KEY DIMENSIONS OF BLACK POLITICAL IDEOLOGY: CONTEMPORARY BLACK MUSIC AND THEORIES OF ATTITUDE FORMATION

DISSERTATION

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By

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ABSTRACT

There is very little empirical research completed on the connection of rap music to ideology. Similarly, extensive research on rap and gender or Black Nationalist ideology and gender is also lacking. Research on rap music focuses on various aspects of rap qualitatively and quantitatively. These studies have included topics as wide as rap as a form of information exchange, the psychological effects of rap on perceptions of women, and the effects of rap on propensity for violent behavior. However, the quantitative research on the affects of rap on political attitude formation or acceptance is very limited.

This dissertation broadens the current research by considering the impact of political rap music on the acceptance and support of Black Nationalist ideology. This dissertation examines if political rap has an impact on the support of Black Nationalism while exploring the differences of this acceptance between gender and other demographic characteristics. This study utilizes a multi-method approach combining experimental research and survey data.

Using data from the 1993-1994 National Black Politics Study, the findings demonstrate a relationship between exposure to rap and support of Black Nationalist ideology. Specifically, these results display that those who listen to rap have a higher significant relationship with Black Nationalist than those who do not listen to rap.
Overall, there exist relationships between support of Black Nationalist sentiment age, listening to rap, and gender. Experiments demonstrate causal relationships between political rap music and the formation of Black Nationalist attitudes. Specifically, Chapter Four details that listening to political rap lead to increased support of Black Nationalism compared to listening to pop music, mainstream rap or listening to no music at all. The study also includes content analysis that illustrates specific nationalist messages that displayed in political rap lyrics.

This research expands the knowledge of public opinion and continues the debate about the voice of information networks and popular culture on the formation of political attitudes. For instance, in public opinion research it is often assumed that the public does not have consistent and stable opinions or attitudes about most political issues. Essentially, many political analysts believe that the majority of Americans are uninformed. This study speaks to this literature by establishing a direct connection between popular music, specifically, political rap and attitude formation.
Dedicated to all the strong women in my life, my ancestors who have given me strength, passion and wisdom and specifically, my grandmother, Bessie M. Thomas, my teachers, Dorothy P. Thompson and Marva Mitchell, my mother, Frances T. Bonnette, my sister Tiffany M. Bonnette, my soul sisters, Leslie R. Jones, Ishmael Tate, Eunika Simons, Chauncey Beaty and the love of my life, my daughter, Jahzari B. Nelson.
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CHAPTER 1

MUSIC AND POLITICAL RESISTANCE: THE CULTURAL FOUNDATION OF BLACK POLITICS

If slaves were permitted to sing as they toiled in the fields and to incorporate music into their religious services, it was because the slaveocracy failed to grasp the social function of music in general and particularly the central role music played in all aspects of life in West African Society. As a result Black people were able to create with their music an aesthetic community of resistance which in turn encouraged and nurtured a political community of active struggle for freedom.

Angela Davis, *Women, Culture and Politics*, 1989, 201

Throughout history African Americans have enacted numerous forms of resistance including violent and non-violent tactics in all arenas, political, social and economic. During slavery enslaved people fought for their rights as human beings and to be treated accordingly. It has been expressed in books such as *The Slave Community* and *There is a River*, that Black people have a tradition of rebellion against oppressive and inhumane systems (Blassingame 1972; Harding 1981). Some of these forms of resistance were subtle, such as day-to-day resistance, in which enslaved Africans feigned sickness or broke farm tools, but other forms were more direct (Blassingame 1972; Franklin 1967). Resistance did not cease for African Americans after the civil war ended. History has shown that resistance was present in the Black community as long as injustice occurred. Still, it is important to acknowledge that African Americans were not the only people who utilized various forms of resistance (Martinez 1997).

Many scholars assert that minority or subordinate groups use culture to resist dominant ideologies or oppressive situations (Hechter 1975; Martinez 1997; Mitchell and
Feagin 1995). As a form of resistance “…oppressed people use language, dance and music to mock those in power, express rage, and produce fantasies of subversion” (Rose 1994, 99). This dissertation examines the utilization of the cultural form of rap music as a resistance tactic that influences the support of particular Black political ideologies. Specifically, I am interested in the impact of rap music and its role in the political process. I am also interested in discovering the direction of a relationship between rap music and Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideology. Black Nationalism and Black Feminism are important because “these ideologies have been more likely to engage politically active Black youth than ideologies of racial integration and socialism” (Hill-Collins 2006, 13). In this dissertation it is my effort to clarify the understanding of how music impacts political attitudes in the context of the more popular ideologies among Blacks.

**Cultural Art Forms and Oppositional Resistance**

The use of culture to resist oppression, domination and discrimination was not only embraced by African Americans, but other oppressed communities used cultural forms as resistance mechanisms. James Scott (1990) contends that resistance tactics have not always been blatant when utilized by oppressed people. He discusses many subtle forms of resistance such as hidden transcripts.
Hidden transcripts represent one subtle form of resistance that oppressed communities have incorporated. Scott explains that “each hidden transcript, then, is actually elaborated among a restricted “public” that excludes-that is hidden from-certain specific others…and vital aspect of the hidden transcript is that it does not contain only speech acts but a whole range of practices” (Scott 1990, 14). He elaborates on hidden-transcripts by detailing situations where people had to, in the words of Paul Lawrence Dunbar (1896), “wear the mask”. Scott suggests that hidden-transcripts are necessary and a vital part of survival and resistance for many oppressed people. These hidden transcripts are usually manifested as coded language, symbols or signs that express actual sentiments without the risk of being attacked or punished. One area where African Americans have consistently used hidden transcripts is in the cultural art form of music.

Music in the Black community has always represented a counter-public for ideas and attitudes of this community as well as been significant to resistance struggles for African Americans (Levine 2006; Norfleet 2006; Pough 2004). Music has been present during many aspects of Black life in America. It is posited that “Black music may be viewed as a symbolization of the Black experience” (Walker 1975, 2).

During slavery music was used to organize enslaved Africans. It was also used to disseminate information about possible revolts or escapes as well as information about life events, including marriages and deaths. It is argued that “through songs slaves could comment on their problems…they could voice their despair and hopes and assert their humanity in an environment that constantly denied their humanness” (Southern 1997,
Therefore, the hidden transcripts Scott (1990) describes as a resistance tactic for marginalized communities are particularly noticeable in African American music. In fact, author Eileen Southern states that “…songs played a significant role in the activities of the underground railroad” (Southern 1997, 145). She explained that some songs purpose was to “alert the slaves that a ‘conductor’ was on the way” (Southern 1997, 144). Similarly, Southern expresses that there were songs that served as maps such as “Follow the Drinking Gourd, which directed …travel in the direction of the big dipper” (Southern 1997, 145). What is unique about these songs are that they seemed like typical work songs and spirituals but “often functioned as coded messages that called for blatant acts of resistance” (Neal 1999, 2). These songs represent examples of ways in which music can be used to disseminate information and evoke feelings or attitudes.

The Black community was not the only community to use music as an informational source or to summon certain emotional sentiments. Even the nation’s anthem was written for political and social purposes. Francis Scott Key, who composed the national anthem, created the anthem while he was trapped in battle against British forces (Sonneck 1972). This anthem was written after Key realized the Baltimore Fort flag was still flying, which symbolized victory (Sonneck 1972). Currently, this song still possesses similar psychological effects on the American public and is used to display loyalty, courage and patriotism. The story of the creation of the Star Spangled Banner is one example that demonstrates how music can be used to voice various feelings and attitudes.
Likewise, music was an essential part of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM). During the civil rights era Black music became more popular among mainstream American audiences because of its political and upliftment emphasis. Many artists relayed their views of current problems or issues in song. For instance, singer Nina Simone’s *Mississippi Goddamn* reflected her anger with the church bombing in Birmingham that killed four little girls as well as other southern injustices during this era (Neal 1999). Similarly, other songs such as Marvin Gaye’s *What’s Going On*, and *Inner City Blues* and Curtis Mayfield’s *Keep on Pushing* and *We People Who are Darker than Blue* also asserted political views of this period including a stance against poverty in America (Neal 1999).

However, one of the most important and discussed aspects of music’s involvement in the CRM is as a force to sustain dedication, loyalty and persistence with the difficult contentious times of the CRM (Morris 1984). Accounts of the CRM detail the use of music to maintain marches and non-violent behavior, to provide upliftment during times of incarceration, murder and direct violence and the use of music to express emotions during times of pain, suffering and sadness (Morris 1984; Garofalo 1992). Garofalo contends, “they [songs] raised our consciousness, energized our day-to-day political work, and provided us with moments of celebration in the struggle” (Garofalo 1992, 231). In evaluating African-American music during the twentieth century, songs such as James Brown’s “Say it Loud: I’m Black and I’m Proud” not only served as
background music for the Black Power movement within the Black community, but also increased racial solidarity and consciousness among African Americans (Walker 1975).

In the late 1960s and early 1970s music was also a viable force in the anti-war movement. During this era artists such as Bob Dylan, Pete Seeger, Marvin Gaye, The Temptations and Curtis Mayfield voiced their discontent with federal policies, the Vietnam War, police brutality and other injustices against people of color and poor people including disenfranchisement, through music (Neal 2004). Therefore, throughout history music has been used as a voice, both political and social, for various groups at various times.

African American poet Langston Hughes, who served as a model for those who came after the Harlem Renaissance and was influenced by the antebellum period, used characters in his stories that demonstrated the way music enables individuals to express their views about various political issues. Hughes used his infamous character, Simple B. Simpleton to display the use of music and resistance in the Black community during his era. This character uses humor and wit to address positive and negative situations of the African American experience. In one particular story Simple details the creation and appreciation of Bebop music:

“Then I have to go into my whole pedigree because I am a Black man in a white neighborhood. And if my answers do not satisfy them, BOP! MOP!...BE-BOP!...MOP!

---

1 Langston Hughes is discussed in this analysis not only because of his character’s discussion of the creation and meaning of a musical genre, but also because Hughes is one of the most popular names associated with the Harlem Renaissance. It is important to discuss the Harlem Renaissance because this is an era in Black history when various cultural forms were embraced by people both within and outside the Black community, thereby giving a space to artists to voice their opinions outside the Black community.
If they do not hit me, they have already hurted my soul. A dark man shall see dark days. Bop comes out of them dark days. That’s why real Bop is mad, wild, and frantic, crazy—and not to be dug unless you’ve seen dark days too. Folks who ain’t suffered much cannot play Bop, neither appreciate it. They think Bop is nonsense-like you. They think it’s just crazy crazy. They do not know Bop is also MAD crazy, SAD crazy, FRANTIC WILD CRAZY--beat out of somebody’ head! That’s what Bop is. Them young colored kids who started it, they know what Bop is.”

Langston Hughes, *The Best of Simple*, 1961, 118

Hughes contends that Bebop derives from African Americans unfortunate familiarity with police brutality. He specifically states, “[e]very time a cop hits a Negro with his billy club, that old club says, ‘BOP! BOP! …BE-BOP!….MOP!....BOP!’” (Hughes 1961, 118). Simple’s description of the origination of the musical genre displays one form of resistance that has often been invoked in the African American community. Resistance is shown in this story by detailing the importance of a counter-narrative. One can deduce from the Hughes story that feelings such as pain and anger are asserted in this form of music. Hughes’ character, Simpleton, represents one fictional example of the possible discussion African-Americans may have detailing how music was created or how music incorporates political attitudes. This story supports the contention that Bebop responded to racism that was felt in the north (Neal 2004). It is asserted that “the movement (Bebop) was given its energy and stylistic acumen by African-American youth who embraced the movement as a form of transcendence/resistance from the everyday drudgery of their existence” (Neal 2004, 370). In relation to Bebop artists, it has been argued that the music represented rebellion for the musicians of that genre (Kofsky 1970).
While there is a history of message music or specifically music that expresses sentiments and feelings of members of the African American community, there was a noticeable change in the prominence of this music in mainstream culture beginning in the late 1970s and 1980s. This change resulted from the large changes in social and political conditions during this period.

A Change Came

The United States is seen as the place where upward mobilization is possible for all groups. However, politics in the United States has not accepted everyone. At the onset of the country the only group that was allowed to participate politically was White landowning men. Eventually other groups were allowed incorporation into American political society through agitation and consistency.

Before the Civil Rights Act and subsequent anti-discrimination acts that followed racism and discrimination were aggressively and blatantly apparent in many areas. However, with the creation and adoption of various civil rights anti-discrimination acts blatant racism was no longer acceptable. Tali Mendelberg discusses this transition in her book *The Race Card* (Mendelberg 2001). She details a shift in political priming from explicit racial messages to implicit racial messages because of the negative attitudes surrounding racism (Mendelberg 2001). Hill-Collins also asserts that “racially coded language” became more popular with changing racial acceptance matters (Hill-Collins
While explicit and blatant racism was deterred and abhorred, discrimination and racism occurred in other implicit institutional ways (Hill-Collins 2006; Mendelberg 2001; Williams 2003). One institutional form of discrimination and racism can be viewed by observing the class differences between the racial communities.

The 70’s and the 80’s ushered in heavy poverty for many African Americans, despite numerous gains received during the Civil Rights Era (Karenga 2002; Kitwana 2002; Walton and Smith 2000). Now instead of having to combat an observable face of racism that was present in lynching, segregation and disparaging remarks, those of the 70’s had the task of identifying and combating an indescribable, almost invisible form of poverty, policy and popular discrimination (Hill-Collins 2006). Poverty proved difficult to persuade others of its connection with discrimination and racism, especially during this era. An argument against the association between poverty and discrimination is that equality now exists for all races through the enactment of the civil rights acts. Therefore, the playing field was now level and everyone has equality of opportunity regardless of race. No longer were the problems racial injustice but rather laziness, inability and the incompetence of those who were victims of poverty. Simply put, it is argued that people should try harder and if they do not succeed it is because of their own volition. This view was accepted by many members of American society, but those who experienced and lived with poverty had a different outlook on their economic situations.

Poverty has long been associated with Blackness; however, Wilson popularized this equation with the discussion of the underclass in his work (Wilson 1978, 1987).
Similarly, the construction of Black women during this period represented the economic problems of the times. During this era Black Nationalist sentiments became increasingly popular. Coupled with that increased popularity was the “Black Nationalist narratives that figure Black women as traitors….” (Alexander-Floyd 2007, 115). During the 1960s and 1970s Black women emerged as the scapegoat for the problems of the Black community. The first of these images was confirmed by the 1965 Moynihan Report, “The Negro Family: The Case for National Action.” Moynihan adopted popular images of Black women that existed throughout African American history such as the Jezebel, Sapphire, Mulatto and Mammy and emphasized their roles as destructive to the Black familial unit. He particularly discussed the mammy figure as the Black matriarch that was destructive to Black males because she emasculated them. The Black matriarch is seen as “aggressive, domineering and emasculating, a woman who displaces the Black man from his rightful role as patriarch and takes on typically masculine characteristics” (Alexander-Floyd 2007, 113). Therefore, doing this period Black women were blamed for the problems in the Black community and particularly for the increase in female-headed households (Alexander-Floyd 2007). Even Black men accepted these constructions as evident in numerous books and speeches of Black Nationalist organizations and leaders. The dominant consensus was that Black women were not as affected by racism as Black men and therefore emerged the “endangered Black male” ideology (Alexander-Floyd 2007; Wallace 1994). This ideology suggested that “…Black women are not affected by racism, or at least not to the same degree as Black men”
(Alexander-Floyd 2007, 68). It was asserted that emphasis should be on the racism and discrimination Black men faced and that women should be supportive of men instead of emasculating and fighting against sexism. It was argued that racism was more damaging and more prevalent than the sexism feminists were describing (Alexander-Floyd 2007; White 1995). The Moynihan report provided substance to the attitudes adopted about Black women: “...that the Black woman had substantial advantages over the Black man educationally, financially, and in employment” (Alexander-Floyd 2007, 70). This shift in ideology and movement was not the only shift observed in the Black community during this era.

Additionally, change was also experienced in music choice (Neal 1999). With changing issues and a changing environment, the turn the other cheek mentality and other resistance tactics of the civil rights era were no longer relevant. Conrad Muhammad, founder of Conscious Hip-Hop Activism Necessary for Global Empowerment (CHHANGE) stated, “we don’t have colored-only water fountains or a Vietnam War, so we have to more carefully show young people how political issues are affecting them” (Kitwana 2002, 190). This recognition is essential because the issues of the Civil Rights Movement which displayed blatant racism and injustice are not ubiquitous anymore. There are now more subtle forms of institutional racism that may not be recognized by the untrained eye.

This is historically important because it contrasts the gains of the Civil Rights Movement and the new problems many in the urban communities were now
experiencing. This new music detailed the fact that all issues were not solved through the Civil Rights Movement and some still plagued the Black community. While the form of singing and marching that was denounced by Malcolm X is not as popular, there still exist a method of mobilization and awareness present in Black music and the Black community. Those in urban communities incorporated new weapons in their fight against social and political injustices; among these tactics was rap music (Neal 1999).

**Bring the Pain: The Introduction of Hip-Hop**

Hip-Hop culture follows musical tradition as a form of resistance for members of the Black community. As suggested by Zillman et al., “[s]cholars of popular music treat it as a truism that African Americans have always turned to music to voice their discontent, their grievances, and their outrage” (Zillman et al. 1995, 1-2). All elements of Hip-Hop demonstrate resistance to American cultural sensibilities, lifestyle and ideals (Stapleton 1998). One purpose of Hip-Hop is its focus on entertaining its audience, but it is also known as an art form that combats the marginalization members of the Black community experience.

In Cathy Cohen’s *Boundaries of Blackness* (1999) she details the concept of marginalization. Stating that marginal groups are “those who exist politically, socially or economically outside of dominant norms and institutions” (Cohen 1999, 37). It can be argued that this marginalization became more evident because of the increased
geographical marginalization as a result of the increased poverty in America. These poverty differences were observed in housing marginalization (Wilson 1978). For instance, while Civil Rights Acts were instituted that prohibited housing discrimination, White flight occurred because of these new laws. Many White Americans moved from their communities as African Americans began to move in increasing numbers. This White flight resulted in defacto segregation that was not only evident in communities, but also in the composition of public schools (Wilson 1987). However, Cohen contends that there exists a central structure in marginal communities to help understand and comprehend the political choices of the marginalized group. Finally, she posits that marginalization evolved over time.

Tricia Rose asserts that “[r]ap music is a Black cultural expression that prioritizes Black voices from the margins of urban America” (Rose 1994, 2). It is asserted that “members of the Hip-Hop movement started their disruption by making music and creating spaces for themselves when everything around them suggested exclusion” (Pough 2004, 287). Similarly, Lusane defines rap as “…the voice of the alienated, frustrated and rebellious Black youth who recognize their vulnerability and marginality in post-industrial America” (Lusane 2004, 351). Therefore, rap music was one avenue for marginalized African Americans to voice their discontent and present issues relevant to their segment of the population.

There are numerous examples in the Hip-Hop community of using rap music to identify and discuss discrimination, poverty, racism, police brutality and other social ills.
One song to do this has often been labeled the first political rap song, “The Message,” by rap group Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five (Neal 2004). This song described the reality for many living in urban communities. For instance, in the song it is asserted:

You’ll grow in the ghetto livin’ second-rate
And your eyes will sing a song called deep hate
The places you play and where you stay
Looks like a great big alleyway

In this song the artists describe aspects of their lives in urban communities. They comment on the effects of living in harsh impoverished neighborhoods and the impact these conditions have on a person’s emotional and mental state (Southern 1997). Similar to the previous Bebop era, rap music emerged as a response to the injustices felt in urban communities, primarily in the north. The artists use this musical form to express their attitudes. It is asserted that “rap has become popular around the world, especially as protest music” (Southern 1997, 603).

Using rap to detail life for many urban Black Americans became necessary as, “mass-mediated images of the Black underclass often served as the only images available to mainstream consumers, whereas a diversity of images for the White ethnic experiences was often presented for consumption” (Neal 2004, 367). Rap has literally brought a voice to a segment of the community that was often alienated and dismissed. Rap allows urban youth to detail their stories and lives from their perspective instead of seeing distorted images of themselves in media, by politicians and through other leaders (Norfleet 2006; Pough 2004; Allen 1996; Rose 1994).
For instance, a negative image of single Black mothers was asserted by Ronald Reagan in the image of the Welfare Queen. During his 1976 campaign Reagan described a woman who used various aliases to deceive the government and receive welfare benefits. While there was not a specific person identified, this story followed a story of a woman from Chicago who was facing charges of fraud because of similar circumstances (Jordan-Zachery 2008; Alexander-Floyd 2007; Hancock 2004; Mink 1998). Embracing the notion of a counter narrative, many rap artists have used their lyrics to paint another image of single Black mothers including rapper Queen Latifah’s track *Ladies First*.

Rap brings alternate images and relevant issues for people of color to the attention of larger society. However, these images may not have been received by mainstream America during the time because of the marginalization of this segment of the community. Hancock explains this form of silence by asserting that “members of marginal groups, even when granted the power of speech, find their voices devalued or disrespected, increasing their isolation and alienation from the public sphere” (Hancock 2004, 4). The form of devaluation Hancock describes is prevalent in rap music as observed by the numerous discussions to censor rap as well as deem it as an illogical, turbulent, nihilistic musical form (Johnson, Jackson and Gatto 1995; Johnson, Trawalter and Dovidio 2000; Rubin, West and Mitchell 2001; Carpentier, Knobloch and Zillman 2003).
The Study of Rap

As asserted by Harris-Lacewell, with the exception of the Black Church, traditional places where Black political ideas, thoughts and attitudes are asserted are continuously overlooked by political scientists (Harris-Lacewell 2004). One area where Black political attitudes have consistently been asserted is in Black music. Harris-Lacewell asserts that forms of everyday talk can influence and structure certain political attitudes. She contends that rap music is one aspect of “everyday talk,” included in her category of exposure to Black information networks, which influences what attitudes and ideas are discussed by members of the Black community. Harris-Lacewell does not state that listening to rap music solely impacts one’s acceptance of certain political attitudes but instead influences discussion of topics that activate or confirm attitudes in individuals (Harris-Lacewell 2004). I agree with Melissa Harris-Lacewell that rap does activate discussion about certain issues, but I assert that rap simultaneously influences the formation and acceptance of certain Black political ideologies. Specifically, I have two research questions: is there a relationship between rap and Black political attitudes and does political rap differ from mainstream rap when observing the impact on Black political attitudes? I argue that there is a relationship between rap and political ideologies, specifically Black Nationalism, and political rap impacts Black Nationalist attitudes more than other genres of rap or no music at all. I also argue that there is no relationship between political rap music and Black Feminist attitudes. More specifically
this dissertation examines empirical evidence of the impact of rap music on political attitudes.

Observing that music has played an important role in delivering information in the Black community, as a form of resistance throughout American history and as force to raise consciousness, it can be speculated how music affects the Black community politically. Specifically, does rap music influence the political attitudes of those who are exposed to the music? If rap music does influence the listeners what impact does political rap, a subgenre, have on political attitudes? This dissertation provides answers to these questions.

**Media and Politics**

There has been much research on Hip-Hop in fields other than political science. Conversely, in political science the research on Hip-Hop and its influence on politics are not as extensive, although many suggest the political relevancy of music (Dawson 1994; Dawson 2001; Harris-Lacewell 2004; Henderson 1996; George 1989; Henry 1990; Kofsky 1970; Walker 1976; Walton and Smith 2000). Few scholars, with the exception of Errol Henderson (1996), Michael Dawson (2001) and Melissa Harris-Lacewell (2004), have completed research directly on rap music and its relationship with Black Nationalism. Other scholars including Darren Davis and Christian Davenport have
analyzed the effects of media, such as television and movies, on African American political attitudes (Davis and Davenport 1997).

Fox and Williams (1974) made a link between the genre of music listened to and political identification. The authors found that liberalism was more popular among women and that liberal students were more involved with music. Similarly, they found that liberal students prefer folk music, blues and protest music. Students who identified as conservative listened to more radio, easy listening and hits. While there wasn’t a racial distinction identified, we do know that Blacks are consistently more liberal than other groups regardless of class and gender (Dawson 1994). Therefore, one can contend from this information that genres that traditionally have a political emphasis, such as protest music, blues, folk, R&B and rap music, will be more accepted and preferred by Blacks. This study suggests that there are relationships between political thought, political association and music.

Scholars Charles Henry (1990) and Frank Kofsky (1970) have also discussed the relationship between music and politics. Specifically, Henry examines gospel, spirituals and blues music and the roles these types of music or cultural art forms have played in Black political life. Henry (1990) argues that studying Black oral tradition assists in the ability to understand and uncover undiluted Black attitudes. This study of oral tradition must be a study of oral tradition, not among the elite or middle class segment of the Black population, but amongst the masses, the poverty-stricken, and the underclass. This is where he posits the most powerful and popular cultural forms are established in the Black
community (Henry 1990). Rap follows in this tradition by representing the urban underclass whose voice may often go unheard.

Kofsky (1970), on the other hand, studied jazz music and its relationship with Black Nationalism. Kofsky asserts that similar to Black Nationalism jazz was a cultural form that was resistant to dominant norms (Kofsky 1970). In Kofsky’s book he equates the history of jazz during the years he observed to the life of Malcolm X. He asserts that jazz musicians were attracted to Malcolm because of his revolutionary nature; coming from slums through drug use and prison to a Black Nationalist leader (Kofsky 1970). Similarly, he posits that Malcolm X was attracted to jazz because of its revolutionary style. He points to a speech Malcolm gives as a leader of the Organization of Afro-American Unity where he describes the creativity of jazz artists and argues that every Black person could be as creative in his own political, intellectual, social and educational fields if only he possessed the freedom to develop (Kofsky 1970).

One of the most seminal studies on the relationship between Black music and political attitudes was presented by Robert Walker with his 1976 dissertation which examines soul music and its relationship with race consciousness and racial solidarity. Walker creates criteria for considering a song as a message song and he found that there was a significant increase of message songs during the Civil Rights era until the late 1970s (Walker 1976). He suggests that this increase in message songs was in direct relationship to the political and social resistance occurring in the Black community at that time. What is remarkable about this study is that it provides a succinct definition of a
message song. This study examines popular Black songs by using data from the Billboard charts (Walker 1976). Using data from Billboard is significant, especially during this era, because often Black music did not cross over and was instead a form of music specifically for a certain segment of the population, generally African Americans. Achieving success on the Billboards informed the public that not only was the song popular in its home community, but that the music also appealed to ‘outside’ fans. Finally, the songs identified as ‘message songs’ by Walker were compared to popular White songs at the time to derive the conclusion that message songs were more popular and steadily increasing (Walker 1976).

The previous literature presented studies of media, music and politics. Unfortunately, none of this research directly addresses the relationship between rap music and Black political ideology. A foundation has been identified with the previous literature for a connection between media and political thought, and this dissertation will contribute to that discussion. The following section is a discussion of rap music followed by research specifically concerning attitudes and rap music.

**Rap Music**

The oral tradition has been used regularly in the Black community as a means to articulate feelings and attitudes of members of the Black community. In fact, it is suggested that the “…search for Black ideology must begin with the oral tradition”
Out of this oral tradition arose one of the most influential music genres, rap music. It is widely concluded that rap music began with the Last Poets and the poetry of Gil Scott-Heron in the early 1970’s (Allen 1996; Henderson 1996; Woldu 2003; Ards 2004). The Last Poets and Gil Scott-Heron incorporated unique styles in which they recited poetry over musical beats. While this style can be described as one of the foundations of modern rap many will trace the style of rap back further to the oral tradition of African griots and Black leaders (Kitwana 2002). Additionally, in rap there is a direct connection between the oral rhetoric of Malcolm X and other prominent Black leaders, demonstrating its commitment to the oral tradition.

Hip-Hop is a culture that encompasses four important elements including, djing, graffiti, break dancing, and rap music (Pough 2004). Dawn Norfleet describes Hip-Hop as “a creative expression, sensibility, and aesthetic that first emerged in largely African American, Afro-Caribbean and Latino communities of the Bronx…” (Norfleet 2006, 353). People often use Hip-Hop and rap interchangeably, but as stated by Pough in Check It While I Wreck It, “Hip-Hop is the culture; rap is the music” (Pough 2004, 3). Rap is defined as “a form of rhymed storytelling accompanied by highly rhythmic, electronically based music” (Rose 1994, 2). The emcee or rapper, as popularly referred,

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3 Djing is a reference to the disc jockey that samples and mixes recorded music for the audience. In Hip-Hop djs use multiple turntables to mix sampled music which provide background music to the lyrics emcees perform. Djing was the most prominent element of Hip-Hop during its beginning and still remains a large component of the culture. Graffiti is the reference to the urban art work or “tagging” of buildings, subway cars and trains done by many of this culture. Graffiti is completed using spray paint to express artistic creativity on public canvasses. Break-dancing is a reference to the style of dance popular within Hip-Hop culture. This dance style emphasizes the breaks that are present in many songs. This rhythmic style of dancing utilizes pop and lock dance moves that required accuracy and precision.
was a commentator with intermittent appearances. Of all of the four elements of Hip-Hop culture, rap is the most widespread and the most popular element. Rap was largely a type of party music where the main emphasis was on the creativity of the disc-jockey (Rose 1994). However, rap began to change and “no longer was it simply “party” music but had taken on the character of a … political movement that embraced themes of Black Nationalism” (Southern 1997, 600). Next, a brief summary is provided of the various studies outside of political science on the impact of rap on behavior and attitudes.

**Previous Rap Studies**

Within the genre of rap music, multiple subgenres exist. Much of the previous research has specifically focused on violent and/or “gangsta rap” and its effect on behavior and attitude formation. Still, these studies mostly analyzed the sociological and/or psychological impact, rarely was the political impact examined. In this dissertation I study a different subgenre of rap than “gangsta rap.” I explore the impact of political rap on political attitudes as well as observe political participation. Nevertheless, the previous studies do demonstrate an understanding of the various subgenres of rap music.

For instance, violent and defiant rap has been recognized as a source of music that changes behaviors and affects attitudes. Johnson, Jackson and Gatto (1995) found that exposure to violent rap videos increased the support of violent acts including greater acceptance of violence against women. Similarly, Carpentier, Knobloch and Zillman
(2003) found that certain deviant traits such as rebelliousness, hostility and disinhibition were related to defiant rock and rap music. The authors found that those who expressed these traits were more apt to choose and like defiant music.

Studies on violent rap have not only displayed a change in behavior, but there is also an observable link between exposure to violent rap and attitudes. Johnson, Trawalter and Dovidio (2000) observed that exposure to violent rap can affect the acceptance of stereotypical views about Blacks, including the view of Blacks as more violent compared to Whites and these effects were stronger on Black respondents. The authors found that certain types of music influenced the activation of certain stereotypes of African Americans.

Finally, Rubin, West and Mitchell (2001) demonstrated that rap listeners in general were more distrustful and aggressive than other music listeners. They also found that among heavy metal listeners aggression levels also increased. However, the authors found that rap listeners had higher self-esteem scores and concluded that “…rap music might help build a sense of pride and self-esteem among listeners” (Rubin, West and Mitchell 2001, 36).

All of these studies are important because they reveal that music can affect attitudes and behavior. However, most of this research is specifically on violent rap. In this dissertation, I examine exposure to rap in general then I specifically look at the subgenre political rap. Furthermore, I have observed studies that demonstrate both the negative and positive effects of rap music listening. Some genres of rap can have
positive effects while other genres may have negative effects. Therefore, it is important to note that a study of the attitudinal effects of rap and political rap music is warranted and necessary. Next, I present my definition of political rap. Within rap, I am particularly interested in political rap and the impact it has on Black political ideologies, specifically Black Nationalism and Black Feminism.

**Political Rap**

Rap covers a broad spectrum of musical styles. Some rap forms may transcend two or more genres. For instance, some rappers may produce songs that are both political and “gangster” such as artists Niggas With Attitude (NWA), who elaborate on social issues in one track and in the following track, has a song that objectifies women or presents nihilistic attitudes. Political rap is a part of the larger Hip-Hop culture. There has been research completed on other genres of rap, but not specifically on the genre related closely to political science, political rap. Identifying a subgenre is essential for this dissertation.

It is often debated whether or not rap in general is influential but I am more interested in the importance of political rap on African American political attitudes. Dawson states, “...rap has become an integral part of a grapevine that is constantly critiquing the state of American race relations” (Dawson 1999, 322). In other words, the music of the Hip-Hop generation is critical for knowledge, awareness, mobilization and
action. It is also contended that rap has a role as a political agent. In fact, Pough contends that “...rap’s ability to move the crowd has the possibility to do more than make them dance; it could very well be used to spark political activism” (Pough 2004, 194). However, it has been debated how much of an impact music has on the socialization of the political attitudes of a listener (Henry 1990).

While a lot of scholars discuss the importance and existence of political music, conscious or message rap, it has not been defined by any scholar. Case in point, Ernest Allen Jr., posits that political rap does exist and it has a direct connection to two important nationalist sects, The Nation of Gods and Earths and the Nation of Islam (Allen, 1996). Allen asserts that there are three categories for political rap, “...(1) the Islamic nationalist orientation of rappers such as Pete Rock and C.L. Smooth... (2) the cultural-political nationalism of Public Enemy... and (3) specific, message-oriented expressions embedded in the more earthy gangsta rap...”(Allen 1996, 162). He also suggests as does Errol Henderson (1996) that message or nationalist rap has contributed to greater political and racial consciousness. However, neither of these authors define political rap although both of them give examples of rappers they consider present political lyrics. Decker has the closest definition of political rap. He divides rap into two subgenres, Afrocentric Nationalism and what he calls, a sixties-inspired Nationalism.

