' that's inside of this beat (Autosonic – Cut)	Hilltop Hoods – The Soul of the Beat – Left Foot, Right Foot (2001)
			1.34-1.35	Breath (Autosonic – Cut)	Black Star – Respiration – Black Star (1998)
			1.50- 1.55	Never question what I am, God knows, Cos it's coming from the heart (Autosonic – Cut)	Public Enemy – Welcome to the Terrordome – Fear of A Black Planet (1990)
7	The Rain	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)			
8	In My Heart	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)			
9	She	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)	0.11-0.22	What? It's a damsel in distress. I love all women. I love you. I'll make a run at you, crusty. I will. (Autosonic)	Californication s01 e06 – Absinthe Makes the Heart Grow Fonder (2007)
			2.14-2.16 2.25-2.27 3.58-4.00 4.10-4.12	Infatuated with the many many styles of she (Autosonic – Cut)	Boogiemonsters – Muzic Appreciation (Sweet Music) – Riders of the Storm: The Underwater

#	Title	Source	Timestamp	Lyrics	Album (1994)
			4.12-4.34	You're way too beautiful, girl That's why it'll never work You'll have me suicidal, suicidal When you say it's over Damn all these beautiful girls They only wanna do your dirt They'll have you suicidal, suicidal When they say it's over (Allosonic)	Sean Kingston – Beautiful Girls – Sean Kingston (2007)
10	Itchy Feet	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)			
11	Neighborhood Hit	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)	3.40-3.47	I be in class dreaming about 50,000 fans in the stands screaming out (Autosonic – Cut)	The Roots – Water – Phrenology (2002)
12	Found	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)			
13	Walk You Home	Horrorshow – Inside Story (2009)			
14	Human Era	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)			
15	Free	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	1.33-1.35	On and on to the break of dawn (Allosonic)	Hip hop traditional.
			1.36-1.38	My crew is no doze so don't sleep (Allosonic)	?
			2.58-3.01	Going to be the one today whatever may come. (Autosonic – Cut)	?
16	King Amongst Many	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	0.13-0.24	Party People what I really want to know are you feeling Horrorshow? (Allosonic)	"Party People… feeling…" is a common Hip Hop question. Origin unknown
		Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	1.47-2.00	Heavy was the head forced to wear the crown, to lessen the burden friends share it around	Delta – For The Kings – Culture of Kings Vol. 2 (Obese Records Comp.)

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No.	Title	Source	Timecode	Lyric / Note	Sample reference
17	Unfair Lottery	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)		(Autosonic – Cut)	(2002)
18	Listen Close	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	0.22-0.25 0.32-0.35 0.43-0.46 2.33-2.36	Read my palm, see the evil of my forefathers (Autosonic – Cut)	Jehst – Alcoholic Author – The Return of the Drifter (2002)
			0.25-0.30 0.35-0.40 0.46-0.51 2.27-2.33	I can't take it y'all, I can feel the city breathing, Chest heaving, against the flesh of the evening (Autosonic – Cut)	Black Star – Respiration – Black Star (1998)
			0.30-0.32 0.40-0.42 0.51-0.53	It's deep I heard the city breath in its sleep (Autosonic – Cut)	Black Star – Respiration – Black Star (Common) (1998)
19	Nice Guys Finish Last	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	0.20-0.25	It was a Friday night and the treble was clanging and the hipsters was hanging and the ladies was banging (Rhyme scheme reference)	Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five – Superappin' (Single 1979)
20	Waste Your Time	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)			
21	Own Backyard	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)			
22	Doctor's Orders	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	2.04-2.06	Go for yours I'll go for mine (Allosonic with variation)	MC Shan – Go For Your's (Cause I'm gonna get mine) – Born to be Wild. (1988)
23	Can't Look Away	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)			
24	Dead Star Shine	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)			
25	On The One Hand	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	2.29-2.31	You could have 99 problems like the best	Jay Z – 99 Problems –

#	Album	Song Title	Time	Text	Source
	(2013)			alive – (Allosonic)	Black Album (2003)
			2.37-2.39	Where ever you are, where ever you at (Autosonic)	Mic Geronimo – Wherever You Are – The Natural (1995)
			4.05-4.06 4.48-4.49	We're Nostalgic (Autosonic)	Oz – Season 4, Episode 13 (2001)
			4.12-4.15 4.52-4.55	Nostalgic for a place we've never seen (Autosonic)	Oz – Season 4, Episode 13 (2001)
			4.23-4.27 4.57-5.01	We long for a time that we've never actually been part of (Autosonic)	Oz – Season 4, Episode 13 (2001)
26	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	Down The Line (Mana's Song)			
27	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	Make You Proud			
28	Horrorshow – King Amongst Many (2013)	Human Error (Outro)	0.25-0.26	Who's world is this? (Allosonic)	Nas – The World is Yours – Illmatic (1994)
			2.21-3.05	So, what have we learned? What's the lesson for today? For all the never-ending days and restless nights? That morality is transient? That to be honest is to be flawed? The story is simple. The who and the why is the complex part. The human part. The only part worth knowing. Peace. (Autosonic)	Oz – Season 6, Episode 8 – Final lines of the show. (2003)
29	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	Out The Aeon	1.21-1.35	Wake up! (Autosonic – Cut in at various points)	KRS-One – Unsure which song, could be I Can't Wake Up – Return of the Boom Bap (1993)
			1.41-1.46	With rhythm after hour of god made beats? (Autosonic)	?

				Krs-One
		1.46-1.47	Wake Up! (Autosonic)	
		1.47-1.49	The rebirth of hip hop will be dropped now. (Autosonic)	Rakim – It's Been A Long Time – The 18th Letter (1997)
		1.59-1.50	Come follow we on this journey (Autosonic)	D&D All Stars – 1,2 Pass It – The D&D Project (1995)
		1.50-1.51	The vortex (Autosonic)	?
		1.51-2.11	But you understand how these kids get these opportunities, like you know, they got this gift to make these records. They get success. Instead of takin' that success and, and doin' the right thing…a lot of 'em take that success as a green light to go to Hell. Do all the wrong shit. (Autosonic)	1982 (Termanology & Statik Selektah) -Tell Me Lies –1982 (Oct 2010) But also autosonically quoted on this song, original unclear
30	Circus of Clowns	0.08-0.10 2.56-2.58	Rap now is a circus of clowns (Autosonic)	Royce Da 5'9" – Boom – Rock City (2002)
	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	0.19-0.23 0.31-0.34 1.29-1.33 1.39-1.43 2.38-2.42	Yet there's clowns making hip hop a circus (Autosonic)	O.C. – Word… Life – Word… Life (1994)
31	Games Wired	1.03-1.09 2.29-2.35	I keep it real in this rap game, so I write every night so the skills can maintain. (Autosonic)	?
	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	1.09-1.14 2.35-2.40	The game's wired, I analysed it double checked it to perfect it, so cat's respect it (Autosonic)	?
		1.14-1.17 2.40-2.43	Cause I'm about to rip the shit up out the frame	? Same artist as first reference

No.	Title	Artist/Album	Timecodes	Lyric	Reference
			1.17-1.20 2.43-2.46	The game (Autosonic)	? From the second reference
			1.20-1.22 2.46-2.48	I keep it real in this rap game (Autosonic)	? From the first reference
			1.22-1.23 2.48-2.49	The game's wired (Autosonic)	? From the second reference
			1.24-1.26 2.49-2.51	I keep it real in this rap game (Autosonic)	? From the first reference
			1.26-1.30 2.51-2.57	The game's wired, so cat's respect it (Autosonic)	? From the second reference
32	Longevity	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	0.59-1.05 1.08-1.12 2.06-2.12 2.15-2.19 3.11-3.19 3.20-3.24	This game is longevity keep it the same as (?) (Autosonic)	?
			1.05-1.08 1.12-1.15 2.12-2.15 2.19-2.22 3.17-3.20 3.25-3.28	Brother's ain't half stepping, they walking backwards (Autosonic)	Lord Finesse & DJ Mike Smooth – Back to Back Rhyming – Funky Technician (1990)
33	The Revival	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	0.55-0.58 1.00-1.02 1.04-1.06 1.56-1.58 2.00-2.02 2.04-2.06	With divine classical rhymes (Autosonic)	?
			0.58-1.00 1.02-1.04 1.06-1.08 1.58-2.00	Mathematical rhymes (Autosonic)	?

#	Title	Album	Time	Lyric	Sample
			2.02-2.04 2.06-2.08		Big L – I Don't Understand It – Lifestylez Ov Da Poor & Dangerous (1995)
			2.31-2.38	Like Big L said "I can't understand it, why these MCs take the rap game for granted" (Allosonic)	?
34	Mission Statement	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	2.24-2.27 2.31-2.34 2.37-2.40 2.43-2.46	We're on a mission (Autosonic)	?
			2.28-2.31 2.34-2.37 2.40-2.43 2.46-2.49	Bring the truth out the dark in the broad daylight (Autosonic)	?
35	Ageless	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	0.05-0.09 0.27-0.31 1.17-1.20 2.09-2.11 3.05-3.06 3.14-3.19	I'm only 19 but my mind is old (Autosonic)	Mobb Deep – Shook Ones Part II – The Infamous (1995)
			0.15-0.22 1.11-1.16 2.03-2.08 3.09-3.11	17 like Martin Luther King I had a dream (Autosonic)	?
			1.26-1.30	Listen to "They Reminisce Over You" and see that CL point of view (Allosonic)	Pete Rock & CL Smooth – They Reminisce Over You (T.R.O.Y.) – Mecca and the Soul Brother (1992)
			2.54-2.56 3.07-3.09	Been in the game since the age of 13 (Autosonic)	?
			2.57-3.00	Even at age 9 I was king like Tutankhamen (Autosonic)	Showbiz & A.G. – Muddslide – The Dirty Version (1999)

#	Title	Album	Time	Lyrics	Reference
			3.00-3.04	When I was 15 I was ripping you were shoplifting. (Autosonic)	Del the Funky Homosapien – Jaw Gymnastics – Both Sides of the Brain (2000)
36	Path of Perfection	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	0.03-0.10	Word is bond, Word is life (Allosonic)	Poor Righteous Teachers – Word Iz Life – The New World Order (1996)
37	My Only Vice	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	0.45-0.47	Run for president like Barak and Eric did (Allosonic)	Reference to Eric B. and Rakim's "Eric B is President" – Paid In Full (1987)
			1.01-1.04 1.07-1.10 1.13-1.16 1.19-1.22 2.12-2.15 2.18-2.21 2.24-2.27 2.30-2.33 3.24-3.27 3.30-3.33 3.36-3.39 3.42-3.45	Shorty let me tell you about my only vice (Autosonic)	A Tribe Called Quest – Electric Relaxation – Midnight Marauders (1993)
38	Dangerous Minds	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)			
39	Hard to Define	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	1.04-1.07 2.03-2.06	Unlike most you know I never stop flowing (Autosonic)	King Tee – Just Clowning – Act A Fool (1988)
			1.07-1.10 2.06-2.09	Dialect the name's known for respect (Autosonic)	?
			1.10-1.13 2.09-2.12	Check the motion while I ? (Autosonic)	?
			1.13-1.15 2.12-2.14	Dialect is hard to define (Autosonic)	?

#	Track	Album	Timestamp	Lyric	Sample source
40	Equanimity	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)			
41	Prolific	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	2.35-2.40 2.46-2.48	Body of my texts possess extra strength (Autosonic)	Mos Def – Mathematics – Black on Both Sides (1999)
			2.40-2.42	Every ones a lesson (Autosonic)	?
			2.42-2.43	Rappers click spiritually? (Autosonic)	?
			2.48-2.50	So peep it, don't try and run around and speak it (Autosonic)	Lord Finesse – You Know What I'm About – Trespass: Music from the Motion Picture (1992)
			2.50-2.52	Get a god room? My verbal sharp like harpoons (Autosonic)	?
			2.52-2.54	I'm a just step up my profession (Autosonic)	?
42	The Promethean	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	0.01-0.09	To anyone that's thinking we playing games on these mics. You don't play games on the microphone b this shit is serious. (Autosonic)	?
			0.59-1.06 1.57-2.04 3.06-3.14	I'd rather have 100,000 true heads by me than 1 million of your fake fanatics behind me. (KRS-One) (Autosonic)	Showbiz & A.G. – Drop It Heavy – Full Scale EP (1998)
			1.06-1.09 2.04-2.07 3.14-3.17 3.19-3.22 3.25-3.28	I ain't playing no games I'm on mission for the change (Autosonic)	Scarface – In Cold Blood – The Fix (2002)
43	Sacrifice	Dialect & Despair – The Vortex (2010)	1.01-1.07 1.58-2.04	Put your rhymes on the alter burn them as a sacrifice (KRS-One)	D&D All Stars – 1,2 Pass It – The D&D Project

#	Title	Timecode	Lyric (Autosonic)	Source
		2.06-2.12	(Autosonic)	(1995)
		1.07-1.09 2.04-2.06 2.12-2.14	The righteous man sacrifice to get what they deserve (Autosonic)	Gang Starr – Above the Clouds – Moment of Truth (1998)
		2.16-3.20	Right now what need the most work is the unification of the unified mind, everyone need to come together as one but in order to do that we need to destroy that which is negative. You know what I'm sayin? So that we can unify and be the unified mind on the positive scale. Just knowing good from bad and respecting each other's boundaries. You know Allah said that there is no greater love than those who dwell in unity and one who would sacrifice his life for his brother. I practice that discipline by walking on the straight and narrow path which is the path of righteousness by adding on to life by constantly elevating and at the same time in my imperfection I'm also accepted because I'm the blameless according to my circumstances. So what that means is my circumstances make me humble myself. And when I humble myself it strengthens my faith so that I can walk upright and no that for every night time there is a brighter day.	?
44	New Testament	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)		
		0.55-0.58 2.05-2.08	How many real Hip Hoppers in the place right about now? (Autosonic)	KRS One – KRS-One Attacks – Return of the Boom Bap (1993)
		1.05-1.08 2.16-2.19	Something must have got in us cos all of us turn to sinners (Autosonic)	Nas Feat AZ – Life's a Bitch – Illmatic (1994)
		1.08-1.11	Others such as myself are trying to carry on	Nas Feat AZ – Life's a

			2.19-2.22	tradition (Autosonic)	Bitch – Illmatic (1994)
			1.16-1.18 2.27-2.29 2.35-2.40 2.45-2.46	Got rhymes 365 days annual plus some (Autosonic)	Nas Feat AZ – Life's a Bitch – Illmatic (1994)
			1.19-1.21 2.29-2.34	Young at this, I do my thing (Autosonic)	Nas Feat AZ – Life's a Bitch – Illmatic (1994)
			2.40-2.42	You know what I'm sayin', keep it real son (Autosonic)	Nas Feat AZ – Life's a Bitch – Illmatic (1994)
			2.46-2.47	The mic is my religion (Autosonic)	Nas – The World is Yours (remix) – Illmatic (1994)
			2.49-2.52	My insight enlights vision (Autosonic)	Nas – The World Is Yours (remix) – Illmatic (1994)
			2.51-2.53	To murder paragraphs with words of wisdom. (Autosonic)	Nas – The World is Yours (Remix) – Illmatic (1994)
			3.00-3.25	We got society feeding you with all this so fucked up music with all these fucked up videos. So nah, I ain't changing shit. This is how it's going to be; this is how we get down. This is straight, raw to the fucking point. Now goddammit you can except the truth and live, or you can reject it and fucking die. (Autosonic)	Kabir Mohammed – Ross Kemp on Gangs, s02 e02 St Louis. 26.45-27.11 (2006)
45	Bottom Line	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)	0.00-0.08	All the critics need to shut the fuck up. Until they do, or try to do, the shit that they are criticizing (Autosonic)	Dr Dre – Rare interview for Rhyme and Reason doco (1997)
			1.04-1.08 2.13-2.17	Yeah, Y'all thought you had us, but we still here. Bottom line, you know. (Autosonic)	? Possible interview reference
			2.40-End	Ok, I know you all want to think that you know what's going on. That's ok (Autosonic)	? Possible interview reference