Afrocentric Nationalism is more culturally based using Africa, specifically Egypt, as the foundation for Black culture. Decker asserts that Afrocentric Nationalist songs are songs that emphasize African culture with emphasis on specific countries the most
popular being Egypt (Decker 1993). In contrast, the sixties-inspired Nationalism focuses more on political and social power. In these songs the artists supports and present rhetoric that was popular during the 60s and early 70s. These groups present Black power attitudes and ideas. He asserts that these types of nationalisms are separated by whether the ideas were extensions of 1960s nationalist rhetoric or whether one agrees that Egypt is the original site of Black culture. He separates these genres by differentiating between time (1960s) and space (Egypt) (Decker 1993).

Likewise, The Centre for Political Song at Glasgow Caledonian University (http://www.gcal.ac.uk/politicalsong/) states that their major task is defining political music. This Centre states that “political song’ as an umbrella term, incorporates a variety of different, and often quite disparate, strands.” Essentially, the term refers to “any song containing a political thread” (http://www.gcal.ac.uk/politicalsong/). It is asserted by the Centre that this genre of music includes a variety of songs including campaign and protest songs and songs that are historical or blatantly political. They also assert that all songs do not have to be blatantly political to be considered political but are indeed political by the context of the songs. Similarly, Mark Anthony Neal describes political songs as songs “…that contained distinct political commentary….” (Neal 2006, 624).

Nevertheless, I argue that political rap is more complicated than simply containing a political reference. I assert that the inclusion of political references is essential to identifying political songs, but I also assert other aspects are necessary for a
song to be considered a political rap song. The complication of the definition of political music from the mere inclusion of a political reference to other criteria is necessary when observing African American music because of the aforementioned history of Black music as a resistance mechanism.

Others have grouped political songs with socially relevant songs and labeled them message songs. Robert Walker states in his 1976 dissertation on Black music and society that message songs are “songs which symbolized solidarity by relating in a specific way” to one or more solidarity dimensions (Walker 1976, 7). Other authors simply refer to artists who have made some political songs and group them into political categories (Perry 2004; Allen 1996; Rose 1994; Decker 1993).

I do not categorize artists, which is what has previously been done. It is my belief that musicians change and grow and they cannot be confined to any specific label. Therefore, an artist such as Trick Daddy who began his career rapping with Luke⁴, and classifies himself as a “thug⁵” also creates political songs such as America and Thug Holiday⁶. For this reason my basis of examination later in this dissertation will be the songs and not the artists. Using the songs will allow for better definitions of political rap and it will not label artists thereby straining their musical creativity. This categorization

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⁴ Luke is a popular artist who was often criticized because of his lewd language but he is widely known for his creation of bass music. This type of music emphasizes sexual contact with underlining bass beats that are often used as party songs in the south.

⁵ This classification is indicated by his album titles, Book of Thugs and Thug Holiday.

⁶ This song is political because it makes reference to politics and also discusses a social problem thereby satisfying two criteria of the definition.
gives rappers flexibility while still allowing recognition for political participation through their voice.

To account for this type of analysis it is essential to create a definition of political rap. This definition is an attempt to create a group for a certain genre of music without having the restriction of referring to specific artists to identify the music. My definition of political rap was developed initially by using those artists who were referenced as political or message rappers. Next, I have taken into consideration the varied vague categorizations presented in the literature and the specific definition asserted by Neal and the Centre for Political Song that suggests a political song must have a political reference. Finally, I use a criterion that was used to identify message music of the civil rights and post-civil rights era by Robert Walker. Walker used three main criteria to define message songs, which he asserts stem from the responses to 7 essential questions. He contends message songs are 1) songs with implicit or explicit ethnic symbols 2) references “social class problems….” and 3) those that refer “to groups other than ethnic or social class….” (Walker 1975, 39).

I use four of Walker’s seven essential questions in the creation of my definition of political rap. Only four of the seven questions were used because I posit these are questions that are able to measure political aspects unlike Walker’s sociological emphasis. However, my definition of political rap is similar to Walker’s definition of message songs. For instance, the first criteria of our definitions both detail the presence of some symbols. Walker is interested in ethnic symbols while I am more interested in
the referencing of political symbols such as political leaders, offices or positions. This is supported by Rose assertion that “the police, the government and dominant media apparatuses are the primary points of institutional critique in rap…” (Rose 1994, 105). Correspondingly, our second criteria both emphasize reference to social issues or problems. Finally, both Walker and I understand the importance of identifying solutions or options in the song using various methods.

Our definitions differ on various points. First, as mentioned earlier Walker is interested in ethnic solidarity, a sociological aspect while I am more interested in political ideology. Second, Walker specifically examines R&B songs and I am more interested in rap songs. Third, I examine if a song advocates a solution to the injustices whereas Walker is interested in whether “ethical commentary, demands, requests or pleas” are included in a song (Walker 1975, 62). Walker limits his third criteria to the non-violent nature of communication through “demands, requests or pleas” (Walker 1975, 62). On the other hand I include the possibility of both violent and non-violent solutions. Therefore my original contributions to the discussions of message music are my emphasis on the political aspects compared to the sociological aspects, the inclusion of rap music, and advocating violent solutions. This prioritization of political references also distinguishes my definition from other attempts to categorize rap as message rap. While messages are asserted in many political rap songs, a song is only political if it displays an implicit or explicit political reference in the lyrics. Consequently, I suggest political rap
can be defined as rap music that includes the first condition of my definition and satisfies either the second or third condition of the definition:

1. Display political references in the lyrics, such as directly referencing a political leader, political office/institution, political activity, political events like 9/11 or political position.
2. Make reference to a social problem or issue and discuss it in the lyrics, therefore raising awareness about specific issues or disparities nationally or globally by discussing those issues in lyrics.
3. Advocate a solution to injustices or problems in society either through violent or non-violent means.

Below is an example of a rap song that is political because it satisfies at least two of the above criteria. The song by popular rap artist Nas, “I Want to Talk to You” has the following chorus:

I wanna talk to the mayor, the governor, the motherfuckin president/I wanna talk to the FBI, and the CIA, and the motherfuckin congressman

In this verse Nas references the mayor, the governor, the president and other political organizations and positions. This song satisfies the first condition by displaying political references. These political references are explicit references. All political references may not be explicit. Sometimes the political references will be implicit using coded language, a popular element of Black vernacular and identified “hidden transcript,” such as references to the system, the man, or other coded words (Gates and McKay 1997; Scott 1992). When coded words are present the decoding is left to the listener to interpret the meaning of the sequence of words and the context in which they are used. Still, one of the other two criteria needs to be satisfied for a song to be considered a political rap

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7 Lyrics found from www.ohhla.com
song in this dissertation. The song goes on to satisfy the second condition with the second verse:

Mr. Mayor imagine if this was your backyard/ Mr. Governor imagine if it was your kids that starved/ Imagine your kids gotta sling crack to survive

In this verse Nas comments on the social condition of poverty in America and what he feels is one of the options of survival for many young Black Americans. Nas suggests one of the options is the participation in the illegal drug market. This satisfies the second condition because it makes a reference to poverty, a social condition and discusses it in the lyrics. However, Nas’ song is rare because it also satisfies the third condition with the following verse:

I wanna talk to the man understand/ Understand this motherfuckin G-pack in my hand

In this verse Nas is conveying that he will use weapons or any means to make sure he is heard by those political leaders or has access to political leaders. Simply attempting to talk to those in higher positions about the situations of many African Americans is an example of presenting some solution to the injustice he sees in society. However, he is also advocating a call to arms in efforts to be heard by the various political institutions and politicians.

This political rap definition is not a catch all definition. Some songs that may be classified as message songs are not political. For instance, *Beautiful Skin* by Goodie Mob would be classified as a message song because it expresses an uplifting message for
Black women. Conversely it does not fit my definition as a political rap song because it does not have a political reference. Examining this song using my political rap definition will demonstrate how the song is not political.

At one time, my mind, just, couldn’t conceive
A woman had to dress a certain way to believe
But, in the same breath, allow me to say
That, if you believed young lady, you wouldn’t dress that way
And I, was attracted to your class, I couldn’t see all yo’ ass

This verse from rap artist Cee-lo in the song Beautiful Skin by the southern rap group Goodie Mob represents one of the many songs that are written specifically for Black Women. While this song clearly presents a positive message to Black women it will not be classified as a political song using my definition. This song is not a political song because it does not satisfy the first criteria of my definition. Specifically, this song does not display a political reference. However, it can be argued by many that the song satisfies the other two criteria by discussing relationship issues within the Black community and advocating a solution to the relationship problems of the Black community. Consequently, not satisfying my first criteria, which is a necessity, eliminates this song from the political rap classification.

Importance of work

Having detailed the history and significance of music, some may still wonder why this work is relevant to political science. This research expands the knowledge of public
opinion and continues the debate about the voice of political groups, political responsiveness and the importance of public opinion. This work is mostly situated in the debates about public opinion. V. O. Key has defined public opinion as “…those opinions held by private citizens which governments find it prudent to heed” (Key 1961, 14). While this definition is very broad it has guided the extensive research in public opinion. Public opinion research covers various subtopics such as attitude formation and attitude change, the importance of ideology, and how opinions are formed, measured and asserted. For the purpose of this dissertation I am most interested in the aspects of attitude formation and the consequential formation of ideologies.

Many scholars have argued about the public’s ability to maintain and form substantive political attitudes. For instance, in public opinion research it is often assumed that the public does not have consistent and stable opinions or attitudes about most political issues. Essentially, many political analysts conclude that the majority of Americans are uninformed. In contrast, other public opinion literature suggests that the masses do have organized and specific attitudes about certain public issues as well as possess definitive attitudes about governmental actions and political leaders (Hurwitz and Peffley 1987; Lodge, Steenbergen and Brau 1995; Zaller 1992).

Moreover, when the attitudes are present the debate turns to the formation of political attitudes via various models and theories. These models and theories include schema theory (Hurwitz and Peffley 1987; Kuklinski et al 1991), bounded rationality or the use of mental shortcuts for opinions on topics (Lodge, McGraw and Stroh 1989;
Lupia 1994; Sniderman et al 1991), and associative networks model (Park and Hastie 1986), which assert that knowledge is organized into nodes and links to assist with attitude formation. These ideas and theories receive more in-depth discussion in the next chapter.

I argue that rap music has the ability to affect the political attitudes and the political knowledge of its listeners, which can represent a major source of political information for an entire generation. Tricia Rose explains that rap has a role as a voice for the concerns of inner city youth. She states that rap has “articulated the pleasures and problems of Black urban life in contemporary America” (Rose 1994, 2). Not only has rap experienced an increase in the diversity of its audience, but it has also seen an increase in the political activities rap artists are participating in. In 2001 Dawson demonstrated in his research, “that both exposure to rap music and the belief that it constitutes an important resource of the Black community play substantial roles in shaping Black political opinion both directly and indirectly” (Dawson 2001, 78).

The purpose of this dissertation is to study one of the various networks that Harris-Lacewell defines as “everyday talk.” More specifically this dissertation examines empirical evidence of the importance of rap music. However, presumably the most political form of rap should be political rap. This genre is examined in-depth to measure if it has an impact on Black political attitudes.

The purpose of the study is to investigate three essential questions:
• Does rap have an impact on the formation of Black political attitudes?
• If rap does impact Black political attitudes, what is the relationship between political rap and Black political attitudes?
• What is the relationship between political rap, Black Nationalism and Black Feminism?

This dissertation evaluates the relationship between listening to rap, views of Black Feminist and Black Nationalist ideologies, as well as listening to political rap and its relationship between Black Feminist and Black Nationalist ideologies and the propensity for political participation. In summary, this research addresses the impact rap music, has on the formation of Black political attitudes with a closer examination of the subgenre political rap.

In this dissertation I have three goals:

1. To investigate the relationship between rap and political attitudes by utilizing a multi-methodological approach.
2. To examine the relationships between rap and political rap, Black Nationalism and Black Feminism.
3. To observe the actual political implications of this genre of music on the political participation of Black citizens.

Survey data

In this study various methodological tools are utilized to examine the relationship between Black Nationalism, Black Feminism and rap and the specific subgenre of political rap. The survey research design includes data from the 1993-1994 National Black Politics Study (NBPS). In this analysis I examine exposure to rap and its impact on
political attitudes. This empirical analysis represents one of three methodological approaches utilized in this paper. This examination deals with the overall genre of rap; however, one would expect the subgenre political rap to have more of an impact on Black political attitudes because of its emphasis on politics. The final methodological analysis separates this subgenre and completes a closer examination of its impact on Black political attitudes.

**Experimental Data**

The second methodological approach includes the utilization of an experiment to measure the causal relationship between political rap and Black political ideologies. This study examines the effects of political rap music on an individual’s perception and adoption of Black political attitudes looking specifically at Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideology and political activity. This study consists of experiments completed at Benedict College in Columbia, SC and The Ohio State University in Columbus, OH.

**Outline of chapters**

**Chapter Two:** This chapter consists of an analysis of Black political attitudes, in the United States. This chapter not only observes Black political attitudes but also how they have been analyzed and discussed in political science. It also makes suggestions of the
connections between rap and Black Nationalist sentiments and its popularity within rap music over other popular Black political ideologies. Lyrical content analyses are included in this chapter to emphasize and display the connections between Black Nationalism, Black Feminism and rap. A detailed explanation of attitude formation and change are also included in this chapter.

Chapter Three: This chapter is one of the first quantitative chapters. In chapter three I evaluate how rap music influences the attitudes and ideologies that are accepted and implemented by individuals. I am primarily interested in the impact of rap music on Black ideologies. This chapter evaluates the relationship between listening to rap and Black Feminist and Black Nationalist ideologies utilizing survey data from the 1993-1994 National Black Political Study. The research question for this chapter is does exposure to rap increase acceptance of Black Nationalist ideology. I find that Blacks who listen to rap are more accepting of Black Nationalism than those who do not listen to rap and Blacks who listen to rap are more accepting of Black Nationalism compared to the acceptance of Black Feminist ideology.

Chapter Four: In chapter four, experiments are conducted that establish the causal relationship from the results uncovered in chapter 3. This chapter includes experiments with samples from Ohio State University and Benedict College. The two different subject groups are important for comparison of the effects of rap music among different
racial groups. This chapter details the causal relationships between political rap and Black political ideologies. The research questions for this chapter are: is there a causal relationship between political rap and Black Nationalism? Is there a relationship between political rap and Black Feminism? I assert that Blacks who listen to political rap are more accepting of Black Nationalism than those who do not listen to political rap. Blacks who listen to political rap do not differ from those who do not listen to rap or R&B in terms of acceptance of feminist ideology.

**Chapter Five:** This chapter is the conclusion chapter that includes the implications of this work as well as the future of Hip-Hop as a political agent. In this chapter, I detail the political activity information as well as elaborate on the implications of the results in terms of political participation and Black political attitudes.
CHAPTER TWO

BEHIND THE MUSIC: A COMPARISON OF BLACK POLITICAL ATTITUDES AND RAP MUSIC

Black people come together to worship; organize around communal problems; sit together to cut and style one another’s hair; pass news about each other through oral and written networks; and use music, style and humor to communicate with each other.

Melissa Harris-Lacewell, Barbershops, Bibles and B.E.T., 2004, 1

By searching too narrowly for signs of political consciousness and revolutionary activity among slaves and freed people, we have missed other manifestations of their group consciousness, sense of pride, and use of their culture to define themselves and comment upon their status.

Lawrence W. Levine, African American Music as Resistance, 2006, 587

The above quote by Melissa Harris-Lacewell reinforces the idea that marginalized groups use different political methods than groups within the margins. However, as asserted by Harris-Lacewell the various methods and networks that marginalized groups implement to discuss politics are understudied by social scientists (Harris-Lacewell 2004). Similarly, Levine agrees and suggests broadening the places where we look for an assertion of racial pride, solidarity and resistance (Levine 2006).

The study of rap music assists in broadening the scope of understanding and analyzing the development of some political attitudes, thoughts and ideologies. Originally rap was a phenomenon amongst youth. However, currently rap has a large
audience that encompasses a majority of the Black population as well as large followings among segments of other racial groups worldwide. According to the Black Youth Project out of the University of Chicago, 58% of Black youth, 45% of Latino youth and 23% of White youth state that they listen to rap music everyday (Cohen 2007). With this recognition of the impact that rap has it is imperative to study the political attitudes that may be asserted through rap as a predictor of a wide range of political attitudes and thoughts nationally. Of course it is beneficial to begin the analysis of the political impact of rap with the group that assisted in its creation-- African Americans.

As previously discussed an examination of the political impact of music is rarely analyzed. Specifically, the impact of rap music on Black political attitudes is an understudied topic. We know that attitudes play a major role in public opinion as well as ideological formation (Dawson 2001; Zaller 1992; Converse 1964). Therefore, the study of the impact of rap music on political attitudes is essential. This dissertation studies whether rap music influences the adoption and adherence of some Black political ideologies. This chapter details the relationship between music and attitudes by examining relationships between rap and political attitudes. It is important to begin by examining Black political ideology followed by a chart that details the relationships between Black ideologies and exposure to political rap. I continue with detailed discussions of Black Nationalism and Black Feminism including various Hip-Hop lyrics where these attitudes are asserted.
Black Political Ideology

The history of ideology in American politics is long and varied. Within this history there have been many definitions presented as well as discussions of the importance of ideology. Lowenstein has defined ideology as “a consistent integrated pattern of thoughts and beliefs explaining man’s attitude towards life and existence in society and advocating a conduct and action pattern responsive to and commensurate with such thoughts and beliefs” (Lowenstein 1953, 52). Similarly Adorno et al. state that an ideology is “an organization of opinions, attitudes, and values – a way of thinking about man and society. We may speak of an individual’s total ideology or of his ideology with respect to different areas of social life; politics, economics, religion, minority groups and so forth” (Adorno et al. 1950, 2).

Ideology is a concept that is often discussed in politics as representing a form of heuristics for citizens’ decision making process. Harris-Lacewell asserts “[i]deology not only shows up in people’s electoral and policy decisions it also can be evidenced in the schools where they send their children, the places where they buy their cars, and the way they style their hair” (Harris-Lacwell 2004, 18-19). There are many Black political ideologies that have existed over time (Dawson 2001). However, I am interested in two specific Black ideologies; Black Nationalism and Black Feminism and their relationships with political rap music. Harris-Lacwell suggests that Black ideology has six functions, “interpreting truth, reducing complexity, linking individual experiences to group
narratives, identifying friends and foes, defining what is desirable and providing…strategies…” (Harris-Lacewell 2004, 17).

Understanding who accepts and what medium advances certain ideologies is important because “political ideology helps to define who are one’s friends and enemies [and] with whom one would form political coalitions…” (Dawson 2001, 4). Not only is understanding the information presented in rap music necessary when analyzing and discussing the Black community, but it will also become more essential to understanding the political attitudes of various populations as rap increases in popularity. Therefore, the study of political thought is important to understanding the role political attitudes represent “in shaping political debate and action in America” (Dawson 2001, 3).

However, the research on political ideology is varied. For instance, it is asserted by some that individuals are incapable of forming attitudes into functional ideologies (Converse 1964, Kinder 1983, Zaller 1992). In fact, Converse references this organization of attitudes as belief systems which he defines as “ideas and attitudes in which the elements are bound together by some form of constraint or functional interdependence” (Converse 1964, 207).

Some authors argue that ideologies are only possessed by elites who support and assert these ideas (Rorty 1994; Zaller, 1992; Horkheimer 1972; Arendt 1958). Zaller (1992) argues that only specialists possess ideology. He states, “ideology… is a mechanism by which ordinary citizens make contact with specialists who are knowledgeable on controversial issues and who share the citizen’s predispositions”
(Zaller 1992, 237). Kinder supports Zaller’s argument by expressing that “the American public is not very sophisticated in its reasoning about politics and is unlikely to become so anytime soon” (Kinder 1998, 795). Therefore, there is a need for specialists or politically sophisticated individuals to represent American citizens in policy issues and decisions. However, others assert that there were problems with previous studies of ideological formation and acceptance such as measurement errors and bad questions that allowed authors to come to the conclusions that citizens do not possess organized ideologies. These authors posit that by controlling for these issues, individuals do possess succinct, organized attitudes and ideologies. African Americans use elite cues for the formation of attitudes on some issues but they also use “nonmainstream” or non-elite sources for issues as well. These sources have been identified as a system of Black information networks of which one of them has been identified as rap music (Dawson 2001; Harris-Lacewell 2004).

The study of Black “political ideology functions as a social narrative that explains the sources of Black inequalities, justifies action on behalf of the group, provides strategies for addressing Black inequality and provide a vision of a different future” (Harris-Lacewell 2004, 20). Finally, as Dawson stated “which Black ideology becomes dominant … will greatly shape the future of both Black and American politics” (Dawson 2001, 54). Black Nationalism should be a prominent ideology among those who listen to rap because it is adopted and adhered to by many rappers who relay those ideas in their songs. Correspondingly, because of the popularity of Black Nationalist attitudes in rap
music I assert that Black Feminism will not be a strongly supported ideology among rap listeners. While political rap may be more progressive than other forms of rap the dominance of Black Nationalist attitudes in the music can counter the progressiveness asserted in political rap thereby reducing Black Feminist support.

**Music and Attitudes**

The study of Black political ideologies would not be successful without the study of Black political attitudes. The study of political attitudes is important because attitudes assists in the formation of ideology. It is essential to begin with a discussion of how attitudes are formed, followed by an analysis of the influence of music on attitudes in general and political attitudes, specifically.

There have been many discussions about how attitudes are organized. One of the most popular is schema theory models. Schema theory presents the idea that knowledge is abstracted from experience and organized hierarchically. Specifically, it is asserted that when a person receives information rather new or old information, it is organized according to what beliefs are held about the new information. When explaining how new information is organized using a schematic model Axelrod states, “When new information becomes available, a person tries to fit the new information into the pattern which he has used in the past to interpret information about the same situation. If the new information does not fit very well, something has to give” (Axelrod 1973, 1248).
Axelrod (1973) details four steps which he argues occurs when new information is presented. He asserts that initially the new information is modified if a belief is present. If no belief is present then the attitude is accepted. Next, the information is clarified or understood by the individual, followed by organizing the attitude to fit with previous attitudes. This usually takes place by eliminating opposing views or modifying existing viewpoints in light of the new information acquired. Finally, the new information is used to answer a question or provide an opinion (Axelrod 1973). Hence, schema allows for the storage and organization of ideas and attitudes (Hurwitz and Peffley 1987). It is asserted that schemata “actively process and store information and generate expectations about future events and actions” (Allen, Dawson and Brown 1989, 422). Allen, Dawson and Brown argue that schemata varies depending on status, access to information sources and ability to interpret and organize new information (Allen, Dawson and Brown 1989.) I assert that rap music often presents simple and blatant references. The issues presented in rap music will receive adequate interpretation. Those who listen to rap are exposed to an information source that all segments of the population does not have regular access to plus they possess lived experiences that gives them the expertise to understand and interpret the information presented. Moreover, it has been suggested that “exposure to antisocial messages in rap music can activate and help maintain antisocial schemas and eventually manifest in measurable behavior” (Tyson 2006, 213). If this is true for negative attitudes and behavior the same logic should follow for positive attitudes and behavior.
There are numerous studies that discuss the relationship between media, attitude formation and public opinion. For instance, scholars have noted the role of media in agenda setting, priming and framing political messages (Iyengar and Kinder 1987; Nelson and Kinder 1996). Since rap has been dubbed by Chuck D as “the CNN of the inner city,” (Dawson 2001, 128) a major news source, it is necessary that we observe the media effects of rap.

Rap music can frame an idea or viewpoint, set an agenda on a political issue as well as prime certain ideas or make them more accessible. However, this dissertation is interested in the persuasive effects of rap music as a form of media on attitude formation. Oskamp and Schultz (2005), detail that persuasive communication is the most popular way of changing and forming attitudes. In fact, they state that “…all of our knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes come from others, and the great majority probably come from some mass communication medium (ranging from books to billboards to radio and television)” (Oskamp and Schultz 2005, 202). If this is true, rap music, which is defined as “the art of verbal engagement intended to impress or persuade the listener” (Norfleet 2006, 355), should play a role in the formation or changing of an individual’s attitude. With Hip-Hop music being situated as a popular music source; its influence on the attitude formation of individuals is important. Similarly others have discussed the educational and socialization possibilities of rap music (Powell 1991). Particularly, Powell (1991) asserts that “…in addition to entertainment rap music provides a significant form of informal education for adolescents one that extends far beyond the confines of the classroom and
into their peer group circles” (Powell 1991, 245). Powell continues by attributing rap music to the afrocentric discussions inside the rap community as well as “…stimul[ating] [the] entrepreneurial tendencies….” among young people (Powell 1991, 257).

William Mcguire (1985) suggests in his stage theory that a message must go through seven stages to be considered persuasive. These stages are presentation, exposure, attention, comprehension, yielding, retention and behavior. Similarly, Zaller combines the seven stages into three stages in his RAS model (Zaller 1992). Zaller contends that presentation, exposure, attention and comprehensive are all a part of the reception stage. Yielding is the same as acceptance in Zaller’s model and retention and behavior comprises the sampling stage of the RAS model (Zaller 1992). Following is a chart of how political rap should impact the acceptance of specific Black political attitudes. According to variations of McGuire’s (1985) stage theory model rap is persuasive and it should follow this chart.
Chart 2: Model of Persuasive Messages and Rap

Exposure to Rap Music

↓

Attention

↓

Comprehension

↓

Yielding

↓

Retention - Black Political attitudes

↓

Black Political Ideology

↓

Behavior

8 Larger society should pay attention to rap music.
Chart 2: Model of Persuasive Messages and Rap represents a diagram of the relationships I argue exist between exposure to political rap and Black political ideologies. The persuasive media source is political rap which will be paid attention to by society. The key component of this chart is comprehension. Without comprehension the model will be void and there will not be any effects on behavior or attitude formation. Rap music should be comprehended by its audience which will result in the yielding stage. Yielding should include acceptance of the beliefs followed by retention of the attitudes which the music asserts. This will manifest in organization of attitudes into Black political ideologies and result in the behavior that those attitudes or ideologies assert.

**Racial Consciousness**

Without a coherent understanding of racial consciousness the development and existence of Black political ideologies as distinct from White political attitudes will not be understood. One needs to understand the history of racism in the United States to understand why there exist different political attitudes and ideologies accepted by Black people. While the Hip-Hop community, like the Black community, is not a homogenous society and have varied attitudes and ideological acceptance, I contend that Black Nationalism is a dominant ideology in the rap community. This ideology is further embraced because of the reality of urban America for many Blacks. The economic,
social and political disparities faced by many urban Black Americans commands an ideology to understand and counter these disparities.

It is often contested exactly when and where race evolved. Race has a major impact on life within American society, but it is very hard to define. Ultimately, while race was seen as a biological difference, today race is used to deter social and political interactions among different ethnic groups. Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1986) describe the ambiguity of racial classification in, *Racial Formation in the United States*. They assert how race has been used to divide groups of people throughout history and to label specific groups\(^9\) (Omi and Winant 1986). With centrality of race in American culture, the existence of racial consciousness and the role it plays in public opinion research deserves significant attention. Specifically the role race plays in the acceptance of political attitudes and behavior is essential in understanding attitude and ideological formation.

For years African Americans have faced discrimination from White Americans. This discrimination has succeeded at keeping Blacks out of many political and social realms of America (Hill-Collins 2004). Facing this discrimination African Americans have learned there is strength in numbers. They have used this realization to fight for equality, “the more differences that are perceived between the in-group and out-group of the salient social dimensions, the stronger the group identity of group members” (Dawson 1994, 76). This ideology has many different names; some people call it group

\(^9\) Omi and Winant (1986) also contend that racial categories have consistently changed to benefit the group that held power throughout history.
cohesiveness, others call it linked fate. Group cohesiveness is the banding together of a certain group; in this case the banding together of African Americans. Linked fate stems from Michael Dawson’s Black Utility Heuristic (Dawson 1994).\textsuperscript{10} This communalism helps African Americans band together to fight against the social injustices of America. It also helps the stability of Black political attitudes and the organization of these attitudes into corresponding political ideologies. Observing Rhythm and Blues and Soul music Robert Walker has found that Black music increases racial consciousness and racial solidarity (Walker 1975).

**Black Nationalism**

Black Nationalism is a very old ideology that has survived through generational shifts, staying mostly intact through existing and past refinements and definitions. Some facets of Black Nationalism are a belief in self reliance, self determination and community control (Brown and Shaw; Davis and Brown 2002; Henderson 1996; Hill-Collins 2006). As Dawson explained “the core concepts behind Black nationalism have historically been the development of independent political strategies, Black and African culture, economic independence, and an African American land base” (Dawson, 1994, 188). However, some have targeted Black Nationalism as an angry, militant ideology that was always mostly concerned with separatism and outgroup hatred. But this is not

\textsuperscript{10} The Black Utility Heuristic is the idea that “the more African Americans believe what happens to them in their life is linked to other African Americans the more they will consider the interests of the group.” P. 75
true. It has been demonstrated that an increase of African American ingroup identification does not create a negative effect of outgroup sentiments. Pro Black is not anti-White. Separatism, as demonstrated in the past has never been a very supported aspect of Black Nationalism, while it has consistently been discussed throughout different eras. But it did not receive the same consideration and support as some of the other aspects of this ideology.

Black Nationalism is an ideology that comprises a set of beliefs that articulate the need for the cultural, political, and economic independence of African Americans (Karenga 2002). Black Nationalism can be defined as “a body of social thought, attitudes and actions ranging from the simplest expressions of [Black] ethnocentrism and racial solidarity to the comprehensive and sophisticated ideologies of Pan-Negroism or Pan Africanism” (Bracey, Meier and Rudwick 1970, xxvi). Its highly racialized agenda makes it one of the dominant ideologies in Black political thought, and its recent popularity makes it a fascinating topic among race scholars (Walton 1985). Davis and Brown contend that “nationalism is a system of thought that contains two components: a sense of political solidarity, consciousness of identity, or a common purpose; and a desire and striving for political self-determination” (Davis and Brown 2002, 240). Similarly Hill-Collins (2006) asserts that nationalism requires the ideas of self-reliance, self-determination and self-definition. There are many different types of nationalist ideology. For instance, there is territorial separatism, the belief that Blacks should have their own part of the country (Bracey, J. et al., 1970, xxix). Also racial solidarity which is
organization based solely on skin color, *economic nationalism* that advocates a “Black capitalist economy and the support of Black own businesses,” and *revolutionary Black nationalism* that “views the overthrow of existing political and economic institutions as a prerequisite for the liberation of Black Americans (Bracey, J. et al., 1970, xxviii).

However, many Black Nationalists maintain a patriarchal approach to Black radical group advancement that often conflicts with Black Feminist ideology (Alexander-Floyd 2007; Hill-Collins, 2006; Perkins 2000; White 1995; Wallace 1994). Therefore, many Black Nationalist organizations consist of men as leaders, and women as less empowered supporters of men. This ideology is one of the prominent beliefs in Black political thought, and often takes priority over other paradigms such as Black Conservatism, Black Feminism and Black Marxism in the Black community (Dawson 2001). Although there are different types of nationalist groups, they all support “…distanc[ing] themselves politically, socially and culturally from what were seen as the hegemonic, racist narratives and practices of a corrupt system of White supremacy” (Dawson, 2001, 90).

Why Black Nationalism? First, because as Alexander-Floyd and others state Black Nationalism is “the dominant ideology in contemporary Black Politics,” hence it should also be an ideology represented in the smaller rap community (Alexander-Floyd 2007, 3). Second, being a Black Nationalist makes one more aware of and engaged in issues that impact the Black community. The newly acquired interest that results from Black Nationalist attitudes makes the supporters of these attitudes concerned about
political and social issues in their communities. Usually when any form of nationalism is discussed it is predominately associated with out-group hatred. For instance, the Aryan nation, a White nationalist organization is known for its hatred of minorities and its appeal for a pure Aryan society. In fact, one of their key phrases is White Power which is often associated with feelings of superiority and attitudes of domination through extreme violent measures including genocide of certain racial and ethnic groups. Similar to this nationalist group the Black Panther Party invoked the phrase of Black Power but unlike the Aryan Nation and the Klu Klux Klan the panthers did not advocate senselessly killing members of other races in a desire to eliminate a group of people. In fact the Black Panther Party only suggested using force as a means of self-defense.

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) was founded in Oakland, California by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale. This organization emphasized the self defense and a form of Black Nationalism that supported self-reliance and community work. The Black Panthers assiduously advocated for issues that were not described as key issues during the Civil Rights Movement. The BPP was highly recognized in Black communities while it was seen as a radical, destructive youth movement to many citizens of the United States. The Panthers campaigned for issues of economic equality which included employment equality, adequate housing, ending police brutality and an equal justice system (Karenga 2002). The Panthers did not use sit-ins and marches to fight for these issues but they helped themselves and their communities by providing school lunches, fixing up home and controlling crime in their communities through self-
The form of Black Nationalism supported by the Panthers during this era emphasized community control and awareness.