46	Complex	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)	1.02-1.07	It's really no contest, how could you figure we less, come with the p l e s be the synonym for fresh. (Autosonic)	?
			1.07-1.10 1.19-1.21 2.16-2.19 2.27-2.30	Beneficence, player I'm going to give it to you intense. (Autosonic)	?
			1.10-1.13 1.21-1.24 2.19-2.22 2.30-2.33	High tech dialect you ain't catch yet. (Autosonic).	Rakim – New York (Ya Out There?) – The 18th Letter (1997)
			2.39-2.53	What the youngsters are rapping about now is nursery rhymes. So we like to deal with the real. You know what I mean? Rhyming is fine, but not nursery rhymes (Autosonic)	? Possible film/documentary reference
47	Neva	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)	0.06-0.20	The government brainwash our people with the mind control theory. That's what they do. So it means our people like it and they keep playing that same song. And that same song keep playing and they start to like it and start to get cloned with it. (Autosonic)	? Possible film/tv reference
			1.04-1.06 1.10-1.12 1.57-1.59 2.02-2.04 2.49-2.51 2.53-2.55	I'd never, I'd never. (Autosonic)	? Female voices
			1.07-1.09 1.59-2.01 2.51-2.53	Go mainstream and get the cream, heavily. (Autosonic)	Show & AG – Full Scale – Full Scale EP (1998)
			1.12-1.14	That's what you say, but I say never me.	Show & AG – Full Scale –

			(Autosonic)	Full Scale EP (1998)
48	Self Evident	2.04-2.06 2.56-2.58		? Sounds like a lyric reference, but also comes from the declaration of independence.
		1.07-1.18 2.05-2.16 3.02-3.13	We hold these truths to be self-evident (Autosonic)	
49	Low Pro	0.28-0.29	Y'all know my steelo (Allosonic)	Common hip hop term meaning 'style' from 1993, unclear as to which recording this is referencing.
		2.06-2.08 2.16-2.18	Catch me in a corner not speaking (Autosonic)	Ghostface Killah – Apollo Kids – Supreme Clientele. (2000)
		2.08-2.10 2.18-2.20	Deep concentration, cause I'm no comedian (Autosonic)	Eric B & Rakim – I Ain't no Joke – Paid in Full (1987)
		2.11-2.15 2.21-2.25	I be in the benzo keep a low profile, Dead serious, takin flicks and don't smile (Autosonic)	Wu Tang Clan – Protect Your Neck (The Jump Off) – The W (2000)
50	Kasparov	2.19-2.22 2.30-2.33 2.41-2.44	Life's a game of chess and I play like the Russians (Autosonic)	Diamond D – Gather Round – Hatred, Passions, and Infidelity (1997)
		2.23-2.26 2.34-2.37	To flatter me your strategy gotta more complex than chess (Autosonic)	Showbiz & Ag – Next Level – Goodfellas (1995)
		2.26-2.30 2.37-2.41	Dealing with the mental aspects of chess (Rakim) (Autosonic)	Mobb Deep – Hoodlum – Hoodlum OST (1997)
51	What Can I Say?	2.20 – 2.42	Sometimes god will use you to say things. And in that sense I was speaking in tongues. Cause I didn't know what I was saying, but it came out. Now when a man speaks a word,	? Possible film/tv reference.

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No.	Track	Producer / Album	Time	Lyrics	Sample Source
				he has to work to make the word born. That's the way I was taught. (Autosonic)	Tupac – Interview in Prison – Tupac: Uncensored and Uncut The Lost Prison Tapes (
52	Affiliates	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)	0.00-0.10	What I want you to know is that, don't support the phonies. Support the real. You know what mean? How can these people talk about how they so real they don't care about our community? (Autosonic – slowed down)	
			2.53-end	You know what I mean, listen to what they are saying, don't just bob your head. Peep the game, you know what I mean. Watch people, because you can fake for a long time but one day you gonna show yourself to be a phony. (Autosonic)	Tupac – Interview in Prison - Tupac: Uncensored and Uncut The Lost Prison Tapes (1995)
53	Top Status	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)	1.09-1.11 1.20-1.22 2.20-2.22 2.31-2.33 3.30-3.32 3.41-3.43	You know the status, players hate us (Autosonic)	Klashnekoff – Unsure which song
			1.11-1.18 2.22-2.28 3.32-3.39	A legend at its best, you can check my priors (Autosonic)	Smiley the Ghetto Child – I'm a Legend – Antidote Pt. 2 (2010)
			1.18-1.20 2.29-2.31 3.39-3.41	Taking care of business yeah without no doubt (Autosonic)	The Beatnuts – Props Over Here – The Beatnuts (1994)
			1.24-1.26	You can't compare to the status right here (Autosonic)	Gang Starr – Battle – 8 Mile OST (2002)
			2.34-2.36 3.43-3.46	Status You can't touch my status (Autosonic)	Jeru The Damaja – Da Bitchez – The Sun Rises in the East. (1994)
54	Toxic	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident	1.04-1.06	Too many drinking not thinking	Gang Starr – Make 'em

#	Track	Timecode	Lyric	Sample
	(2012)	1.15-1.17 2.09-2.11 2.20-2.22	(Autosonic)	Pay – Moment of Truth (1998)
		1.06-1.07 1.17-1.18 2.11-2.12 2.22-2.23	Let em know (Autosonic)	?
		1.07-1.09 1.18-1.20 2.12-2.14 2.23-2.25	Don't drink Cristal and I can't stand Moet (Autosonic)	Jeru Tha Damaja – Ya Playin Yaself – Wrath of the Math (1996)
		1.09-1.12 1.20-1.23 2.14-2.17 2.25-2.28 2.34-2.38	My advice to you, cut down on Champaign and booze (Autosonic)	Gang Starr – My Advice 2 You – Moment of Truth (1998)
		1.12-1.13 1.23-1.24 2.17-2.18 2.28-2.31 2.39-2.40	To your body mad toxic (Autosonic)	Mobb Deep – Up North Trip – The Infamous (1995)
		1.14-1.15 1.25-1.26 2.18-2.21 2.31-2.32 2.40-End	Most of the time that Shit's bad news. (Autosonic)	Gang Starr – My Advice 2 You – Moment of Truth. (1998)
		2.32-2.34	I don't care who you are even if think you famous (Autosonic)	?
55	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)	1.02-1.06 1.24-1.26 2.16-2.19 2.37-3.39 3.29-3.32	I'm an MC I do not think how you rap stars'll think (Autosonic)	Redman – Lick a Shot – Malpractice (2001)

#			Timestamp	Quote	Source
			3.51-3.53 1.07-1.12 1.27-1.32 2.20-2.26 2.40-2.46 3.33-3.39 3.54-4.00	"Hardcore, but I still keep the scene pumping, So all that singing and dancing, that shit don't mean nothing." (Autosonic)	Lord Finesse – Return of the Funky Man – Return of the Funky Man. (1992)
56	Legitimate	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)	0.01-0.06 0.17-0.22 1.04-1.09 1.15-1.20 2.08-2.12 2.18-2.24 2.41-2.47 2.52-2.58	Phony rappers had your turn now it's time to go, I'm here to bring you live shows with legitimate flows (Autosonic)	Phat Kat – Cold Steel – Carte Blanche (2007)
			0.07-0.09 1.10-1.12 1.20-1.22 2.13-2.15 2.47-2.49	Yeah you know the deal, I represent skills (Autosonic)	?
			0.10-0.12 1.13-1.15 2.24-2.26 2.58-3.00	You can't roll with my flavor or style (Autosonic)	Group Home – Serious Rap Shit – Livin' Proof (1995)
			0.13-0.14 1.22-1.24 2.15-2.17 2.49-2.51	I'm never following I follow nothing (Autosonic)	?
			0.15-0.17 2.26-2.28 3.00-3.02	And when it comes to this there's none equal (Autosonic)	?

#	Track	Album (Year)	Timecodes	Lyric (type)	Sample source
57	S.A.B.X	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)	1.38-1.40 2.55-2.57 4.13-4.15	Listen the streets is our religion (Autosonic)	?
			1.41-1.43 2.58-3.01 4.15-4.18	Hardcore style crosses every boundary (Autosonic)	Mykill Miers – Wanna Be an MC? – It's Been a Long Time Coming (2000)
			1.44-1.46 3.01-3.04 4.18-4.20	Repetition holding down Bronx Tradition (Autosonic)	D.I.T.C. – Day One – D.I.T.C. (2000)
			1.47-1.49 3.04-3.05 4.21-4.30	How you live in the streets and don't know my name (Autosonic)	Mykill Miers (Freddie Foxx) – Wanna Be an MC? – It's Been a Long Time Coming (2000)
58	Planetary Rule	Dialect & Despair – Self Evident (2012)	0.04-0.08 1.04-1.08 1.15-1.18 2.08-2.11 2.20-2.23	I claim the whole planet, cos it's mine god damn it I'm God (Autosonic)	Showbiz & AG – Next Level – Goodfellas (1995)
			0.10-0.12 1.08-1.10 1.17-1.20 2.11-2.14 2.23-2.25	Born to take power leave my mark on this planet (Autosonic)	Mobb Deep – Hell On Earth – Hell On Earth (1996)
			0.15-0.18 1.10-1.12 1.20-1.23 2.14-2.17 2.25-2.28	You may not believe living on the earth planet (Autosonic)	Dr. Octagon (Kool Keith) – Earth Planet – Dr. Octagonecologyst (1996)
			0.18-0.20 1.12-1.14 2.17-2.19	I am like a teacher follow my lead (Autosonic)	?

#	Title	Timing	Content	Source
63	Kill That Noise	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)	0.00-0.20	**Paul Keating:** You're challenging the High Court decision, are you? You're saying the High Court got this all wrong. **Caller:** No, I'm not saying that at all! I wouldn't know who was on the High Court. **Paul Keating:** Well, why don't you sign off, if you don't know anything about it and you're not interested. Good bye! **Caller:** Yeah, well, that's your … **Paul Keating:** No, I mean, you can't challenge these things and then say, "I don't know about them". **John Laws:** Oh well, he's gone. (Autosonic)	John Laws' radio show on 2UE, (1993).
64	Also Known As	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)	0.04-0.18	You could have this sort of anonymous thing about it where you could portray yourself as one thing and then I could change into my other costume and be this other guy. Superhero. (Autosonic)	? – Possible Graffiti doco quote.
			1.14-1.17 1.24-1.27 3.39-3.42 3.51-3.54	Invisible man, got the whole world watching. (Autosonic)	Mos Def – Hip Hop – Black on Both Sides (1999)
			1.19-1.22 3.46-3.49	Oh there I go, from a man to a memory, damn. (Autosonic)	The Roots – Sleep – Undun (2011)

#	Title	Source	Time	Lyric	Reference
			2.46-2.51	You stay anonymous with who you are, and that's the whole point of it. (Autosonic)	? – Possible Graffiti doco quote
			2.52-2.55	Being like you the wind you know, you can't see it but you can feel it. (Autosonic)	? – Possible graffiti doco quote.
65	Along the Way	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)	0.12-0.20	Reference to "Heard it through the grapevine" (Allosonic)	Marvin Gaye – Heard it Through the Grapevine (1968)
66	Sip it Slow	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)			
67	Same Story	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)			
68	Time is the Enemy	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)	0.45-0.48	Make money money take money money money (Allosonic)	Various – There are a few songs that use these lines, it is unclear which they are referencing.
			1.51-1.54 2.01-2.04	Running round town spending time like it's counterfeit (Autosonic)	The Roots – The Otherside – Undun (2011)
69	Lost in Translation	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)			
70	Creep	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)			
71	Worlds Apart	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)			
72	Coffee Shop	Spit Syndicate – Sunday Gentlemen (2013)			
73	Exile	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)	0.37-0.44 1.04-1.08 1.50-1.53	I operate on a higher plane my thoughts take a higher train, It's dope then you should know my suppliers name (Autosonic)	J Cole – Dead Presidents II – The Warm Up (2009)

No.	Song	Timecode	Lyric	Source
		0.44-0.45 1.53-1.54	Syd city (Autosonic)	Australian MC?
		0.46-0.49 1.55-1.58	Home sweet home my 9 to 5 grind sees do ride slow? (Autosonic)	Australian MC?
		0.49-0.54 0.59-1.04 1.58-2.03	With no respect how could you look up at the mirror, the world is looking shady and the future's no clearer (Autosonic)	Bush Babees – Gravity – Gravity (1996)
		0.54-0.59 2.03-2.08	Runaway train of thought my sore knuckles say love and hate, huffing shakes straight until I suffocate (Autosonic)	Jehst – The Return of the Drifter – The Return of the Drifter (2002)
74	Crooks and Crimescenes Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)	1.21-1.23 1.26-1.28 3.09-3.11 3.15-3.17	You was at the crime scene screaming I ain't do it (Autosonic)	Talib Kweli – Shock Body – Quality (2002)
75	Showtime Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)	1.11-1.13	You better go for yours, I'm a go for mine (Allosonic – with variation)	MC Shan – Go For Yours (Cause I'ma get mine) – Born to be Wild (1988)
		2.34-2.36	So for all of y'all keeping y'all in health, just to see you smile and enjoy yourself – Solo (Allosonic)	Doug E Fresh and the Get Fresh Crew (Slick Rick as MC) – La Di Da Di – Single (1985)
76	Exhale Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)	0.18-0.21 0.29-0.31	Should It say hello or should It say goodbye (Autosonic)	The Roots – Rising Down – Rising Down (2008)
		0.21-0.25 0.31-0.35	Breath out (Autosonic)	Black Star – Respiration – Black Star (1998)
		0.25-0.27 0.35-0.38	Exhale (Autosonic)	Rakim?
		0.27-0.28	Breathe the air (Autosonic)	Rakim?

#	Song	Artist – Album	Time	Description	Source
77	Starry-Eyed	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)	1.13-1.39	Those fellas are sly, slick & shy, So don't ever let 'em get you looking starry eyed (Autosonic)	The Velvelettes – Needle in a Haystack – Single (1966)
				"Do lang" lyrics repeat throughout second verse (Autosonic)	The Velvelettes – Needle in a Haystack – Single
78	Pretty Girls Make Graves	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)			
79	Kings Only	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)	0.09-0.19	Implied rhyme scheme with the end line "and it don't stop" (Allosonic)	Hip Hop Traditional
			0.19-0.38 1.19-1.29 2.19-2.29	Jealous rats in the city they know I'm king cause, I remodeled the world with the flow I bring (Autosonic)	Bliss n Eso – It's Working – Day of the Dog (2006)
			2.39-2.42	So they consider you a king? Put it this way, I am a king. (Autosonic)	Style Wars – Cap (1983)
			2.44-2.54	You got to be able to take over a line with insides, take it over with throw-ups, top-to-bottoms, you got to do everything. If you specialize in one thing, you really can't call yourself an all-out king. (Autosonic)	Style Wars (1983)
			2.54-2.58	The only and the original Magnetic King, and that's the one that's still sitting here doing his thing. (Autosonic)	Style Wars (1983)
80	Disruption	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)			
81	Table For Two	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)			
82	The Creditors	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)			
83	Can't Go Home	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)			