Black Nationalism attempts to raise the Black nation. There were many Black Nationalist leaders who embraced this popular Black ideology throughout history. Black Nationalist leaders were identified as members of every era in Black history, from slavery to the present era. Some nationalist leaders that have been identified are David Walker, Henry Higland Garnet, Marcus Garvey, Noble Drew Ali, Elijah Muhammad, Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. The discussion of Marcus Garvey will provide more information about some aspects of the ideology incorporated in everyday life as well as ways in which this nationalist leader invigorated Blacks to become involved politically and socially in their communities.

Marcus Garvey, a native of Jamaica, born 1887, created the Universal Negro Improvement Association in 1914. Two years after the creation of UNIA Garvey moved to New York and opened his first American branch of the organization. Garvey states the purpose of the UNIA is "to promote the spirit of race pride."\(^\text{11}\) Marcus Garvey helped to raise the racial pride of Black Americans by insisting, “Black stood for strength and beauty, not inferiority” (Franklin 1967, 490).

Similarly, other Black Nationalist leaders have embraced many of the historical attitudes asserted in the Black Nationalism of Marcus Garvey. Woodard explains that Malcolm X inspired “the Black masses to make their own history- that they would

become the self-conscious agents of their own liberation” (Woodard 1999, 50). Malcolm X incorporated many of the ideas of Black Nationalists before him to become a viable leader in the twentieth century.

**Black Nationalism and Hip-Hop**

In this work I am specifically interested in the effects of rap music on Black Nationalist sentiments. I assert that political rap will have more of an impact on Black Nationalist ideology than other Black political ideologies. This reasoning stems from the conclusion that Black Nationalist ideology is popular in rap music because of the influence of the Nation of Islam and the Black Panther Party. Consequently, many rappers adhere to Black Nationalist ideology that is advanced through the teachings of the Nation of Gods and Earths (NOG&E), popularly known as the Five Percenters (Miyakawa 2005). In fact, it has been asserted that Five Percenters deliberately used rap as a means of disseminating their culture, ideas and beliefs (Perry 2004). Norfleet continues by stating that many rappers “were popular in New York, where many young Black men identified with the teachings of Black Nationalist religious groups such as the Nation of Islam and its offshoot, the Five Percent Nation” (Norfleet 2006, 368-369). Similarly, Lusane comments, “the dominant ideological trend of the rappers is Black Nationalism” (Lusane 2004, 355). This remark is profound because it establishes a relationship between nationalist sects and Hip-Hop.
With many of the artists abiding by Black Nationalist ideology plus the continuous references in rap music to Black Nationalist ideology, it is reasonable to expect that Black Nationalism will be a supported and accepted ideology of those who listen to rap. In rap there is evidence and direct connection between NOI’s, NOG&E’s and the Black Panther Party’s philosophies. Dawson affirms, “the rhetoric of the Panthers in the 1960s was not dissimilar to the rhetoric of the more political rap groups…” (Dawson 1999, 326). This dissertation evaluates the relationship between rap music and Black Nationalist ideology using various methods.

A lot of Black Nationalist sentiments that are presented in rap songs may not be as blatant as direct referencing of Black Nationalist leaders, or “…repetitive soundbites from Malcolm X….or Louis Farrakhan strewn together” (Allen 1996, 161). Sometimes the allusions are to Black Nationalist attitudes such as self reliance, self determination, and racial solidarity including injustices to African Americans. It is easier to identify Black Nationalist references in rap songs that specifically identify Black Nationalist leaders. For instance, in his song Thug Holiday, Trick Daddy references Black Nationalist leaders Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan. He states,

And, I read your books know all the remixes to the bible
What about a verse for the thugs, a cure for drugs and survival
Let’s add some chapters name them Martin, Malcolm and Farrakhan

Similarly, in the song Who Shot Rudy by Screwball the artists referenced Black Nationalist leaders that may have had a role in this detailing of a fictional shooting of
Rudy Guiliani. The artists state “Did Sharpton and Farrakhan make the shit real?  Was it Khalid?  You know he keep mad steel/ Did the Bloods or the Crips smoke Rudy on the hill?” In this verse Screwball questions who may have shot Mayor of New York City, Rudy Guiliani. The artists list people or organizations that may have played a role in the assassination attempt including notorious gangs Bloods and Crips and popular Black Nationalist leaders Louis Farrakhan and Khalid Muhammad. While these songs made specific references to Black Nationalist leaders not all of the Black Nationalist references are as blatant as the referencing of specific leaders. Some songs referenced Black Nationalist attitudes such as racial consciousness as expressed in Too $hort’s song The Ghetto. In this song Too $hort expresses:

So much game in a Too $hort rap  
Blacks can’t be White and Whites can’t be Black  
Why you wanna act like someone else?  
All you gotta do is just be yourself  
We’re all the same color underneath  
Short Dog’s in the house you ‘d better listen to me  
Never be ashamed of what you are  
Proud to be Black stand tall at heart  
Even though some people give you no respect  
Be intelligent, when you put em in check  
Cause when you’re ignorant, you get treated that way

In this verse the rapper expresses his racial pride which is a prominent trait of cultural Black Nationalist sentiment. While this song did not specifically address nationalist leaders it still harped on nationalist ideas with its reference to racial pride and the relationship between Blacks and Whites. He details that why he is prideful he may
not receive adequate respect from other racial groups. These sentiments demonstrate the internalized marginalization and hostility felt by many African Americans.

Discussion of the connection between Black Nationalist ideology and rap music will not be complete without a mention of one group which openly displayed its connection to the Black power movement of the sixties as well as connection to the Nation of Islam. That group is Public Enemy, “[t]he first overtly and consistently politically oriented group in hip hop...” (Norfleet 2006, 360). Not only did Public Enemy express nationalist ideology in its music, there was also much sampling of leaders such as Malcolm X and Louis Farrakhan in many of the groups’ songs. Angela Ards argues that “from PE and others like KRS-ONE, X-Clan and the Poor Righteous Teachers, urban youth were introduced to sixties’ figures like Assata Shakur and the Black Panther Party, then began to contemplate issues like the death penalty, police brutality, nationalism and the meaning of American citizenship” (Ards 2004, 313). Hip-Hop is therefore inextricably connected to Black Nationalist paradigms and philosophies, specifically political rap.

Examining the relationship between rap and Black Nationalism, it is imperative that a similar discussion occur of the role of women within this cultural form including the possible assertion of Black Feminist attitudes.
Black Feminism

Black Feminism is also an old ideology that has adopted a recognizable name. For instance, women such as Sojourner Truth, Ida B. Wells-Barnet and Anna Julia Cooper were advocates of Black Feminism before the term became popular. While the term Black Feminism gained popularity within the last decades, the ideology has always been present in Black thought. Black Feminism considers the intersectionality of identities. Specifically Black Feminists are interested in the intersectionality of race, class and gender (Simien 2006; Harris-Lacewell 2004; Dawson 2001; Hill-Collins 1990). Patricia Hill-Collins asserts that Black Feminism “is a process of self-conscious struggle that empowers women and men to actualize a humanist vision of community” (Hill-Collins 1990, 32). Black Feminists asserted they needed to “develop a politics that is antiracist, unlike those of White women and antisexist unlike those of Black and White men” (Combahee River Collective 2000, 265). Black Feminism is different from White Feminism because it includes racial and class differences as well as gender differences. Many White feminists did not fight for equality for women regardless of class or race. Anna Julia Cooper commented on the responsibility and urgency of Black women to fight for issues relevant to them. She exclaims, “[o]ur Caucasian barristers are not to blame if they cannot quite put themselves in the dark man’s place, neither should the dark man be wholly expected fully and adequately to reproduce the exact voice of the Black woman” (Cooper 1988, vii). Similarly, Hill-Collins asserts that “Black women
intellectuals are central to Black feminist thought…” (Hill-Collins 1990, 33). Contrarily, being a Black woman does not automatically ensure a person’s acceptance of or subscription to Black Feminist attitudes. Black men can and have asserted Black Feminist attitudes. Dawson (2001) argues that there are three components of Black Feminist ideology. He lists those components as the “need to understand the interaction of at least race and gender, and often sexuality and class, as a grounding for… theoretical and practical work…..” and the placement of the community at the center of this work (Dawson 2001, 153). He contends that the ideology is a guide in the practice of “political and civil activities” (Dawson 2001, 153). While Black Nationalism is a popular ideology throughout Black history, Black Feminism has also shared a varied and long history as a popular Black ideology. Some people to assert Black feminist ideas and sentiments were Anna Julia Cooper and Ida B. Wells-Barnett.

Anna Julia Cooper a renowned scholar, activist and feminist was born in 1858 in Raleigh, NC (Cooper 1988). Cooper wrote her first book in 1892, which is argued as the first Black Feminist text. Her book established her as being one of the first African-American women authors. In addition to becoming an author, one can say that Cooper became somewhat of a sociologist as well. She studied the relationships of Whites and Blacks in their interpersonal as well as professional and political relationships. This was one of her major accomplishments; however she also studied the relationship of Black women to Black men and vice versa. Cooper’s first book was entitled *A Voice from the South by a Black Woman of the South*. In the text, she discussed the injustices Black
women face in America and the existence of a “triple consciousness”. This ideology says that African American women not only deal with issues of race and citizenship but they also have to deal with the issue of gender. She exclaimed that Black men could not work in the best interest of Black women. During a time when the educational attainment of Black women was unpopular, Cooper asserts that through educational attainment Black women could assist the advancement of the Black community.

Cooper had a very prolific life. She was one of three women invited to address the audience at the first Pan-African meeting that was held in London in 1900 (Cooper 1988). In 1905, Cooper helped in the foundation of the Colored Woman’s YMCA to combat the discrimination Black women received from the YMCA (Cooper 1988). Cooper was not only an activist, feminist, orator and sociologist; she was also a renowned scholar. Cooper argues that the Black woman story must be told by a Black woman. She asserts that no one can speak for the Black woman and her experiences, not the Black man or the White woman.

Another Black Feminist well invested in the affairs of the Black community was Ida B. Wells-Barnett. Wells-Barnett was born a slave in 1862, just before the passing of the Emancipation Proclamation, in Holly Springs, Mississippi (Royster 1997). Wells-Barnett had to grow up fast, eventually becoming the head of the household after her parents died from a yellow fever epidemic.

Wells-Barnett was an activist for equal rights; she specifically wanted to see an end to all the injustices Black men and women were facing in the south. Most of Wells-
Barnett’s columns were printed in magazines such as the *Living Way*, *Evening Star* and *Free Speech*; all of the articles printed in these publications detailed the atrocities Black men faced as targets of all White lynch mobs. In addition to becoming proactive in the elimination of the lynchings of Black men, she also became proactive in the discrimination against women. Wells-Barnett worked closely with Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B Anthony in the organization of the Women’s Movement (Royster 1997). Both Cooper and Wells-Barnett represent historical examples of Black women feminists. White asserts that “feminists of color pushed for a movement whose discursive practices opposed sexism and racism simultaneously” (White 1995, 507). One key element of Black Feminist practice is dispelling the misogyny and sexism that erodes policy and the everyday lives of people. One place that misogyny and sexism is very prevalent is in rap music. The relationship between Black Feminism and rap music is rarely quantitatively studied. Dawson and Harris-Lacewell observed some aspects of the relationships between rap and Black Feminism. Harris-Lacewell found that rap does not “generate less attachment to women…” (Harris-Lacewell 2004, 101). This result is relevant as Simien argues a person must have some attachment to Black women to have a Black Feminist consciousness (Simien 2006).
Women and Rap

Women emcees often have to prove their existence and fight for their inclusion into Hip-Hop culture because of the male dominance that is exerted in the community. As previously stated, similar to Black Nationalism, Hip-Hop culture asserts hyper-masculine attitudes that often diminish the role of women within the genre (Alexander-Floyd 2007; Pough 2004). Keyes argues that “female rap artists have not only proven they have lyrical skills; …they have created spaces from which to deliver powerful messages from Black female and Black feminist perspectives” (Keyes 2004, 265).

However, the lack of respect for women is Hip-Hop dominates the cultural genre. There is an emphasis within this genre of hyper-masculinity that typically results in abusive language and behavior. There are numerous instances of male rappers whose lyrics exemplify relationships with Black women. One of the most popular and discussed situations is the public beating of New York City talk show host Dee Barnes who was accosted by rap artist Dr. Dre. Ms. Barnes was “beaten into submission by rapper Dr. Dre in a Manhattan night club for allegedly making critical comments about him on the air…” (Ransby and Matthews 1995, 531). This situation is later applauded by other rap artists such as artist T.I. who states on rap song I Ain’t Never Scared, “I’ll choke you out like Dre did that Bitch.” This line is clearly in reference to the Dr. Dre and Dee Barnes incident. Unfortunately this was not the only case of applauded male violence against women. Late rap artist Notorious B.I.G. is known for his sexism and violence towards
women. One woman that he has had a relationship with, Lil Kim, describes the violence that existed in their relationship with her verse on the song *Get Money*, where she exclaims, “me shifty? Now you wanna pistol whip me.” These lyrics followed artist B.I.G.’s lyric, “all you heard was Poppa don’t hit me know more.” These examples are only two instances of the violence, sexism and hyper-masculinity asserted in rap music.

**Black Feminism and Hip-Hop**

The male dominance in rap identifies it as a place where Black Feminist sentiments may not be supported. Many have observed the connection between misogyny and rap. Adams and Fuller (2006) demonstrated that while different words may be used in society today in reference to Black women, the ideology remained constant in reference to sexism towards Black women. They correlate the terms and images of the *Jezebel* and the *Sapphire* to the terms “ho” and “bitch,” respectively. The authors lament that while Black women are no longer referred to as a Jezebel or a Sapphire, popular culture, specifically rap music, are still using misogynistic terms and images in reference to Black women. Pough asserts that “…by the time we reach the Hip-Hop era, Black women have generations of conditioning to stay in the background…. [there also exists] a history of seldom speaking out against Black manhood even when it poses a direct threat to Black womanhood” (Pough 2004, 75).
The authors contend that this type of rap music could have a huge impact on the perception of Black women.

Not all rap music asserts misogynistic or sexist attitudes in relation to Black women. Some rap is positive in the construction of Black women images and attitudes. There are numerous instances of women rappers who disrupt the dominant attitudes presented in this genre in relation to Black women. Many women emcees assert Black Feminist attitudes through rap music. For instance, rap artist Queen Latifah’s single U.N.I.T.Y. “challenges those males who use bitch/ho appellations in their lyrics” (Keyes, 2004, 273).

Likewise, Queen Latifah discusses other issues of Black Women in her rap lyrics. Queen Latifah’s *Evil that Men Do* discusses the interaction between race, class and sexism in the reality of Black single motherhood in America as well as dispels the image Reagan asserted with his construction of the “Welfare Queen.” Artist Queen Latifah rhymes,

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A woman strives for a better life
But who the hell cares because she’s living on welfare
The government can’t come up with a decent housing plan
So she’s in no man’s land.
It’s a sucker who tells you you’re equal
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This verse represents political rap because it satisfies two of the criteria. One she references the government which is a political reference and two she discusses a social ill such as single motherhood and inadequate housing in America. Likewise this song also
asserts Black Feminist sentiments through the discussion of an intersection of identities for women. For welfare recipient mothers there are many layers to their identity. For instance poor, Black single mothers are economically disadvantaged, have racial and gender disadvantages as well as sexual disadvantages stemming from the fact that these women are seen as promiscuous. Finally, rap artist Queen Latifah provides an alternative image of the in-control and manipulating “Welfare Queen” that Ronald Reagan constructs. Artist Queen Latifah is one of many “[b]lack women rappers [that] interpret and articulate the fears, pleasures and promises of young Black women whose voices have been relegated to the margins of public discourse” (Rose 1994, 146). Women of this generation often use rap as a space to assert feminist ideas (Hill-Collins 2006).

Author Gwendolyn Pough (2004) dedicated an entire book to the role women have played in rap music. She describes how women use rhetorical skills to disrupt male hegemony, tell their stories, create space and disturb masculine discourses. Women emcees such as Queen Latifah, Salt-n-Pepa and Yo-Yo have asserted in their lyrics Black Feminist attitudes as well as created organizations for the practice of Black Feminist beliefs (Pough 2004).

Similarly, some male rappers participate in this tradition of disrupting dominant sexist attitudes by asserting Black Feminist attitudes. For instance, rap artists Mos Def and Talib Kweli, commonly know as BlackStar, created a song that embraces and discusses the beauty of Black women. In their song, Brown Skin Lady, they present the following lyrics,
You fruitful, beautiful, smart, loveable, huggable
Doable like art, suitable to be part
Of my life, Coppertone owe you copyright infringement pay
You been this tan since way back in the day
It’s like I’m standing there you know appreciating God’s design
And then you showed up, it’s like you read my mind
DAMN SHE’S FINE, I think I add the R-E, in front of that

Here the artists are presenting positive images of Black women while expressing their love for and of Black women. This song can also be classified as a political song through its reference to the political institutions of states that are called out at the end of the song and the discussion of the social issue of beauty and self love. Similarly, this song is a complete contrast from the negativity in response to Black women that is often discussed in relation to rap music. The artists close by detailing Black women beauty and discussing how television impact constructions of beauty that often leave out Black women.

You know what some people put themselves through to look just like you?
Dark stockings, high heels, lipstick alla that
You know what?
Without makeup you’re beautiful
Watcha need to paint the next face for
We’re not dealing with the European standard of beauty tonight
Turn off the TV and put the magazine away
Look in the mirror, tell me what you see
See the evidence of divine presence

The above song represents one manifestation of the assertion of Black Feminist attitudes. It details Black beauty while uplifting Black women. This song exerts respect
and love of women. Still there are other ways in which Black Feminist sensibilities are asserted through rap music.

One area that is often discussed in Black Feminist circles is the area of eroticism and images of the female body (Lourde 1984). With consideration of objectivity, sexuality and eroticism it is debated the role of rap in these discussions. It has been argued that Black women rappers deconstruct the objectification of Black women bodies by embracing their bodies lyrically and through dress. Likewise, many women rappers incorporate their own forms of eroticism through lyrics and the explanation of their sexual relationships (Perry 2004). For instance, rapper Lil Kim often asserts her sexual desires and emphasizes her demands for sexual satisfaction. Not only are the lyrics of rappers beneficial to the discussion of sexuality and objectivity but “[b]lack women rappers’ public displays of physical and sexual freedom often challenge male notions of female sexuality and pleasure” (Rose 1994, 166). However, this chapter is not interested in public displays generally. I am more interested in lyrical content and how these lyrics can influence Black political attitudes.

Previously we have discussed the positive attributions of rap to Black Feminist attitudes as well as general attitudes towards Black women. However, rap is not solely positive in its discussion or relation with Black women. Gwendolyn Pough asserts, “[w]hile some rappers claim to be the new voice for the marginalized group of Black youth….they oppress and marginalize women and homosexuals” (Pough 2004,18).
Black Nationalism, Black Feminism, and Rap

With the popularity of Black Nationalism in rap music one may wonder if Black Feminism is an ideal that is embraced by many rappers and rap audiences. It is often debated whether women, in particular, can have both a racial and gender consciousness simultaneously. Claudine Gay and Katherine Tate examined if Black women will evaluate issues based on race or gender first or are the two identifications mutually equal. The authors found that within the two ascribed identification markers gender and race both are important and supported by Black women. However race is a more salient identity for women than gender when assessing political attitudes except for times when there are direct conflicts between the two identities (Gay and Tate, 1999). Hill-Collins argues, “numerous Black American women have spoken about the difficulty of choosing race or gender (nationalism or feminism) and about how these false choices hurt African American women” (Hill-Collins 2006, 152). The gender and racial identification of women both impact their decisions and attitudes.

In an arena where Black Nationalism is the predominant ideology is there a space for feminist ideology, specifically in a male dominated space in which women have to constantly fight to assert their contributions and gain respect as an emcee? Having detailed the relationship between rap and Black Nationalism it is only natural to assess the relationship between Black Nationalism and Black women followed by a discussion of Black Nationalist rap and Black women.
Examining the relationships between Black women and Black Nationalist organizations there is evidence of sexism and patriarchy present. For instance, the Black Panther Party, a prominent nationalistic organization, held many sexist views about women (Hill-Collins 2006). Earl Anthony, a member of BPP told Brown [Elaine], a female member of BPP that “a true Sister would be happy to sleep with a revolutionary Brother” (Perkins, 2000, 105). The Black Panther Party also thought that any Black woman who became a leader was “eroding Black manhood, to be hindering the process of the Black race” (Perkins, 2000, 112). The above examples display sexism in many Black Nationalist sects. Not only was the Black Panther Party a sexist organization but many other organizations or sects that promoted Black Nationalism asserted ideas of patriarchy such as US, and the Nation of Islam (Hill-Collins 2006). Pough explains that “[r]ap music and Hip-Hop culture provide a spectacle of Black manhood not seen since the Black Power Movement” (Pough 2004, 28). This assertion of patriarchy and sexism should be further examined in rap music.

Decker (1993) asserts that Black Nationalist rap follows in the tradition of the sixties Black Nationalism with ideas of patriarchy. Women who do not support these efforts are labeled as “ungrateful wives or gold-digging lovers” (Decker 1993, 68). Rapper Ice Cube commented in an interview that “Black women have to wait for Black men to be uplifted first” (Lusane 2004, 359). Ice Cube supported the claims of many Black Nationalist leaders of race first, women later. Alexander-Floyd (2007) discusses this issue by discussing the idea of Black women as traitors. She details how the
constructions of Black women as the Black matriarch and later the “welfare queen” were adopted by many Black Nationalist organizations and leaders as dominant reasons of increased Black-female headed single families as well as attributing to the demise of the Black family. She asserts that according to Black Nationalist ideology Black women were seen as traitors because they embraced the White man’s governmental assistance in the form of welfare to eliminate support of Black men (Alexander-Floyd 2007). Similarly, she discusses various popular texts at the time that discussed the Black woman attributing to problems in the Black community because of the acceptance of “…alien ideas into Black political discourse” in the form of feminism; including Nathan and Julia Hare’s The Endangered Black Family and Jawanzaa Kunjufu’s Conspiracy to Destroy Black Boys (Alexander-Floyd 2007, 68). Therefore, many of these assertions present in Black Nationalist doctrine are also evident in rap music. Ransby and Matthews argue forms of Black Nationalism have resurfaced because of three reasons: 1) the popularity and discussion of Afrocentrism, 2) “interest and commercialization of the memory of Malcolm X and” 3) “popular lyrics of certain subgenres of rap music” (Ransby and Matthews 1995, 526).

Rap’s history with Black Nationalist organizations such as the Nation of Gods and Earths (5%) and Nation of Islam allowed for the perpetuation of the ideas about subservient roles of women to sustain during a new era. Dawson supports this analysis by arguing “[e]ven politically oriented rap, it is argued, supports the patriarchal view of a subservient role for women in the struggle for Black liberation espoused by many
nationalists” (Dawson 2001, 158). For instance, Lord Jamar member of the group Brand Nubian, who are known for their Five Percent affiliations, describes the views of women in this sect as subservient to men in his song *Supreme Mathematics* when he states:

> Wisdom is the wise words spoken by the wise Black man  
> Who is God, Wisdom is symbolic to the Black woman  
> Secondary, but, most necessary, to bring forth the seed of life.

In this entire song Lord Jamar breaks down the “mathematics” or the formula to a righteous lifestyle according to his religion. It has been suggested that “through lyrics, Five Percenters hope to enlighten their listeners with the truth of their message, and to encourage self-knowledge” (Perry 2004, 175). In the above verse Lord Jamar explains that the number two is associated with wisdom which is associated with Black women. Lord Jamar also identifies the relationship of women to men under this ideology by identifying women as “secondary but most necessary”. Like many Black Nationalist sects it is asserted that men are the head of households and women should follow behind men thus being secondary. In this organization women are necessary because they have the ability to carry children. This philosophy can be found in many Black Nationalist sects particularly during the sixties and seventies (Alexander-Floyd 2007; Hill-Collins 2006).

Examples of promoting sexism and Nationalism simultaneously can be found within many songs. For instance, Public Enemy, a group known for its acceptance and support of Black Panther and Nation of Islam’s ideologies also assert sexist ideas about
women under the guise of “uplifting the race.” In the song *She Watches Channel Zero*, Public Enemy details the impact they suggest television, specifically soap operas have on Black women.

Trouble vision for a sister
'Cause I know she don't know, I quote
Her brains retrained
By a 24 inch remote
Revolution a solution
For all of our children
But her children
Don't mean as much as the show, I mean
Watch her worship the screen, and fiend
For a TV ad
And it just makes me mad

In this verse Public Enemy asserts that watching television is counterproductive and will not assist in the “revolution” of the Black nation. They go on to assert that a woman’s television consumption is also detrimental to her family; specifically her children who they argue are neglected by the mother’s infatuation with television. The attitudes presented in this song are not only sexist but also nationalist. It is sexist because they equate TV watching specifically with women. They totally disregard any myths about men controlling the remotes. The song also asserts that women are incapable of separating fantasy from reality hence men are smarter because they are able to watch television and understand that it is not reality. These lyrics also assist in the faulty characterizations that Black women have suffered throughout history, specifically the recent constructions of “welfare queens” and “crack mothers” (Neal 2004; Roberts 1997). Insisting that women sit home and watch soap operas insinuates that these women do not
have jobs thereby supporting Reagan’s descriptions of mothers who prosper off of government assistance. Similarly, comparing the television watching woman to a fiend alludes to the irresponsibility of crack mothers, an image that was popular in the late 1980’s and early 1990’s. This one verse is problematic on many fronts specifically addressing sexism and patriarchy. However, the sexism continues in the closing lines when group member Flavor Flav states:

Yo baby, can't you see that's nonsense you watchin'? Look, don't nobody look like that, nobody even live that, you know what I'm sayin'? You watchin' garbage, not'in' but garbage. Straight up garbage. Yo, why don't you just back up from the TV, read a book or som'in. Read about yourself, learn your culture, you know what I'm sayin'?

Not only is Flavor Flav asserting that it is necessary for men to point out issues he suggest are harmful to the Black community but also offers women a solution by suggesting that they “read a book or something….learn about your culture.” These artists close with a very important message. They suggest that instead of watching television these women should read and learn more about their culture, I assume in hopes of supporting their ideologies and of being a ‘good mother’. This example is very important because it demonstrates that even in groups like Public Enemy who are credited with highly political and ‘positive’ lyrics there still exists attitudes of sexism and patriarchy present, even when misogyny may be absent.

As we can see in the above lyrics while rap may be political does not necessary mean it is positive or beneficial for all aspects of the Black community. Some political
music can have negative effects on women. Ransby and Matthews argue that “even lyrical brews concocted with a distinctly militant flavor are frequently laced with enough counterproductive and counterrevolutionary messages, especially with regard to gender and the status of women, to dull their potentially radical edge” (Ransby and Matthews 1995, 528). Similarly, it is asserted that some “songs produced by the political, usually Black Nationalist rappers run counter to women’s liberation” (Lusane 2004, 360).

For example, while Tupac has been seen as positive in *Keep Your Head Up* and many would argue for the positive nature of the song *Dear Mama*, there are prevalent examples of sexist attitudes presented in both of these songs by Tupac. Some can argue that Tupac subscribes to the Black Nationalist beliefs of women as reproducers and progenitors of the race. Alexander-Floyd (2007) states that within Black Nationalist thought “women are important biologically as the reproducers of the nation, and figuratively as representatives and purveyors of the cultural norms of the Black Nation” (Alexander-Floyd 2007, 118).

With the sexism displayed in some forms of political rap should we expect women consumers or women rappers to deny the Black Nationalist sentiments and fully accept a Black Feminist ideology? Within rap there are assertions of Black Feminist and Black Nationalist ideals (Hill-Collins 2006). While feminist ideas are accepted and asserted by rap artists, the label of feminist is not as readily embraced in comparison to a nationalist label. In reference to a label as a Black Feminist Queen Latifah, remarked, “I don’t even adhere to that shit. All that shit is bullshit! I know that at the end of the day I
am a Black woman in this world and I gotta get mine. I want to see the rise of the Black male in personal strength and power. I wanna see the creation of a new Black community for ourselves and respect from others” (quoted in Pough 2004, 89). It appears that Queen Latifah was displaying Gay and Tate’s assertion that racial identification was the more salient identity when observing political attitudes (Gay and Tate 1998). Latifah appears to uphold the more popular Black Nationalist sentiments that many women have asserted before her. Many people argue that liberation will result from the rise of the Black man first and the elimination of racism before sexism. From the above quote it seems as if Latifah does not hold the idea that racism and sexism could be eliminated simultaneously. This idea was not asserted in Black Nationalist ideology. However, based on Queen Latifah’s music and her activist work one can contend that she was possibly rebelling against the label of feminist in general and not specifically to the ideology of Black Feminism12.

Similarly, Tricia Rose (2004) interviewed various women rappers who she argued presented feminist attitudes in their music but she concluded that when discussing the idea of feminism none of the women adopted feminism as their philosophy13. All of the women interviewed agreed that feminism was a “movement that related specifically to White women” (Rose 2004, 303). These women believed that by adopting feminism they

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12 Evelyn Simien (2006) discusses the issues of conflating feminism with Black Feminism. Because of the problems with the terms and the wrong interpretations, many Black women embraced the term womanism as first exclaimed by Alice Walker.

13 The women interviewed were Salt N Pepa, Queen Latifah and MC Lyte. These are some of the more popular female artist and females that demonstrated feminist values either lyrically or through their support and founding of organizations that uplift women.
were submitting anti-male vibes. In her book on rap, Black Nationalism and Black Feminism Hill-Collins suggest that there should be the construction of a new ideology that combines both nationalism and feminism in “a framework of feminist/nationalist or nationalist/feminist” than by separating the ideologies as they are currently (Hill-Collins 2006, 154). She asserts that this new ideology will allow a politics where there is equal discussion and concern about the “status of Black women and girls” (Hill-Collins 2006, 154).

**Conclusion**

One can observe how rap is currently socializing capitalist ideas and values such as materialism. This sort of value is present in songs such as Nelly’s, *Grillz*. In this song Nelly emphasizes that a measure of economic status is measured by the value of the jewelry one owns, specifically, the jewelry in his mouth. In this song Ali, a member of Nelly’s entourage, specifically states, “Where I got ’em you can spot them, on the top in the bottom, Gotta bill in my mouth like I’m Hillary Rodham (Nelly, 2005)\(^\text{14}\).” Aside from the explicit sexist nature of the lyric the rapper is detailing information on how much money is possibly spent on this form of jewelry. Here bill is referencing money while also alluding to a sexist reference of Senator Hilary Clinton and her husband President Bill Clinton. Not only is he referencing materialism but he uses political

\(^{14}\) This bill could be in reference to a billion dollars worth of gems and metals or a substantial amount of money.
figures and allusions in his reference. While this reference demonstrates what material objects are glorified in some genres of rap music, the response from the Hip-Hop community is what is astonishing about the socialization aspects of the song. A lot of people became fascinated by gold teeth and they begin to become a major status symbol. They were very popular not only amongst men, women were also getting grills. Erykah Badu, famous neo-soul, Hip-Hop artist was featured in her video *Love of My Life*, which is deemed as homage to Hip-Hop, with gold teeth across her top and bottom rows of visible teeth.

Another example that demonstrates how individuals adopt or accept certain attitudes and beliefs is evident in the snowman epidemic. In this situation, children throughout the country, but predominately in the south brought and wore t-shirts that exclaimed, “Got Snow” (Scott, 2005)? The phrase snowman was coined by Young Jeezy, a popular rapper out of Atlanta, who stated in one of his songs off of his 2005 album, *Let’s Get it: Thug Motivation 101*, “Get it? Jeezy the Snowman, I’m iced out, plus I got that snow, man” (Scott, 2005). In this lyric Jeezy is speaking about cocaine which is popularly referred to as snow. Many students wore these shirts to school and this story hit the news when school officials attempted to ban any student from wearing “Got Snow?” shirts to school because of the connection between the shirt and illegal narcotics. While there are apparent references of the socializing powers of Hip-Hop does the culture have the ability to socialize political attitudes or awareness about political issues or activism?
It is evident that some attitudes, beliefs and actions are socialized through rap music, but it is not as clear when observing political attitudes. Some of the possibilities why socialization is not as blatant in reference to political attitudes are because political rap is not a very popular genre among most members of the Hip-Hop generation or possibly because the actions and attitudes that stem from political rap have been attributed to other political sources. This chapter has discussed the importance of Black ideology and attitudes. It has displayed Black Nationalist and Feminist ideology in relation to rap music, providing examples of these sentiments expressed in rap lyrics. It is recognized that these ideologies are present in Black music. While the attitudes may be present one still wonders if the attitudes presented via music actually affects its audience. In the following chapters I empirically examine the relationships between rap music and Black Feminist and Black Nationalist ideologies. I assert that Black Nationalism is a highly supported ideology among rap consumers. Contrarily because of the predominance of Black Nationalist attitudes presented via rap music I argue that Black Feminism will not be a supported ideology. There are numerous reasons why Black Feminism should not be a supported ideology among rap listeners but the most dominant in this dissertation is the lack of women artists and pro-women music to counter the popular nationalist and male dominance themes displayed in rap music.

Music as a persuasive media source should therefore impact the acceptance of these attitudes among those exposed to rap music. With the significant impact Hip-Hop has not only on American culture, but other cultures, the study of the relationship
between Hip-Hop culture, political behavior and political ideology is not only necessary in the United States but will become more relevant on an international level as Hip-Hop gains popularity.
CHAPTER THREE

A QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF EXPOSURE TO RAP

“For Black and Latino youth who have been denied high-quality education, school is no longer the place where they learn literacy and politics. Rather, for many, mass media has become their classrooms.”


In 2004, Jadakiss wrote the controversial song Why, discussed by conservative news pundit, Bill O’Reilly. This discussion was not O’Reilly’s first critique of rap music or rap artists. O’Reilly also ridiculed Pepsi’s endorsement of rapper Ludacris, whom the pundit labeled as misogynistic and vulgar. However, O’Reilly’s critique of Jadakiss dealt with the political lyrics of his song. Jadakiss song entitled Why, a top 20 single on the Hip-Hop charts, asked many titillating, political questions about President George W Bush, the Republican administration, the 2000 national election and the events of September 11, 2001 (Heim 2004). O’Reilly commented that the song was an “atrocity” (Heim 2004). This example represents only one of many examples of political messages included in rap songs as well as political controversies surrounding rap artists and the Hip-Hop community.15

Some of the most controversial questions were those that asserted George W. Bush’s alleged involvement with the events of 9/11. Jadakiss asked “[w]hy did Bush

15 For more examples of political references in rap music throughout rap history look in Appendix A.
knock down the towers?” In his defense, Jadakiss stated that “…it’s only a metaphor,…” He continues, “I think that before 9/11 the intelligence agencies weren’t communicating a lot of the important information. And ultimately, at the end of the day, he’s the boss. The buck stops with him”. Previously Jadakiss commented to Billboard.com that he “…felt [Bush] had something to do with it. That’s why I put it in there like that. A lot of my people felt he had something to do with it”. However, Jadakiss was not the only artist that presented political views via the song. Other political questions and ideas were presented. Specifically questions about the results of the 2000 election and the presidency of George W. Bush. In this song Styles P, a rap artist part of the group the L.O.X. with Jadakiss, states,

Why vote Republican if you Black….
Why the country ain’t flipped when they jerked the votes the last election

In this lyric, Styles P questioned the logic of voting for the Republican Party if you are Black, because of the ideas that the Republican Party does not advance issues relevant to the Black agenda (Williams 2003). For instance, it has been asserted that the Republican Party has been advocators of implicit racial messages that resided on White fear of African Americans. Implicit racial messages were displayed in the Bush/Dukakis election, of which it is argued that the image of Willie Horton was used to prime White fear of African Americans. Mendelberg (2001) has argued that this tactic played particularly toward the fear of Black men, raping, harassing possibly murdering White women.
Similarly, the second line is also a specific reference to the relationship between the government and the people. This verse discussed the catastrophe that occurred in Florida with the ballot count, including the eventual disenfranchisement of many people of color. In Florida, during the 2000 presidential election there were technological problems where the candidate’s name did not accurately line up with the button that was used to vote for that candidate. Subsequently, many ballots were counted by hand. However all ballots were not counted because of a temporal problem in which case the United States Supreme Court made the final decision of the new President.

Another artist, Common, also referenced George W. Bush in his verse on the remix of Jadakiss’ song. In his verse, Common questioned Bush’s concern when it came to the search for Osama Bin Laden who was recognized as ordering the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Why is Bush acting like he trying to get Osama
Why don’t we impeach him and elect Obama

After questioning Bush’s motive for the hunt of Osama Bin Laden, Common quickly offers a solution, to impeach Bush and elect the Black senator from Illinois, Barack Obama. This call for direct action is one form of using rap to mobilize and educate those who listen to the music.

It can also be suggested that Black Nationalist sentiments are expressed through this song. For instance, Jadakiss’ reference to the outrage warranted from the results of the 2000 election could demonstrate the Black Nationalist attitudes of having control over
the politics in one’s community (country) as well as a belief of self-reliance. Therefore, rapper Jadakiss suggests there should have been some form of resistance to the obvious exclusion of votes in the 2000 presidential election. Similarly, Common appeals to Black Nationalist attitudes of supporting a Black political candidate whenever he runs. Common’s suggestion of electing Senator Barack Obama was not simply a poetic technique but it also was referencing Obama’s racial identification as a factor. I am sure Common could have presented another problem with the current administration but he decided to appeal to Black sentiments and beliefs of electing a Black official to eliminate problems and gain concessions. These two artists have expressed Black Nationalist sentiments in very subtle ways. Chapter Two displays other examples of Black Nationalism presented in rap songs. However, one may still wonder do these presentations of Black Nationalist attitudes actually affect one’s support of Black Nationalism?

Contrasting the Jadakiss and O’Reilly incident another media personality was involved in a controversy surrounding rap music. In 2007, Don Imus, radio host, commented that his phrase “nappy headed hos,” in reference to the Rutger’s women varsity basketball team, was derived from Hip-Hop music. Imus’ intentions were to justify his words by blaming all segments of Hip-Hop. His technique of using rap music as a scapegoat caused many discussions within and outside the Black community about the effects of explicit lyrics in rap music. Stations such as B.E.T. held forums about misogyny and sexism in rap music and also touched on the nihilistic and violent lyrics.
Popular talk show host Oprah Winfrey also dedicated two shows to a discussion about censoring rap music, the damage of the lyrics, sexism and misogyny in Hip-Hop. Still, after all these discussions the major debate was what specific subgenre of rap music incorporated sexism and misogyny the most in its lyrics. For instance, it is speculated if there are certain attitudes that are asserted about Black women in political rap music compared to other genres of rap music.

Misogyny and sexism have been displayed in some genres of rap but what do these ideas mean for the construction of a feminist consciousness. For instance, Joan Morgan in her book *When Chickenheads Come Home to Roost: A Hip-Hop Feminist Breaks it Down* suggest that women understand that the lyrics may be sexist but continue to listen to and support the artists (Morgan 1999). Others can assert that there are a lot of women who do not listen to rap music because of its sexism and misogyny. There are many examples of misogynistic rap lyrics as well as examples of pro-feminist lyrics presented in Chapter Two. However, one may still wonder if Black Feminism is an ideology embraced by rap music listeners, especially considering the Black Nationalist attitudes presented by many artists, both men and women. This chapter represents one step in discovering if Morgan was right, do feminist attitudes prevail in spite of listening to rap music? Can nationalism and feminism simultaneously exist?

Chapters One and Two have detailed the theories of attitude formation, political attitudes, Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideology. In this chapter I explore the quantitative avenues of some of these relationships and theories. In this chapter, I will
demonstrate that the study of rap music assists in the understanding of the development of some political attitudes, thoughts and ideologies among those who listen to rap. As previously discussed, various media outlets have been involved in the debates over freedom of speech, political correctness and political ideologies. I mostly agree with Patricia Hill-Collins (2006) that media is becoming one of the dominant means of educating minority youth; however, I argue that schools and family still maintain a large role in the socialization of political attitudes and add that mass media is becoming more of an important education source for youth, regardless of racial or ethnic identification.

This chapter evaluates how rap music influences the attitudes and ideologies that are accepted and supported by individuals. I am predominately interested in the effects of rap music on Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideology. Black Nationalism and Black Feminism political topics have stimulated increased empirical research of the construction and effects of these ideologies (Simien 2006; Harris-Lacewell 2004; Brown and Shaw 2002; Davis and Brown 2002; Dawson 2001; Gay and Tate 1998). Nevertheless, there are still many empirical areas of these ideologies that remain untested. One of the untested areas includes examination of the relationship between Black ideology and rap music. This chapter assesses the relationship between listening to rap and Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideologies, positing the following hypotheses:
H₁: There is a positive relationship between Blacks who listen to rap and Black Nationalism. Higher support of Black Nationalism is demonstrated among those who listen to rap.

H₀: There is no relationship between rap and Black Nationalism.

H₂: There is no relationship between those who listen to rap and Black Feminist ideology.

H₀: Rap music listening has a significant positive effect on support of Black Feminist ideology.

This chapter follows in three parts. The first section is the literature review. Next, I detail the empirical analysis and results utilizing survey data. Finally, the chapter concludes discussing the results with a clear assertion that there is a relationship between exposure to rap music and the support of Black Nationalist ideology.

**Literature Review**

Two studies were conducted that empirically examine the relationships between rap and Black Nationalism. These studies were conducted by Michael Dawson and Melissa Harris-Lacewell. Dawson (2001) observes the determinants of rap and compares those determinants to the determinants of important Black political ideologies such as Black Nationalism in the 2001 book *Black Visions*. Dawson argues that there is a similarity between the demographic characteristics of those who are supportive of his Black Nationalist scale (Black Autonomy) and those who support the idea that rap is a
source of information (Dawson 2001). He concludes that the relationship is not a spurious relationship as rap music does impact the acceptance of Black Autonomy. However, Dawson comes to this conclusion by utilizing a four variable Black autonomy index as the dependent variable and an opinion variable as the key independent variable. There are two major critiques of this work. One is that Dawson is not measuring Black Nationalism but only a facet of the ideology, Black Autonomy. Davis and Brown contend that “nationalism is a system of thought that contains two components: a sense of political solidarity, consciousness of identity, or a common purpose; and a desire and striving for political self-determination” (Davis and Brown 2002, 240). Therefore in this analysis Dawson is only examining one component of Black Nationalism. This analysis merely demonstrates a correlation between the belief that rap music is important and support of Black Autonomy. I differ in my analysis by examining all components of Black Nationalism as detailed by Davis and Brown (2002).

The second major critique is Dawson’s use of an opinion variable to understand other opinion variables. I suggest a better way to examine these relationships is by examining exposure to rap and its relationship with Black Nationalist attitudes in comparison to how one feels about rap music. How one feels about rap will not assist me in understanding the impact of listening to rap may have on a person’s political attitudes. For instance, if you do not like rap and is exposed to the music via another person will

---

16 The opinion variable utilized by Dawson follows; “Rap music provides an important source of information about what’s going on in the Black community or Rap music is a destructive force in the Black community.”
you not accept some of the attitudes or thoughts that is presented in the music. It is my belief that even for those who do not like the music but are exposed to the music are thereby exposed to the messages and attitudes presented in the music. Therefore, I posit a better measure to understanding relationships between rap and political attitudes is through measuring exposure to the persuasive source and not one’s view of the source.

Black Nationalism has historically been seen as the counter ideology. Price in her dissertation compares Black Nationalism to Black assimiliationism or intergrationism as the two popular but oppositional ideologies (Price 2003). Black Nationalism is often seen as the radical anti-thesis of Black Integrationist ideology. Therefore comparing those who support the attitude that rap is important to those who support Black Nationalism is essentially capturing the same type of people, people that may have radical leanings. In this chapter my independent variable of interest is ‘do you listen to rap’.

Melissa Harris-Lacewell (2004) also examines rap and its relationship to Black Nationalist ideology. She uses rap as a form of “everyday talk” in her book Barbershops, Bibles and BET (2004). Harris-Lacewell uses six variables to create her Black Nationalist variable. One of the key independent variables utilized in her model is the listen to rap variable. She asserts that “Black Nationalism is bolstered through rap music listening” (Melissa Harris-Lacewell 2004, 108), combined with other avenues of Black media exposure, organization membership and church discussions. Harris-Lacewell examines a combination of exposure to rap music and other examples of Black media and the
relationship with Black Nationalist ideology. While she looks at rap music as a combination of everyday talk that supports Black Nationalist ideology she does not examine if rap music solely affects the support of Black Nationalism.

Harris-Lacewell’s examination while more intensive than Dawson’s also presents problems to examining the relationships between Black Nationalism and rap music. Harris-Lacewell does utilize the exposure to rap variable instead of the rap opinion variable but she includes exposure to rap in a group of other variables that she asserts measures exposure to Black information networks. She does not examine the relationship between exposure to rap solely and Black Nationalist attitudes. In this research, exposure to rap and its relationship between Black political attitudes are the sole relationships examined.

This work expands upon the examinations completed by these two political scientists by separating rap music as a sole entity to influence Black political attitudes. This examination is not concerned with how the sample view rap. For instance, viewing rap as destructive or informative should not impact my hypotheses of rap impacting Black political attitudes. Similarly, the exclusion of rap from other Black information sources should still display significant impact upon Black political attitudes.
Data and Methods

This chapter examines if Blacks who listen to rap are more accepting of Black Nationalism than those who do not listen to rap. Similarly, among those who listen to rap, do men demonstrate higher support of Black Nationalist ideology than women? Finally, does rap music listening affect the acceptance of Black Feminist ideology? The relationship between exposure to rap and acceptance of Black Nationalist ideology will be analyzed using a ten point nationalist index. Also examined here is the relationship between listening to rap and Black Feminist ideologies using a six point Black Feminist index.

I utilize data from the 1993 National Black Politics Study (NBPS). NBPS was sponsored by the University of Chicago and conducted by SSI, a private company. The survey was designed “to provide information on attitudes and opinions regarding a number of issues of importance to Black Americans” (Dawson, et al. 1993, 2). The data was collected through random telephone calls to 1,206 cases. The subjects were selected randomly by selecting telephone numbers out of a specific frame. The subjects represent a sample of 65 percent of all Black households inside the United States during the years 1993-1994.

There is one rap variable analyzed in this chapter. This variable measures if an individual listens to rap at all. I argue that those who listen to rap are exposed to the beliefs and ideologies expressed by the artist and will demonstrate more support for
Black Nationalism than those who do not listen to rap. Essentially, this variable is coded to capture those who listen to rap. More people reported that they do not listen to rap than those who reported that they do listen to rap. Out of 1206 respondents to this question, 52.3% do not listen to rap, while 47.7 percent do listen to rap music.

Measuring Black Nationalism

There are two common operationalizations of Black Nationalism. One operationalization of Black Nationalism is to measure particular strands of the ideology as observed in Dawson’s 2001 book *Black Visions*, where he uses four measures in an index to measure Black autonomy, one strand of Black Nationalism. To construct his Black autonomy variable, the following variables were used: 1) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 2) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 3) Black people should shop in Black stores whenever possible, 4) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities (Dawson 2001). Dawson found a positive relationship between acceptance of Black autonomy and the belief that rap is a source of information. \\

Similarly, Brown and Shaw expand on Dawson’s four variables and utilize eight variables that are separated to measure two different strands of Black Nationalism,
community nationalism and separatism (Brown and Shaw 2002; Dawson 2001). Brown and Shaw contend that not all Black Nationalisms are the same. They suggest there are different types of Black Nationalism that have existed over time. In fact, they focus on two facets of Black Nationalism that they identified empirically by displaying that different Black Nationalist attitudes load upon different factors thereby measuring different strands of the popular ideology. They found that affluent Blacks were supportive of community nationalism and younger males were typically supportive of separatism. This study of Black Nationalism was very important because it demonstrated that some aspects of Black Nationalism may be preferred depending on the subgroup one comprises.

However, another popular operationalization of Black Nationalism is to measure the core doctrine of Black Nationalism as expressed in the empirical work of Davis and Brown’s 2002 article which expands on Brown and Shaw’s 2002 article. Davis and Brown included ten variables they argued measured Black Nationalism by illustrating that all the variables loaded on one factor and not two factors as Brown and Shaw asserted (Davis and Brown 2002). Moreover, my study utilizes the nationalist index identified by Davis and Brown, therefore expanding on other Black Nationalist indices. My index captures all strands of Black Nationalism using the range of variables present in the 1993 NBPS.

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17 The measures that were used to construct the two nationalist variables can be found in Appendix B.
I began by examining the relationship between the variables to observe if they are related. This examination was completed by factor analysis\textsuperscript{18}. Next, I created the dependent variable, Black Nationalism, using the ten measures of Black Nationalism as suggested by Davis and Brown in their 2002 article. The measures are: 1) Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores 2) Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run, 3) Blacks should rely on themselves and not others, 4) Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations whenever possible, 5) Blacks should form their own political party, 6) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 7) Blacks should form a separate nation, 8) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 9) Black children should study an African language and 10) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities.

The Black Nationalist variables were first recoded into dichotomous variables, ranging from 0 = “strongly disagree” or “disagree” responses to 1 = “strongly agree” or “agree” responses and then they were computed into an additive index. All of the “don’t know” or “refused” responses were coded as system missing. For each item, higher values represent more agreement with Black Nationalist strategies on a 10-point scale. If the respondent strongly agrees or agrees with all 10 items, then she would score ten “1s” which gives her a Black Nationalism score of ten. Conversely, if a respondent scored all “0s” on the items, then she would strongly disagree or disagree with all of the Black Nationalist measures. This coding logic produces a normally distributed interval index.

\textsuperscript{18} These results can be found in Appendix C.
that goes from 0 to 10, with median values indicating different degrees of general support for Black Nationalism.
Graph 3.1: Distribution of Support of Various Black Nationalist Attitudes

As observed in Graph 3.1: Distribution of Support of Various Black Nationalist Attitudes, at least eight of the variables examined for the Black Nationalist index have respondents approaching a mean of one which represents support of the particular attitude. The attitudes that suggest a person should support Black candidates whenever they run and that Blacks should form their own separate nation have a mean of less than point five which suggests that these attitudes are the least popular attitudes of Black
Nationalist ideology. This graph demonstrates that majority of those observed agree with these Black Nationalist variables. Theoretically, I chose variables that encompass Black Nationalism. However, empirically these variables were chosen because they were demonstrated to load into one factor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Listen to Rap</th>
<th>No Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Support All Male Schools</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>60%*</td>
<td>50%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Join Black-Only Organizations</strong></td>
<td>59%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>57%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Vote for Black Candidates</strong></td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28%</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Control Government in Black Communities</strong></td>
<td>70%**</td>
<td>81%**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>61%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Shop in Black-Owned Stores</strong></td>
<td>81%**</td>
<td>89%**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>85%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Form a Separate Nation</strong></td>
<td>14%**</td>
<td>22%**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black Should be Self-Reliant</strong></td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>87%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>82%</td>
<td>84%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Control Economy in Black Communities</strong></td>
<td>77%*</td>
<td>84%*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Form Their Own Political Party</strong></td>
<td>57%**</td>
<td>68%**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>42%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black Children Should Study an African Language</strong></td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>75%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>67%</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.1:** Support for Black Nationalist Attitudes by Listen to Rap and Gender

*Source: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey (NBPS);*
Notes: Table entries are percentages of men and women who listen or do not listen to rap and their support of the following nationalist attitudes: 1) Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores 2) Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run, 3) Blacks should rely on themselves and not others, 4) Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations whenever possible, 5) Blacks should form their own political party, 6) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 7) Blacks should form a separate nation, 8) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 9) Black children should study an African language and 10) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities. † \( p \leq .1 \), \( * p \leq .05 \), \( ** p \leq .01 \), \( *** p \leq .001 \).

Table 3.1 presents various findings. These results demonstrate relationships between listening to rap and support of these Black Nationalist attitudes. Generally men who listen to rap are more supportive of Black Nationalist attitudes than women who listen to rap. There are of course a few exceptions. Specifically, among rap listeners women are more supportive of the attitudes that Blacks should support all male Black schools and Black children should learn an African language. However, the differences are not significant. Similarly, among those who do not listen to rap, men and women are equally split on how many of the Black Nationalist strategies are supported. Men who listen to rap are significantly more supportive of five of the ten Black Nationalist attitudes. For instance, 81% of men who listen to rap are more supportive of controlling the government in Black communities than 71% of Black women who listen to rap. Among rap listeners, men are 89% supportive of shopping in Black owned stores while
women are 81%. Similarly, men are 68% supportive of Blacks forming their own political party while women are 57% supportive of this attitude. 84% of Black males are supportive of the attitude that Blacks should control the economy in Black communities compared to 77% of Black women. Bracey, Rudwick and Meier (1970) describe different types of nationalisms including Bourgeois Reformism or “the slating and supporting of Negro candidates for political office; the drive for Black political and administrative control of local and county areas where negroes predominate; and the formation of all-Black political parties” (Bracey, Rudwick and Meier 1970). It may be suggested from the above results that males who listen to rap are more supportive of Bourgeois Reformist Nationalism. Finally, men are 22% supportive of forming a separate nation while women are only 14%. This attitude is the less supported nationalist attitude. This attitude is one of two attitudes that do not receive a majority of support from either gender group or between those who listen and do not listen to rap. Therefore, the belief of forming a separate nation is not a very popular belief but its acceptance is increased among men who listen to rap.

Women who do not listen to rap are significantly more supportive of the attitude “Blacks should support the creation of all male schools,” with 60% of women and 50% of men who do not listen to rap agreeing with this attitude. While women are more supportive of this attitude among those who listen to rap, the differences are no longer significant. These findings support the belief that both rap and Black Nationalism appeal more to men than women because of the sexist and patriarchal lyrics of rap and history.
of Black Nationalism. The above results examine if men differ from women depending on exposure or no exposure to rap music and support of Black Nationalist attitudes. Next, I examine the similarities and differences within gender of those who listen and do not listen to rap. Therefore, I examine if there are significant differences between women who listen to rap music and those who do not or men who listen to rap music and those who do not.

**Graph 3.2:** Support for Joining Black Only Organizations

Graph 3.2 displays that listening to rap increases support of the Black Nationalist attitude that Blacks should join Black only organizations. In fact, women who listen to
rap are significantly more supportive of joining a Black only organization, with 59% of Black women who listen to rap supporting the attitude compared to 51 of Black women who do not listen to rap.

**Graph 3.3: Support for Black Separation**

This graph shows that listening to rap significantly increases Black male support of Blacks forming a separate nation. However, this support does not represent a majority of acceptance from the Black community. Many of the other Black Nationalist attitudes display a majority support from Black respondents.
Here it is demonstrated that there are significant differences within each gender group. Between males, men who listen to rap are 75% supportive of this attitude while men who do not listen to rap are 64% supportive. Women who listen to rap are 77% supportive of this attitude while those who do listen to rap are 67% supportive. Therefore, listening to rap greatly increases support of the attitude that Black Children should study an African Language.
Graph 3.5 also shows that rap music listening increases support among both genders for the attitude that Blacks should support all male schools. 67% of males who listen to rap are supportive of the attitude compared to 50% of males who do not listen to rap. Similarly 68% of women who listen to rap support the attitude compared to 60% of Black women who do listen to rap.
Graph 3.6: Support for Blacks Creating their Own Political Party

Observing the support of the belief that Blacks should create their own political parties. Listening to rap almost lends a twenty percentage point difference compared to those who do not listen to rap and within gender categories. This significantly large increase demonstrates that listening to rap has major impact upon public opinion but specifically some Black Nationalist attitudes.
Again it is demonstrated that rap music increase support of the attitude among men and women. 81% of men who listen to rap compared to 65% of men who do not listen to rap are supportive of the attitude that Blacks should control the government in their own communities. Similarly, there is a nine percentage point difference in support of this attitude between women who listen to rap and those who do not.
Support for Blacks Controlling Economy in their Community

3.8: Support for Blacks Controlling Economy in their Community

This graph shows that listening to rap increases support among women and men of Blacks controlling the economy in their own community.
Graph 3.9: Support Black Candidates Whenever They Run

Graph 3.10: Support for Shopping in Black Stores
3.11: Support for Black Self-Reliance

Source: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey (NBPS);

Notes: Figures display percentages of men and women who listen or do not listen to rap and their support of the following nationalist attitudes: 1) Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores 2) Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run, 3) Blacks should rely on themselves and not others, 4) Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations whenever possible, 5) Blacks should form their own political party, 6) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 7) Blacks should form a separate nation, 8) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 9) Black children should study an African language and 10) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities.
All of the above charts display that listening to rap increases support of Black Nationalist attitudes for Black men. These findings lend support to the hypothesis that there is a relationship between rap music listening and support of Black Nationalist attitudes among males. There is also a relationship between listening to rap and the support of Black Nationalist attitudes for women in most cases. Observing some Black Nationalist attitudes the relationships do not hold up. However, in most cases the relationships between rap and the support of a Black Nationalist attitude is significant for both genders. Among those who listen to rap the relationships between support of Black Nationalist attitudes, men and rap are more common than the relationships between women, rap and Black Nationalism. This significant difference within gender and between listening to rap and not listening to rap varies from 2 percentage points up to 20 percentage points of difference. Examining the differences within gender, between listening to rap and support of Black Nationalist attitudes demonstrate important relationships. However, more rigorous tests are needed to examine the affects of gender and music exposure, simultaneously, on Black Nationalist attitudes. Next, I complete Logit regression analysis to observe these effects together.
Listen to Rap | Gender
--- | ---
**Blacks Should Support All Male Schools** |  
.463*** & .237-  
(.124) & (.129)

**Blacks Should Join Black-Only Organizations** |  
.321** & -.214†  
(.119) & (.124)

**Blacks Should Vote for Black Candidates** |  
-.065 & -.083  
(.133) & (.138)

**Blacks Should Control Government in Black Communities** |  
.551*** & -.348**  
(.130) & (.138)

**Blacks Should Shop in Black-Owned Stores** |  
.008 & -.416*  
(.160) & (.176)

**Blacks Should Form a Separate Nation** |  
.437* & -.498**  
(.172) & (.172)

**Black Should be Self-Reliant** |  
.147 & -.200  
(.157) & (.168)

**Blacks Should Control Economy in Black Communities** |  
.552*** & -.274†  
(.138) & (.145)

**Blacks Should Form Their Own Political Party** |  
.853*** & -.305*  
(.123) & (.128)

**Black Children Should Study an African Language** |  
.504*** & .114  
(.131) & (.136)

**Table 3.2:** Logit Regression Analysis of Black Nationalism, Rap and Gender
Source: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey (NBPS);

Notes: Table entries are logit regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. This analysis includes the following nationalist strategies: 1) Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores 2) Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run, 3) Blacks should rely on themselves and not others, 4) Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations whenever possible, 5) Blacks should form their own political party, 6) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 7) Blacks should form a separate nation, 8) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 9) Black children should study an African language and 10) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities. All of the Black Nationalist variables are dichotomous. Listening to rap is coded as one and not listening to rap is coded as zero. Similarly gender is a dichotomous variable with 1 representing women. † p ≤ .1, * p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001.

In the above analysis a Logit model was used to examine any significant relationships between a Black Nationalist attitude and two independent variables. I used a Logit instead of OLS regression because my dependent variables are dichotomous and this model allows one to better assess predicted relationships. Logit models use the following equation: \( \text{Prob}(z = 1) = F(by + cw) \), where \( z \) is the dependent variable and \( y \) and \( w \) are the independent variables listen to rap and gender. These analyses present the probability that supporting a Black Nationalist attitude is a function of the combination of listening to rap and gender.
Observing Table 3.2: Logit Regression Analysis of Black Nationalism, Rap and Gender, gender and rap significantly impact most of the Black Nationalist attitudes except three. Gender does not significantly affect the beliefs that Black children should support an African language, Blacks should rely on self and Blacks should vote for Black candidates whenever they run. Comparably men are generally more significantly supportive of the other Black Nationalist attitudes with the exception of the belief that Blacks should form all male Black schools; here women are significantly more supportive. Likewise, rap does not significantly impact agreement with the attitudes Blacks should be self-reliant, vote for Black candidates whenever they run for political positions or shop in Black own stores. However, the other seven variables are significantly and positively supported by those who are exposed to rap music. These results further demonstrate that rap music listeners and men are overwhelmingly more supportive of most of the Black Nationalist attitudes. Now let’s examine what happens to these relationships when control variables are inserted and Black Nationalism is created into one variable as a Black Nationalist index.

Next, I complete a regression analysis of rap and its impact on Black Nationalist ideology. Various control variables are used in this analysis, including, gender, income, urbanicity, education, age, marital status, employment status, and race of interviewer. The gender variable is coded as a dichotomous variable where 1 equals women and 0 equals men. This coding scheme is beneficial because I would like to observe any significant difference of the relationship between rap music, Black Nationalism and the
impact it has on Black women. Hence, I assert that the outcome will follow this equation:

Black Nationalism = a - β1(gender) - β2(age) - β3(education) + β4(urbanicity) + β5( listen to rap) + β6(race of interviewer) + β7(Marital Status) − β8(income) + β9(linked fate) + e
Table 3.3: Support for Black Nationalism by Listening to Rap

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>Z-score</th>
<th>P-value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Listen to Rap</td>
<td>.498**</td>
<td>(.171)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1= Female)</td>
<td>-.346**</td>
<td>(.166)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
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<td>(.035)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Years</td>
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<td>(.025)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td>-.022***</td>
<td>(.006)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interviewer Race (1=Black)</td>
<td>-1.17</td>
<td>(.924)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linked Fate</td>
<td>.949***</td>
<td>(.189)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status (1=Married)</td>
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<td>(.049)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanicity</td>
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<td>(.171)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>7.61</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R²</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Table entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Support for Black nationalism (the dependent variable) is an additive index of the following items: 1) Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores 2) Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run, 3) Blacks should rely on themselves and not others, 4) Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations whenever possible, 5) Blacks should form their own political party, 6) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 7) Blacks should form a separate nation, 8) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 9) Black children should study an African language and 10) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities.

† $p \leq .1$, * $p \leq .05$, ** $p \leq .01$, *** $p \leq .001$.

Observing these regression results it is evident that rap does have an impact on the support of Black Nationalist ideology. Those who listen to rap maintain a higher significant affinity for Black Nationalist sentiments with the various control variables implemented in the model. This relationship is very important when discussing the relationship between popular culture and political ideology; specifically when analyzing the influence that rap music has on Black political attitudes.

Rap impacts one’s acceptance of Black Nationalist ideology. Other variables of significance are age, gender and the belief that what happens to other Blacks impacts one’s life. Younger people are more accepting of Black Nationalism, as well as males and those who assert that they are connected to other Blacks. These results are supported
by many assertions that Black Nationalism appeals to the younger generation and males while emphasizing Black unity. In fact, Malcolm X stated that the Black Muslim (Black Nationalist) movement attracted a certain type of person usually young males (Berry 1989). Also, observed in the OLS analysis is the relationship women have with Black Nationalist ideology. Women do not accept nationalist views as strongly as men partly because of the historical patriarchal behavior and attitude of some of the most prominent nationalist organizations (Hill-Collins 2006). These results support my hypotheses. It is demonstrated here that rap impacts support of Black Nationalism and that men show more support of Black Nationalism than women. The hypotheses concerning the relationship between rap and Black Nationalism are fully supported. While I have an emphasis on Black Nationalist ideology, I also examine the relationship between exposure to rap and Black Feminist attitudes. Next, I examine the relationships between rap and Black Feminism.

Black Feminism

Throughout history Black women have fought for respect inside and outside their community. Like Nationalism, Black Feminism has ebbed and flowed throughout American history. Simien asserts that “[f]ew Political Scientists have written books and journal articles about African American women as political actors-candidates for elective office, grassroots organizers, party activists, voters or partisan, ideologically engaged
citizens- when African American women have a long history of actively participating in politics via antislavery networks, civil rights organizations and Black Feminist collective” (Simien 2006, 3-4).

On the heels of the Black Power Movement, Black women were very involved in electoral politics (Simien 2006). For example, Shirley Chisholm entered as the first Black person to run for presidential nomination among one of the major party contenders. However, during this run many Black men were not very supportive of Ms. Chisholm. Her lack of support from Black men resulted from her allegiance to and support of feminist organizations (Neal 1999). Black women understood the sexism that was advocated in the Black Power Movement and especially within Black Nationalist segments.

As stated in the previous chapter the relationship between listening to rap and the acceptance of Black Feminist attitudes are hard to predict. On the one hand, some strands of rap are categorized as more progressive while other strands are misogynistic and patriarchic. Therefore, within progressive rap there may be some songs that lead to greater acceptance of Black Feminist attitudes while other songs may counter those effects. In a situation where the genre of rap is unknown, the relationship may be hard to predict. However, because of the countering effect I hypothesize that there may not exist a relationship between rap and Black Feminism.

Black Feminism has not been quantitatively studied by many (Simien 2006). Previously, Black Feminist attitudes were constructed using interaction analysis of
responses to race and gender identification (Robinson 1987; Gay and Tate 1998). Others have examined Black Feminism utilizing traditional measures of White feminism (Conover 1988; Cook 1989). However, as asserted by Evelyn Simien these variables rarely captured the attitudes of Black Feminist. She argues that that the racial and gender identification “strategy is faulty because it assumes that race and gender identification are separate constructs” (Simien 2006, 12).

Still, others observed a wide range of variables that was argued captures Black Feminist ideology. For instance, Dawson uses a scale of four variables that he asserts captures the ideas of Black Feminist ideology. To construct his Black Feminist scale, the following variables were used: 1) Black women have suffered from both sexism within the Black movement and racism within the women’s movement, 2) Black Feminist groups help the Black community by working to advance the position of Black women, 3) Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community, 4) the problems of racism, poverty and sexual discrimination are all linked together and must be addressed by the Black community (Dawson 2001). Similarly, Harris-Lacewell expands on Dawson’s four variables and utilizes five variables suggested to address Black Feminist attitudes. She adds the variable, “there is a strong tendency in American society to attack and silence strong Black women such as Attorney Anita Hill and Justice Department candidate Lani Guinier” (Harris-Lacewell 2004). Dawson does observe this variable singularly and notes that there is no increased support of this attitude among rap listeners (Dawson, 2001). Likewise, Simien (2006) uses six variables that all load on
one principal predictive factor to measure Black Feminist ideology. She assesses Black Feminist ideology adding the variable that Black churches or places of worship should allow more women to become members of the clergy (Simien 2006). However, Simien does not observe the relationship between rap and Black Feminism. My study utilizes the feminist index identified by Simien, therefore expanding on Dawson’s 2001 study and Harris—Lacewell’s 2004 study of the relationship between Black Feminism and rap music.