#	Track	Album	Time	Lyrics / Notes	Sample
84	Contour Lines	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)	0.20-0.22 2.12-2.14	There's a war going on inside we ain't safe from (Allosonic with variation)	Mobb Deep – Survival of the Fittest – The Infamous (1995)
85	Endgame	Spit Syndicate – Exile (2010)			
86	Raw x Infinity	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
87	F.O.H. (for opinionated humans)	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
88	Livin	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
89	XTC Part // H.O.B	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
90	Tyson	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
91	Ode to Ignorance	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
92	Dope with no Seeds/Re-Lacks	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)	1.16-1.21 2.17-2.22	We keep it moving to the K.I.F, my Tribe keep it moving (Allosonic with variation)	A Tribe Called Quest – Keep It Moving – Beats, Rhymes and Life (1996)
93	Aviation (disco weed)	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
94	That's that Shit.	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
95	Nigerian Sunrise	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
96	Melbourne Sunrise	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)	1.37	Aha, do you not know who this is (Autosonic)	Nigerian Comedian?
97	No Enemy	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
98	Sangria	Remi – Raw x Infinity (2014)			
99	Switchtape	Tkay Maidza – Switch Tape (2015)	0.16-0.28 0.43 0.49	Vocables – boys been goin in (Allosonic)	MIA – Boyz – Kala (2007)
				Tkay has beats and effects that sound like MIA, uses her voice like Nicki Minaji	
100	Earthworthy (Intro)	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)	First	I followed every dream in life,	?

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#	Song	Album	Time	Lyrics	Sample
			appears at 1.48 and repeats until the end.	It never crossed my mind, Beyond each horizon, I've got less than I left behind (Autosonic)	
101	Diluted Shadows	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
102	Anybody Like Me	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
103	Lonely ft. G Force	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
104	I'm Gone	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)	2.53-2.58	When you really love some one (Autosonic)	Alicia Keys – When you Really Love Someone – Diary of Alicia Keys (2003)
105	Undergrowth	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
106	A Good Life	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
107	Lie To Me	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
108	Boredom & Laziness	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
109	A Good Man	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)	1.57-2.13 3.05-3.12	A woman needs a good man, To be a good woman, A Woman needs a good man, To be the kind of woman her man wants her to be. (Autosonic)	Three Degrees – A Woman Needs A Good Man – Three Degrees (1973)
110	Seven	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
111	Biding Time	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
112	Your Eyes Reveal	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
113	Solitude	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
114	And So We Pray	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
115	Palms To Horizon	Kadyelle – Earthworthy (2010)			
116	Best Scars	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
117	Ten Steps	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
118	Close Enough	Kadyelle – The Theory of			

#	Title	Album	Timecode	Lyrics	Sample
119	Down To The Flow	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
120	Safe	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
121	Ordinary Day	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
122	Puppet Strings	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
123	Before We Sleep	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
124	What They Got	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
125	Hold Up!	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
126	Road to Nowhere	Kadyelle – The Theory of Everything (2013)			
127	Dream Train	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)	4.13-4.14	Carry on (Autosonic)	?
			4.30-4.38	If you got glitches in your life computer turn it off And then reboot it, now you back on (Autosonic)	Kelis – Millionare Ft. Andre 3000 – Tasty (2003)
			4.49-5.01	I don't want play no more carry on? (Autosonic)	?
128	Real Life	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)			
129	Saved Me	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)	4.18-4.37	Yeah, I want to dedicate this to everybody that love hip hop music, cause without hip hop music I wouldn't be here today (Autosonic)	Wyclef Jean – Industry – The Preacher's Son (2003)
130	Somebody's Love	Mind Over Matter – This Way To			

No.	Title	Album	Time	Quote	Source
131	From The Sky	Elsewhere (2014) Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)			
132	What they Say	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)		Brother's and Sister's (Autosonic)	?
133	Shape Another Heart	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)			
134	God's Snare	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)			
135	Society's Pyramid	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)	0.01-0.21	What civilization is, is 6 billion people trying to make themselves happy by standing on each other's shoulders and kicking each other's teeth in. It's not a pleasant situation. (Autosonic)	Terence McKenna – Psychedelics in the Age of Intelligent Machines (1999)
			5.19-5.45	You can stand back and look at this planet and see that we have the money, the power, the medical understanding, the scientific know-how, the Love and the community to produce a kind of human paradise. (Autosonic)	Terence McKenna – Psychedelics in the Age of Intelligent Machines (1999)
136	X.Y.Z.	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)			
137	The Calm Before the Storm	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)	0.00-0.28	This is Aldous Huxley, a man haunted by a vision of hell on earth. Mr. Huxley 27 years ago, wrote Brave New World, a novel that predicted that someday the entire world would live under a frightful dictatorship. Today Mr. Huxley says that his fictional world of horror is probably just around the corner for all of us. We'll find out why, in a moment. (Autosonic)	Aldous Huxley – The Mike Wallace Interview (1958)
			0.28-0.39	We have a soft society where everything is	?

No.	Song	Album	Timecode	Text	Source
				provided for us and they have no clue about what the collapse of Western civilization might look like. (Autosonic)	
			0.39-0.45	If we continue on this path not only is it unsustainable but it is complete and utter destruction. (Autosonic)	?
138	Tomorrow's History	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)	0.01-0.06	This is the greatest bank robbery in world history and the banks are doing the robbing. (Autosonic)	Gerald Celente
			0.06-0.17	The scary thing is that by their own admission they want the world depopulated by about two thirds. That's not great if you are one of the people in their gun sites (Autosonic)	?
			3.30-3.51	The reality is when this new hard economic reality happens whether it's sand? or more importantly the dollar collapses, what do they want the most, they want food, they want fuel, they want security. They want to sleep at night and know they are protected and that's real wealth. (Autosonic)	?
139	Along The Way	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)			
140	A Little Brighter	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)	0.08-0.17 6.11-6.38 7.01-7.07	If you got glitches in your life computer turn it off And then reboot it, now you back on (Autosonic)	Kelis – Millionare Ft. Andre 3000 – Tasty (2003)
			5.54-6.11	Drop summer? rappers who we really are (Autosonic)	?

#	Song	Album	Timecode	Quote	Source
141	My Disappointments	Mind Over Matter – This Way To Elsewhere (2014)	1.31-1.49	Fella's I'm ready to get up and do my thing, I want to get into it man you know, like a sex machine man, moving doing it you know. (Autosonic)	James Brown – Get Up I Feel Like Being a Sex Machine – Sex Machine (1970)
			3.13-3.20	OK listen up everybody, turn up your volumes. I've got good news we're extending arts and craft time by four hours today (Autosonic)	Happy Gilmore (1996)
			3.20-3.24	? my the meter? (Autosonic)	?
			3.24-3.32	That goes for all y'all, don't pretend to be something you're not. That's what's really cool. (Autosonic)	Starsky and Hutch (2004)
			3.32-3.33	Check out the nametag (Autosonic)	Happy Gilmore (1996)
142	Capture the Spark	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)			
143	Rappers In Wonderland	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)			
144	Just Like Fireworks	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)	1.23-1.27	"I hope Seth got that waitress naked or that could have been a massive waste of bacon" Makes a reference to Seth Sentry's "Waitress Song" (Allosonic)	Seth Sentry – Waitress Song – The Waiter Minute EP (2008)
			2.26 – 2.35	did you just suddenly grow a set of balls? I've always had a set of balls, you've just never seen them. That's about the gayest thing I've ever heard. (Autosonic)	Misfits, Season 1, episode 6. (2009)