The measurement of Black Feminism included in this study measures the core doctrine of Black Feminist ideology, using six variables from the 1993 NBPS. In this study there are six variables that load on one factor to measure Black Feminism. Five of these variables have higher eigenvalues on the first factor. These variables are: 1) Black women have suffered from both sexism within the Black movement and racism within the women’s movement, 2) Black Feminist groups help the Black community by working to advance the position of Black women, 3) Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community, 4) the problems of racism, poverty and sexual discrimination are all linked together and must be addressed by the Black community, 5) there is a strong tendency in American society to attack and silence strong Black women such as Attorney Anita Hill and Justice Department candidate Lani Guinier. These measures all load together when factor analyzed. However, when adding the variable (6) Black churches should allow more women as clergy members, the variable Black women have suffered from both sexism and racism no longer loads on the
single factor\textsuperscript{19}. The attitude that suggests that Black women have suffered from both sexism and racism eigenvalue decreases on the first factor and increases on the second factor. Still, all of the variables load higher on the first factor suggesting that all of the variables are measuring Black Feminist attitudes\textsuperscript{20}.

These variables were recoded into dichotomous variables that measure a person’s agreement with the above statements. Other responses were recoded as missing and these were all computed into an additive index that represents the Black Feminist scale. For each item higher values represent more agreement with Black Feminism on a six-point scale. If the respondent agrees with all six statements he would score 6 “1’s” which is a Black Feminist score of six. This produces a normally distributed interval index that ranges from 0 to 6.

\textsuperscript{19} This variable that discusses sexism and racism may not load with the other variable because of the simultaneity of attitudes present in the question. People may prefer to choose one aspect, racism or sexism, over the other (Simien 2006). Simien (2006) discusses the importance of acknowledging racism and sexism exist simultaneously for a Black Feminist consciousness.

\textsuperscript{20} In Simien’s research the variables all loaded on one factor. Simien and I coded the Black Feminist variables differently. In the 1993 study the Black Feminist questions are double questions where a respondent can choose which attitude they favor out of a set of two. They also have the options to reply that they agree with neither or both. Simien codes her Black feminist variables on a continuous scale from 0 to 1 with respondents who offer both as their response as .5. I code my variables as dichotomous variables placing the both and neither responses in the zero category because I am interested in the variables that suggest positive attributes of Black Feminism.
Graph 3.12: Distribution of Support of Black Feminist Attitudes

Observing *Distribution of Support of Black Feminist Attitudes* demonstrates that all of the variables examined for the Black Feminist index show support of Black
Feminist attitudes with means approaching one for all variables. This graph illustrates that a high majority of those observed are at least fifty percent supportive of some aspect of Black Feminism.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Listen to Rap</th>
<th>No Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black Feminist Groups Help the Black Community</strong></td>
<td>68%</td>
<td>72%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black Women have Suffered From Both Sexism and Racism</strong></td>
<td>58%</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black Women Should Share Political Leadership</strong></td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The Problems of Racism, Poverty and Sexual discrimination are linked</strong></td>
<td>72%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>There is a tendency in America to Silence Strong Black Women</strong></td>
<td>80%</td>
<td>83%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black Churches Should Allow More Black Women as Clergy Members</strong></td>
<td>87%*</td>
<td>81%*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.4:** Support for Black Feminism by Listen to Rap and Gender

*Source:* 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey (NBPS);

*Notes:* Table entries are percentages of Blacks who agree with the following feminist attitudes: 1) Black women have suffered from both sexism within the Black movement and racism within the women’s movement, 2) Black feminist groups help the Black community by working to advance the position of Black women, 3) Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community, 4) the problems of racism, poverty and sexual discrimination are all linked together and must be addressed by the Black community, 5) there is a strong tendency in American society to attack and silence strong Black women such as Attorney Anita Hill and Justice Department candidate Lani Guinier, 6) Black churches should allow more Black women as clergy members.
The above table displays interesting findings about the relationship between Black Feminist attitudes, rap and gender. First, there is an observable relationship between women, rap and Black Feminist attitudes. However, in the case of the attitude that Black churches should allow more Black women as clergy, men who listen to rap are significantly more supportive than women who listen to rap with 87% of men supporting the attitude and 81% of women. One can argue that because of the progressive nature of political rap, particularly in relation to male audiences that men who listen to rap are more supportive of Black women as clergy members. It may also be asserted that the the religious participation and subscription of rap male audience members has dissipated over the years. Many male rap artists do not advance ideas of church participation or attendance. Therefore, men may not be as concerned about women as clergy members and may argue that women should be clergy members because of their dominance in that arena. On the other hand, among those who do not listen to rap, women are 56% more likely than 47% of men to support the attitude that Black women have suffered both from sexism and racism and this difference is significant. However, it is necessary to examine the relationships within gender and between those who listen to rap or do not listen to rap. Next, these relationships are explored and demonstrated via various graphs.
Graph 3.13: Black Women have Suffered Sexism and Racism

This figure shows that men who listen to rap (58%) are significantly more supportive of the Black Feminist attitude that Black women have suffered from both sexism and racism compared to men who do not listen to rap (47%).
Graph 3.14: Black Women Should Share Political Leadership

Here it is demonstrated that women who listen to rap are significantly more supportive (83%) of the attitude that Black women should share in the political leadership of the Black community than women who do not listen to rap (76%).
Graph 3.15: Black Churches Should Allow More Black Women as Clergy

This graph presents interesting findings and unpredictable findings. Black men who listen to rap are 87% more supportive of the belief that Black churches should allow more Black women as clergy members compared to 78% of men who do not listen to rap. On the other hand, women who do not listen to rap are 81% more supportive of the attitude than 72% of women.
Graph 3.16: Black Feminists Help Black Community

Graph 3.17: Problems Linked
The other graphs while not showing any significant results display trends that listening to rap positively influences the relationship between gender and the various Black Feminist attitudes. However, these results are mostly inconclusive. More tests are necessary to further examine these relationships. Next, I complete Logit regressions to further analyze the relationships between exposure to rap, gender and Black Feminist attitudes.
Black Feminist Groups Help the Black Community

- Listen to Rap: 0.151 (0.137)
- Gender: 0.166 (0.140)

Black Women have Suffered From Both Sexism and Racism

- Listen to Rap: 0.250* (0.124)
- Gender: 0.208 (0.129)

Black Women Should Share Political Leadership

- Listen to Rap: 0.049* (0.024)
- Gender: -0.015 (0.025)

The Problems of Racism, Poverty and Sexual discrimination are linked

- Listen to Rap: -0.011 (0.137)
- Gender: 0.127 (0.142)

There is a tendency in America to Silence Strong Black Women

- Listen to Rap: 0.132 (0.165)
- Gender: 0.069 (0.171)

Black Churches Should Allow More Black Women as Clergy Members

- Listen to Rap: 0.568*** (0.149)
- Gender: -0.393* (0.159)

Table 3.5: Logit Analysis of Black Feminism, Listening to Rap and Gender

Source: 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey (NBPS);

Notes: Table entries are Logit regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. These analysis include the following feminist strategies: 1) Black women have suffered from both sexism within the Black movement and racism within the women’s movement, 2) Black feminist groups help the Black community by working to advance the position of Black women, 3) Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community, 4) the problems of racism, poverty...
and sexual discrimination are all linked together and must be addressed by the Black community, 5) there is a strong tendency in American society to attack and silence strong Black women such as Attorney Anita Hill and Justice Department candidate Lani Guinier, 6) Black churches should allow more Black women as clergy members.

\[ p \leq .1, * p \leq .05, **p \leq .01, ***p \leq .001. \]

Table 3.5, Logit analysis of Black Feminist attitudes, present three significant results of the relationships between gender, listening to rap and Black Feminist attitudes. Gender does significantly affect the support of the Black Feminist attitude that more Black women should become clergy members. In fact, Black men are more supportive of women becoming members of clergy according to these results. Rap does significantly impact the ideas that Black women have suffered from both sexism and racism, Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community and more Black women should become clergy members. These results confirm the above graphs. However, this is not what is expected considering the impact of rap on Black Nationalist attitudes.

Black Nationalism does not support the ideas that sexism exist within their organizations, although there are many examples of sexist ideas asserted by Black Nationalist leaders, including but not limited to, Malcolm X, Eldridge Cleaver and Louis Farrakhan. Additionally, scholars often note the patriarchal nature of Black Nationalist organizations to explain why Black men are generally more supportive than Black
women of this ideology (Perkins 2000; Radford-Hill 2000). It is asserted that “… hip-hop artists such as Public Enemy and X-Clan promoted strong Nationalist messages that stressed the importance of African American Unity” (Harris-Lacewell 2004, 100). This support of Black unity could represent one reason for support of these feminist attitudes. Similarly, Dawson has asserted his linked-fate theory that could also explain these results. Dawson posits that regardless of socioeconomic status African Americans still feel linked to one another because race supersedes most other factors. He asserts that race is a determining factor to which attitudes and policies an individual would support in the African American community. He argues that African Americans believe that their fate is linked to other African Americans throughout the country and for this reason attitudes on public opinion studies are similar, although, other characteristics may be different. Additionally, more research has exposed the sexism present in Black Nationalist organizations which could influence younger generations including rap consumers and producers to not adopt the sexist attitudes presented in some of these Black Nationalist doctrines. The younger generation may have observed some of the issues with historical Black Nationalism and decided not to adopt those issues in their current adoption of the ideology. While sexist attitudes may be present in rap music the beliefs may not be easily accepted by rap listeners because of an increase of intellectual measures to identify sexism. These measures include code words, phrases or ideas that have been discussed as associated with sexism. Blatant sexist lyrics may effortlessly be dispelled. However, these results only display relationships between gender, exposure to
rap and Black Feminism and therefore more thorough analysis are required. Next, I complete an OLS regression model with the following equation:

\[
\text{Black Feminism} = a + \beta_1(\text{gender}) - \beta_2(\text{age}) + \beta_3(\text{education}) + \beta_4(\text{urbanicity}) - \beta_5(\text{listen to rap}) + \beta_6(\text{race of interviewer}) + \beta_7(\text{Marital Status}) + \beta_8(\text{income}) + \beta_9(\text{Black women linked fate}) + e
\]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender (1= Women)</td>
<td>0.166*</td>
<td>0.098</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Income</td>
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<td>0.021</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education in Years</td>
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<td>0.015</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
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<td>0.004</td>
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<tr>
<td>Interviewer Race</td>
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<td>0.707</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marital Status (1=Married)</td>
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<td>0.030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urbanicity</td>
<td>0.165</td>
<td>0.104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Women Linked</td>
<td>0.601***</td>
<td>0.123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Constant</td>
<td>3.07</td>
<td>0.776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sample Size</td>
<td>675</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted R^2</td>
<td>0.113</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3.6:** Support for Black Feminism by Listening to Rap

**Sources:** 1993-1994 National Black Politics Survey (NBPS).
Notes: Table entries are OLS regression coefficients with standard errors in parentheses. Support for Black feminism (the dependent variable) is an additive index of the following items: 1) Black women have suffered from both sexism within the Black movement and racism within the women’s movement, 2) Black feminist groups help the Black community by working to advance the position of Black women, 3) Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community, 4) the problems of racism, poverty and sexual discrimination are all linked together and must be addressed by the Black community, 5) there is a strong tendency in American society to attack and silence strong Black women such as Attorney Anita Hill and Justice Department candidate Lani Guinier, 6) Black churches should allow more Black women as clergy members.

* p ≤ .1, **p ≤ .05, ***p ≤ .01.

Analyzing these regression results, the significant values are gender, income, education and Black women linked fate. Rap does not have a significant impact on an individual’s acceptance of Black Feminist ideology. Women are more accepting of the ideology compared to men. Similarly, those who believed their fate is connected to Black women are more supportive of Black Feminist ideology. Finally, those with more education and more income are more accepting of Black Feminism. Therefore, there exists a socioeconomic effect on the acceptance of Black Feminism.

One reason for this socioeconomic effect is Black Feminist emphasis on community work and intellectual prominence of the ideology. For instance, Patricia Hill-Collins states that “Black Feminist thought consists of theories of specialized thought produced by African-American women intellectuals designed to express a Black
woman’s standpoint” (Hill-Collins 1990, 32). The creation of this ideology by intellectuals may explain the acceptance by those with more education. Similarly, Dawson asserts that “…Black Feminists would have the hardest time organizing among poor Blacks….” (Dawson 2001, 157). Usually a person receives more money for more education and more free time from more money. The higher one’s socioeconomic status is the more they participate in the political system. This also supports Black Feminism emphasis of community. Leisure time is needed to complete community work and leisure time can be achieved by obtaining more money. In today’s society, the more money you have, the more free time you have. In *Race, Ethnicity and Political Resources: Participation in the United States*, the authors stated, “it is impossible to write a letter to a public official, attend community meetings or work in a campaign without a scrap of leisure” (Verba et al., 1993, 468).

Hence one of the hypotheses is supported with this regression. There is no relationship between listening to rap music and Black Feminist ideology. However these examinations only display relationships and not causation. More rigorous test need to be completed to further flush out these effects.

**Conclusion**

This chapter provides important information about the relationships between rap music and Black Nationalism. Exhibited in this chapter, there are significant relationships
between listening to rap, gender and Black Nationalist ideology. It has been demonstrated that there are strong positive relationships between men, listening to rap, and Black Nationalism. Men who listen to rap show stronger significant relationships with Black Nationalism than women. There is no relationship between rap music and Black Feminist ideology. However, some Black Feminist attitudes display relationships with exposure to rap such as the support of the belief that Black women should be clergy members. In this chapter other interesting findings were also uncovered. For example, listening to rap showed significant positive relationships among males with some Black Feminist attitudes compared to males not exposed to rap. Finally, listening to rap positively impacted some of the relationships between women and Black Nationalist attitudes.

Many major African American movements were supported and fueled by music. Rose comments, “rap continues the long history of Black cultural subversion and social critique in music and performance” (Rose 1994, 99). Therefore, examination of the relationship between Hip-Hop and Black Nationalist ideology in the United States can add another important variable to the theory of attitude formation and the support of certain ideologies in the Black Community. The inclusion of rap music exposure is a variable that should be highly considered when examining Black public opinion data and attitudes that may lead to specific political behavior of African Americans. Having observed the relationship rap music has with some Black political attitudes it is necessary to observe the impact of different genres of rap on these same attitudes. It is specifically
imperative to understand if exposure to rap causes Black Nationalist or Black Feminist attitudes. The next chapter provides a more in-depth analysis of the previous relationships.

Chapter Four examines both the causal relationships of rap music and the impact of particular genres of rap music on Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideologies. It is essential to observe the effects of rap by genre because a different genre has the possibility of affecting Black political attitudes differently. Chapter four represents a breakdown of genre versus political attitudes. This chapter should give a better explanation of the impact of political rap on political attitudes and answer the question does exposure to rap cause the acceptance of certain Black political attitudes.
CHAPTER FOUR:

BEYOND THE MUSIC: AN EXPERIMENTAL ANALYSIS OF POLITICAL RAP AND BLACK POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

Music has long permeated the daily life of most African-Americans; it has played a central role in the normal socialization process; and during moments characterized by intense movements for social change, it has helped to shape the necessary political consciousness.


The third chapter represented empirical data from the 1993-1994 NBPS. It was demonstrated that there are relationships between rap music and Black Nationalist ideology. In fact, it was displayed that exposure to rap had a positive significant relationship with the acceptance of various Black Nationalist attitudes among both men and women. However, there was no significant relationship between exposure to rap and Black Feminist ideology. Examining rap and gender and its relationship between Black Feminist attitudes, only three of the six variables of the Black Feminist index demonstrated a positive relationship among those who listen to rap. While some relationships can be established, a closer analysis observing certain subgenres of rap is necessary. Concluded in Chapter Three, while these relationships exist there are no results that demonstrate if listening to rap causes one to be more supportive of Black political attitudes. Hence, one may wonder is there a difference between the type of rap listened to and the Black political attitudes that are supported? This chapter answers
some of these questions by including an empirical study beyond examining exposure to rap generally. Rather this study examines the subgenre of political rap.

The isolation of political rap is important for my analysis because of “…the existence of more than one type of rap…” (Stapleton 1998, 230). Currently, artists like Lil Wayne, Outkast, Ice Cube and Jay-Z have produced politically conscious music. Jay-Z’s song 99 problems not only invokes the fourth amendment right of legal search and seizure, but also discusses the issues NWA discussed over a decade earlier of police brutality and racial profiling. Therefore, there are different subgenres of rap music that need to be identified and examined closely. With apparent political assertions in rap music it is necessary to examine rap’s impact on one’s political attitude.

Having observed in the previous chapter that rap has a positive affect on some Black Nationalist attitudes and on some Black Feminist attitudes one may wonder if these relationships are spurious or not. The best way to examine causal relationships is through experimentation. In this chapter I utilize experimentation for answers to my research question, does rap impact Black political attitudes?

Experimental analysis allows for the observance of causal relationships as well as an analysis of the various subgenres of rap music. Similarly, conducting an experiment allows more control of the variables manipulated thereby giving the investigator the option of examining various aspects of rap including comparing rap from the past, as represented in the 1993-1994 NBPS, to current rap. Therefore, this experiment provides a follow-up of the survey data from the 1993-1994 NBPS by allowing the study of
subgenres and examining more current rap. This quantitative method assists researchers in answering very specific questions allowing for more in-depth studies, but most importantly, allowing for examination of causal relationships.

The control of variables is essential to dispel any arguments of different forms of rap being popular during the years prior and up to 1993 and 1994, and comparing the rap popular during those years to current popular rap. For instance, it has been argued that there is a golden era of Hip-Hop where rap songs had more meaning and were more politically and socially relevant. Specifically, Perry argues “in the late eighties and early nineties politically conscious rap music flowered that vociferously critique White supremacy, classism and racial exploitation” (Perry 2004, 28). It is argued that the rap of today is not as meaningful or informative as the rap of the past. On the contrary I assert that there still exists politically and socially conscious rap present today. For instance, there are two examples of popular rap artists who were very vocal about political and social issues during the 2008 election season. These two rap artists, both from Atlanta, GA, are Ludacris and Big Boi of Outkast. These artists both created political rap songs, which are not typical of the type of rap they usually produce.

Atlanta rapper Ludacris is widely known as a comedic rapper who often presents misogynistic lyrics. One of his most popular songs, *Area Codes*, where he exclaimed he had girls all over the world with the misogynistic chorus,

I got Hoes, in different area codes.
Similarly, rapper Big Boi was known for his elaborate description of the relationships between pimps, women and drugs. Thus, the songs produced during the 2008 election season were not typical of these artists.

Both of these artists received a lot of attention during the 2008 presidential campaign. However, the attention was not always positive. One artist was praised for his political song and video on CNN while the other was accosted for the misogynistic and defamatory lyrics against other political candidates. Atlanta rapper Big Boi was praised for his lyrics in the song, *Something’s Gotta Give*, where he spoke about current economic problems and the affect the economy was having on many citizens. In his lyrics rapper Big Boi rhymes,

```
You know the common folk, blue collar,
day to day workers that squeeze a dollar,
so maybe they can swallow,
a little, not a lot, just enough to fill that bottle
But its a million dollars a gallon for gas to get to work tomorrow.
That’s if you gotta get it, cant swim and carpool,
you rob Peter to pay Paul to make due,
make you wanna write a note and take a pistol to that bank too,
then pass it on the teller
But you know better
```

In these lyrics southern rap artist Big Boi comments on the impact of the economy on everyday life. He describes the despair that he argues many feel because they are not making enough to survive. He comments on the increasingly high gas prices and the relationship between these prices and the amount of money a person has to spare. He
then discusses a solution he feels that people may consider of robbing a bank to survive. However he concludes with a comment that robbing a bank is not a viable option. Through these simple lyrics rapper Big Boi is summarizing the pain and economical strain many are feeling during this economic recession. He is able to poetically present and discuss these issues. However the social and political commentary does not end with that verse. With the help of R&B singer Mary J Blige he summarizes his views of the situation with the chorus:

They try to tell us to stay strong, but every day we losing jobs, from College Park down to Beverly Hills, Something’s gonna have to give
Across the world they live in fear but it’s the same thing over here.
If you can hear me on Capitol Hill, Something’s gonna have to give.

In this chorus the artists are presenting the attitudes that many Americans possibly obtain. They describe that from the poorest to the richest neighborhoods everyone is feeling the weight of a bad economy. They also speak directly to political officials with the line “if you can hear me on Capitol Hill.” This line demonstrates how artists attempt to voice the concerns of the marginalized through music. These artists have a platform and are using that to voice the concerns and attitudes of the marginalized who may not feel they ordinarily have access to political representatives. This song was featured on CNN not only because of detailing of the anguish many feel over the political and economical situations, but also because of the blatant support of presidential candidate Barack Obama. Big Boi rhymes:
…and the only hope I have that help me deal with the drama, is that maybe in November
I'll be cheering for Obama.

Not only is this song political because of the political references and the discussions of social concerns but the artists acknowledge their support for Barack Obama. Big Boi details his hope that the problems he discussed in his song will be solved with the election of Senator Barack Obama. However, Big Boi demonstrates that he is not disillusioned and he has doubts if Obama will when the election in November of 2008. Displaying his cynicism in the political system and the equality of American society he ends his song with the following words:

And I heard him say that every man, women, child was gonna be ok
I heard him say that they would bring our soldiers home in one piece today, hey!
But its not that way
They been tellin us a dream
Tellin us we’re on the same team
Now we all gotta deal with the lies.

These last lines demonstrate the Black community’s understanding of the many political promises that have been made throughout Black history but have not been upheld. One can point to countless political promises but Big Boi invokes the Civil Rights Movement with the use of the term “dream.” The use of this term in this particular song invokes Martin Luther King Jr.’s “I Have a Dream Speech.” Big Boi is acknowledging his understanding of Black history, specifically the Civil Rights Movement and the promise of equality that stemmed from the various Civil Rights Acts of the late 1960s. He is asserting what many of this Hip-Hop generation may feel that the political and social
equality that was won during the Civil Rights Movement may not have manifested in complete equality but instead only presented pseudo-equality that he contends were simply lies. This song articulately and poetically expressed the feelings and views of not only the Black community, but of Americans in general. The artists presented a political song at a time when it is argued that rap music is no longer socially and politically relevant. This song is a great example that political music still exists and is still popular within the rap community.

However, not all political songs created during this time were seen as politically positive. Southern rapper Ludacris, on the other hand, was berated by many news stations and reporters for his political song. Ludacris song entitled *Obama’s Here* also demonstrates his support of presidential candidate Barack Obama, but instead of only discussing political and social issues rap artist Ludacris also criticizes other politicians. Ludacris begins by rhyming,

I'm back on it like I just signed my record deal…….
Never should have hated, You never should've doubted him
With a slot in the president’s iPod Obama shouted ’em
Said I handle my biz and I'm one of his favorite rappers
Well give Luda a special pardon if I'm ever in the slammer
Better yet put me in office, make me your vice president
Hilary hated on you, so that bitch is irrelevant
Paint the White House Black and I'm sure that's got ’em terrified
McCain don't belong in any chair unless he's paralyzed
Yeah I said it cause Bush is mentally handicapped
Ball up all of his speeches and just throw ’em like candy wrap
’cause what you talking I hear nothing even relevant
and you the worst of all 43 presidents
Rapper Ludacris starts off by detailing his relationship with Obama by discussing President Obama’s acknowledgement of Ludacris as a great rapper and as an artist who is on his playlist on his iPod. Ludacris was the only identified rap artist to have a private meeting with then Senator Barack Obama before he announced his presidential bid. Obama was a supporter and listener of the southern rap artist Ludacris despite the condemnation Ludacris suffered from Bill O’Reilly.

By the end of the first verse Ludacris places Obama’s support of him in a compromising situation. With his misogynistic references to Senator Hilary Clinton and disparaging remarks about Rev. Jesse Jackson, Senator McCain and 43rd President Bush, Ludacris received criticism from many organizations and leaders including presidential candidate Barack Obama. Rapper Ludacris is sure not to let his lyrics fall on deaf ears, concluding by requesting that individuals register and vote for Senator Obama.

The complexity of these two songs differs, but they both represent political rap songs. Ludacris and Big Boi represent a small percentage of all the Hip-Hop artists that were involved in the political scene during the recent years. Artists creating political songs, publicly supporting candidates, campaigning with and for political candidates recently include artists from all regions of the country and all age groups, such as but not limited to, rappers Young Jeezy, Ludacris, Big Boi, Jay-Z, Will I Am, T.I, Nas, Common, Scarface, Ice Cube, Chamillionaire, Souljah Boy and Bow Wow. There has been consistency in the political awareness of rap artists through the years as evident in the
music and community work of artists. Understanding the impact of political rap is essential to studying Black political attitudes.

The best way to understand the impact of rap music on the acceptance of political attitudes is to examine what happens when individuals are exposed to the music. With this in mind, I create a framework to examine this transformation of information. I use an experiment that exposes individuals to music via sound or visually through the reading of lyrics. The dependent variables of interest are the acceptance of Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideology. These relationships were measured using various variables that have been identified as measures of Black Nationalist and Black Feminist attitudes. These variables were presented in a questionnaire students completed after listening to or reading the music of their respective group. The main independent variable is the type of music heard. Other independent variables of interest include a variety of demographic characteristics that could account for variance in the dependent variable otherwise not explained by using the one independent variable of music genre heard.

In this study, the data was derived from two studies. Two experiments were conducted with different populations and using different mediums. One experiment occurred at the Ohio State University and one took place at Benedict College. This study examines what affect political rap music has on an individual’s perception and

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21 The Black Nationalist variables are the ten variables used in chapter Three. The Black feminist variables are not the 6-variables used in Chapter 3 but four of the variables that measure Black feminism. Unfortunately when creating the questionnaire I was not sure that I was going to measure Black Feminism so I did not include all possible variables to measure Black Feminism. Only three variables to measure Black Feminism will be used in this analysis. These variables do load onto one factor and have an alpha coefficient of .58.
adoption of Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideology. The purpose of the study is to assess the following hypotheses:

H₁: Those who listen to rap are more accepting of Black Nationalism than those who are exposed to pop music.

H₀: There is no relationship between those who listen to rap and those who listen to pop and the support of Black Nationalism.

H₂: Those who listen to political rap are more accepting of Black Nationalism than those who are exposed to mainstream rap music or no music.

H₀: There is no relationship between music genre and acceptance of Black political attitudes.

H₃: There is no relationship between music and support of Black Feminism.

H₀: There is a positive relationship between listening to rap and the acceptance of Black Feminism.

These hypotheses were constructed because they are consistent with the theories and predominance of Black Nationalist information addressed in Chapter Two. For instance, because of the references, quotes and speeches presented in rap music it can be concluded that Black Nationalist attitudes are asserted and should be understood and incorporated using Zaller’s RAS model (Zaller, 1992). Similarly, Walker asserts in his dissertation that soul music or Black music in general increases racial solidarity and feelings of linked fate. Dawson has demonstrated that many Black political ideologies are correlated with strong linked fate identity (Walker 1975; Dawson 2001). While rap
music in general and Black music increases racial solidarity, I assert that political rap provides more political information than other subgenres or rap or genres of Black music. With this assertion I hypothesize that political rap should increase support of Black Nationalist attitudes compared to exposure to mainstream rap or no exposure to music. Finally, because of the mixed results uncovered in chapter three in relation to support of Black Feminist ideology, I assert there would be no support of Black Feminism regardless of genre of music. This hypothesis was hard to conclude because of the conflicting nature of political rap music. On one hand, political rap is progressive and should assert beliefs of uplifting Black women and fighting for equality of both genders within the Black nation. On the other hand, because of the predominance of Black Nationalist attitudes in rap music, specifically political rap, I do not think this subgenre will increase feminist attitudes. I do not think this is possible because of the patriarchy and sexism prevalent in Black Nationalist organizations and ideology. Therefore, I assert that Black Nationalism will be a supportive ideology among those exposed to political rap and political rap will not have any impact on Black Feminist ideology.

**Literature Review**

Jackson, Johnson and Gatto (1995) used experimental design to demonstrate exposure to violent rap music impacted violent behavior and acceptance of violence toward women. Specifically, the authors constructed experiments where they exposed
students to both violent and non-violent rap videos. The authors concluded that those exposed to any rap were more in favor of achieving success spontaneously through possible illegal actions rather than through the longer process of academic achievement.

Other authors have also examined the negative impact of rap music. Carpentier, Knobloch and Zillman (2003) conducted an experiment to demonstrate the association between music choice and attitudes. Specifically, the authors were interested in examining the relationships between song choice and traits classified as defiant such as rebellious and overt hostility. However, this study only allowed the participants to choose between rap and rock music, both which have been classified as defiant genres of music.

Johnson, Trawalter and Dovidio (2000) also used experimentation to examine the impact of music genres on attitudes. These authors conducted experiments that included three manipulations, exposure to violent or non-violent rap music or no music at all. These authors uncovered that violent music impacts stereotypical views about Blacks including an increased belief that Blacks were violent compared to Whites.

Finally, Zillman (1995) et al completed a two part experiment where they were interested in the impact of music genre on an individual’s self-esteem. The second part of the experiment included analyzing acceptance of political platforms after exposure to a certain genre of music. Participants in this study were high school students who were exposed to four music videos from different genres such as rap and rock music. After watching the videos the participants expressed their enjoyment of the videos followed by
the completion of a questionnaire that assessed self-esteem. This experiment is important because it displayed that self-esteem of White students were higher after exposure to rap compared to exposure to rock. Similarly, exposure to radical rap led to more support of Black liberal mock platforms and less support of White radical platforms. While this work was very important it was conducted at the end of the “golden era” (late 1980s until early 1990s) of rap when it can be argued more politically and socially conscious rap existed. In this chapter, I am also interested in the effects of exposure to various genres of music but I am specifically interested in the impact on Black political attitudes instead of self-esteem. Furthermore, participants in this study are not exposed to videos which may have images that further complicate the analysis. Rather participants hear the songs or in some cases read a verse and chorus from the selected songs. Finally, I do not examine the direct impact of music on political platforms and I utilize a concise definition to assess and differentiate the subgenres of political rap from mainstream rap.

It is essential that we understand specifically which subgenre of rap impacts political attitudes and in what direction. Understanding these relationships will assist political scientists in forecasting elections results, understanding the impact of culture on political participation and in efforts to increase political participation. For instance, if a person knows the demographic make-up of a district then they will be able to use different tactics to ensure that their political campaigns are successful. For example, a candidate running in a minority-majority district with a fairly young population may consider the endorsements of rap artists and organizations to gain influence in that
district. Also, a candidate could use specific rap songs during his campaign rallies or in advertisements to attract and influence supporters. Finally, political scientists may be able to better understand low or high political efficacy and trust of youth voters by assessing the types of music one listens to in combination with other important factors. It can be asserted that political songs influence voter participation and candidate support in the 2008 elections. Having artist Big Boi rap about the economic disparities within the last years not only peaked attention to the economy, but also made a lot of his audience members more politically informed as well as enticed them to participate in the 2008 election when he asserted that the only hope he had was that he would be cheering for Obama election night. Therefore, understanding the impact of political music and culture on political attitudes is very important to understanding public opinion and political participation.

**Questionnaire Construction:**

The questionnaire consisted of questions from the 1993-1994 NBPS to demonstrate any similarities or differences of the effects of different genres of music on the Black Nationalist scale that was described in Chapter Three. I chose to reuse these variables because they have been demonstrated to measure Black Nationalist ideology as well as the variables continues to load onto one factor. Additionally, using the same scale will allow a comparison of the survey results to the experimental results. This
comparison can be beneficial to understanding any temporal problems from 1993 until now. Therefore, many of the variables used in this questionnaire were derived from existing surveys that measured important elements of Black political attitudes. The survey was organized into 64 questions that examined attitudes of Black Feminism and Black Nationalism and also ideas of linked fate, political efficacy, future political participation, Feminism and the role of government. Similarly, the questionnaire included a battery of demographic measures including religiosity, age, gender, education, urbanicity, political ideology, partisanship and Black media consumption. Once all the questions were identified they were randomized to prevent previous question bias.

Bradburn et al (2004) recommends that in formatting a survey the respondents should have top priority while data processing and coding should be the last consideration. Following this recommendation the survey was constructed with the respondent in mind. The survey was self-administered through paper and pencil after respondents were exposed to the genre of music via print or audio. The respondents in most cases did not have the opportunity to meet the actual researcher but were instead given the questionnaire by a research assistant. This mode was used to decrease socially desirable answers and interviewer effects (Bradburn et al., 2004). This allowed for greater sense of anonymity which allowed for optimal, accurate answers. There also was not any fear of connecting the survey to specific individuals because the researcher specifically placed in the directions to not put any identifying information such as a

\[22\] For this reason the survey was created using an 11 point font typeface in Times New Roman font. Similarly, the questions were in bold to stand out and be more accessible and functional to readers.
name, or email address on the survey. Therefore, the respondents were reassured that there could be no possible association between them and the questionnaire.

Item Construction

This survey consisted of mixed response options. There were closed questions as well as scale questions and open-ended questions (feeling thermometers), with a minimum and maximum response. This mixed format allowed variation to ensure that interest and attention is maintained throughout the survey. However, most of the questions were consistent and followed a similar format.

To measure all the variables that were beneficial to the different hypotheses the variables were operationalized into a series of questions. To measure future participation questions were used that asked the respondent if she intended on voting in the 2008 presidential election and also the likelihood that she will participate in various forms of non-electoral participation in the future\textsuperscript{23}. Similarly, to assess Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideas, a series of questions to measure these attitudes were included with responses ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree with a neutral option in the middle.

\textsuperscript{23} Non-electoral participation is defined as political participation that does not include voting. Examples of these forms of participation are protests, sit-ins, demonstration, writing to a political representative or discussing politics with friends, family or neighbors. The term non-electoral participation is used in works by Verba, Schlozman and Nie.
Manipulations/Conditions

The experiment had four conditions and a control group. The four conditions were political rap, mainstream rap, rhythm and blues music and popular mainstream music (pop music). These songs represented both popular and not so popular contemporary and past rap artists. I specifically used artists and songs between the years of 1995-2005. These years were used because this is the time when Hip-Hop artists were on the billboard charts with multiple albums in the top five categories of the billboard. These years can also represent a follow up of the previous National Black Politics Study conducted during 1993-1994. This follow up examination is important because many argue the late 1980’s and early 1990’s represent an era in Hip-Hop where more political rap was popular (golden era) (Perry 2004). Therefore, one can argue that the results from the NBPS represent one type of music, political rap, and not all rap in general. The different genres of music were presented through three carefully selected songs.

Political Rap

As previously stated the purpose of experimentation is to separate the different genres of rap to assess which genre, if any, has more of an influence on the acceptance of Black political attitudes. To recap, political rap is defined as rap music that has the first
criteria of the definition below and satisfies either the second or third criteria of the definition:

1. Display political references in the lyrics, such as directly referencing a political leader, political office/institution, political activity or political position.
2. Make reference to a social problem or issue and discuss it in the lyrics, therefore raising awareness about specific issues or disparities nationally or globally by discussing those issues in lyrics.
3. Advocate a solution to injustices or problems in society either through violent or non-violent means.

The genre of particular interest is that of political rap. Therefore, an analysis of the songs of this genre is necessary to demonstrate how they fit with my definition of political rap. The first political rap song used in the experiments was the song of *Georgia...Bush* by rap artist Lil Wayne. This song was written after the devastation of New Orleans by Hurricane Katrina. It is a commentary of the strife in New Orleans as well as the slow response by governmental officials to the victims and survivors of this natural disaster. In the first verse and chorus of this song, Lil Wayne rhymes:

Nooooowww
This song is dedicated to the one wit the suit
Thick White skin and his eyes bright blue
So called beef wit you know who
Fuck it he just let him kill all of our troops
Look at the bullshit we been through
Had the niggas sittin on top they roofs
Hurricane Katrina, we shoulda called it Hurricane (Geeoorrggiaa) Bush
Then they tellin y'all lies on the news
The White people smiling like everythin cool
But I know people that died in that pool
I know people that died in them schools
Now what is the survivor to do?
Got no trailer, you gotta move
Now it's on to Texas and to (Geeoorrggiiaa)
They tell you what they want, show you what they want you to see
But they don't let you know what's really goin on
Make it look like a lotta stealin goin on
Boy them cops is killas in my home
Nigga shot dead in the middle of the street
I ain't no thief, I'm just tryin to eat
Man fuck the police and president (Geeoorrrggiiiaa) Bush
So what happened to the levees, why wasn't they steady
Why wasn't they able to control this?
I know some fok' that live by the levee
that keep on tellin me they heard this, stole this
Same shit happened back in Hurricane Betsy
1965, I ain't too young to know this
That was President Johnson now
but it's president (Geeoorrsggiiaa) Bush

[Chorus]
We from a town where (Georgia)
Everybody drowned, and
Everybody died, but baby I'm still prayin wich ya
Everybody cryin but (Georgia)
Aint nobody tried, there's no doubt on my mind it was (Georgia) Bush

The song can be classified as a political rap song according to my definition because it satisfies the first and the second criteria. This first verse and chorus references a political leader and political position with the constant mention of President George W. Bush. Similarly, this song is filled with references to extensions of political institutions such as the armed forces and the police department. Lil Wayne also mentions a historical government official, President Johnson. The song satisfies the second criteria by raising awareness of the governmental response to New Orleans after the hurricane. Similarly, he discusses the state of the people and life in New Orleans during this tumultuous time,
therefore acknowledging the problems in this city after this disaster. Finally, this song represents the southern region and a recent song.

The second song used in this genre is the song *Police State* by rap artists Dead Prez. This song represents the northern region and a song that satisfies the middle of the time range identified. This song expresses ideas of Black life and injustice in America. It primarily deals with the issue of law enforcement, specifically, the prison system and police. The song begins with an intro by African People’s Socialist Party Chairman Omali Yeshitela. In this introduction the chairman details a definition of a state. This definition of a state is an example of a political reference. Moreover, the Chairman also mentions the police department which is an extension of governmental and political departments.

[Chairman Omali Yeshitela]
You have the emergence in human society
of this thing that's called the State
What is the State? The State is this organized bureaucracy
It is the po-lice department. It is the Army, the Navy
It is the prison system, the courts, and what have you
This is the State -- it is a repressive organization
But the state -- and gee, well, you know,
you've got to have the police, cause..
if there were no police, look at what you'd be doing to yourselves!
You'd be killing each other if there were no police!
But the reality is..
the police become necessary in human society
only at that junction in human society
where it is split between those who have and those who ain't got

[Dead Prez]
I throw a Molotov cocktail at the precinct, you know how we think
Organize the hood under I Ching banners
Red, Black and Green instead of gang bandanas
F.B.I. spyin on us through the radio antennas
And them hidden cameras in the streetlight watchin society
With no respect for the people's right to privacy
I'll take a slug for the cause like Huey P.
while all you fake niggaz {*UNNGH*} try to copy Master P
I want to be free to live, able to have what I need to live
Bring the power back to the street, where the people live
We sick of workin for crumbs and fillin up the prisons
Dyin over money and relyin on religion for help
We do for self like ants in a colony
Organize the wealth into a socialist economy
A way of life based off the common need
And all my comrades is ready, we just spreadin the seed

(Chorus: Dead Prez)
The average Black male
Live a third of his life in a jail cell
Cause the world is controlled by the White male
And the people don't never get justice
And the women don't never get respected
And the problems don't never get solved
And the jobs don't never pay enough
So the rent always be late; can you relate?
We livin in a police state

Rap artists Dead Prez discuss the resistance and anarchist tactics they argue can be used against the government. The vivid details of combating the police station with a bomb demonstrate one form of anarchy against a governmental institution. Dead Prez also discusses the invasion of privacy and the prevalence of a capitalist hierarchy. These artists are very militant and call for direct action while informing others with their lyrics. They discuss the realities of prison, economic disparity, and sexism in this song while exerting the acceptance of socialist ideology. Hereby this song satisfies all three criteria
of my political rap definition. This song makes a political reference, raise awareness about an issue in the community and it provides an example of a solution to the problem as is articulated in the song with the illustration of overthrowing the prison system.

Finally, Ice Cube takes a different stance in his song by critiquing the Black community. His song still represents a political song because it makes a reference to Uncle Sam, a popular political figure. Also, this song raises awareness about the disparities and problems in the Black community in the voice of a critic of that community. Other songs identify problems of the Black community but may not use this approach. Ice Cube’s approach is important because it displays other types of political rap including rap that is not a blatant critique of the government but emphasizes ideas of self-determination and self-reliance.

Could you tell me who released our animal instinct?
Got the White man sittin' there tickled pink.
Laughin' at us on the avenue
Bustin' caps at each other after havin' brew
We can't enjoy ourselves
Too busy jealous... Of each other's wealth
Commin’ up is just in me
But the Black community is full of envy
Too much back-stabbin’
While I look up the street I see all the japs grabbin'
Every vacant lot in my neighborhood
Build a store, and sell their goods
To the county of sips (?)
You know us po niggas: nappy hair and big lips?
Four or five babies on your crotch
And you expect Uncle Sam to help us out?
We ain't nothin' but porchmonkeys
To the average bigot, redneck honky
You say comin' up is a must
But before we can come up, take a look at US This song demonstrates how music can be used not only as defenders of the Black community but also critics of the community. Self-criticism has been a popular political tactic throughout Black history. We have seen examples of self-criticism followed by reform tactics through the Black Women’s Club Movement, Booker T. Washington and more recently Bill Cosby.

Additionally, there are three other conditions and a control group. The three other conditions are mainstream rap, rhythm and blues and popular mainstream music (pop music). The political rap songs (Georgia...Bush, Police State and Us) were discussed in detail because of their importance to this study. Mainstream Rap songs can be identified as party songs or songs whose emphases are celebratory. This genre includes Walk it Out by DJ Unk, In Da Club by 50 cent and Gin and Juice by Snoop Dogg. Rhythm and Blues genre includes Love by Musiq, Let it Burn by Usher and This is How We Do It by Montell Jordan. Finally, the popular music genre consists of What I’ve Done by Linkin Park, Saving Me by Nickleback and This Love by Maroon 5. This study covers different mediums which the respondents were subjected to in the forms of print or audio. The first sample describes the audio version of the experiment.
Benedict College Sample

The first sample consisted of students from Benedict College, a historically Black College in Columbia, SC. This sample was necessary to investigate the impact of rap music on the Black population. My interests are specifically of the affects of political rap music on Black political attitudes. Therefore, an all Black sample was necessary to examine these questions. Chapter Three detailed a positive relationship between Black Nationalism and rap music. One major task is identifying if this correlation indicates a spurious or causal relationship. The experiments examined in this chapter uncover which type of relationship exists between rap music and Black Nationalism.

Procedures

Students for this sample were solicited by flyers placed at various locations, emails sent to the student body and investigator’s assistants who passed out handbills before and during the experiments. The students were promised compensation of five dollars after completing the survey. Subjects who agreed to participate in the study arrived at Alumni Hall on Benedict’s campus. Once the student arrived at Alumni Hall the investigator informed each student that she was conducting a study and asked them to sign the consent form if they agreed to participate.
Each subject was randomly assigned to one of five groups by receiving a number 1 through 5 after signing his consent form. The subjects were sent to the respective classrooms which were designated by numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, or 5 on the door. Randomization is necessary to encourage unbiased results in experimentation and account for external validity problems (Horiuchi, Imai and Taniguchi 2006). The subject was given 20-30 minutes to listen to all the songs and complete the short questionnaire to measure their acceptance of Black Nationalist views and Black Feminist views. The songs were presented via radio and controlled by research assistants who started and ended the songs. Those in the control group did not hear any music but instead read an article then completed survey.

Results

The sample size of this survey is 191 participants with ages ranging from 18 to 48 years old. The racial categories of the participants also varied with 175 of the students identifying as African American, two Latinos, one Arab-American, one Native American and 8 people self-identified as Multi-ethnic. This study was conducted two days for a total of 6 hours. The study took place at a time when students did not have any other classes to ensure maximum participation. The experiment did not begin in each classroom until a minimum of five students were present. If students were assigned to a
study that was in process the student was asked to remain in the hall until the completion of the study in process.

The survey consisted of numerous variables however, I am most interested in how political rap impacts Black Nationalist and Feminist ideology. Following are tables that display the results of the impact of music genres on Black Nationalist and Black Feminist attitudes. I begin by examining the relationship between Black Nationalist attitudes and the various manipulations in the experiment.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Pop</th>
<th>R&amp;B</th>
<th>Mainstream Rap</th>
<th>Political Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Form a Separate Nation</td>
<td>2.47</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>2.33</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
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<td>Blacks Should Control Economy in Black Communities</td>
<td>3.41</td>
<td>3.59</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>3.19</td>
<td>3.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Support All Male Schools *</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>3.74</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td>3.95</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Form Their Own Political Party†</td>
<td>3.47</td>
<td>3.36</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>3.78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Join Black-Only Organizations</td>
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<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.26</td>
<td>3.33</td>
<td>3.17</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Vote for Black Candidates</td>
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<td>2.68</td>
<td>2.84</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Control Government in Black Communities</td>
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<td>3.51</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.51</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacks Should be Self-Reliant</td>
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<td>3.73</td>
<td>3.87</td>
<td>3.45</td>
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<td>Black Children Should Study an African Language</td>
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<td>3.67</td>
<td>3.81</td>
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<td>Blacks Should Shop in Black-Owned Stores</td>
<td>3.05</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>3.29</td>
<td>3.46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1: Means of Black Nationalist Attitudes
Observing the Means of Black Nationalist Attitudes (Table 4.1), it is obvious that there is a pattern established with those exposed to political rap music expressing more agreement of Black Nationalist attitudes than those in the other conditions. This pattern is generally true except in a few cases. The attitudes that “Blacks should vote for Black candidates whenever they run”, “Black children should study an African language” and “Blacks should be self reliant” all display higher means by those in the R&B group. Similarly, the belief that “Blacks should join Black only organizations” is increased by exposure to mainstream rap. Therefore a relationship exists that demonstrates listening to Black music in general influences support of Black Nationalist attitudes. These means
only show on average the support of various Black Nationalist attitudes. The one-way ANOVA did identify significant results with the variables “Blacks should support all male schools” and “Blacks should form their own political party.” However, this analysis does not display significance comparing the different conditions to political rap. In this study I assert that political rap increases one’s support of Black Nationalism compared to other conditions and specifically compared to exposure to pop or mainstream rap music or no exposure to music. Completing analysis that assesses the differences between the means of the various conditions allows me to assess these relationships. Next, I complete means difference tests (t-tests) to analyze the differences between conditions and support of Black Nationalism.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Control vs. Political Rap</th>
<th>Pop vs. Political Rap</th>
<th>R&amp;B vs. Political Rap</th>
<th>Mainstream Rap vs. Political Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td><strong>Blacks Should Form a Separate Nation</strong></td>
<td>-0.16</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
<td>-0.45*</td>
<td>-0.30</td>
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<td><strong>Blacks Should Control Economy in Black Communities</strong></td>
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<td>-0.32†</td>
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<td><strong>Blacks Should Form Their Own Political Party</strong></td>
<td>-0.31†</td>
<td>-0.42*</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
<td>-0.73**</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Join Black-Only Organizations</strong></td>
<td>-0.10</td>
<td>-0.37†</td>
<td>0.09</td>
<td>0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Vote for Black Candidates</strong></td>
<td>-0.20</td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.56*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Control Government in Black Communities</strong></td>
<td>-0.12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>-.30</td>
<td>-0.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should be Self-Reliant</strong></td>
<td>-0.19</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.14</td>
<td>-0.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Black Children Should Study an African Language</strong></td>
<td>-0.27</td>
<td>-0.11</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Blacks Should Shop in Black-Owned Stores</strong></td>
<td>-0.41†</td>
<td>-0.53*</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
<td>-0.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.2:** Mean difference of Conditions on Support of Black Nationalist Attitudes

*Source:* Experimental Data Benedict College;

*Notes:* Table entries are difference of means resulting from t-tests analysis. In this analysis I compared each condition with the condition of interest political rap to observe any significant
difference between exposure to political rap music and other music genres or no music. † \( p \leq .1 \), * \( p \leq .05 \), ** \( p \leq .01 \), *** \( p \leq .001 \).

This table demonstrates what was observed in the previous table that in general those in the political rap group express more support of the Black Nationalist attitudes than those in the other group. However, this table displays the amount of difference expressed between those in the political rap condition and those in other conditions. Negative results in this chart show that those conditions are less supportive of the Black Nationalist attitudes examined than those exposed to political rap. Similarly, positive results demonstrate greater acceptance of the attitude than those in the political rap group and a zero is no difference between those in that condition and those in the political rap condition. While most of the results are negative displaying that these groups are less supportive of the Black Nationalist attitudes only some are significantly different. For instance, those that were not exposed to any music (control) are significantly less supportive of the attitudes that Blacks should shop in Black owned stores, support all male schools and form their own political party. Those in the pop and mainstream rap conditions are also less supportive of those attitudes with those in the pop also being less supportive of the attitude that Blacks should join Black only organizations. Similarly those in the mainstream condition in addition to being significantly less supportive of the three attitudes of significance in the control group are also less supportive of the attitudes
that, Blacks should control the economy in their own community and that Blacks should vote for Black candidates whenever they run. Finally, those in the R&B condition are significantly less supportive of the attitude that Blacks should form a separate nation. These relationships demonstrate that exposure to music does impact political attitudes. This analysis alone shows that music does cause the acceptance of some political attitudes which confirms my question of whether exposure to certain music actually causes the increased support of political attitudes. In Chapter Three I was unable to assert a conclusion that music increases support of some Black political attitudes because the analysis in that chapter only displayed correlations. Experimentation was essential to uncover any causation between music and political attitudes. Observing the above two charts it is apparent that music can cause the support of some political attitudes. Having established that music can be a causal factor in support of political attitudes it is necessary to examine the relationship between music and Black political ideologies.

Next, I examine the impact of the various conditions on Black Nationalism. For this examination I create a scale that measures Black Nationalism as an ideology.

To measure Black Nationalism and its relationship to the various conditions implemented in the model I construct a Black Nationalist index using the same procedures as the Nationalist index constructed in Chapter Three. These nationalist

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24 If you are interested in examining these relationships by gender the charts are in Appendix D.
25 The following nationalist strategies: 1) Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores 2) Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run, 3) Blacks should rely on themselves and not others, 4) Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations whenever possible, 5) Blacks should form their own political party, 6) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 7) Blacks should
scores are averaged and I compare the means of support of those in the various conditions to assess if there is any relationship between support of Black Nationalism as an ideology and exposure to music. The results support my hypothesis that exposure to political rap causes increased support of Black Nationalism.

Graph 4.1: Support of Black Nationalism by Genre of Music

form a separate nation, 8) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 9) Black children should study an African language and 10) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities, were computed into an additive index that measures support of Black Nationalism with higher numbers equaling higher support.
Table 4.3: Black Nationalism and Genre of Music

Note: The t-tests are comparisons of the treatment means with the Political rap group which has a mean of 34.46. *p<.1 ** p<.05 (2-tailed test).

These results demonstrate that the genre of music heard or lack thereof significantly impacts one’s support of Black Nationalism\(^{26}\). Those in mainstream rap, pop and the control group are significantly less supportive of Black Nationalism than those in the political rap group. This is very important because it confirms my hypotheses that the genre of music impacts Black Nationalist ideology. Specifically, political rap increases one’s support of Black Nationalism. Therefore rap is important to the construction and acceptance of Black Nationalism, but not all rap. Political rap is

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\(^{26}\) The Black Nationalist variable was created using the same procedures as identified in Chapter Three. This Black Nationalist scale has a reliability score of .73 and all the variables load on one factor.
more important to the acceptance of a Black Nationalist identity than mainstream rap. All rap music is not the same and all rap does not influence Black Nationalist sentiments. This result is very important considering the previous and current discussions around rap music. Often rap music is all grouped into negative discussions with many believing that rap only leads to sexist, nihilistic attitudes. On the other hand, others assert that rap can have positive results. Here I demonstrate that political rap positively influences Black Nationalism. These results demonstrate that there are differences in rap music and identifiable differences between the influences of rap music on political attitudes specifically Black Nationalism. Next, I examine the impact of music genre on Black Feminism.

**Black Feminism**

Having established a causal relationship between Black Nationalism and music genre among African American students it is essential to uncover if there are any relationships between music genre and Black Feminism. It is suggested that rap music, specifically political rap, should influence support of Black Nationalism because of its popularity among Hip-Hop artists as well as the consistent use of sound bites and speeches of Black Nationalist leaders in rap songs. What makes Black Nationalism

\[\text{\textsuperscript{27}}\text{While I would like to establish a relationship comparing the results from the 1993-1994 survey data utilized in Chapter Three all of the measures of Black Feminism were not implemented into the survey questionnaire. In future, research I would include the same Black Feminist variables in all data analysis, particularly if there are temporal issues that demand different sample sets are compared.}\]
popular among the Hip-Hop community is not evident when observing Black Feminism. The infinitesimal number of women rappers compared to men rappers contributes to the lack of Black Feminist ideology within the rap community. While it has been established that some artists do support and present Black Feminist attitudes it is not as widespread within this community as Black Nationalism. The artists who do present these ideas do not usually embrace a Black Feminist label. Joan Morgan (1999) details the strange relationship between Black Feminism and the love of rap in her book. She is known as one of the first Hip-Hop feminists, (a term she coined) but she understands that feminism is not an ideology regularly presented in the music. In fact, in this male dominated genre, voices of Black women leaders are rarely heard and the voice of Black women is almost as silent as the leaders. When references of Black women leaders are presented they occasionally are negative references as expressed in songs like Wonder Why they Call you Bitch by Tupac. In this song, Tupac discusses his understanding of the use of bitch in the Black community and particularly in the rap community. This song was a direct response to the anti-rap campaign led by C. Delores Tucker against the misogyny, violence and sexism in “gangster rap.” At the end of the song Tupac directly addresses C Delores Tucker. Tupac states,

Dear Ms. Delores Tucker
keep stressing me
fuckin’ with a muthafucker’s mind
I figured you wanted to know
you know
why we call them hos bitches
and maybe this might help you understand
it ain't personal
strictly business baby

Before this ending Tupac utilizes three verses to describe different situations of women he suggests are acting like “bitches.” He describes women who he asserts are promiscuous, irresponsible mothers, and money hungry “gold-diggers.” He asserts that there are some women who display certain characteristics that would qualify them being referred to by these derogatory terms. His direct reference to C. Delores Tucker represents a way rap artists use their music as a form of social commentary. As a result of this song Mrs. Tucker attempted to sue Tupac because, she argued that the song caused problems in her marriage and led to her eventual divorce.

Contrarily, there are some songs that do positively reference Black women leaders as displayed in Common’s *A Song for Assata*. In this song Common displays his support of political prisoner Assata Shakur by detailing her life as told in her autobiography. In this song he discusses her association with the Black Panther Party, her sentence to jail time after being charged with murdering White police officers on the New Jersey turnpike and the subsequent birth of her child while imprisoned. This song is a history lesson for those who are unaware of Assata Shakur. In the song he acknowledges her by stating,

I read this sister's story, knew that it deserved a verse
I wonder what would happen if that woulda been me?
All this shit
so we could be free, so dig it, y'all.

(Cee-lo vocals)
I'm thinkin' of Assata, yes.
Listen to my Love, Assata, yes.
Your Power and Pride is beautiful.
May God bless your Soul.

This song is one of the few songs that references a Black woman leader and provides a sample of a woman speech in a song. The song concludes with Assata Shakur's voice stating,

(Assata)
Freedom! You askin me about freedom. Askin me about freedom?
I'll be honest with you. I know a whole more about what freedom isn't than about what it is, cause I've never been free.
I can only share my vision with you of the future, about what freedom is.
Uhh, the way I see it, freedom is-- is the right to grow, is the right to blossom.
Freedom is -is the right to be yourself, to be who you are, to be who you wanna be, to do what you wanna do.

This example of support of a Black woman represents only a small proportion of positive messages in reference to Black women in rap music. While there are not a lot of women rappers in Hip-Hop there are some that fight sexism in the rap community through lyricism as observed through artists Monie Love, Salt - n - Pepa, M.C. Lyte, Queen Latifah, Eve and Roxanne Shante. These artists have identified various feminist issues in the Black community such as domestic violence which Eve tackles in her song *Love is Blind* and misogyny as discussed by Monie Love and Queen Latifah in *Ladies First*, Salt –n- Pepa in *Tramp* and Roxanne Shante in *Roxanne’s Revenge*. However, these minute occurrences of Black Feminist sentiments cannot counter all of the negative references to
women in rap. For this reason, I argue that Black Feminism will not be a supported attitude regardless of genre of music one hears.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black Women Have Suffered From Sexism and Racism*</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Pop</th>
<th>R&amp;B</th>
<th>Mainstream Rap</th>
<th>Political Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>3.98</td>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4.32</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black Women Should Share Leadership in Black Communities</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Pop</th>
<th>R&amp;B</th>
<th>Mainstream Rap</th>
<th>Political Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.39</td>
<td>4.24</td>
<td>4.29</td>
<td>4.00</td>
<td>4.13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black Feminists Help the Black Community</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Pop</th>
<th>R&amp;B</th>
<th>Mainstream Rap</th>
<th>Political Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>3.34</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The Problems of Racism, Poverty and Sexual Discrimination are Linked</th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Pop</th>
<th>R&amp;B</th>
<th>Mainstream Rap</th>
<th>Political Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.91</td>
<td>4.04</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>4.05</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.4:** Means of Black Feminist Attitudes

*Source:* Experimental Data Benedict College;

*Notes:* Table entries are means resulting from one way anova analysis. The answer responses were 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neutral, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree. The following feminist strategies: 1) Black women suffer from sexism and racism 2) Black women should share leadership in Black communities 3) Black Feminists help the Black community and The problems of racism, poverty and sexual discrimination are linked and must be addressed by the Black community. † p ≤ .1, * p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001.
Observing Table 4.4: Means of Black Feminist Attitudes there are no apparent patterns to identify between the relationships between the above Black Feminist attitudes and the conditions of the experiment. Using the one way ANOVA the variable that “women have suffered from sexism and racism” displays significant results. However, to understand the relationships between genre of music and Black Feminist attitudes one must examine the differences of the means by condition.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Control vs. Political Rap</th>
<th>Pop vs. Political Rap</th>
<th>R&amp;B vs. Political Rap</th>
<th>Mainstream Rap vs. Political Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Women Have Suffered From Sexism and Racism*</td>
<td>-0.41*</td>
<td>-0.34†</td>
<td>.07</td>
<td>-0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Women Should Share Leadership in Black Communities</td>
<td>0.26†</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.16</td>
<td>-0.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black Feminists Help the Black Community</td>
<td>-0.24</td>
<td>-0.25</td>
<td>-0.29</td>
<td>-0.42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Problems of Racism, Poverty and Sexual Discrimination are Linked</td>
<td>-0.21</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
<td>-0.02</td>
<td>-0.07</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.5: Mean Difference of Support of Black Feminist Attitudes
Source: Experimental Data Benedict College;

Notes: Table entries are means resulting from one way ANOVA analysis. The answer responses were
1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neutral, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree. The following feminist
strategies: 1) Black women suffer from sexism and racism 2) Black women should share leadership in
Black communities 3) Black Feminists help the Black 4) The problems of racism, poverty and sexual
discrimination are linked. †p ≤ .1, *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001.

Examining means difference the majority of the variables are more supported by
those in the political rap group. The idea that Black women should share the leadership
in Black communities is one variable where those in conditions other than rap are more
supportive. For instance, comparing the control group to the political rap groups of the
attitude that Black women should share leadership in the Black communities those in the
control expressed 0.26 higher support than those in the political rap group and this
differences is significant. It is demonstrated that compared to the control group the
political rap group increases support of the attitude that Black women have suffered from
both sexism and racism. This one variable demonstrates that music has no impact on
support of Black feminist attitudes. No other attitudes were significantly supported by
any group. Nevertheless, these results only examine Black Feminist attitudes singularly.
To measure the impact of the experiment on Black Feminist ideology I will have to
examine the ideology. Next, I examine a Black Feminist scale with the above four

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28 To examine means and mean differences by gender look at the tables in Appendix D.

180
Feminist attitudes. I construct a Black Feminist scale that I hope will offer more insight on the relationship between music genre and Black Feminist thought.

**Graph 4.2:** Support of Black Feminism by Genre of Music
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average Black Feminism</th>
<th>t-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Rap</td>
<td>16.10</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Condition</td>
<td>15.61</td>
<td>-0.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R &amp; B Music</td>
<td>16.13</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop Music</td>
<td>15.64</td>
<td>-.969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainstream Rap</td>
<td>14.57</td>
<td>-2.17**</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 4.6: Black Feminism and Genre of Music**

Note: The t-tests are comparisons of the treatment means with the Political rap group which has a mean of 34.46. *p<.1 ** p<.05 (2-tailed test).

Graph 4.2 and Table 4.6 both demonstrate that those in the mainstream rap group are less supportive of a Black Feminist ideology than those in any of the other conditions. In fact, those in the mainstream rap group are significantly less supportive of Black Feminism compared to those in the political rap group. This result does not confirm my hypothesis that there is no relationship between music and Black Feminism. In fact, these results negate my hypothesis but the relationship is not inconceivable. In Chapter Two I explained the complicated relationship between Hip-Hop and Black Feminist ideology. I detailed that because both feminist and nationalist attitudes are present in rap that it may be hard to identify a relationship. However, I did demonstrate that feminism
is an attitude supported by some rap artists. In Chapter Three I concluded that there were no identifiable relationships between rap music and Black Feminism but I warned that relationships may exist if we break down rap into its various genres of music with political rap representing a more progressive form of rap music. These results again demonstrate that all rap is not the same and that it is necessary to identify the various subgenres of rap when discussing its affect on behavior and attitudes. Mainstream rap is different from political rap, with the mainstream rap group being significantly less supportive of Black Feminism than the political rap group. In fact if you compare the means against mainstream rap instead of political rap, one can observe that mainstream rap is significantly less supportive of Black Feminism compared to exposure to any genre of music or no exposure to music. Therefore, there are differences in music genre and its effects on Black political attitudes, specifically among African Americans. These results also suggest that political rap is more positive than mainstream rap and specifically in reference to the support of Black women’s equality. However, the most profound conclusion observing these results is that mainstream rap is significantly different from any Black music group in the experiment. Equally, appealing is the trend that mainstream rap decreases support of Black feminist attitudes compared to all the other groups in the experiment including the control and pop conditions. This finding demonstrates what many have previously argued that the sexism and misogyny in rap can be detrimental to support of Black Feminism (Alexander-Floyd 2007; Pough 2004; Perry 2004; White 1995; Rose 1994).
Zillman et al. (1995) have asserted that radical rap (read political) positively influences White attitudes and behavior. Thus, radical political rap motivated White students to be more supportive of efforts towards racial harmony and opposed to White supremacy agendas (Zillman et al. 1995). This work demonstrates some of the positive attributes of rap, such as its impact on self-esteem, political attitudes and vote choice. Zillman et al.’s (2005) experiment demonstrates that exposure to certain genres of music can influence a person’s attitude and political decisions, while also displaying positive attributes of rap. I examine if these results occurred because of the nature of the experiment or was it true regardless of the manipulations of the study. For instance, Zillman et al., (1995) subjected their participants to music videos that exemplified the various music genres they were interested in observing. The images presented in the videos alone may impact ones attitude and behavior. Complicating those images by adding music I argue only enhanced the message and it was hard to decipher if it was the images, the lyrics or the combination of both that influenced White political attitudes.

However, others have demonstrated that listening to rap music can increase support of policy issues that have been constructed as African American issues such as the support of affirmative action (Thompson and Brown 2002). Similarly, it has been asserted that Whites who listen to rap are more liberal than Whites who do not listen to
rap (Newsweek 2000). In fact, a Newsweek article “suggests that rap may be a remedy for racial tensions” (Thompson and Brown 2002, 98). These theories were supported by the idea that “Whites may be informed about racial disparities that impede Blacks through rap lyrics, which may lead them to empathize with Blacks” (Thompson and Brown 2002, 99). Because I was interested in the previous assertions about the relationship between exposure to rap and White’s racial attitudes I also examined the relationship between various genres of music and a majority White sample.

I conduct a study using a different sample to examine the impact of music genre on White acceptance of Black political attitudes. Majority of the subjects from the Ohio State version were White students. Moreover, the Ohio State sample represents a great comparison sample to examine any similarities or differences regardless of race. In this study there were a total of 95 participants. This study includes students from three political science undergrad classes at the Ohio State University, in Columbus, Ohio. The students from these classes completed a paper and pencil version of the experiment. The participants’ ages ranged from 18 – 40 with majority of the participants being of the age 18, 19, 20, 21 or 22. Of the 95 participants, twenty-one identified as African American, fifty-eight are White or European American, four are Asian or Asian American, three are Latino, one person identified as Arab or Arab American and seven people identified as Multi-Ethnic. These different samples are important. It has been observed that rap has different effects on different racial groups (Zillman et al., 1995).
This sample utilizes a different medium than the Benedict College sample. This sample allows the participants to read the lyrics instead of hearing them. I selected to have this sample read the lyrics than listen to the lyrics in an attempt to understand if it were the words of the songs and not the background music or images that impacted the participants in Zillman et al., study. Only allowing students to read the lyrics eliminate other distractions that may be present by allowing participants to hear the song or watch a video of the song. Similarly, comparing mediums is beneficial for understanding which medium has the best impact on a person’s political attitude formation, print versus audio. Understanding if there is a difference between the medium in which rap is presented is essential to understanding if exposure to music in uncontrolled situations influences political attitudes. It can be asserted that people do not internalize or learn anything from rap music because they cannot decipher the artists’ words because of the background music on the track²⁹.