#	Title	Timecode	Text	Source
		2.35 – 2.45	Actually, I'd like to fill out an application. There's no jobs for manager, it's just for counter. Good, I'm looking for the least possible amount of responsibility. (Autosonic)	American Beauty (1999)
		3.05-End	Do it like I did it before, the kid step in the door, with everything you want baby and more (Autosonic)	?
		3.15-3.16	Raise your hands, raise them higher (Autosonic)	?
145	Harder			Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)
146	I Been Told			Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)
147	I Can't Wait			Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)
148	Be A Pirate			Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)
149	So I Showed Them	0.00 – 0.20	What do I fucking think style is? This may sound like I'm a fucking power ranger. Honestly, style is Jack and Rose in the Titanic, fucking in that car and Rose throw her hands up on that windscreen. That's fucking style mate. Bro, fuck, fuck, fucking style mate, I've got fucking style, Fuck. (Autosonic)	? Man with an Australian accent. Not sure where this is from.
		0.21-0.24 0.30-0.33 1.43-1.46 1.53-1.56	Best story teller my style's greater (Autosonic)	Nas – Hate Me Now – I Am… (1999)

#	Title	Album	Timestamps	Lyric	Sample
			3.04-3.07 3.13-3.16		
			0.24-0.25 0.33-0.36 1.46-1.48 1.56-1.58 3.07-3.08 3.16-3.17	My style is wild (Autosonic)	Tha Alkaholiks – Hip Hop Drunkies – Likwidation (1997)
			0.25-0.30 1.48-1.53 3.08-3.13	Best Rapper Alive ask about me (Autosonic)	Jay Z – Dirt off your shoulder – The Black Album (2003)
			0.36-0.41 1.58-2.03 3.17-3.22	And my style is so dope they call it ya-yo (Autosonic)	Tha Alkaholiks – Hip Hop Drunkies – Likwidation (1997)
150	Off The Chain	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)			
151	Ernst & His Two Cents	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)			
152	Famous	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)			
153	This Wonderful Life	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)			
154	Black Cats	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)			

155	Just A Ride	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)	0.00 – 0.48	The world is like a ride in an amusement park, and when you choose to go on it you think it's real because that's how powerful our minds are. The ride goes up and down, around and around, it has thrills and chills, and it's very brightly colored, and it's very loud, and it's fun for a while. Some people have been on the ride a long time, and they begin to question, is this real, or is this just a ride?…. Shut him up! I've got a lot invested in this ride, shut him, shut him up! Look at my furrows of worry, look at my big bank account, and my family. This has to be real. It's just a ride. (Autosonic)	Bill Hicks – Revelations (1993)
			0.48 – 0.58	Here's your ticket, get wicked Here's your ticket, hear the drummer get wicked. (Autosonic)	Public Enemy – Welcome to the Terrordome – Fear of a Black Planet (1990)
			0.58	Listen (Autosonic)	KRS – One?
			1.01 – 1.03	Life is such fucking roller-coaster then it drops (Autosonic)	Lil Wayne – Forever, Drake Feat. Kanye West, Lil Wayne & Eminem – More Than A Game & Relapse: Refill (2008)
			1.03 – 1.08	Here's your ticket, Hear the drummer get wicked (Autosonic)	Public Enemy – Welcome to the Terrordome – Fear of a Black Planet (1990)
			1.09	Listen (Autosonic)	KRS-One?
			1.09 – 1.18	Life is such a fucking roller-coaster then it drops, But what should I scream for, this is my theme park. My mind shine even when	Lil Wayne – Forever, Drake Feat. Kanye West, Lil Wayne & Eminem –

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		my thoughts seem dark. (Autosonic)	More Than A Game & Relapse: Refill (2008)
	1.18	Listen (Autosonic)	?
	1.24-1.28	Here's your ticket, hear the drummer get wicked. (Autosonic)	Public Enemy – Welcome to the Terrordome – Fear of a Black Planet (1990)
	1.48-1.54	Life is such fucking roller-coaster then it drops (Autosonic)	Lil Wayne – Forever, Drake Feat. Kanye West, Lil Wayne & Eminem – More Than A Game & Relapse: Refill (2008)
	1.55 – 1.57	Here's your ticket (Autosonic)	Public Enemy – Welcome to the Terrordome – Fear of a Black Planet (1990)
	1.58 – 1.59	Life is such fucking roller-coaster then it drops (Autosonic)	Lil Wayne – Forever, Drake Feat. Kanye West, Lil Wayne & Eminem – More Than A Game & Relapse: Refill (2008)
	1.59 – 2.03	So enjoy the ride and just hang on tight (Autosonic)	?
	2.03 – 2.22	Here's what we can do to change the world, right now, to a better ride. Take all that money we spend on weapons and defenses each year and instead spend it feeding and clothing and educating the poor of the world, which it would pay for many times over, not one human being excluded, and we could explore space, together, both inner and outer, forever, in peace. (Autosonic)	Bill Hicks – Revelations (1993)
	2.47	Listen	?

No.	Song	Time	Quote	Sample
			(Autosonic)	
		2.49-2.57	Hear the drummer get wicked, here's your ticket (Autosonic)	Public Enemy – Welcome to the Terrordome – Fear of a Black Planet (1990)
		2.58-3.05	Life is such a fucking roller-coaster (Autosonic)	Lil Wayne – Forever, Drake Feat. Kanye West, Lil Wayne & Eminem – More Than A Game & Relapse: Refill (2008)
		3.05 – 3.08	So just hang on tight and enjoy the ride (Autosonic)	?
		3.08 – 3.28	But it doesn't matter, because it's just a ride. And we can change it any time we want. It's only a choice. The eyes of love instead see all of us as one. (Autosonic)	Bill Hicks – Revelations (1993)
156	Broken Me			
	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)			
157	Sunshine In You			
	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)			
158	Hollow Eyes			
	Mind Over Matter – Just Like Fireworks (2011)	0.07 – 0.12	This is Sydney's Kings Cross, famous for its sex and its drugs. (Autosonic)	News report
		0.12-0.15	I've never done this sort of work before and I didn't see any harm in it, so I took it. (Autosonic)	News report
		0.15-0.20	What other destination to go to in Australia? Than Kings Cross. What to buy drugs? (Autosonic)	News report
		0.20- 0.22	The reputation of the cross was just true (Autosonic)	News Report
		0.23 – 0.30	I started becoming what was a little bit higher up than a street girl, I was a prostitute.	News Report

			(Autosonic)	
		0.30 – 0.44	I have a profound respect for people in general. I don't write people off because they necessarily are drug addicts or prostitutes. I look a little bit deeper than the problem that you see on the surface. (Autosonic)	News Report
		2.13-2.17	Others adhere to a long tradition of corruption (Autosonic)	?
		3.45-4.08	Modern day slavery is only occurring because we chose to ignore it. No sensible person believes that slavery could happen in the 21st century. We couldn't be more wrong. Slave traffickers around the world have rediscovered how profitable it is to buy and sell people. (Autosonic) – not in the same order as the original.	Human Trafficking – TV Mini Series (2005)

159	One - Intro	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
160	One	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
161	Kingdom Come	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
162	Survive	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)	0.11-0.40	Sikh call	?
			1.25-1.30 2.25- 2.30 3.24 – 3.27	What's your point of view? Where do you come from? (Autosonic)	KRS-One – Speech while in Sydney
			1.32 – 1.39 2.33 – 2.40 3.31 – 3.38	Are you afraid to be you? (Autosonic)	KRS-One – Speech while in Sydney
			2.45-2.50 2.55-2.59	Do you have the courage to be you? (Autosonic)	KRS-One – Speech while in Sydney

			3.04 – 3.08 3.14 – 3.18	I'm the new me (Autosonic)	KRS-One – Speech while in Sydney
163	Macquarie Street	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
164	Close Your Eyes	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
165	The Heart, The Pen	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
166	Beautiful (Keep Walking)	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
167	Victory Intro	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
168	Victory	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
169	Royalty	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
170	Faithful	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
171	The World Is Ours	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
172	The Time Has Come	L-Fresh the Lion – One (2014)			
173	Pray For Me	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
174	Get Mine	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
175	Takeover	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
176	Hold Up	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
177	Be Cool	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
178	unBECOME	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
179	Panjab: An Introduction	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
180	Never Alone	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
181	1 in 100,000	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
182	Take Me With You	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
183	Black & White	L-Fresh the Lion – Become (2016)			
184	Bittersweet	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
185	Champion Sound	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
186	Drums	Tongue – Surrender to Victory			