**Procedures**

Subjects that agreed to participate received a packet that contained the questionnaire and one of the four manipulations. Those who received the paper and pencil surveys read one verse and a chorus from the three songs of the groups they were

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²⁹ While this sample represents different mediums and a different race of participants to understand differences that may exist, future research should not have as much variation as identified here. For instance, if I am interested in mediums I should use similar populations. This will be discussed more in the problems.
assigned. One subject received songs that have been identified as political rap, one received mainstream rap, another R&B music, another pop music and the control group did not listen to any song but were instead given a technological article about computers to read then answer the questionnaire. The exact verses of the political rap version were detailed above. The subjects were given twenty to thirty minutes to complete the experiment. Upon completion students were free to leave. The packets were randomized by the investigator before entering the classroom. This ensured that a random number of participants receive each of the five conditions.

The investigator’s assistant entered the classrooms and introduced the survey. She explained that participation is voluntary and any who do not wish to participate may leave at any time. After establishing who would like to participate she distributed the previously randomized versions of the survey packets to the students. Each survey packet contained abbreviated versions of the three songs of a particular genre\textsuperscript{30} and the questionnaire except for the control packets which consisted of the aforementioned technological article and the questionnaire. The students read the instructions on the packet and answered the subsequent questions. All students printed their names on a separate sheet of paper after completion of the survey\textsuperscript{31}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{30}]The genres were political rap, mainstream rap, R&B and pop music. The abbreviated versions were one verse and the chorus from each of the three songs. An example of each paper and pencil survey can be found in Appendix E.
\item[\textsuperscript{31}]This name list was used to assure that the participants receive their extra credit.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
Results

Table 4.7 presents the mean results of White participants’ support of various Black Nationalist attitudes by the conditions of the experiment. Support of Black Nationalist attitudes varies among White participants.
Table 4.7: Means of Political Attitudes Among Whites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Control</th>
<th>Pop</th>
<th>R&amp;B</th>
<th>Mainstream Rap</th>
<th>Political Rap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Form a Separate Nation</td>
<td>1.21</td>
<td>1.18</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Control Economy in Black Communities</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>2.11</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Support All Male Schools</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Form Their Own Political Party</td>
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<td>1.90</td>
<td>2.17</td>
<td>1.89</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Join Black-Only Organizations</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>1.75</td>
<td>1.67</td>
<td>2.08</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Vote for Black Candidates</td>
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<td>1.50</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Control Government in Black Communities</td>
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<td>3.18</td>
<td>2.53</td>
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<td>2.75</td>
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<td>Blacks Should be Self-Reliant</td>
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<td>3.00</td>
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<td>Black Children Should Study an African Language</td>
<td>2.43</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>2.67</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacks Should Shop in Black-Owned Stores</td>
<td>2.64</td>
<td>2.45</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>1.92</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Source: Experimental Data Ohio State University;

Notes: Table entries are means resulting from one way anova analysis The answer responses were 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neutral, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree. The following nationalist strategies: 1) Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores 2) Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run, 3) Blacks should rely on themselves and not others, 4) Blacks should participate
in Black-only organizations whenever possible, 5) Blacks should form their own political party, 6) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 7) Blacks should form a separate nation, 8) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 9) Black children should study an African language and 10) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities. † p ≤ .1, * p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001

However, those in the control group and the pop group typically demonstrate higher support of the Black Nationalist attitude with no significance displayed in any of the results. While understanding views on various Black Nationalist attitudes is interesting, a more intriguing analysis is of the relationship between Whites, the various manipulations and acceptance of Black Nationalist ideology.
**Graph 4.3:** Support of Black Nationalism Among Whites

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Genre of Music</th>
<th>Average Black Nationalism</th>
<th>t-test</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Political Rap</td>
<td>22.65</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Control Condition</td>
<td>25.15</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R &amp; B Music</td>
<td>22.83</td>
<td>1.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pop Music</td>
<td>24.44</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainstream Rap</td>
<td>23.21</td>
<td>.317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The t-tests are comparisons of the treatment means with the Political rap group which has a mean of 34.46. *p<.1 **p<.05 (2-tailed test).

**Table 4.8:** Black Nationalism and Genre of Music Among Whites
My study using a different sample and a different medium did not present any significant results. There are some reasons that these results were not significant. One is a small sample size. Some of the relationships were approaching significance and with a larger sample size it is possible that more significant relationships would exist. My tactic of reading the lyrics instead of hearing them may have also impacted the results. While it is argued that background beats and music may cause a distraction to the messages presented one may also argue that the background beats and music enhances the lyrics of the song. For instance, a song may have a hard drum sound that emphasizes certain words, thereby bringing the listener’s attention to the words. Finally, I may not have experienced any significant results because I did not measure the same attitudes as Zillman et al. (1995). They were interested in psychological attitudes of self-esteem and I was more interested in Black political attitudes. The attitudes I was interested in were both political in nature and were attitudes typically expressed and held by African Americans. Therefore, not experiencing any significant results could have resulted from the measure or the attitudes analyzed. In future research I would compare Black and White samples keeping the medium and other factors consistent.
Problems

Threats to internal validity are minimal considering the fact that other variables that could be driving this relationship are included in the specification of this model and the control of the manipulations of the model. Threats to external validity present a slightly bigger problem. Due to the uniqueness of the subject pool, it will prove difficult to make generalizations about the actual population of interest (the American general population). It can be argued that these results are not generalizable because they measure only participants of a certain demography, college students. However, when implementing experiments it is understood that the subjects who participate may not reflect the general population but I attempt to account for this problem in some ways by completely randomizing the study. I do this by either randomizing the survey packets that I hand out or arbitrarily assigning students to rooms as they sign up for the experiment.

Another problem consisted of the procedures of the experiment. For instance, in the Benedict Study students who were waiting in the hall were sometimes not as cooperative because of the wait but most stayed because of the five dollar incentive. In future experiments better procedures in organizing and scheduling participation will be necessary. Similarly, a technological problem arose as one of the radios malfunctioned and the mainstream rap version was cut short on day two of the Benedict study. This reduced the number of participants in that group. Instead students were assigned to the
other existing groups. While this incidence posed a problem, it did not affect the genre of interest, political rap. In future analysis I will ensure that there are backup plans in case of technological problems to ensure that the groups are evenly represented.

Finally, in an attempt to uncover the importance of medium and race modifications are warranted. In future studies I will compare samples holding either medium or race constant. This modification will allow the investigator to expose if the differences between racial groups and the support of various political attitudes resulted from racial differences rather than the possibility of different mediums. Specifically, it can be argued that reading lyrics offer more comprehension than uncontrolled exposure to lyrics. Therefore, better experimental designs are needed.

Finally, there could be a music bias problem. For instance, one can argue that because of the popularity of the genre, many are familiar with rap and may have already been exposed to the songs before participating in the experiment. This could complicate the results by suggesting that these attitudes were already formed. However, I attempt to correct this issue by instilling a control group that will account for the previous knowledge of the rap songs as well as any other various that could stem from this type of study.
Conclusion

In political science, experiments using college students are not widely accepted. This type of methodology is often contested because there is belief that students are not a representative sample. However, this is the beauty of experimentation. Good experiments stem more from correct manipulation than from representative samples. It is very difficult to obtain a representative sample to participate in an experiment completing field or lab work. The emphasis is therefore placed on having the best manipulations and model to measure exactly what you need and attempt to control for all other factors.

This chapter demonstrates that when observing Black political attitudes among African American music does impact one’s support of Black political attitudes. I have shown that political rap increases the support of Black Nationalism, specifically in comparison to pop music, mainstream rap or no music. Therefore, what Harris-Lacewell (2004) contends is correct, there are various avenues African Americans receive political information that assist in the formation of the political attitudes and music choice happens to be one of them. Listening to political rap not only increases one’s acceptance of Black Nationalist ideology but it also significantly increases support of Black Feminism when compared to mainstream rap. This shows that political rap is different from other rap and therefore people will have to clarify the type of rap referring to when one discusses the genre and that while political rap may present sexist attitudes it is significantly more positive in terms of feminist attitudes than mainstream rap.
Observing that political rap causes Black Nationalist attitudes and mainstream rap decreases support of Black Feminist attitudes among Black participants establishes that not only is rap important but the type of rap one listens to may have more influence on his political attitude. These results were uncovered in controlled situations. Students were passively exposed to the music but it can be argued that because of the assignment of different classrooms and informing them that they were participating in a study cued them to pay more attention to the various songs than normally. If this is true, is everyday exposure to rap music influencing Black political attitudes? Similarly, understanding that political rap is not the type of rap one is frequently exposed to in places where rap is typically heard such as celebrations, night clubs and the car should we expect to observe different results among the general population? However, if the political messages presented in rap songs are adopted what does this mean for the future participation of younger adults? It is possible that the youth will incorporate other methods of seeking political knowledge? The next chapter examines the importance of these findings and the relationship between Hip-Hop and current politics. Chapter Five details the implication of this study as well as discuss the future of Hip-Hop in political science.
CHAPTER FIVE:

THE FUTURE OF POLITICS: THE IMPLICATIONS OF RAP MUSIC AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

Once you change your philosophy, you change your thought pattern. Once you change your thought pattern, you change your attitude. Once you change your attitude, it changes your behavior pattern and then you go on into some action.” - Malcolm X, 1964, *The Ballot or The Bullet*

Y'all telling me that I need to get out and vote, huh. Why? Ain't nobody Black running but crackers, so, why I got to register? I thinking of better shit to do with my time
-Andre 3000 of Outkast, 1994, “Get up, Get Out,” *Southernplayalisticadillacmuzik*

Over the last twenty five years Hip-Hop culture has expanded from its foundation as an urban cultural form to an international phenomenon. Many cultures and nations utilize rap songs as means of resistance and music, specifically for marginalized movements and groups. For instance, there is the increasing popularity of hiplife in Ghana. There are also Hip-Hop artists originating out of Pakistan, Zimbabwe, Canada, China, France, Germany, Norway, Sweden and Cuba among many other countries. Recently there has been an observed increase in discussions involving rap artists, songs and politics. Similarly, the study of various aspects of Hip-Hop culture has also increased. With the inauguration of America’s first Black president, who acknowledges that he listens to rap, to the direct efforts to appeal to a rap audience by Republican leader Michael Steele, there has been much discussion of Hip-Hop culture, specifically rap music. While many aspects of rap are still seen as deviant there is an understanding that
this cultural art form is also important to behavior and attitudes. However, this understanding is not a new concept. Many have commented on the political possibility of rap music as an oppositional culture (Martinez 1997). In her new book, *Hip-Hop Wars*, Tricia Rose (2008) details the many discussions against and in favor of Hip-Hop culture. She discusses some of the major arguments that have existed over the years about the impact of rap music on sexist and violent behavior, the emphasis of Hip-Hop on antisocial attitudes and the detriment of Hip-Hop not only to American values but also to the Black community. She continues by offering the contrasting views that Hip-Hop reflects life in impoverished neighborhoods, sexism is an American issue and should not be attributed to rap and the declaration from many artists that they are not role models. This book is a timely edition to the current discussions surrounding Hip-Hop culture. Rose concludes that rap artist Nas’ assertion that Hip-Hop is dead is not totally true. She asserts that “Hip-Hop is not dead but it is gravely ill” (Rose 2008, ix.). Rose argues that the commercialization of Hip-Hop has eliminated some of its components as protest music and instead has only emphasized violent and deviant behavior. This is a popular contention within the discussion of Hip-Hop.

Filmmaker Byron Hurt dedicates an entire film, *Hip Hop: Beyond Beats and Rhymes*, to the explorations of hyper-masculinity, homophobia and sexism pervasive in rap music. Hurt interviews various aspiring artists in cities throughout the country and is appalled by the similarity of the lyrics regardless of region or age. He asserts that there is a popular theme of hyper-masculinity presented in rap music. In one scene Hurt asks
aspiring rappers why is there an emphasis on killing and berating others when asked to perform free-style rap. Responding to his inquiries, aspiring artists inform Hurt that they rap that way because that is what sells. They emphasize that positive, thought provoking rap does not sell as much as rap that emphasizes stereotypes and “ghetto culture.” The distinction between subgenres of rap is important and worthy of examination.

I do agree with Hurt and Rose that some subgenres of rap are more pervasive than others within the mainstream media market. However, I assert that artists who are dominant in mainstream rap also produce records that display political attitudes and information. For instance, Jay-Z is probably one of the highest-gross selling rap artists of all time and he often presents political issues in his songs. One of his more blatantly political rap songs is 99 problems. In this song Jay-Z rhymes,

The year is ninety-four, in my trunk is raw
In my rearview mirror is the motherfucking law
Got two choices y'all, pull over the car or (hmm)
bounce on the Devil, put the pedal to the floor
And I ain't trying to see no highway chase with Jake
Plus I got a few dollars, I can fight the case
So I, pull over to the side of the road
"Son do you know why I'm stopping you for?"
Cause I'm young and I'm Black and my hat's real low
Or do I look like a mindreader sir? I don't know
Am I under arrest or should I guess some mo'?
"Well you was doing fifty-five in the fifty-four;
license and registration and step out of the car -
are you carrying a weapon on you? I know a lot of you are"
I ain't stepping out of shit, all my papers legit
"Well do you mind if I look around the car a little bit?"
Well my glove compartment is locked, so is the trunk in the back
And I know my rights, so you gonna need a warrant for that
"Aren't you sharp as a tack! You some type of
"lawyer or something, somebody important or something?"
Child I ain't passed the bar, but I know a little bit
Enough that you won't illegally search my shit
"Well we'll see how smart you are when the canine comes"
I got 99 problems, but a bitch ain't one - hit me!

This example is just one example of how a popular rap artist uses music to present political issues. In the song Jay-Z not only discusses the issue of racial profiling or driving while Black but he also alludes to the fourth amendment protections against illegal search and seizure. While these types of messages may not be as dominant in mainstream Hip-Hop as it was in the past it is still present and impacts the political views of its audience.

**Summary of Results**

This dissertation began by arguing that rap is a conduit of political information and a form of resistance (Levine 2006; Martinez 1997). Chapter One situates rap in the existing African American tradition of coded messages and Black culture as a form of resistance. This chapter details the longstanding history of music as an outlet to voice grievances with American political and social arenas (Southern 1997). Rap music is an example of a cultural form that utilizes hidden transcripts to critique and analyze American institutions. In addition, Chapter One serves as a foundation to this study by presenting a concise definition of political rap, thereby differentiating subgenres of rap
music. In this chapter political rap is defined as any rap song that makes a political reference and also comments on social issues or provide some form of solution to the social and political injustices described in the song.

Chapter Two continues with an explanation of the importance of the study of rap music to the discussions about public opinion and political attitudes. I assert in this chapter that rap music provides examples of Black Feminist and Black Nationalist attitudes in some of the songs. It is argued that political rap is more progressive than other subgenres of rap, specifically, mainstream rap. Examples of rap music that present Black political attitudes were analyzed detailing particular attitudes of Black Nationalism and Black Feminism.

Chapter Three empirically examines the relationships suggested in Chapter Two between rap music and popular Black political attitudes. This chapter utilizes OLS regressions, crosstab analysis and Logit regressions to examine data from the 1993-1994 National Black Politics Study. These examinations demonstrate positive relationships between Black Nationalism and exposure to rap music. The relationship between Black Feminism and exposure to rap music were inconclusive but I suggest that observing specific subgenres of rap may expose a relationship between rap music and Black Feminist attitudes. However, the data is limiting because the survey was conducted in the early 1990s. This data is over fourteen years old and the type of rap popular during this period may be different from the type of rap I am interested in studying. While this study occurred towards the end of the golden era (late 1980’s early 1990’s) many can argue that
at the time of the survey “gangsta rap” was increasing in popularity and when respondents were asked there views on rap, “gangsta rap” may have been the type of rap immediately recalled. Therefore, analysis that dissects and identifies music by genre is essential for this study since I am predominately interested in the impact of political rap music on Black political attitudes.

Similarly, it is difficult to identify if any relationships exist between rap and Black Feminism considering the positive relationship between rap and Black Nationalism. While political rap may be more progressive because of its discussion of political and social issues than other forms of rap its relationship with Black Nationalism results in no relationship when examining Black Feminism. These findings are supported by assertions of sexism and misogyny present in Black Nationalist ideology and in rap music (Alexander-Floyd 2007; Simien 2006; Adams and Fuller 2006; Hill-Collins 2006; Perry 2004; Pough 2004; Perkins 2000; Morgan 1999; Ransby and Matthews 1995; White 1995; Brown 1992). Building on the findings of the statistical analysis I posit in Chapter Four that there will be no relationship between music and Black Feminism.

Chapter Four is an important chapter of this study. In this chapter I am able to create conditions that allow for the direct examination of issues of interest. I am predominately interested in the impact of political rap on Black political attitudes. Here I was able to create conditions that measure various genres of music including pop, rap and R&B. To account for any temporal deceptions I chose songs that represented a ten year period, a follow up to the rap popular during the 1993-1994 NBPS. Similarly, I am able
to dissect the genre of rap into subgenres of mainstream rap (party music) and political rap. I conduct two experiments using different samples and different mediums. Different samples were necessary because I am interested in the influence of political rap on Black political attitudes. Therefore, a majority Black sample was needed to address these concerns. Similarly, it has been suggested that White people respond positively to political rap, so a majority White sample was a necessary comparison group to see if there were any differences between races and the acceptance of Black Nationalist attitudes (Zillman et al 1995). However, the mixing of mediums did not allow a direct comparison. In one sample participants were allowed to hear the songs and respond to a questionnaire while in the other sample students read the lyrics and responded to the questionnaire. This mixing of mediums complicated the results as a means of comparison. It can be argued that hearing the lyrics and reading them results in different interpretation and understanding of the messages. Specifically, reading the lyrics can result in increased comprehension and a clearer understanding of the song.

I was able to conclude that among the Black sample political rap significantly increases support of Black Nationalist ideology. These results were significantly different from mainstream rap music, pop music and those who did not listen to any music. Therefore, political rap increases one’s support of Black Nationalist ideology. I also discovered that political rap is significantly more supportive of Black Feminist ideology than mainstream rap. Mainstream rap decreases support of Black Feminism more than any of the other conditions examined. Finally, observing the majority white
sample there was no evidence of political rap enhancing support of Black Nationalist ideologies. While some results were approaching significance the sample size of 95 may have been too small to uncover any significant results.

I have detailed the existence of relationships between rap music and Black political attitudes. Specifically, I have demonstrated that there is a causal relationship between political rap and Black Nationalist attitudes and that mainstream rap music decreases one’s Black Feminist sentiments when compared to political rap. These findings are very important because they acknowledge the relevance of Black music, particularly political rap, in the formation of Black political attitudes. These results are astonishing especially in comparison to the many studies that attribute rap music to deviant behavior and negative attitudinal influence (Adams and Fuller 2006; Carpentier, Dillman and Zillman 2003; Johnson, Trawalter and Dovidio 2000; Johnson, Jackson and Gatto 1995).

This research is important because it adds to the debate about public opinion and attitude formation. Understanding that political rap increases Black Nationalist and Black Feminist ideology is beneficial when discussing the impact of culture on attitude formation. As Charles Henry (1990) concludes culture is an important aspect of Black politics. These results confirm the assertion that the study of Black politics must begin with the oral tradition. These results also add to Harris-Lacewell’s (2004) argument of looking towards other avenues to understand and assess Black political attitudes. She asserts that Black political attitudes are transmitted through various forms of everyday
talk. However, she does not suggest that rap music can solely impact Black political attitudes. Many scholars have asserted the political relevance of rap music, but no one was able to empirically show the impact of rap music on Black political attitudes (Allen 1996; Decker 1993; Dawson 1999; 2001; Harris-Lacewell, 2004; Henderson 1996; Hill-Collins 2006; Kitwana 2002; Lusane 2004; Miyakawa 2005; Neal 1999; 2004; 2006; Norfleet 2006; Perry 2004; Pough 2004; Rose 1994; Stapleton 1998; Sullivan 2003; Walton and Smith 2000). My research provides empirical evidence that rap is not only important when studying Black politics but is an important source for political information and public opinion formation. Political rap can now be included in the discussions about the formations of public opinions and possibly identified as a heuristic when assessing political attitudes.

In summary, I have found that the genre of rap one listens to does matter. For instance, I hypothesized that there exist a relationship between exposure to rap and support of Black Nationalism. In Chapter Three I have demonstrated that exposure to rap has a positive and significant relationship to the acceptance of Black Nationalism. My argument is that this relationship partly exists because of the popularity of political rap during the time that the survey was conducted. The survey took place during the years of 1993 and 1994 towards the end of what is commonly referred to as the golden era of Hip-Hop (Perry 2004). I also assert that there should not be any relationship between rap and Black Feminist ideology. I was able to come to this conclusion as well in chapter Three where there was no significant relationship between rap and Black Feminism. This can
be partly explained by the gratuitous use of sexist and misogynistic lyrics of Hip-Hop during this time. While rap was at the end of its golden era, it was the beginning of the gangsta rap era which produced political songs such as NWA’s *F the Police*, but also an increase of songs demeaning to women such as rap artist Snoop Doggy Dogg’s song *Nuthin’ but a G Thang*, which can be argued increased misogynistic attitudes towards women. Therefore after this era my contention is that the different subgenres of rap should receive specific attention when analyzing rap’s impact on Black political attitudes.

As a result of the differences in the type of rap produced I hypothesize in the fourth chapter that the genre of rap does matter. I argue that identifying and measuring political rap, a specific subgenre of rap, is relevant when discussing its relationship with Black political attitudes. Chapter Four utilizes experiments to assess the various genres of music including the two subgenres of rap, political rap versus mainstream rap, and their differing affects on Black political attitudes.

I hypothesized that listening to rap increases support of Black Nationalism compared to listening to pop music. I found that listening to political rap significantly increases one’s support of Black Nationalism compared to listening to pop music. However, there is no difference between listening to pop music and exposure to mainstream rap, although, exposure to mainstream rap does display lower acceptance of Black Nationalism when compared to exposure to pop music, but the results are not statistically significant.
Similarly, I hypothesize that those who listen to political rap are more accepting of Black Nationalism than those who are exposed to mainstream rap music or no music. Those in the mainstream rap group and those in the control group both demonstrate significantly less support of Black Nationalism than those in the political rap group. This is a very important finding because it demonstrates that political rap is significant especially in relation to Black political attitudes formation. Hence, compared to exposure to mainstream rap or no exposure to any music, political rap increases support of Black Nationalist ideology. This result alone provides significant arguments for the examination of the impact of political music on political attitudes formation.

Finally, in Chapter Four, I hypothesize that there is no relationship between music genre and support of Black Feminism. This hypothesis was not supported. Instead the results showed that mainstream rap significantly decreases the support of Black Feminism compared to all the other conditions. The other conditions all display means within similar ranges however, the mean of those in the mainstream rap group was significantly less than those in any of the other four conditions demonstrating that mainstream rap has a negative impact on the acceptance and support of Black Feminism. This result supports the popular contention that most rap is negative, misogynistic and harmful to the attitudes and behavior towards Black women (Adams and Fuller 2006; Pough 2004; Carpentier, Dillman and Zillman 2003; Johnson, Trawalter and Dovidio 2000; Johnson, Jackson and Gatto 1995).
However, it should be pointed out that all rap is not negative towards Black women but a certain subgenre is negative in relation to attitudes and behaviors towards Black women and that subgenre displayed in this dissertation is mainstream rap.

**Hip-Hop and the Future of Politics**

Observing that political rap music impacts political attitudes is only one step in uncovering the precarious relationship between Hip-Hop culture, the Black community and the political future. Within the last eight years we have seen more emphasis on mobilizing and informing youth voters, a great deal of this mobilization was done by Hip-Hop organizations and artists. The 2008 election was a historical election that placed a Black man as the head of the nation. During this historical campaign the emphasis on Hip-Hop as well as the response from the Hip-Hop community was astonishing.

For instance, we saw news coverage of elementary students who created and performed a rap about the candidates to a popular song by Hip-Hop artist T.I. CNN spoke with a hologram of rap artist Will. I. Am. election night for his analysis of the election returns. Another artist, Big Boi was featured in the news, not for negative rap lyrics but because of the positivity of the lyrics, his support of President Obama and the creativity of his video. President Barack Obama declared that he was a fan of Hip-Hop and even had a private meeting with rap artist Ludacris. Many rappers campaigned for presidential candidate Barack Obama and various songs related Barack Obama’s name as
synonymous with success, pride and manhood. Finally, Cynthia McKinney chose Hip-Hop activist Rosa Clemente as her Vice-Presidential running mate for the 2008 presidential election where they championed women issues, minority issues and youth issues.

Similarly, during the 2004 election campaign season two Hip-Hop moguls were actively involved in the mobilization efforts of the Hip-Hop community. One of the organizers is Hip-Hop artist, Sean Combs, a.k.a. P. Diddy, who is also the CEO of Bad Boy Entertainment. The other organizer is the founder of Def Jam Records and Rush Communications, Russell Simmons. Both of these Hip-Hop moguls created mass voter mobilization drives entitled, “Vote or Die” and “Rap the Vote,” respectively. These movements were used to mobilize urban voters between the ages of 18-24 that may have been missed by other voter mobilization and registration efforts. These were not the only Hip-Hop campaigns created to tackle voter registration and mobilization. In 2008, rapper T.I. received recognition for his Respect My Vote Campaign and was filmed when he was allowed to vote although felony charges were pending against him. Other Hip-Hop organizations were also involved in the mobilization and voter registration effort. For instance, in New York, Conscious Hip-Hop Activism Necessary for Global Empowerment (CHHANGE) participated in voter registration and mobilization efforts as well as “….challenging rappers to run for political office and get involved in politics at the local level” (Kitwana 2002, 177). Therefore, members of the Hip-Hop community
have not only discussed politics in their music but they have also been increasingly involved in political activity.

Various Hip-Hop organizations currently exist. One of the most popular, current, political Hip-Hop organizations is Russell Simmons Hip-Hop Summit Action Network. The Hip-Hop Summit Action Network is a non-profit coalition of Hip-Hop artists, youth activists, industry leaders and civil rights and education activists who are “dedicated to harnessing the cultural relevance of Hip-Hop music to serve as a catalyst for education advocacy and other societal concerns fundamental to the well-being of at-risk youth throughout the United States” (HSAN, 2001). HSAN is an organization whose belief is “that Hip-Hop is an enormously influential agent for social change which must be responsibly and proactively utilized to fight the war on poverty and injustice” (HSAN, 2001). What is unique about this organization is that they have created a fifteen point demand platform, entitled “What We Want” that is very similar to the ten principles asserted in the Black Panther Party Platform and Program.32 HSAN collaborated with Life on the Outside, NAACP, National Urban League, the Southern Leadership Conference and Rap the vote to increase voter registration, fight against the Rockefeller Drug Laws in New York, which eventually culminated in a federal lawsuit and protest, as well as working with the United States Congress in an effort to defend Hip-Hop culture.

Through HSAN, CHHANGE and other Hip-Hop organizations the political involvement of the Hip-Hop community has been remarkable. The Hip-Hop community

32 Both of these articles can be found in Appendix F.
has been able to speak before the US Congress, The Federal Trade Commission and the Federal Communications Commission to defend Hip-Hop culture. They have worked with the Recording Industry Association Alliance to support Parental Advisory Labels on all compact discs, organized various public awareness forums about the unfairness of the Rockefeller Drug Laws in New York as well as promote public demonstrations against these laws. These organizations have continued to fight for the community by organizing and working with Alliance for Quality Education to mobilize over 100,000 New York City Public school students to protest at City Hall against proposed tax cuts from the New York City Budget, which resulted in Mayor Bloomberg restoring over $300 million dollars back into the school budget.

Hip-Hop artists including David Banner, a native of Mississippi, assisted in the clean up efforts in New Orleans and in Mississippi after devastating Hurricane Katrina. Popular rap artist Kanye West publicly declared his belief that then president, George W. Bush, did “not care about Black people” in reference to the slow response of the government after Hurricane Katrina. Hip-Hop artists have volunteered during national disasters, led bone marrow drives and created programs for under-privileged youth. We have also seen efforts to encourage rap artists and other urban youth to run for political office and participate with local government. Many artists such as Big Boi have asserted the need for African American increased participation in the political arena. We have observed an increase in political awareness and voter participation because of the efforts of these organizations and the political relevancy of the music. Therefore, we can
contend that Hip-Hop organizations represent, identify and establish successful political organizations, political action and political demands.

**Future research**

This dissertation will facilitate more discussions about the relationships between popular culture and political participation. Specifically, this dissertation lays a foundation for the study between political rap music and public opinion research, particularly, observing the acceptance of Black political attitudes. Also from this dissertation there should evolve questions about the impact of rap music on the acceptance of certain Black policy issues such as Affirmative Action.

This dissertation was limited because I chose to only use male artists as to not risk further complicating the results. In future research I would like to examine political rap music with all women artists. Women artists may emphasize different political attitudes than men rap artists because of the submarginalization that they often experience within the genre. Therefore, one question would be to examine if there is a difference between political rap music from men artists compared to women artists. Do women talk about different issues in their songs? If so, do these issues impact Black political attitudes?

Similarly, it can be argued that there is an increase in political music because of the economic recession. It is my contention that political rap increases in popularity as economic stability decreases. Are there times when mainstream (party) rap is more
dominant and popular than political rap or times when political rap increases in frequency on mainstream radio? Comparison of economic decline to an increase of political rap music will uncover a relationship between the economy and the type of music produced.

I would also further examine the results of the relationship between Whites and political rap music. Understanding the popularity of rap across racial and gender lines it is necessary to understand how they impact other groups in terms of political participation and political attitudes. Therefore, are there any political attitudes that are influenced by political rap music? This analysis will include examination of popular political attitudes of efficacy, trust and race relations. I will expose participants to music via an audio medium and they will have a questionnaire to complete. This experiment will follow similar procedures as the Ohio State Study in this dissertation except, the medium and the questions analyzed will change. Before I examined the impact of political rap on Black political attitudes via a White sample. Future research will examine the impact of political rap music on White political attitudes using a White sample.

Finally, I would like to examine how consistent exposure to political rap music can alter political attitudes and subsequently political behavior. I propose a study that monitors one’s exposure to selected political rap songs via an mp3 player for three months. My hypothesis is that consistent exposure to political rap music will increase political knowledge, political efficacy and political activity.
Conclusion

The Hip-Hop generation is taking the necessary steps to ensure that their rights are being respected and that their representatives remain responsive to their needs and demands. The artists are expressing their political views through their music and the creation of various organizations while simultaneously increasing political activity within themselves and their audience.

Malcolm X articulated the need for self help in our communities. This is what he meant by the bullet and self defense. He asserts that Black people in America have to take care of and help their own. This idea was first realized by the Black Panther Party (BPP) but with the onset of COINTELPRO and the dismantling of the BPP; this type of philosophy became unknown to many except for in small circles, until increased popularity of Hip-Hop culture, specifically rap music relayed these ideas. Rap had the means to disseminate this agenda once again and to attempt to carry it out as intended by Malcolm X and commenced by the Black Panther Party.

Similarly, in their conclusion of Black Power, Carmichael and Hamilton asserted in 1967 that “Black and colored peoples are saying in a clear voice that they intend to determine for themselves the kinds of political, social and economic systems they will live under” (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967, 179). Carmichael and Hamilton might argue that the Hip-Hop community is using political rap music to voice their dissension and as a method to ensure that changes will occur politically and socially. Rap is being adopted
by people of various societies and cultures and is often used in rebellion movements as music was used in the anti-apartheid movements of South Africa.

The Hip-Hop generation that is being spoken of, is changing. Although their standard political involvement is not as noticeable as the efforts of their White counterparts, they are still being awakened to these problems facing their communities. Malcolm X stated in that speech of 1964, “…so today, our people are disillusioned. They’ve become disenchanted. They’ve become dissatisfied, and in their frustration they want action” (X, 1964). No their immediate political process does not focus solely on electoral politics but a combination of tactics that have been traditionally used in the Black community as well as electoral politics. These efforts by the Hip-Hop generation demonstrate that there are new tactics and philosophies of political participation that should be observed in urban politics.

In conclusion, this dissertation has demonstrated that listening to rap does impact the acceptance of political attitudes. Specifically, political rap increases Black Nationalist attitudes while mainstream rap decreases Black Feminist attitudes. These conclusions are very important especially to the discussions of the ways ideas are transmitted to marginalized communities. It has been asserted that marginalized communities are often left out of the nation’s political debates. Moreover, within marginalized communities there are those who are further marginalized (youth, poor, women, and homosexuals) and these submarginalized groups are also fighting within their submarginalization to be heard (Cohen 2001). Therefore, understanding ways in
which marginalized individuals assert their issues as well as ways in which these issues are spread within the community is essential to understanding political communication as well as how ideologies are formed.

There is a long history within political science discussing ideological formations. This work adds to that discussion by asserting that culture is one way that political attitudes are transmitted and culture assists in ideological formation. Understanding various means of political communication methods assists political scientists and others in examining and discussing how political ideas are transmitted. This dissertation assists the field in its discussion of the political attitudes, ideologies and activity of future generations.
APPENDIX A

POLITICAL REFERENCES IN RAP MUSIC

Artist: Goodie Mob
Album: Soul Food
Song: Thought Process

Artist: Nas
Album: I Am
Song: I Want to Talk to You

Artist: Nas f/ Millenium Thug
Album: Stillmatic
Song: My Country

Artist: Jay-Z
Album: The Black Album
Song: 99 Problems

Artist: Nas
Album: Stillmatic
Song: Rule

Artist: Dead Prez
Album: Let's Get Free
Song: Propaganda

Artist: Dead Prez
Album: Let's Get Free
Song: They Schools

Artist: Dead Prez
Album: Get Free or Die Tryin'
Song: Fuck the Law

Artist: Dead Prez
Album: Revolutionary But Gangsta
Song: I Have a Dream Too

This list is not all-inclusive but provides examples of rap songs that are political according to my definition.
Artist: Dead Prez f/ Jay-Z  
Album: Revolutionary But Gangsta  
Song: Hell Yeah (Pimp the System)

Artist: Dead Prez f/ Stephen Marley, Ghetto Youths Crew  
Album: Black and White soundtrack  
Song: Dem Crazy

Artist: Dead Prez  
Album: Turn Off the Radio  
Song: Know Your Enemy

Artist: Goodie Mob  
Album: Soul Food  
Song: Cell Therapy

Artist: Field Mob f/ Slimm Calhoun  
Album: From Tha Roota to Tha Toota  
Song: Nothing 2 Lose

Artist: Black Star  
Album: Mos Def and Talib Kweli are Black Star  
Song: K.O.S. (Determination)

Artist: Boogie Down Productions  
Album: By Any Means Necessary  
Song: Stop the Violence

Artist: Boogie Down Productions  
Album: Edutainment  
Song: The Racist

Artist: Public Enemy  
Album: Apocalypse 91  
Song: By the Time I Get to Arizona

Artist: Public Enemy  
Album: Fear Of A Black Planet  
Song: 911 Is A Joke
Artist: Public Enemy
Album: Fear Of A Black Planet
Song:  Fight The Power

Artist: Public Enemy
Album: Fear of a Black Planet
Song: Fear of a Black Planet

Artist: Trick Daddy f/ Society
Album: Book of Thugs: Chapter AK Verse 47
Song: America

Artist: Trick Daddy f/ LaTocha Scott
Album: Thug Holiday
Song: Thug Holiday

Artist: Wu-Tang Clan f/ Isaac Hayes
Album: The W
Song: I Can't Go to Sleep

Artist: Wu-Tang Clan f/ Junior Reid
Album: The W
Song: Jah World

Artist: Queen Latifah f/ KRS-One
Album: All Hail the Queen
Song: Evil That Men Do

Artist: OutKast
Album: ATLiens
Song: Jazzy Belle

Artist: OutKast f/ Big Rube
Album: ATLiens
Song: 13th Floor/Growing Old

Artist: OutKast f/ Goodie Mob
Album: Southernplayalisticadillacmuzik
Song: Git Up, Git Out
Artist: Mos Def
Album: Black On Both Sides
Song: Mr. Nigga
APPENDIX B

BLACK IDEOLOGY SCALES

**Community Nationalist Index (Brown and Shaw):**
Black people should shop in Black-owned stores whenever possible.
Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities.
Blacks should rely on themselves and not others.
Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities.

**Black Separatism (Brown and Shaw):**
Black people should always vote for Black candidates when they run.
Do you think Blacks should form their own political party?
Black people should have their own separate nation.
Black people form a nation within a nation.

**Black Nationalism (Davis and Brown, used in this study):**
Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores
Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run
Blacks should rely on themselves and not others
Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations whenever possible
Blacks should form their own political party
Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities
Blacks should form a separate nation
Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth
Black children should study an African language
Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities.

**Dawson’s Black Autonomy:**
Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities
Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth
Black people should shop in Black stores whenever possible
Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities

**Black Feminism Scale:**
Black women have suffered from both sexism within the Black movement and racism within the women’s movement?
There is a strong tendency in American society to silence strong Black women such as Attorney Anita Hill and Justice Department candidate Lani Guinier?
The problems of racism, poverty and sexual discrimination are all linked together and must be addressed by the Black community?
Black feminist groups help the Black community by working to advance the position of Black women?
Black churches or places of worship should allow more women to become members of the clergy?
Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community?
APPENDIX C

RELIABILITY SCORES

Factor Analysis of the 10-variable Black Nationalist Index

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variables</th>
<th>Factor 1</th>
<th>Factor 2</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black Political Party</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black Only Organization</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vote for Black Candidate</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Form Separate Nation</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Axis Factoring

Factor Analysis of the 5-variable Black Feminist Index

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<td>More Black Women Should Be Clergy Members</td>
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Extraction Method: Principal Factoring unrotated

Alpha Scores

Black Nationalism (10 Variables) = 0.73

Black Feminism (6 Variables) = 0.35
### APPENDIX D
### ADDITIONAL TABLES

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<td>3.77</td>
<td>3.62</td>
<td><strong>3.79†</strong></td>
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</table>
Black Children Should Study an African Language - Females 3.77 3.61 3.88 3.88 3.64†

Blacks Should Shop in Black-Owned Stores - Males 3.56 3.93 3.18 3.38 3.68

Blacks Should Shop in Black-Owned Stores – Females 2.69 2.94 3.69 3.13 2.73

Table D.1: Means of Black Nationalist Attitudes by Gender

Source: Experimental Data Benedict College;

Notes: Table entries are means resulting from one way anova analysis. The answer responses were 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neutral, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree. The following nationalist strategies: 1) Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores 2) Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run, 3) Blacks should rely on themselves and not others, 4) Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations whenever possible, 5) Blacks should form their own political party, 6) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 7) Blacks should form a separate nation, 8) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 9) Black children should study an African language and 10) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities. †p ≤ .1, *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001.
<table>
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<tr>
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<th>R&amp;B vs. Political Rap</th>
<th>Mainstream Rap vs. Political Rap</th>
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**Table D.2:** Mean difference of Conditions on Support of Black Nationalist Attitudes Among Men
Source: Experimental Data Benedict College;

Notes: Table entries are means resulting from one way anova analysis. The answer responses were 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neutral, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree. The following nationalist strategies: 1) Blacks should shop in Black-owned stores 2) Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run, 3) Blacks should rely on themselves and not others, 4) Blacks should participate in Black-only organizations whenever possible, 5) Blacks should form their own political party, 6) Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities, 7) Blacks should form a separate nation, 8) Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth, 9) Black children should study an African language and 10) Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities. † p ≤ .1, * p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Black Women Have Suffered From Sexism and Racism* - Males</th>
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<th>Pop</th>
<th>R&amp;B Mainstream Rap</th>
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Table D.3: Means of Black Feminist Attitudes by Gender
Source: Experimental Data Benedict College;

Notes: Table entries are means resulting from one way anova analysis. The answer responses were 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neutral, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree. The following feminist strategies: 1) Black women suffer from sexism and racism 2) Black women should share leadership in Black communities 3) Black Feminists help the Black.

| Table D.4: Means Difference of Support of Black Feminist Attitudes By Gender |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
|                                | Control vs. Political Rap | Pop vs. Political Rap | R&B vs. Political Rap | Mainstream Rap vs. Political Rap |
| Black Women Have Suffered From Sexism and Racism - Males | -0.39 | - | -0.16 | -0.31 |
| Black Women Have Suffered From Sexism and Racism* - Females | -0.24 | 0.30 | 0.54* | -0.23 |
| Black Women Should Share Leadership in Black Communities - Males | 0.16 | -0.14 | 0.13 | -0.29 |
| Black Women Should Share Leadership in Black Communities - Females | 0.36 | 0.51* | 0.21 | 0.15 |
| Black Feminists Help the Black Community - Males | -0.46 | -0.54* | -0.56† | -0.52 |
| Black Feminists Help the Black Community – Females | -0.06 | 0.19 | 0.11 | -0.26 |
| The Problems of Racism, Poverty and Sexual Discrimination are Linked – Males | -0.03 | -0.14 | 0.00 | 0.05 |
| The Problems of Racism, Poverty and Sexual Discrimination are Linked- Females | -0.18 | 0.15 | 0.09 | -0.20 |

Source: Experimental Data Benedict College;

Notes: Table entries are means resulting from one way anova analysis. The answer responses were 1= strongly disagree, 2= disagree, 3= neutral, 4= agree, 5= strongly agree. The following feminist strategies: 1) Black women suffer from sexism and racism 2) Black women should share leadership in Black communities 3) Black Feminists help the Black. † p ≤ .1, *p ≤ .05, **p ≤ .01, ***p ≤ .001.
APPENDIX E:

EXPERIMENTAL SURVEYS

CONTROL VERSION

Thank you for participating in today’s study. My name is Lakeyta Bonnette and I am a doctoral candidate at the Ohio State University. I am currently conducting a survey on political attitudes that will assist me in the completion of my dissertation. I am requesting your assistance in completing the survey. Please read these instructions before continuing.

I hope that you will feel free to provide honest and complete answers. If you come across any questions that you cannot answer or prefer not to answer, please leave them blank. If you would prefer, at any time, not to continue participating you may leave without penalty. The information you provide today is strictly confidential. No one -- not even the researchers -- will know exactly which answers you provide.

If you have any questions, please ask them now. Remember, this survey is completely voluntary and you have the option of quitting at any time. When you are ready please turn the page and begin the questionnaire. Thank you for your assistance.
Thank you for participating in this survey. I am interested in your views on flash media. Could you please read the article and answer the following questions. Please read the article in entirety because some of the questions relate directly to the letter.

In the times of yore, videos all over the web are quite disappointing. It is like delivering a mediocre performance to annoyed expectators. But then, a transition from the passé made a dramatic exposure. The release of Macromedia’s Flash MX marked a leap in the development of rich content productivity and stability of video across the Internet. It proves that these things can still be made superior and outstanding.

Video compression is one of the booming segments in the online industry. The outcome of full-screen, full-motion video all over the Net is improving everyday. This will gradually wreck the pessimism towards online media. I agree that productive media is the key to online advertising growth. I also believe that Macromedia Flash will turn out to be the industry’s spine to hold everything in order. Macromedia will not change the given fact in just a spur of the moment however; this will ultimately result in a richer user experience. The increasing demand for rich media will give way to the development of video codec algorithms which includes compression and decompression.

Flash’s greatest ability is to deliver animated images in a vector format. It means that the file size is not dependent on the image quality. Vectorization now becomes subordinate to the necessity to have rich and reliable content. Flash works with video by allowing developers to import a video file. Then the file is manipulated, scaled, rotated, skewed, masked and made interactive using scripting. Video format supported by QuickTime or Windows Media Player together with MPEG, DV (Digital Video), MOV (Quick Time), and AVI can be imported.

Macromedia took into consideration the flourishing wireless and handheld market. In fact, they are about to release a new 3G cell spectrum. Flash MX ships with templates for Nokia handsets and Pocket PC devices with other platforms that are soon to follow. The SDK comprises reference platforms for Windows CE, Windows 32 and even Linux. Flash support to electronic devices such as cell phones, PDAs, interactive TV systems, Internet appliances, game machines and in-room hotel entertainment system is also in the stage of brainstorming.

Macromedia acknowledges the ability of designers and developers to gain additional market opportunities in the near future by delivering Flash content for Internet-enabled devices. The company’s vision to define the user experience on platforms through lightweight content and flexible format that can adapt to smaller screens without sacrificing functionality is now very much accessible.

Maricon Williams
The following questions are specifically about the above passage you just read. Please answer the questions.
Did you understand the article?
☐ Yes
☐ No

Was the article very informative?
☐ Yes
☐ No

Did this article make your more or less interested in technological advances?
☐ More Interested
☐ Less Interested

The next section will ask you questions about your political participation. Please read each question and answer accordingly.

Q1: How likely are you to vote in the 2008 presidential election?
☐ Very Likely
☐ Somewhat Likely
☐ Somewhat Unlikely
☐ Very Unlikely

Q2: What about other political activities? How do you think you will participate in political activities over the next year? Such activities may include things such as talking about politics, campaigning for candidates, contributing to a campaign, attending a protest meeting, march or demonstration, contacting a public official or agency, participating in a neighborhood march, signing a petition in support of something or against something or volunteer on any local government board or council that deals with community issues?

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Very Likely | Very Unlikely
**Q3:** The following statements are concerned with a variety of social, political and cultural issues. I am interested in your honest opinion; therefore there is no right or wrong answers. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement.

**Black children should study an African language.**
 □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

**Rap music provides an important source of information about what is going on in the Black community.**
 □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

**The American legal system is unfair to Blacks.**
 □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

**Blacks should form their own political party.**
 □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

**Black women mostly suffer from the same type of problems as Black men.**
 □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

**Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run.**
 □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

**America’s economic system is unfair to poor people.**
 □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

**Black women have suffered from both sexism within the Black movement and racism within the women’s movement.**
 □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree

**What generally happens to Black men in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life.**
 □ Strongly Agree  □ Agree  □ Neutral  □ Disagree  □ Strongly Disagree
Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Black people depend too much on government programs.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

The problems of racism, poverty and sexual discrimination are all linked together and must be addressed by the Black community.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Quite a few people running our government are not as honest as the voters have a right to expect.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

There is still so much discrimination that special programs to help Blacks and minorities are needed.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Feminist groups just divide the community.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Blacks should form a separate nation.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

People like me don’t have any say about what the government does.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.

- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree
Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community.

- □ Strongly Agree
- □ Agree
- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree

You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right.

- □ Strongly Agree
- □ Agree
- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree

Rap music is a destructive force in the Black community

- □ Strongly Agree
- □ Agree
- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree

Black people should participate in Black only organizations whenever possible.

- □ Strongly Agree
- □ Agree
- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree

What generally happens to Black women in this country will have something to do with what happens to you in your life.

- □ Strongly Agree
- □ Agree
- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree

Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities.

- □ Strongly Agree
- □ Agree
- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree

I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.

- □ Strongly Agree
- □ Agree
- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree

What generally happens to women in this country will have something to do with what happens to you in your life.

- □ Strongly Agree
- □ Agree
- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree

Black people should shop in Black-owned stores whenever possible.

- □ Strongly Agree
- □ Agree
- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree

The justice system in the US is unbiased and equal for all citizens.

- □ Strongly Agree
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- □ Neutral
- □ Disagree
- □ Strongly Disagree
Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth

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- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black Feminists help the Black community.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black people should rely on themselves and not others.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black women have it easier in America than Black men.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Everyone has equal opportunity in America.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Q4: We would like to get your feelings about some individuals and groups within American society. When you see the name of individuals and groups below, please rate it with what we call a feeling thermometer by writing a number from 0 to 100 in the blank next to it. As indicated by the scale below, ratings between 0 and 49 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably toward those individuals and that you feel cold towards them. Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and warm toward those individuals. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward an individual or group you would rate them at 50 degrees.

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Sen. Barack Obama ____________________________
Justice Clarence Thomas ____________________________
George W. Bush ____________________________
Louis Farrakhan ____________________________
Condoleezza Rice ____________________________
Rudy Giuliani ____________________________
Sen. Hilary Clinton ____________________
Jesse Jackson ____________________
Karl Rove ____________________
Dick Cheney ____________________
Blacks ____________________
Whites ____________________
Bill Clinton ____________________

The next set of questions is concerned with your media exposure.

Q5: In an average month, how often are you do you listen to rap music?

□ Never □ Once or twice a month □ Once a Week □ More than Once a Week
□ Daily

Q6: In an average month, how often are you exposed to information from a Black information source such as BET, Black Newspapers, Black Magazines (Jet, Ebony, Essence), Hip Hop Magazines (XXL, Source) or the internet?

□ Never □ Once or twice a month □ Once a Week □ More than Once a Week
□ Daily

This section will ask you about yourself.

Q7: Are you male or female?

□ Male □ Female

Q8: What is your age?

Enter age ___________________

Q9: What is your marital status?

□ Single □ Married □ Divorced □ Separated □ Widowed

Q10: What racial or ethnic group do you consider yourself to be a member of?

□ Black, African-American □ White, European-American □ Asian, Asian-American □ Latino(a) □ Native American

□ Arab, Arab-American □ Multi-ethnic, Other (please specify) ______________________________________________________

Q11: Which category most accurately reflects your current religious beliefs?

□ Protestant □ Catholic □ Judaism □ Islamic (Sunni, Shiite, □ Hebrew Israelite
Q12: How much guidance would you say that religion has in your everyday living?
- No Guidance
- Some Guidance
- Quite a bit of guidance
- A great deal of guidance
- Total guidance

Q13: What is the highest level of education you have completed?
- Less Than High School
- High School, No Diploma
- High School Diploma
- Some College, No Degree
- Associates, 2 Year Degree
- Bachelor, 4 Year Degree
- Some Graduate School
- Master’s Degree or above

Q14: Generally speaking, do you consider yourself as a Republican, a Democrat or an Independent? (Check the option that best applies)
- Strong Republican
- Republican
- Independent but lean Republican
- Independent
- Independent but lean Democrat
- Democrat
- Strong Democrat

Q15: Which term best describes your political views?
- Liberal
- Moderate
- Conservative
- None of the above

Q16: What term best describes the area where you live?
- Rural
- Suburb
- Urban
POP VERSION

Thank you for participating in this survey. I am interested in your views on music. Could you please read the verses and choruses from these three songs and answer the following questions. Please read all of the songs in entirety because some of the questions relate directly to the songs.

LINKIN PARK LYRICS - "What I've Done"
In this farewell
There’s no blood
There’s no alibi
‘Cause I’ve drawn regret
From the truth
Of a thousand lies

[Pre-Chorus:]
So let mercy come
And wash away
What I’ve done

[Chorus:]
I'll face myself
To cross out what i’ve become
Erase myself
And let go of what i’ve done

NICKELBACK LYRICS - "Savin' Me"
Prison gates won't open up for me
On these hands and knees I'm crawlin'
Oh, I reach for you
Well I'm terrified of these four walls
These iron bars can't hold my soul in
All I need is you
Come please I'm callin'
And oh I scream for you
Hurry I'm fallin', I'm fallin'

[Chorus:]
Show me what it's like
To be the last one standing
And teach me wrong from right
And I'll show you what I can be
Say it for me
Say it to me
And I'll leave this life behind me
Say it if it's worth saving me

MAROON 5 LYRICS - "This Love"
I was so high I did not recognize
The fire burning in her eyes
The chaos that controlled my mind
Whispered goodbye and she got on a plane
Never to return again
But always in my heart

This love has taken its toll on me
She said Goodbye too many times before
And her heart is breaking in front of me
I have no choice cause I won't say goodbye anymore

The following questions are specifically about the above passage you just read. Please answer the questions.

Were you offended by the lyrics you just read?
☐ Yes
☐ No

Have you heard these lyrics before?
☐ Yes
☐ No

Do you think these songs are representative of white culture?
☐ Yes
☐ No

The next section will ask you questions about your political participation. Please read each question and answer accordingly.

Q1: How likely are you to vote in the 2008 presidential election?
☐ Very Likely
☐ Somewhat Likely
☐ Somewhat Unlikely
☐ Very Unlikely
Q2: What about other political activities? How do you think you will participate in political activities over the next year? Such activities may include things such as talking about politics, campaigning for candidates, contributing to a campaign, attending a protest meeting, march or demonstration, contacting a public official or agency, participating in a neighborhood march, signing a petition in support of something or against something or volunteer on any local government board or council that deals with community issues?

Very Likely Unlikely

|________|________|________|________|________|
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Q3: The following statements are concerned with a variety of social, political and cultural issues. I am interested in your honest opinion; therefore there is no right or wrong answers. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement.

Black children should study an African language.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

Rap music provides an important source of information about what is going on in the Black community.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

The American legal system is unfair to Blacks.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

Blacks should form their own political party.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

Black women mostly suffer from the same type of problems as Black men.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

America’s economic system is unfair to poor people.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree
Black women have suffered from both sexism within the Black movement and racism within the women’s movement.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree

What generally happens to Black men in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree

Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree

Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree

Black people depend too much on government programs.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree

The problems of racism, poverty and sexual discrimination are all linked together and must be addressed by the Black community.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree

Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree

Quite a few people running our government are not as honest as the voters have a right to expect.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree

There is still so much discrimination that special programs to help Blacks and minorities are needed.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree

Feminist groups just divide the community.

Strongly Agree  □  Agree □  Neutral □  Disagree □  Strongly Disagree
Blacks should form a separate nation.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

People like me don’t have any say about what the government does.
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The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.
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Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right.
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

Rap music is a destructive force in the Black community
□ Strongly Agree □ Agree □ Neutral □ Disagree □ Strongly Disagree

Black people should participate in Black only organizations whenever possible.
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Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities.
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I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.
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What generally happens to women in this country will have something to do with what happens to you in your life.
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Black people should shop in Black-owned stores whenever possible.

- Strongly Agree - Agree - Neutral - Disagree - Strongly Disagree

The justice system in the US is unbiased and equal for all citizens.

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Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth

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243
Sen. Barack Obama  
Justice Clarence Thomas  
George W. Bush  
Louis Farrakhan  
Condoleezza Rice  
Rudy Giuliani  
Sen. Hilary Clinton  
Jesse Jackson  
Karl Rove  
Dick Cheney  
Blacks  
Whites  
Bill Clinton

The next set of questions is concerned with your media exposure.

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- □ Daily

This section will ask you about yourself.

Q7: Are you male or female?
- □ Male
- □ Female

Q8: What is your age?
Enter age ________________

Q9: What is your marital status?
- □ Single
- □ Married
- □ Divorced
- □ Separated
- □ Widowed

Q10: What racial or ethnic group do you consider yourself to be a member of?
Black, African-American □ White, European-American □ Asian, Asian-American □ Latino(a) □ Native American

Arab, Arab-American □ Multi-ethnic, Other (please specify) □ Arab, Arab-American

Q11: Which category most accurately reflects your current religious beliefs?

□ Protestant □ Catholic □ Judaism □ Islamic (Sunni, Shiite, Orthodox) □ Hebrew Israelite

□ Nation of Islam □ Nation of gods and earths □ None □ Other ___________________

Q12: How much guidance would you say that religion has in your everyday living?

□ No Guidance □ Some Guidance □ Quite a bit of guidance □ A great deal of guidance □ Total guidance

Q13: What is the highest level of education you have completed?

□ Less Than High School □ High School, No Diploma □ High School Diploma □ Some College, No Degree □ Associates, 2 Year Degree

□ Bachelor, 4 Year Degree □ Some Graduate School □ Master’s Degree or above

Q14: What term best describes the area where you live?

□ Rural □ Suburb □ Urban

Q15: Which term best describes your political views?

□ Liberal □ Moderate □ Conservative □ None of the above

Q16: Generally speaking, do you consider yourself as a Republican, a Democrat or an Independent? (Check the option that best applies)

□ Strong Republican □ Republican □ Independent but lean Republican □ Independent □ Independent but lean Democrat □ Democrat □ Strong Democrat

245
Thank you for participating in this survey. I am interested in your views on music. Could you please read the verses and choruses from these three songs and answer the following questions. Please read all of the songs in entirety because some of the questions relate directly to the songs.

Let it Burn by Usher
It's gonna burn for me to say this
But it's comin from my heart
It's been a long time coming
But we done been fell apart
Really wanna work this out
But I don't think ya gonna change ya
I do but you don't
Think it's best we go our separate ways
Tell me why I should stay in this relationship
When I'm hurting baby, I ain't happy baby
Plus there's so many other things I gotta deal with
I think that you should let it burn

[Chorus]
When your feeling ain't the same and your body don't want to
But you know gotta let it go cuz the party ain't jumpin' like it used to
Even though this might bruise you
Let it burn
Let it burn
Gotta let it burn

Love by Musiq Soulchild
So many things I've got to tell you
But I'm afraid I don't know how
Cause there's a possibility
You'll look at me differently
Love
Ever since the first moment I spoke your name
From then on I knew that by you being in my life
Things were destined to change cause......

[Chorus:]
Love
So many people use your name in vain
Love
Those who faith in you sometimes go astray
Love
Through all the ups and downs the joy and hurt
Love
For better or worse I still will choose you first

This is How We Do It by Montell Jordan
This is how we do it
It's friday night, and I feel all right
The party is here on the west side
So I reach for my 40 and I turn it up
Designated driver take the keys to my truck
Hit the shore 'cause I'm faded
Honeys in the street say, Monty, yo we made it
It feels so good in my hood tonight
The summertime skirts and the guys in kani
All the gang bangers forgot about the drive-by
You gotta get your groove on, before you go get paid
So tip up your cup and throw your hands up
And let me hear the party say

I'm kinda buzzed and it's all because (this is how we do it)
South central does it like nobody does (this is how we do it)
To all my neighbors you got much flavor (this is how we do it)
Let's flip the track, bring the old school back (this is how we do it)

The following questions are specifically about the above passage you just read. Please answer the questions.

Were you offended by the lyrics you just read?
☐ Yes
☐ No

Have you heard these lyrics before?
☐ Yes
☐ No

Do you think these songs present negative stereotypes of African Americans?
☐ Yes
☐ No

The next section will ask you questions about your political participation. Please read each question and answer accordingly.

Q1: How likely are you to vote in the 2008 presidential election?
☐ Very Likely
Q2: What about other political activities? How do you think you will participate in political activities over the next year? Such activities may include things such as talking about politics, campaigning for candidates, contributing to a campaign, attending a protest meeting, march or demonstration, contacting a public official or agency, participating in a neighborhood march, signing a petition in support of something or against something or volunteer on any local government board or council that deals with community issues?

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Q3: The following statements are concerned with a variety of social, political and cultural issues. I am interested in your honest opinion; therefore there is no right or wrong answers. Please indicate your agreement or disagreement with each statement.

Black children should study an African language.
- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Rap music provides an important source of information about what is going on in the Black community.
- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

The American legal system is unfair to Blacks.
- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Blacks should form their own political party.
- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Black women mostly suffer from the same type of problems as Black men.
- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree

Blacks should vote for Black Candidates whenever they run.
- [ ] Strongly Agree
- [ ] Agree
- [ ] Neutral
- [ ] Disagree
- [ ] Strongly Disagree
America’s economic system is unfair to poor people.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black women have suffered from both sexism within the Black movement and racism within the women’s movement.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

What generally happens to Black men in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Blacks should have control over the government in mostly Black communities.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Most women fail to appreciate fully all that men do for them.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black people depend too much on government programs.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

The problems of racism, poverty and sexual discrimination are all linked together and must be addressed by the Black community.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Quite a few people running our government are not as honest as the voters have a right to expect.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

There is still so much discrimination that special programs to help Blacks and minorities are needed.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly Agree</th>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Strongly Disagree</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Feminist groups just divide the community.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacks should form a separate nation.</td>
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<tr>
<td>People like me don’t have any say about what the government does.</td>
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<tr>
<td>The racial/ethnic group I belong to is an important reflection of who I am.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black women should share equally in the political leadership of the Black community.</td>
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<tr>
<td>You can generally trust the people who run our government to do what is right.</td>
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<td>Rap music is a destructive force in the Black community</td>
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<td>Black people should participate in Black only organizations whenever possible.</td>
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<tr>
<td>What generally happens to Black women in this country will have something to do with what happens to you in your life.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Blacks should have control over the economy in mostly Black communities.</td>
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<tr>
<td>I don't think public officials care much what people like me think.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
What generally happens to women in this country will have something to do with what happens to you in your life.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black people should shop in Black-owned stores whenever possible.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

The justice system in the US is unbiased and equal for all citizens.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Blacks should support the creation of all male public schools for Black youth

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

What generally happens to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black Feminists help the Black community.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black people should rely on themselves and not others.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Black women have it easier in America than Black men.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Everyone has equal opportunity in America.

- Strongly Agree
- Agree
- Neutral
- Disagree
- Strongly Disagree

Q4: We would like to get your feelings about some individuals and groups within American society. When you see the name of individuals and groups below, please rate it with what we call a feeling thermometer by writing a number from 0 to 100 in the blank next to it. As indicated by the scale below, ratings between 0 and 49 degrees mean that you don't feel favorably toward those individuals and that you feel cold towards them. Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorably and
warm toward those individuals. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward an individual or group you would rate them at 50 degrees.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Very Cold</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Very Warm</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Sen. Barack Obama
Justice Clarence Thomas
George W. Bush
Louis Farrakhan
Condoleezza Rice
Rudy Giuliani
Sen. Hilary Clinton
Jesse Jackson
Karl Rove
Dick Cheney
Blacks
Whites
Bill Clinton

The next set of questions is concerned with your media exposure.

Q5: In an average month, how often do you listen to rap music?

- □ Never
- □ Once or twice a month
- □ Once a Week
- □ More than Once a Week
- □ Daily

Q6: In an average month, how often are you exposed to information from a Black information source such as BET, Black Newspapers, Black Magazines (Jet, Ebony, Essence), Hip Hop Magazines (XXL, Source) or the internet?

- □ Never
- □ Once or twice a month
- □ Once a Week
- □ More than Once a Week
- □ Daily

This section will ask you about yourself.

Q7: Are you male or female?

- □ Male
- □ Female
Q8: What is your age?
Enter age __________________

Q9: What is your marital status?
□ Single    □ Married    □ Divorced    □ Separated    □ Widowed

Q10: What racial or ethnic group do you consider yourself to be a member of?
□ Black, African-American □ White, European-American □ Asian, Asian-American □ Latino(a) □ Native American
□ Arab, Arab-American □ Multi-ethnic, Other (please specify) ______________________________________________

Q11: Which category most accurately reflects your current religious beliefs?
□ Protestant  □ Catholic  □ Judaism  □ Islamic (Sunni, Shiite, Orthodox)  □ Hebrew Israelite
□ Nation of Islam  □ Nation of gods and earths  □ None  □ Other ______________________

Q12: How much guidance would you say that religion has in your everyday living?
□ No Guidance  □ Some Guidance  □ Quite a bit of guidance  □ A great deal of guidance  □ Total guidance

Q13: What term best describes the area where you live?
□ Rural    □ Suburb    □ Urban

Q14: What is the highest level of education you have completed?
□ Less Than High School  □ High School, No Diploma  □ High School Diploma  □ Some College, No Degree  □ Associates, 2 Year Degree
□ Bachelor, 4 Year Degree  □ Some Graduate School  □ Master’s Degree or above

Q15: Generally speaking, do you consider yourself as a Republican, a Democrat or an Independent? (Check the option that best applies)
□ Strong Republican
□ Republican
□ Independent but lean Republican
□ Independent
□ Independent but lean Democrat

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Q16: Which term best describes your political views?

- [ ] Democrat
- [ ] Strong Democrat
- [ ] Liberal
- [ ] Moderate
- [ ] Conservative
- [ ] None of the above
APPENDIX F: HSAN AND BPP DEMANDS

What We Want- Demands from the Hip-Hop Summit Action Network
1. We want freedom and the social, political and economic development and empowerment of our families and communities; and for all women, men and children throughout the world.

2. We want equal justice for all without discrimination based on race, color, ethnicity, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, age, creed or class.

3. We want the total elimination of poverty.

4. We want the highest quality public education equally for all.

5. We want the total elimination of racism and racial profiling, violence, hatred and bigotry.

6. We want universal access and delivery of the highest quality health care for all.

7. We want the total elimination of police brutality and the unjust incarceration of people of color and all others.

8. We want the end and repeal of all repressive legislations, laws, regulations and ordinances such as “three strikes” laws; federal and state mandatory minimum sentencing; trying and sentencing juveniles as adults; sentencing disparities between crack and powdered cocaine use; capitol punishment; the Media Marketing Accountability Act; and hip-hop censorship fines by the FCC.

9. We want reparations to help repair the lingering vestiges; damages and suffering of African Americans as a result of the brutal enslavement of generations of Africans in America.
10. We want the progressive transformation of American society into a Nu America as a result of organizing and mobilizing the energy, activism and resources of the hip-hop community at the grassroots level throughout the United States.

11. We want greater unity, mutual dialogue, program development and a prioritizing of national issues for collective action within the hip-hop community through summits, conferences, workshops, issue task force and joint projects.

12. We want advocacy of public policies that are in the interests of hip-hop before Congress, state legislatures, municipal governments, the media and the entertainment industry.

13. We want the recertification and restoration of voting rights for the 10 million persons who have loss their right to vote as a result of a felony conviction. Although these persons have served time in prison, their voting rights have not been restored in 40 states in the U.S.

14. We want to tremendously increase public awareness and education on the pandemic of HIV/AIDS.

15. We want a clean environment and an end to communities in which poor and minorities reside being deliberately targeted for toxic waste dumps, facilities and other environmental hazards.

October 1966 Black Panther Party Platform and Program

What We Want, What We Believe

Retrieved from:
http://www3.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Resources/Primary/Manifestos/Panther_platform.html

1. We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.
We believe that Black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. **We want full employment for our people.**

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. **We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.**

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment as currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over twenty million Black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. **We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.**

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our Black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. **We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.**

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything else.

6. **We want all Black men to be exempt from military service.**
We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like Black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. We want an immediate end to police brutality and murder of Black people.

We believe we can end police brutality in our Black community by organizing Black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our Black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all Black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. We want freedom for all Black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.

We believe that all Black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. We want all Black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their Black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that Black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the Black community from which the Black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the Black community.

10. We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny.

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.
We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariable the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.
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