		(2013)			
187	Die Tonight	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
188	So Profound	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
189	Moments Like This	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
190	Rhymin'	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
191	Australian Dreaming	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
192	Finding My Religion	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
193	Understand	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
194	Own World	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
195	Top Score	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
196	Victory	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
197	Just You Wait	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			
198	My Song	Tongue – Surrender to Victory (2013)			

199	The Knock	Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)			
200	Never Going Down	Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)			
201	Houdini	Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)			
202	Proud	Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)			
203	You Got Me	Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)	0.29-0.30	Had the club going up on a Tuesday (Allosonic)	iloveMakonnen – Club Goin' Up on a Tuesday – iloveMakonnen EP (2014)

#	Title	Timing	Notes	Album	Sample Source
204	Setting Sun			Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)	
205	Bring Me Home			Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)	
206	Free		References Gangstar's "Full Clip" and Nas' "Who's World is This" – name drops, no lyrical references.	Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)	
207	Mercy			Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)	
208	The Rule	0.21-0.37 1.24-1.41 2.29-2.46	Self-preservation is the rule when you do aim (Autosonic)	Tongue – Hard Feelings (2015)	Big Boi – Shutterbugg – Sir Lucious Left Foot: The Son of Chico Dusty (2010)
		0.37-0.42 1.41-1.46 2.46-2.41	Bring the power back to the street where the people do live (Autosonic)		Dead Prez – Police State – Let's Get Free (2000)

#	Title	Album
209	Intro	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)
210	More G More Fire	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)
211	Spectacular Mediocrity	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)
212	The Ill Type Stand	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)
213	JungleFunk	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)
214	Hip Hop Isn't on the Radio	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)
215	Listen	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)
216	Independent Underground	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)
217	Africa!	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)

218	Planet Earth	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
219	Time is Short	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
220	The Greater the Hell	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
221	Soundtrack to War	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
222	Move On	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
223	Miracle Girl	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
224	Uwa Wiya	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
225	Three MCs	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
226	Jiggalong	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
227	Keep Jammin	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		
228	On the Beat Y'all	Morganics – Hip Hop is My Passport (2007)		

229	Music is My Revolution	Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)		
230	The United States of Generica	Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)		
231	Black Magic	Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)		
232	Got So Much To Give	Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)		
233	Hipster Killer	Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)	1.04-1.07 1.09-1.12	Don't Fuck with me (Autosonic)	? Movie

#	Title	Timecode		Reference
		2.01-2.08 3.01-3.09		Fat Albert but more likely a reference to Biz Markie's use of this quote in Mudd Foot
		1.14-1.16 2.11-2.13 3.11-3.13	You know what we're here for (Autosonic)	? Song
		1.19-1.20 2.14-2.16	You goin' die (Autosonic)	? Movie?
		3.16-3.19	How did you like the taste of that huh? (Autosonic)	
234	Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)	0.11 1.47 2.54	The MC (Autosonic)	?
		0.12 1.48 2.55	Where you at? (Autosonic)	A Tribe Called Quest – Hot Sex – Midnight Marauders (1993)
		0.14-0.16 1.49-1.51 2.57-2.59	I came through the door, I said it before (Autosonic)	Eric B and Rakim – Eric B is President – Paid in Full (1987)
		0.16-0.17 1.53-1.54 3.01-3.02	Skills skills skills (Autosonic)	Gang Starr – Skills – The Ownerz (2003)
235	More Than Gold Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)			
236	The Enemy's Within Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)	0.10-0.20	These Australians are amongst the whitest of them all, not because of the way they dress. But because the land they were born in, the land they grew up in, was defiantly White Australia. (Autosonic)	? News report
		2.54-3.02	Today a carefully controlled trickle of non-European migrants is admitted. And the term	News Report (Old) Probably from 1973

No.	Title	Album	Timestamp	Sampled Text	Source
				White Australia is banned from official use. (Autosonic)	News Report (Old) Probably from 1973
			3.02-3.13	Well, I think they should keep it white as much as possible, to save the trouble they have in other countries and we'll soon become outnumbered here if we allowed them all in (Autosonic)	News Report (Old) Probably from 1973
			3.13-3.24	We should have more European if possible. / Why is that? / Well, I think that the Asian country is so thick that we don't want to overcrowd here. Keep it white if possible. (Autosonic)	News Report (Old) Probably from 1973
			3.24-3.27	Do you think it matters very much though what colour a person's skin is? (Autosonic)	News Report (Old) Probably from 1973
			3.27-3.30	It's really our country, why don't we just keep them out? (Autosonic)	News Report (Old) Probably from 1973
			3.30-3.31	I don't think that they should be here. (Autosonic)	News Report (Old) Probably from 1973
237	Calling Out To The Elders	Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)	0.55-0.57	Don't believe the hype (Allosonic)	Public Enemy – Don't Believe the Hype – It Takes a Nation of Millions To Hold Us Back (1988)
238	I Still See You	Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)			
239	Keep Collecting Clues	Morganics – For My Friends and My Enemies (2016)			

Appendix B

Table showing the number of times an artist is referenced across all albums analysed.

Artist	Number of References
Rakim & Eric B and Rakim	7
KRS One	7
Gang Starr	6
Mobb Deep	6
Black Star	5
Showbiz & AG	5
Nas	5
The Roots	5
Jeru The Damaja	3
Public Enemy	3
A Tribe Called Quest	3
Lord Finesse	3
Jay Z	3
D&D All Stars	2
Jehst	2
MC Shan	2
Dead Prez	2
Grandmaster Flash & The Furious Five	2
Mos Def	2
Andre 3000 (Appearing on Kelis' Milkshake)	2
Atmosphere	1
Muph & Plutonic	1
Ice Cube	1
The Boogiemonsters	1
Sean Kingston	1
Delta	1
Talib Kweli	1
Mic Geronimo	1
1982	1
Royce Da 5'9"	1
O.C.	1
Big L	1
Pete Rock & CL Smooth	1
Del The Funky Homosapien	1
King Tee	1
Scarface	1

Ghostface Killah	1
Dr. Dre	1
Wu Tang Clan	1
Diamond D	1
Poor Righteous Teachers	1
Tupac	1
Smiley the Ghetto Child	1
Klashnekoff	1
The Beatnuts	1
Redman	1
Phat Kat	1
Group Home	1
Mykill Miers	1
DITC	1
Dr. Octagon	1
Marvin Gaye	1
J Cole	1
Bush Babees	1
Slick Rick	1
Velvelettes	1
Bliss n Eso	1
MIA	1
Alicia Keys	1
Three Degrees	1
Wyclef Jean	1
James Brown	1
Seth Sentry	1
Lil Wayne	1
iloveMakonnen	1
Big Boi	1

Appendix C

360's Hectickest Advice Facebook Post (2016d).

I've been seeing all the hectickest entries and I love that so many people are giving it a go. But I thought I'd write up a bit of advice on how you can step ya game up if you're a rapper.

if you're new to rapping and want to up your game, I decided to write up a little post to help you step ya game up. If you care about being good, pay attention. Most peeps that have been rapping for a while get this concept but amazingly there's still those who still can't grasp it

This is usually the first thing I teach someone when I see potential in their craft and take them under my wing to try and help them.

Most people don't fully understand how deep rapping and rhyming actually is. Trust me when I say that all the best MC's in the world usually do this (there are some that don't but they have next level flows).

Even people who don't rap but are fans may find this interesting and find a new appreciation for your favourite MC's

When it comes to rhymes, when most kids start out they rhyme very simply, 'bat' with 'hat' etc. But if you listen to the best MC's they actually rhyme more than one syllable with usually more than one word. These are called 'multis' (multi-syllable rhymes) - when you are rhyming multis you are rhyming and matching each syllable in the rhyme scheme. You can rhyme simple two syllable rhymes or you can get technical and rhyme as many as you like, but try not to do one syllable rhymes very often. Not many MCs can pull it off, you need an exceptional flow to do so. If I hear a rapper these days and he doesn't use multis I literally can't listen to it unless their flow is just incredible. Though they are not a massive necessity but they are definitely important and a concept you should really focus on understanding if you're serious about the

art of rapping. When you actually do understand it you'll realise it will really improve your flow at the same time.

For example:

Say this is a line you're rapping

"I was taking a shot standing at the free throw line"

initially you would go to rhyme "line" but you should actually be rhyming "free-throw-line"

so I'm just going to talk random nonsense for the sake of demonstrating what I'm talking about, I'll put all the rhymes in caps:

"I was taking a shot standing at the FREE THROW LINE

I've got a massive dick it's hard for chicks to DEEP THROAT MINE

people say my personality's shit but my EGOS FINE

I'm just trying to teach these kids how to SPEAK THOSE RHYMES"

It's important that you always stick to the number of syllables in the rhyme otherwise it gets sloppy and will mess up the flow. If its three syllables stick to three syllables, try not to randomly throw in any more or any less. But occasionally it's alright depending how it sounds. But some people will add more into it like this:

DON'T DO THIS:

"I was taking a shot standing at the FREE THROW LINE

I've got a massive dick it's hard for chicks DEEP THROATING MINE

people say my personality's shit but my EGOS FINE

I'm just trying to teach these kids how to be SPEAKING ALL THOSE RHYMES"

In my opinion, that fucks up the flow of what you're saying, so always stick to the amount of syllables in the rhyme scheme.

A lot of rappers when they first learn this really take the rhyming to the next level where the multis become their entire style. I personally think it's about finding a balance, delivering the right message whilst still rhyming words correctly. That's what I prefer but hey experiment as much as possible cos it's the only way you'll learn what you do and don't like and what works best for you..

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Another example, you don't have to rhyme each syllable perfectly, as long as the start and end match and the syllables are the same amount it sounds dope and you can add in internal rhymes to make it more technical.

"UNDERNEATH THE BRIDGE there were FUCKING HEAPS OF KIDS

when you see it you will understand the LUXURY YOU'RE IN

my COMPANY IS SICK and my FUCKIN TEAM IS RICH

all the MONEY and the FUNDING has us BUMPING HEAPS OF HIPS

I'm BACK-ON-THE-BLOCK, RAPPING-A-LOT and PUNCHING HEAPS OF SPLIFFS

this RAPPER-IS-GOD you ACTORS-ARE-FRAUDS so COME AND MEET THE KING"

It can even be simple shit like

"when I grab the microphone these people know I'm HEAPS NICE, my crew we stick together so you better know my TEAMS TIGHT

we EAT RICE and MEAT PIES EAT FRIES on CHEAT NIGHTS

we'll punch you so hard on the head that you won't SEE RIGHT

when people try to tell that I can't rap on WEEKNIGHTS

I'm in the medieval days with no armour I'm a WEAK KNIGHT"

A lot of youngness when starting out will rhyme words like this and think because the words are big words that its being tech

"you don't know my proclamation, my destination and superstition is the equation of this discrimination"

Don't do that. You are only rhyming "TION" in that example. Pick one and then match the syllables.

"my DESTINATION, is EDUCATION, I'm KEVIN BACON and JENNY CRAIGIN' no SEPARATION I'm NEVER PATIENT but FOREVER WAITIN'"

Eminem is pretty much the master of this shit. He got so good at it that he could make words rhyme that don't even rhyme just by his cadence and tone. He literally

rhymes "smile in the courtroom" with "buy you a wardrobe" - the way he says it, it sounds like it rhymes perfectly. But that's a whole other lesson.

I hope this makes sense, if you have any questions feel free to post them below - I'll try and answer them when I get the time, but if there are other rappers out there who understand the question feel free to help out.

Appendix D

Biographies of the ten participants in this thesis.

Dialect

Dialect is an MC from Adelaide, South Australia. He began rhyming at the age of 12, and was initially inspired by his older brother's collection of hip hop records. Dialect meet the producer Despair in 2008 and since then the duo has released two records, The Vortex (2010) and Self Evident (2012).

Kadyelle

Kadyelle is an MC from Bunbury, Western Australia. She released her first album in 2009 and has since gone on to win triple j's Unearthed competition in 2013, earning her a performance spot at the popular Groovin' the Moo festival. As well as working with many Australian hip hop artists, Kadyelle is currently working on an EP with French producer Zöen to be released in 2016.

L-Fresh the Lion

L-Fresh the Lion was born in Western Sydney, New South Wales, but is now based in Melbourne, Victoria. As well as being an MC, L-Fresh aligns himself with many social justice issues, and works with refugees in the community. L-Fresh is also an ambassador for All Together Now, Australia's only national charity that exists solely to address racism. He has cultural and ancestral roots as a Sikh from Punjab, India, and proudly displays this in his two albums; One (2014) and Become (2015).

Morganics

Morganics has been part of the Australian hip hop community since 1984. As a member of Metabass'n'Breath, he released albums and toured Australia and America. Since then, Morganics used hip hop as a platform to engage in community work, particularly with Indigenous Australians. In 2002, whilst working in Wilcannia, Morganics recorded a group of local boys called The Wilcannia mob. The resulting song, "Down The River" was used by M.I.A. in her song "Mango Pickle Down River" (2007). Morganics has also maintained a solo career as an MC during this time.

Nick Lupi

Nick Lupi is a member of the hip hop duo Spit Syndicate, and also a founding member of the One Day Crew; a crew that consists of the groups Spit Syndicate, Horrorshow, and Jackie Onassis, and the solo artist Joyride, all hailing from Sydney's Inner Western suburbs. As part of Spit Syndicate, Nick has released three albums, and the One Day Crew have also released One album. Nick is also one of the main organizers of the One Day Crew's 'One Day Sundays' parties (discussed in Chapter 4).

Remi

Remi is an MC who is based in Melbourne, Victoria. His mother is from Tasmania and his father from Nigeria, giving Remi a unique perspective on Australian hip hop. Remi uses this perspective to discuss racism, social justice and urban dislocation in Australia. Remi has won multiple Australian music industry awards since 2013, and was the first Australian hip hop artist to win the Australian Music Prize in 2015.

Smiles Again

Smiles again is Sydney based MC who is part of the group Mind Over Matter. The group has released three albums since 2006. In its original line up, the group included MC Willow, the cousin of Eso from noted Australian hip hop group Bliss n Eso. In 2015 Willow left Mind Over Matter citing creative differences.

Solo

Solo is a member of the duo Horrorshow, and along with Nick Lupi is also a member of the One Day Crew. Horrorshow have released four albums since 2008, and have headlined numerous sold-out tours around Australia.

Tkay Maidza

Tkay Maidza was born in Zimbabwe and moved to Australia at the age of five. Since her first single in 2013, Tkay has become one of the most talked about artists in Australian hip hop, and has gone on to work with many international producers.

The Tongue

The Tongue is an MC from Sydney. The Tongue began his career as a battle rapper and represented Australia in the Battle 4 Supremacy competition against New Zealand in 2005. After winning the Revolver MC Battle in 2005, The Tongue began to record music and has since released four albums.

Appendix E

Notice of Ethics Approval

Ethics Application Ref: (5201100272) - Final Approval

Dear Dr Crowdy,

Re: ('Skill Acquisition in Australian and New Zealand Hip Hop Artists')

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee and you may now commence your research.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Dr Denis Crowdy

Mr James Cox

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1. The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

2. Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual reports. Your first progress report is due on 14th April 2011.If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approv al/human_research_ethics/forms

3. If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limiton renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4. All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approv al/human_research_ethics/forms

5. Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6. At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approv al/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or externalfunding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies willnot be informed that you have final approval for your project and fundswill not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of Final Approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have Final Approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Faculty of Arts Research Office at ArtsRO@mq.edu.au

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of final ethics approval.
Yours sincerely
Dr Mianna Lotz
Chair, Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee