HIP-HOP’S TANNING OF A POSTMODERN AMERICA: A LONGITUDINAL CONTENT
ANALYSIS OF PARADOXICAL JUXTAPOSITIONS OF OPPOSITIONAL
IDENTITIES WITHIN U.S. RAP SONG LYRICS, 1980–2013

Shawn A. Gadley

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APPROVED:
Koji Fuse, Major Professor
Tracy Everbach, Committee Member
James Mueller, Committee Member
Dorothy Bland, Director of the Frank W.
Mayborn Graduate Institute of Journalism and Dean of the Frank W.
and Sue Mayborn School of Journalism
Mark Wardell, Dean of the Toulouse Graduate School
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A longitudinal content analysis of top-chart hip-hop songs’ lyrics produced between 1980 and 2013 was conducted to investigate the degree and progression of the paradoxical juxtaposition, or postmodern hybridity, of oppositional modernist identities in terms of race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, sexuality, and economic lifestyle, in addition to the longitudinal diversification of artist’s race and gender demographics. Demographically, the percentage of non-African-American artists increased as the percentage of African-American artists decreased. Additionally, the percentage of songs featuring either all male or all female artists decreased, while the percentage of collaboration between male and female artists increased over time. Although hybrid oppositional identities related to race/ethnicity and gender did not increase over time, those of sexual orientation, sexuality, and economic lifestyle increased over time. In addition, materialist identities were related to the hybridity of sexual orientation and sexuality, but not to that of gender and race/ethnicity. Overall, the research found increasing postmodern hybridity within the sexualization of hip-hop songs along with intensified materialism.
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believe in the reconstructive power possessed by the underdog, reminding me to always express myself through unadulterated realism, gold-plated idealism, and the pursuit of a new American dream. This is only the beginning.
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INTRODUCTION

Hip-hop, or “a subculture especially of inner-city youths who are typically devotees of rap music” (“Hip-hop,” n.d.), made its first appearance in the South Bronx, New York, in the 1970s “to become the ultimate expression of black youth resistance to poverty and oppression” (Cepeda, 2004, p. xvii). With roots in other genres such as gospel, blues, jazz, and other forms of music, hip-hop music communicated the African-American struggle (Rose, 1994, pp. 21–27). Although this music genre is most commonly associated with MCing, or rap defined as “a rhythmic chanting often in unison of usually rhymed couplets to a musical accompaniment” (“Rap,” n.d.), the hip-hop culture contains the following three additional essential elements: DJing (mixing recorded music), B-boying (breakdancing), and graffiti (visual arts). These four components together play an important role in the culture’s formation and success (Herc, 2005, p. xi; Stoute, 2011b, p. 8).

In the 1980s, hip-hop music rose to popularity and fostered international success (Hershkovits, 1983/2004). Hip-hop has since become not only interwoven into the mainstream U.S. popular culture but also accepted as a respected field of academic study (Söderman, 2013, p. 371). Hip-hop music has often been analyzed for its explicit visuals within music videos, while its lyrical content is assumed to serve as a narrative ploy. Studies analyzing hip-hop have generally focused on striking visual representations, overlooking the importance of examining hip-hop’s lyrical content beyond explicit themes (e.g., Balaji, 2009; Conrad, Dixon, & Zhang, 2009; Lena, 2008; Stein, 2011; Zhang, Dixon, & Conrad, 2010).

Along with the acceptance of hip-hop’s four elements has come the society’s awareness of its lyrical and visual representations of previously taboo musical themes, such as gratuitous violence, political rebellion, exuberant materialism, and hypersexual misogyny (Chang, 2005;
Beighey & Unnithan, 2006; Rebollo-Gil & Moras, 2012). While many hip-hop studies have assessed the cross-sectional proliferation of the aforementioned themes, very few have researched each theme’s historical progression.

In addition, as seen in many recent collaborative works between pop singers and rappers, traditional genre boundaries, and thus demographic boundaries among musical artists as well as among their audiences, seemingly have become more and more obscure. Rap label executive turned advertising CEO, Steve Stoute (2011a), states that “tanning is a phenomenon that went beyond musical boundaries and it went deep into the psyche of young America, blurring demographic lines and causing a transformation so that there was a generation of kids that did not identify each other through color any longer” (para. 9).

In other words, despite its original themes of the African-American struggle and resistance, the hip-hop culture has been transformed over time into a postmodern phenomenon that rejects traditional binary separation embedded in modernist universal constructs, such as race (white versus black/non-white), gender (male versus female), sexual orientation (heterosexual versus homosexual), and sexuality (hyposexual/normal versus hypersexual). Postmodernism as a social movement has challenged and destabilized modernism by disorganizing society through the decategorization of humanity with no significance attached to social classes (Choi, 2004, p. 6; Lyotard, 1984). In fact, one of the major postmodern characteristics is “paradoxical juxtapositions (of opposites),” such as simultaneous exhibition of love and hate (Firat & Shultz, 1997, pp. 191–192; Firat & Venkatesh, 1993, pp. 237–239), which theoretically resonates with postmodern hybrid identities in hip-hop music (Orlando, 2003; Sarkar & Allen, 2007).
This research is a longitudinal content analysis of lyrics of top-chart hip-hop songs produced between 1980 and 2013 to investigate the degree and progression of the paradoxical juxtaposition, or postmodern hybridity, of oppositional modernist identities in terms of race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, sexuality, and materialism. As stated before, most studies have not analyzed hip-hop’s lyrical content beyond obvious themes while predominantly focusing on explicit visuals, and these studies are often cross-sectional in nature. Furthermore, systematic content-analytic studies of postmodern themes in hip-hop’s lyrics are lacking. Thus, the present research attempts to fill the gaps.
LITERATURE REVIEW

Hip-hop’s History

Scholars have comprehensively identified hip-hop as a cultural phenomenon with an intricate background to be decomposed into four basic elements: DJing, MCing, breakdancing, and the visual arts (Chang, 2005 p.xi; Fresh, 1984, p. 10; Gaunt, 2006; Stoute, 2011b, p. 8). Therefore, the term hip-hop generally refers to the holistic social and cultural representation of a subculture and not the misrepresentation of being solely a musical genre. Each of the four basic elements shares a symbiotic relationship with the culture and the individual success of each other (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 154).

Hip-hop was born in the early 1970s in the midst of the impoverished Bronx, New York’s gang violence and a cross-cultural change in popular U.S. music. Fricke and Ahearn (2002) state that “Hip-hop culture rose out of the gang-dominated street culture, and aspects of the gangs are still defining features of hip-hop — particularly territorialism and the tradition of battling” (p. 3). As of July 1, 1972, the Billboard (1972) Hot 100 chart already showed that popular radio of the time was no longer reined by one distinct genre but was playing multiple genres, including rock ’n’ roll, soul, funk, R&B, and the newly emerged disco.

While commercially successful within the black community on a national level, disco and supplementary disco clubs in New York were exclusive to older crowds, leaving the area youth as social outliers yearning for a creative outlet and an escape from the streets (Chang, 2005, pp. 11–13; Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, pp. 4–6). The result of this social expulsion was the rise of house parties in 1973, led by hip-hop pioneer DJ Kool Herc, the father of hip-hop (Hurt, 2009). Herc experimentally sampled the percussion dance breaks of preceding funk and R&B records and manipulated them to create amplified hip-hop music, at the time referred to as breakbeat music.
or B-Beat Music (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 26). Influential to the instrumental formation of hip-hop, the process of sampling is defined by Falstrom (1994) as “the borrowing of parts of sound recordings and the subsequent incorporations of those parts into a new recording” (p. 359).

In contrast to preexisting genres, Schloss (2004) stated, “This technique would not have appealed to musicians from other genres, who wanted the freedom to create their own melodies and had no interest in digital recordings of other people’s music” (p. 35). As a form of expression that depends on recitation, repetition, and electronic instrumentation, the process of sampling from other genres was very important for laying hip-hop’s instrumental foundations and expressively showcasing how hip-hop is rooted in cultural hybridity.

After Herc’s influence spread to other hip-hop pioneers like the musically experimental Afrika Bambaataa and the technologically educated Grandmaster Flash, hip-hop’s first element was solidified and spread through the south Bronx one turntable at a time. In accordance with the coinciding gang culture, each DJ formed his own crew composed originally of other DJs and later welcoming members who represented the remaining three hip-hop elements (Hurt, 2009).

Almost simultaneous with the introduction of breakbeat music was the introduction of breakdancing, influenced heavily by the dance style of James Brown (Fresh, 1984, p. 18, pp. 18-19). Taylor (1985) states that “Breakdancing itself includes breaking (floor rock and gymnastic dancing), uprock (a dancing fight without touching, resembling a fast Kungfu battle), electric boogie (dancing which may contain strange robotic movements and other kinds of mime) and also 'freestyle’ dancing. It thus brings together elements of gymnastics, jazz dancing, mime and disco dancing” (p. 37). Nonviolently competitive in nature, breakdancing’s dance battles counteracted the Bronx’s slowly fading gang culture by providing street fighters with an alternative to violent encounters with rivals and a conspicuous sense of showmanship.
Contrasting with the other hip-hop elements, breakdancing was originally appropriated by inner-city adolescents, including the famed Puerto Rican B-boy group—the Rock Steady Crew. The youthful adaptation of the element was due to its accessibility and physicality, and since most early B-boys and B-girls were too young to be present at clubs or, in some cases, house parties, they could practice on street corners to gain respect and national attention (Brunson, 2011, p. 7; Chang, 2005, p. 159).

Toward the mid-1970s the visual arts aspect of hip-hop culture had fully emerged, taking the form of graffiti tagging, flier designs, and clothing alterations. Rooted in territorialism and rebellion, graffiti taggers, more commonly referred to as writers, would use spray paint and bolded markers to ornament subway cars, building sides, and clothing with their aliases or individual tag (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, pp. 277–286; Ley & Cybriwsky, 1974, p. 492). Notable writers like Phase 2, Buddy Esquire, and Fab 5 Freddy introduced their writing styles to the marketing of hip-hop parties through the creation of decorated fliers that became collector items for party goers wanting to take a visual piece of their hip-hop experience home (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 154). Brightly colored subway cars became the most visual representation of writers and the hip-hop movement by the press.

By 1975, the first three hip-hop elements were celebrated throughout the Bronx, leading some gangs to transition into hip-hop culture, establishing quests for musical supremacy at parties with the inclusion of DJs, B-boys, and writers within their crews (Hurt, 2009). Parties became the quintessential hip-hop experience spreading beyond the Bronx and as far Manhattan. At the time, masters of ceremony, or MCs, existed for the purpose of making party announcements and maintaining crowd entertainment in between record changes, but that all
changed when Grandmaster Flash met Keith “Cowboy” Wiggins, Kid Creole, and Melle Mel (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 74).

Cowboy, Kid Creole, and later, Melle Mel from the Bronx, took MCing from the initial “Wave your hands in the air, and wave ‘em like you just don’t care” to poetic rhymes that took crowd participation to another level that was sometime pre-written and sometimes unrehearsed or freestyled. By the time this new style of MCing made its way to Harlem parties, emerging MCs like DJ Hollywood, Love Bug Starski, and Kurtis Blow had added their own customary practices by creating a more mellow form of rapping that was similar to the oratorical displays of rhythmic bravado by famed boxer Muhammad Ali (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 76). With an added fourth element, hip-hop evolved from its general cultural identification, gaining the alias of rap. As an identifiably distinct element, the term rap generally refers to the musical and lyrical aspects of hip-hop culture.

Rose (1994) defines rap music as “a form of rhymed storytelling accompanied by highly rhythmic, electronically based music” (p. 2). As with the three preceding elements, the origins of the genre are further explained as the musical product of previous forms of expression, including Negro spirituals, jazz, blues, and soul (Rose, 1994, pp. 21-27). A relatively new genus rooted within African-American communication, rap progressively became the new voice of the youth in various aspects of life, such as social, interpersonal, political, economic, radical, and sexual.

By the late 1970s, hip-hop spread throughout the state of New York and in doing so experienced changes. The rising popularity of the MC rapping alongside DJs created a symbiotic relationship where an MC needed a DJ for musical mixes and DJs needed an MC rapping over their beats to gain respect and solidify paid DJing appearances. Notable rap group, the Funky 4, featuring female MC Sha-Rock, became among the first rappers to perform in front of their DJ in
contrast to allowing the DJ to be the party’s primary focus. Breakdancing, an element that fed from crowd attention, lost its popularity when partygoers became more enthused in the MCs interactions with the DJs instead of the circle of B-boys and B-girls battling on the dance floor (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 117). Graffiti gained positive and negative recognition for the art form’s notorious decorative display on trains (Chang, 2005, p. 180).

Creating intricate dance routines to accompany their on-stage rhymes, MCs were pushed to the forefront of each crew wanting respect and a lyrical sense of authenticity, but as stated by pioneering DJ Grandmaster Caz in *Yes Yes Yall: Hip-Hop’s First Decade*, “It’s [rap] the most exploited and the most marketable element, but it’s only one element” (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 337). MCs and DJs began to territorially battle to secure nightclubs and, in return, gain steady income. Some MCs would have a crewmember bring a boombox to record battles to later be sold as mixtapes, but by then area record executives were already calculating hip-hop’s net worth.

In 1979, hip-hop went through a controversial change when New Jersey–based recording veteran, Sylvia Robinson, had a birthday party thrown by DJ Love Bug Starski. It became the first time she had experienced hip-hop culture in its lyrical form. Soon after that Robinson made the decision that her record company, SugarHill Records, was going to release the first nationally successful hip-hop record (Chang, 2005, p. 130). After being turned down by New York MCs like Grandmaster Caz, Robinson ventured out to find a group of unknown rappers. Having an impromptu rap battle in her car, Robinson discovered Big Hank, Master Gee, and Wonder Mike, who were the members of her first rap group—the Sugar Hill Gang (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 184). By the end of 1979 the group’s first single, “Rapper’s Delight”, became an international phenomenon entering the Billboard’s Hot 100 chart with radio play everywhere from Los Angeles to London. Compositionally blending instrumental factors from “Another One Bites The
Dust” by British rock group Queen and “Good Times” by American disco band Chic, the song introduced the world to a genre of music that unapologetically borrowed from other genres to create a new hybrid sound that spoke to a generation.

MCs and DJs within the pre–Sugar Hill Records era provided heavy criticism toward the Sugar Hill Gang for their lack of hip-hop authenticity, use of unauthenticated MCs, taking hip-hop away from the live party scene, and Big Hank’s uncredited borrowing of existing rhymes from Grandmaster Caz’s lyrical repertoire (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 188). But even among the disgust, for many rappers and record labels alike, the success of “Rapper’s Delight” became a sign that hip-hop could not only be accepted outside of its original capacities, it also possessed the potential to become an international market for artists of each element. As stated by Rose (2004) “Rapper’s Delight changed everything; most important, it solidified hip-hop’s commercial success” (p. 56).

In 1980, hip-hop experienced the commercial wave with a slew of exploratory yet lucrative firsts. Signing with Mercury Records, the Russell Simmons–managed rapper, Kurtis Blow, became the first rapper with a major label contract and soon after gained recognition with the release of his best-selling album, “The Breaks”, and his nationally televised Soul Train performance (Hurt, 2006; Stoute, 2011b, p. 17). With the culture blaring through boom-boxes and its visual introduction via television sets nationwide, hip-hop gained the attention of other musical artists, specifically the punk/new wave band, Blondie. Through extended fraternization with graffiti writer, Fab 5 Freddy and DJ, Grandmaster Flash, new-wave band Blondie gained a firsthand understanding of hip-hop as a cultural movement and soon released “Rapture”, an R&B–new wave hybrid featuring lead singer Debbie Harry’s storytelling rap vocals. The music video for the song went on to become the first rap visual to be played on the newly established
MTV and one of the first times that hip-hop culture was visually presented on a national and international level (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 283-284; Stoute, 2011b, p. 18).

In the birth of the hip-hop video, the cultural phenomenon’s visual elements gained more momentum in the early 1980s once graffiti received recognition by famed pop artists, including Andy Warhol, for its connection to the 1960s pop culture movement while the New York Police Department continued its quest for graffiti writer apprehensions (Chang, 2005, p. 181). Fab 5 Freddy’s notorious Campbell Soup Cans with the tagline “sub-urban realism” led graffiti writers to a creative standard that served as an antithesis to their negative press attention and toward recognition as a pop culture movement (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 283 & 275). Artists like Warhol, developed a fascination with Freddy’s intertwining of advertising, pop art, Mexican muralist techniques, and comic book dimensions to create an unconventional form of installation art similar in exhibition to the late 1960s graffiti-led revolts by students at the University of Paris at Nanterre (Bochner, 2009, p. 137). Breakdancing, along with its many subsidiaries, experienced a slow decline throughout the 1970s with the rise of the MC and resulting disbandment of B-boy crews (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002). By the mid-1980s this hip-hop element had risen to widespread popularity and was occasionally referred to by the press as physical graffiti (Cepeda, 2004, p. 7; Cullum, 1992, p. 40).

Following the 1982 theatrical release Wild Style, Hollywood’s first attempt at capturing hip-hop phenomena directed by Charlie Ahearn and Fab 5 Freddy, the mid 1980s saw the culture usher in a new wave of diverse artistic influences. Breakdancing was reincarnated in Michael Jackson’s iconic 1984 Grammy–award premier of the moonwalk dance, influenced heavily by Los Angeles, California B-boys (Hurt, 2006). On the U.S.’s West Coast, rappers like Ice-T were introducing hip-hop to what came to be classified under the subgenre of gangsta rap, while the
newly formed New York City–based hip-hop record label, Def Jam Records, began creating new trends under the ideology of presenting the culture in its purest and rawest form (Fricke & Ahearn, 2002, p. 320; Stoute, 2011b, p. 21).

Under the direction of Def Jam founders, Russell Simmons and Rick Rubin, recording artists such as Run DMC, LL Cool J, and the white hip-hop trio, the Beastie Boys, all received critical acclaim for their grittier sound, snare-heavy instrumentals, and identifiably everyday fashions that represented hip-hop as a lucratively younger market. Through collaborative efforts with U.S. rock band, Aerosmith, Run DMC pioneered a rock-rap hybrid sound that musically took hip-hop to a widespread level of crossover appeal, earning the group numerous No. 1 spots on the 1980s Billboard Pop Charts and the first Grammy nomination for hip-hop (Allen, 2002, para. 9). By 1987, LL Cool J had earned his first platinum album and had introduced the rap love ballad with the single release of “I Need Love” (Cepeda 2004, p. 46). Following a cross-cultural tour with singer, Madonna, the hardcore punk-rock turned hip-hop Beastie Boys released their first full-length rap album in 1986, *Licensed to Ill*, going on to become the first rap album to achieve a platinum-selling record certification and the first rap album to earn the top spot on the Billboard album chart (Billboard, 1986; Cepeda, 2004, p. 222; Kitwana, 2002, p. 81-82).

While the aforementioned new wave rap pioneers were gaining mainstream endorsements and commercial success for blurring the lines between hip-hop and other popular genres, the competitively rougher battle rap format was growing in popularity with the polarity of UTFO’s *diss track*, “Roxanne”; the most popular more than 100 responses, “Roxanne’s Revenge” delivered by 14-year-old Roxanne Shante, went on to independently sell more than a quarter million copies (Chang, 2005, p. 210; Spirer, Suchan, Hennelly, & Jones, 2003). Giving credit to hip-hop’s DJing pioneers, New York–based MC, Doug E Fresh introduced mainstream hip-hop
and battle rap audiences to beat boxing, the art of vocally imitating percussion beats and musical rhythms.

As stated by Chang (2005), “By 1986, rap eclipsed all the other movements. It had expanded to incorporate many more pop perspectives—satirical rap, teenybopper rap, X-rated rap, Roxanne rap, Reagan rap, John Wayne rap” (p. 229). In the immediate aftermath of battle rap, a continued sense of lyrical combativeness developed into the subgenre of politically conscious rap led by radical groups, such as Public Enemy based in Long Island, New York, and N.W.A. from Compton, California. As these two groups rose to popularity, the Parental Advisory label emerged with Ice-T’s 1988 album release, and journalism nationwide began to regard hip-hop as more than an inner-city fad that needed to be explained, but more of a cemented culture that had enough stability to alter political ideology with contentious language (Chang, 2005, p. 247 & 425). Consequently, Public Enemy became notorious for leading man Chuck D’s disdainful comments against the U.S. government, while N.W.A. became disreputably recognized for its glamorization of gang culture, hypersexual misogyny, explicit drug use, and militant proliferations of recalcitrant punk-rock mentalities (Chang, 2005, 306). Politically charged rap music became divided classifiably as fitting into the 1990s subgenres of either conscious rap or gangsta rap.

Outside lyrical disputes, hip-hop received negative press with the late 1980s retiring of the infamous New York City graffiti subway cars and the 1991 trial of Grand Upright Music Ltd. v. Warner Bros. Records, Incorporated. New Jersey–based MC and beat boxer- Biz Markie, became the first rapper involved in a music sampling case for his use of song by singer Raymond O’Sullivan (Falstrom, 1994, p. 361). Following the highly publicized trial, copyright legislative conditions were established to oversee the use of sampling. Contrastingly, in the early 1990s,
former graffiti writers, like Hype Williams, began seeking alternative avenues to visually represent hip-hop’s saturated hyper realities by taking an everyday approach to the artistic production of music videos. (Vernallis, 2007, p. 411).

With the controversially explicit releases and supplementary music videos from rap acts, such as the Florida–based group 2 Live Crew and former N.W.A. member Ice Cube, the U.S. government’s 1990s relationship with hip-hop began to mirror the negative attention directed toward heavy metal artists of the 1970s and 1980s. Across the country hip-hop was instigating anti-rap protests by religious groups, debates contesting the genre’s dubious exercise of free speech, and gaining warnings from the FBI and the first Bush administration (Cepeda, 2004, p. 149; McCann, 2012, p. 378). Following the 1992 Los Angeles Police Department beating of Rodney King, rap music’s militancy, specifically West Coast rap, became the contextually ideal voice to an enraged generation revolted by social and racial inequality.

In spite of controversial attention, hip-hop culture continued to receive commercial successes that were collectively representative of the four elements through corporate appropriation. While distinctly different from all forms of breakdancing, social dances rooted in hip-hop, such as the running man, the reebok, the cabbage patch, and the humpty dance, were breathing life into hip-hop’s dance element and producing platinum–recording dance songs less rooted in the necessary formation of crews in favor of reaching widespread audiences (Brunson, 2011, p. 8; Chang, 2005, p. 228; Koslow, 2012, p. 60). Hip-hop’s visual arts, and specifically fashions, experienced an explosion of conspicuous prominence with the 1990s televised success of NBC sitcom *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* created by and starring Philadelphia based rapper, The Fresh Prince, also known as Will Smith.
Additionally, hip-hop’s visual aspects became more visible with MTV’s first rap music video show, *Yo! MTV Raps* (George, 1998, pp. 98–101). While the early 1990s theatrical releases of the films *Boyz n’ the Hood* and *Menace II Society* defended gangsta raps violent narratives by exposing the multidimensional social plight of inner-city youth, mirroring hip-hop’s vulgar transformation from its 1970s party music scene (Massood, 1996, p. 85 & 88). Conversely, McCann (2012) asserts that “the political and cultural mainstream of the 1980s regarded gangsta rap as a genuine threat to social order, rather than a playful destabilization of the period’s law and order discourses” (p. 369).

In the mid-1990s, hip-hop’s connections with gang culture returned in the form of coastal territorialism through hip-hop artists Tupac Shakur and Biggie Smalls, also known as the Notorious B.I.G. The son of two former Black Panther Party members, Tupac began his hip-hop journey as a dancer for the rap group Digital Underground before becoming a notable rapper and actor. While often revered for his political and socially conscious lyrics in favor of Black Nationalism, by 1995 Tupac had signed a record deal with the California based Death Row Records, showcasing sensationaly rebellious and thug-centered content contrasting with earlier releases. Founded by Suge Knight and former N.W.A. member Dr. Dre, Death Row Records included other West Coast hip-hop artists, such as Snoop Dogg, The Lady of Rage, Nate Dogg, and DJ Quik. Following a near fatal shooting he believed to be orchestrated by rival New York–based record label, Bad Boy Records, Tupac and Suge Knight’s efforts surpassed beyond a business rivalry and into a hip-hop civil war for supremacy and respect (Chang, 2005, p. 434). In September of 1996, the coastal war escalated with the murder of Tupac in Las Vegas; the West Coast’s primary target became the most popular East Coast rapper, the Notorious B.I.G.
The Notorious B.I.G. rose to hip-hop fame under the direction of Bad Boy Records founder Sean “Puff Daddy” Combs. With early radio successes on songs by R&B singer Mary J. Blige and detailed storytelling though lyrical delivery, Biggie helped bridge the gap between contemporary R&B and hip-hop in addition to bringing attention back to East Coast–based MCs. As a leading mid-1990s rapper, Biggie also fostered the careers of many forthcoming MCs, including Lil’ Cease, Jay-Z, and female rapper Lil’ Kim. Under the artistic direction of Biggie to become the hip-hop Marilyn Monroe, Lil’ Kim’s sexually explicit 1996 release competed with male rappers for sexual dominance and contrasted with the politically conscious lyrics of earlier female MCs Queen Latifah and MC Lyte (Cepeda, 2004, p. 283). In March of 1997 Biggie met a similar demise as Tupac, suffering from multiple fatal gunshot wounds in Los Angeles, which ultimately ended the East Coast — West Coast beef.

As the result of Tupac’s and the Notorious B.I.G.’s murders, gangsta rap and a majority of its identifying subgenre characteristics temporarily lost popularity within hip-hop culture. Popular rap releases in the latter half of 1997 reintroduced the situationally non-violent subgenre of playa rap. Randolph (2006) defines playa rap as a “genre of rap music characterized by its focus on consumption, adornment, and sensual pleasure” (p. 202). The subgenre features a lyrical focus on pleasurable activities, sexual prowess, and fast-paced consumption commonly taking place in nightclubs, strip clubs, shopping malls, and elaborate homes. Notably, through rappers, such as Puff Daddy, Jay-Z, and Mase, the subgenre introduced hip-hop’s revised masculinity standard with a lyrical bravado rooted in male vanity and sexual prowess (Randolph, 2006, p. 209-213).

Soon after the emergence of playa rap, hip-hop culture expanded further beyond coastal restraints and welcomed popular rappers from the U.S.’s southern region, commonly referred to
as the Dirty South. Featuring a fusion of socially conscious lyrics, pseudo-gangsta rap themes, playa rap personas, jazz/funk instrumentals, and poetic melodies, Atlanta, Georgia–based rap group Outkast gained popularity in the early 1990s and later went on to become the best-selling rap group of all time (Miller, 2004, p. 193). Conversely with the southern movement of Georgia artists, MCs and DJs in Houston, Texas were also receiving international attention with releases by Geto Boys, Willie D, and DJ Screw. The latter of which piloted Houston’s musical adaptations of hip-hop culture in the mid-1990s with the creation of a new subgenre, chopped-and-screwed music, best known for slowed-down instrumental samples, electronically deepened vocalizations, and a notorious affiliation with the recreational ingestion of codeine-laced cough syrup or “sizzyrup” (Edwards, 2005).


Prior to hip-hop’s entrance into a new millennium, the rules of the culture were once again rewritten on levels addressing sexual orientation, gender, and race within rap. In the late 1990s, “no homo” emerged as homophobic term introduced to the hip-hop community by New
York-based artists Cam’ron and made popular within mainstream rap music by Lil’ Wayne (Brown, 2011, p. 300). Considering rap music’s history with an often complicated linguistic word play, Weiner (2009) states that, “No homo, to those unfamiliar with the term, is a phrase added to statements in order to rid them of possible homosexual double-entendre” (p. 1). Reflecting common anti-gay messages, the broadcasted fear of being labeled as homosexual affords racial minorities opportunities to operationalize homophobia in favor of racial erasures (Hutchinson, 2000, p. 4; Vidal-Ortiz, 2008, p. 480). Upon the end of the 1990s, usage of derogatory terms towards homosexuals grew in popularity within rap music concurrently with a revised form of black feminism that challenged gender roles without the conspicuous exploitation of sexuality.

Previously a member of rap group The Fugees, Lauryn Hill released her first solo titled, *Miseducation of Lauryn Hill*. Hill received international acclaim the first woman to earn 10 nominations and earn five awards at the 1999 Grammy Awards, as well as being appointed the face of the hip-hop nation by *Time* magazine (Cepeda, 2004, p. 208; Strauss, 1999). Hill’s accomplishments were a striking contrast to 10 years earlier when the Grammy’s rap category was created but not broadcast on television. Unlike many emerging female MCs of the time, Lauryn Hill, in addition to Virginia–based female MC and producer Missy Elliott, had images and rap narratives that were not rooted in hypersexual fantasies and gave attention to a hip-hop feminism movement, over time crossing over into a new R&B subgenre, neo-soul. As stated by Chang (2005), “There was an unstable mix of Million Woman March-styled self-empowerment and AIDS- and gangsta-rap-era self-defense in the music, perhaps best epitomized by Hill’s hit “Doo Wop (That Thing)” (p. 446). Not considering her lyricism, signing abilities, or sense of
style, Hill was one of the first internationally popular artists to publicly address hip-hop on the foundations of spirituality, theology, and Afrocentrism.

Based on the Afrocentric studies of Frazier (1957) and Mbiti (1970), Semmes (1981) states the following: “For example, when Europeans came into contact with indigenous peoples of Afrika or North America, they often had to introduce the concept of individual ownership and exploitation of land” (p. 4). Relating to the aforementioned indigenous peoples, rap was the metaphoric land of the previously voiceless, speaking of social issues representative of African-American life. Watkins (2010), p. 328 identifies hip-hop theologians like Talib Kweli, Lauryn Hill, and James H. Cone as rap critics who have a spiritual relationship with their lyrics, comparing the relationship between conscious rap and commercial crossover rap to the worldly battle between God and Satan.

Concurrently with Hill’s socially conscious rise to popularity, Michigan–based white rapper Eminem’s first major label release, under the direction of former N.W.A. producer, Dr. Dre, expanded hip-hop boundaries with his representation of a non-black rapper who unlike preceding white rapper Vanilla Ice, maintained a culturally authentic appropriation of rap music (Olsen & Shobe, 2008, p. 1003). Racially preceded by Latino rappers like Big Pun and Fat Joe, emerging white rappers like Eminem represented a younger generation of non-black hip-hop fans who not only expanded the culture beyond its “black music” moniker but also grew up in an era where hip-hop was not recognized as an underground entity (Kitwana, 2002). Nonetheless, even with Eminem’s respect within the hip-hop community, some critics consider him a musical reincarnation of Elvis Presley. In other words, Eminem opened the hip-hop gates for authentic and fraudulent non—black rappers alike through the capitalization and appropriation of a previously black art form (Olsen & Shobe, 2008).
As Kitwana (2002) argues, “It would take an army of Eminem’s to divorce the image of hip-hop from young Black men, who after thirty years still dominate the art form” (p. 2). By 2000, hip-hop critics feared the creation of a newly manufactured rock-rap hybrid subgenre, proliferated by artists like Limp Bizkit, Korn, Kid Rock, and Smashmouth, was displacing hip-hop’s cultural origins. With compositional punk-rock roots and experimental rap deliveries, it is the critique of Middleton and Beebe (2004, p. 161), that rock rap was a packaged product that unapologetically capitalized on the popularity of hip-hop culture among white suburban youth by decontextualizing hip-hop’s connection to African-American culture and replacing it with a white middle-class appearance. However, this dismay for the commercialization of African-American musical forms did not start with hip-hop. Frankfurt School sociologist- Theodor Adorno- notably objected the proliferation of jazz music because he believed its international success was rooted in exploiting the contrast between black skin tones and metallic instruments in capitalistic favor of commercializing musically and visually racial commodities (Back, 2000, p. 129). By 2001 hip-hop entered a cross-cultural era where the rules on gender and race were being reconstructed.

The early 2000s introduced hip-hop’s landscape to the Midwest U.S. with alternative rappers like Kanye West and Nelly, who diversified playa rap’s formulaic narratives with a lyrical mix of materialistic ideology, exaggerated vernacular, previously unscathed displays of emotions, authentic connections to street culture, and R&B–infused hooks performed by rappers instead of a featured R&B singer (Richardson, 2011, p. 100). Through lyrical and instrumentally sampling from childhood nursery rhymes, and unapologetically hybridizing antimaterialist and materialist views, Midwestern rappers quickly gained popularity with both the traditional hip-hop community and the emerging trans-racial MTV rap generation.
In spite of lawsuits in the 1990s, rap music continued to explore digital sampling with international samples, notably by multiplatinum female rapper Missy Elliott’s usage of Indian instrumental and vocal samples with her production partner, Timbaland. Like many other cross-cultural fusions within rap music, Elliott and Timbaland’s efforts were not merely borrowing of another culture; it was a negotiated subcultural exchange that resulted in musical hybridity and multiplatinum success (Hankins, 2011). This instance of sampling, and many others that followed, presented rap music as a unifying entity, specializing in the manipulation of other genres in favor of conforming to the black aesthetic of hip-hop culture through technologic advances (Schloss, 2004, p. 35).

This manipulation soon manifested in the subgenre popularity of pop rap, also known as crossover rap. Hip-hop’s many subgenres, including crossover rap, reflect Kitwana’s (2005) assertions that “In a quick, fast-paced, global culture, hip-hop incorporates fluid elements (music, language, nuance) at lightning speed while remaining easily accessible across cultures” (p. 30). With sampling from genres ranging from techno house music to country, mainstream rap following 2008 reflects a hip-hop movement formulated by former rap label executive and advertising CEO- Steve Stoute. In “The Tanning of America: How Hip-hop Created a Culture that Rewrote the Rules of the New Economy,” Stoute (2011b) coined the term tanning as an international embodiment of hip-hop’s commercial success rather than the term’s more common reference to exposing skin to the sun for purposes of gaining pigmentation. During an NPR interview, Stoute states that “Tanning is a phenomenon that went beyond musical boundaries and it went deep into the psyche of young America, blurring demographic lines and causing a transformation so that there was a generation of kids that did not identify each other through color any longer” (2011a).
With major releases incorporating multiple modernist identities by inspiration non-rap genres, contemporary hip-hop artists such as Drake, Nicki Minaj, Kanye West, Beyoncé and Macklemore, are among popular representations of Stoute’s tanning movement’s power within hip-hop culture. The tanning movement, rooted in postmodernity, can also be observed through former Disney entertainer Miley Cyrus’s visual, instrumental, and lyrical appropriation of hip-hop culture. Cyrus represents members of the millennial generation who don’t perceive hip-hop as solely black music, but as a globally explorative and transcultural form of expression that has rebelliously promoted social change and reversals of hegemonic relations.

Theoretical Framework

Before offering an in-depth explanation of postmodernism’s theoretical suitability in examining any sociocultural topic occurs, one must explain and assess the theoretical history of its predecessor, modernism, within the social sciences. Following psychological and sociological findings by theoreticians including Friedrich Nietzsche (will to power and anti-realism) Sigmund Freud (animalistic sex drive), and Karl Marx (social class was created, not inherent), the complexities of modernism surfaced in the late 19th century as an arts movement that rejected the ideological constructs of realism’s promotion of high culture over popular culture (Patterson, 2010). In a period in which societal critiques were commonly elicited by philosophers and writers, the movement additionally discarded the importance of tribal roles and preexisting principles of morality in favor of promoting empowerment of the individual for reasons of initiating societal separation from the Eastern hemisphere to progress the Western hemisphere’s future (Cun, 2011; Lipovetsky, 2005).

As Heller (1999) states, “Modernist imagination marginalized the present through historical recollection of the past (as necessity) and through the project and projection of an
infinite future (freedom) which is the territory of human experiment and creation” (p. 7). In accordance with Hellner’s position, modernism, represented through terms including but not limited to modernity and the modern movement, exists due to the historicized interpretations of false realities in which the theoretical truths of progress lie in the presentation of guided grand narrative. The grand narrative was theoretically based on the European Enlightenment movement’s focus on the autonomous importance of freedom and equality in conjunction with the power of the state (Lipovetsky & Charles, 2005, pp. 1–8). Thompson (1996) implies that in its initial stages, modernism as a rationalized discipline sought out to forego past traditions through “detraditionalization,” an organized process of reconstructing old traditions into new traditions.

From the fine arts and aesthetics perspective, modernism represents a separation from the idealistic representations of the Victorian Era in service of presenting a simplified life view uninhibited by extravagance and could be, as stated by Patterson (2010), “manipulated in the interest of man by knowledge of the real character of the objective relations, and that through such control of the environment man can develop his standard of life to higher and higher levels” (p. 119). With resulting divisions and influences from the Dadaist and Cubist abstract fine arts movements, notable artists important to the modernist movement include Georges Braque, Piet Mondrian, Georgia O’Keeffe, Pablo Picasso, and Vincent van Gogh.

Toward the beginning of the 20th century, modernism spread beyond its fine arts’ introduction and into literature with rebel writers and poets whose work reflected the movement’s dismissal of absolute knowledge and experimental exemplifications of modern complexities. Rejecting preexisting forms of writing structures involving chronology, character perspective, and societal truths, modernist literature introduced fragmentary approaches, like the
stream of consciousness, to introspectively lead the public to a critical formulation of individual interpretation (Ellison, 2001; Valentine, 2003). Writings by Ernest Hemingway, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ezra Pound, and T.S. Eliot have been celebrated by scholars as leading examples of modernism flourishing through literature (Seshagiri, 2013; Badertscher, 2009).

The 20th century rise of the modernist movement has been credited to numerous phenomena, including technological advances, ideological uncertainty, and secular scientific advances. However, no other phenomenon was as universally experienced as the 1914 inception of World War I. During and following the war, modernism gained an identification as a sociological movement, defined by Duffy (2000) as a system in which, “… organizational premises hold that society should place its faith in reason, progress, objectivity, and control” (p.295). Also referred to as the Great War, World War I created a society disillusioned by disastrous casualties exceeding 30 million, questioning the worldly idealism that had escalated toward a darkened civilization of meaningless (Stevenson, 2010). Traumatized by a deadly convergence of politics and violence, society began to reject optimistic American metanarrative in favor of the rebellious disciplines presented by modernists through the new forms of the arts, literature, and music (James, 2013).

The emergence of jazz music in the United States was a sociocultural phenomenon that was rooted in the culture of southern African-Americans and structurally characterized modernism through its lyrical presentation of everyday happenings shying away from instances of extraordinary marvel (Schleifer, 2011). As stated by Patterson (2010), however, “Internationally, jazz music, like modernism, was being suppressed in Germany and Japan, with the result that swing was embraced during the late 1930s as a symbol of the American way of life – one premised upon democracy, tolerance, and freedom of expression” (p. 114). A mixture of
European harmonies, West African polyrhythms, and African-American vernacular usages of story-telling, jazz became a music genre that epitomized the United States’ modern age of change (Potter, 1995). Following the genre’s maturation, it would later be classified by Middleton (1993) and Theodor Adorno, via Robinson (1994), as a destructive bystander of high modernism through the commodified label of popular music. Occurring during the inception of the Industrial Age, such commodification served its purpose under modernist forces leading toward capitalist gain, acknowledged by Marx (1959) as bearing negative and positive functions for society and the individual.

In contrast to past social movements, modernism’s rationalist emphases on the innovative betterment of the individual for societal purposes led to the organized flexibility of authenticated identities. Kellner (1995) states “In modernity, identity made changes toward being more mobile with multiple, personal, self-reflexive identities subject to change, but it was still a social construct from a set of needed roles and social norms” (p. 231). Attempting to organize humanity through the separation of religion from traditional morality, science, and aesthetics, modernism tested the acceptance of individuality fostered by technological advances during the industrial age (Choi, 2004).

In the post Great Depression era succeeding the Great War, the arrival of media culture opened the minds of society with the emergence of radio, television, and cinema, each of which provided modernists with mediums to present individuals with new ideology. Explained by Kellner (1995) as “a form of techno-culture that merges culture and technology in new forms and configurations, producing new types of societies in which media & technology become organizing principles,” media culture became intertwined with the modernist movement’s proliferation of American cynicism (p. 2). With rising attention, new forms of media were
becoming a part of everyday life in major U.S. cities established during the industrial revolution of the 1920s, thus giving rise to a modern culture shifting away from production and more toward consumption.

Through exchanges of conversation and interpretation by way of the media, culture became a transcontextual example of modernism’s functional influence on society with its emphasis on cultivated discourse (Heller, 1999). In this sense, discussed by Giddens (1990), the modernist introduction of technocracy represented a globalized change toward accentuated modernity, a transformative shift toward a capitalistic system of accumulation.

It is the critique of Kellner (1995) that, the modern movement, while optimistic in reference to social improvement, proceeded to reconstruct negative aspects of previous movements providing society, and more importantly, the individual with anxiously insubstantial feelings to make the right choice in choosing a true yet authenticated identity. Kellner continues to state “From Descartes’ cogito, to Kant’s and Husserl’s transcendental ego, to the Enlightenment concept of reason, to some contemporary concepts of the subject, identity is conceived as something essential, substantial, unitary, fixed, and fundamentally unchanging” (p. 232).

Lipovetsky (2005) cites Foucault’s critique that “Modernity is a discipline whose final aim is more to control men than to liberate them” (p. 3). In accordance with this assertion, the modern movement set out to free the individual from the constructs of traditionally functionalist ideology, but as time progressed after World War II, the movement, along with its grand narrative for society, increasingly dissolved with its separation from mass culture, commonly referred to as either consumer culture or media culture. (Bielby, D. & Bielby, W., 2003; Dominici, G., Basile, G., & Palumbo, F., 2013; Kellner, 1995).
Much like the fine arts emergence of the modern movement, toward the mid-1960s a new movement began to materialize with an inclination toward art that wasn’t confined to former rules of concept, mediums, and the relationships that could exist between art, science, and popular culture (Garousi & Kowsari, 2012, p. 215-222). Succeeding modernism, this movement toward an anti-authoritarian separation from intrinsic significance was labeled as the postmodernist movement within art. However, it is important to note that postmodernism does not represent modernism’s replacement as much as it represents a move in broader cultural knowledge of the arts, and later, society (McGuigan, 1999). Experimental artists such as Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, Yves Klein, Yoko Ono, and Jasper Johns, while early postmodern artists, had their work categorized under numerous labels including abstract expressionism, avant-garde, pop art, and performance art (Boriss-Krimsky, 2001; Klein, 1998).

Lipovetsky and Charles (2005) claim that “In fact it is first and foremost the phenomenon of mass consumption and that values it has put into circulation (a hedonistic and psychological culture) that are responsible for the shift from modernity to postmodernity, a transformation that can be dated to the second half of the twentieth century” (p. 9). In a time when mass culture and the media were no longer modernistic subsidiaries and were developing into an antithesis of modernism itself, postmodernist art progressed into a cultural movement identified as postmodern culture. Mcguigan (2005) explains the postmodernist’s ideological declaration as “first and foremost, to do away with ideas and subjectivity, how we think and signify: it is not primarily a claim concerning material reality” (p. 2). Hebdige (1988) contends that the postmodern movement shares characteristics with the previously existing neo-Gramscian program including no grand narrative, no significance of social classes and the proliferation of social betterment through evolving radical ideology. Subjectively free from previously organized
movements, characteristics of the postmodern movement are often divided into several terms, including postmodernism and postmodernity.

While some scholars use the aforementioned terms similarly or interchangeably, McGuian (2005) asserts that postmodernism refers to poststructuralist theory-based philosophies, while postmodernity refers to social contentions that contemporary society provisionally exists in between the modern and postmodern periods. All in all, due to the postmodern culture’s ambiguous complexities, defiance against being attached to any meta–narrative, and antithetical representation of a non-linear existence, it is a complexly narrative-free ideology that attempts to separate society from culture, and high culture from popular culture, all while showcasing the importance of aesthetics over substance (Strinati, 1995, pp. 211–226).

It is the skeptical critique of many modernist theorists including Heller (1999) that the postmodern perspective is “best described as the self-reflective consciousness of modernism itself … for it knows that it knows very little, if anything at all” (p. 4). In response to such critiques that denote postmodernism as a respectable social movement and question its amount of obscure ignorance, Lyotard (1984) states that “postmodern knowledge is not simply a tool of the authorities; its principle is not the expert’s homology, but the inventor’s paralogy”(p. xxv). In accordance with Lyotard’s ideological explanation of postmodernism’s purpose, Lipovetsky and Charles (2005) emphasize postmodernism’s enigmatic commitment to individualism through the presentation of an autonomous perspective that paradoxically decreases dependency on society. Philosophical works by postmodern scholars, such as Baudrillard, Foucault, and Lyotard, describe postmodernism as an understanding of cultural knowledge in which there were annulments of social structures including universal truths, metanarratives, and the role of the signified in contrast with the signifier.
Contrasting with modernism’s unified relationship with Immanuel Kant’s division of aesthetics, morality, and science into mutually exclusive disciplines, postmodernism in both its poststructuralist and critical theoretically social transformations views each discipline with blurred boundaries (Choi, 2004; Kanth, 2005). The definitive separation between the poststructuralist postmodern social theory and critical postmodern social theory is that the former supports the importance of aesthetic differences to gain knowledge through negation of Marxist’s theory while the latter supports the fragmented individual effects of capitalism through Marxist’s theory by way of addressing morality as a paradigm of knowledge (Best & Kellner, 1991; Choi, 2004).

Following the decay of existentialism and the rise of postmodernism in the 1960s and 1970s, it became increasingly important for scholars to examine the movement beyond its avant-garde representations in the fine arts and literature (Koscianski, 2003; McGuigan, 1999). Showcasing the importance of postmodernism’s philosophical relationship with the entertainment industry in the 1980s, mass culture phenomena began to reflect the postmodern movement in media comprising of television, film, and music (Kellner, 1995). It is in this era that postmodernism’s association with mass consumption began to produce visual exemplifications of media culture on a societal level.

Williams (1974) presented his perceptions about television’s changing format from individual streams of texts into long blocks of structured programming featuring similar characteristics, thematic moods, and fragmented scripting styles. However, by the 1980s, technological advancements such as the videocassette recorder, remote control, and cable television cohesively pushed toward the destruction of traditional formats (Klaver, 1994). The aforementioned devices allotted viewers the opportunity to become more active in the non-linear
messages they received; serving the role of signifiers, television viewers unknowingly faced the
task of reconstructing a vast circulation of messages into relative meanings in relation to their
realities. Klaver (1994) argues that despite television’s conventional restrictions in contrast with
other media, television became a postmodern matrix by the 1990s through the propagation of
continuous channel-surfing and the presentation of an array of stylistic texts bearing diminutive
concern for the bigger picture.

Serving as an antithesis to Baudrillard’s (1983) postmodern assertion that television is a
meaningless black hole of pure noise producing a kaleidoscope of one-dimensional saturated
information, Kellner (1995) describes the 1980s U.S. television programming as emblematic of
a cultural shift from affluent idealism to raw realism. While the early 1980s was committed to
idealist programs (e.g., Lifestyles of the Rich & Famous, Dallas, and Silver Spoons), the latter
half of the decade showed the rise of programming with leading characters with asocial
mannerisms in middle–to lower–class settings. Popular examples of raw realistic programming
(e.g., Roseanne, The Simpsons, Married with Children, and My Two Dads) represented cultural
disconnects from the typical “American Dream” as result of numerous factors, including a
dwindling economy.

The early 1990s postmodern movement was televised through programming of Miami
Vice that defied a typical narrative story-telling format in favor of promoting a fragmentary
multicultural landscape of forward-looking technology, exotically neon imagery, equivocal
interpretations, and extended auditory appearances by popular music (Kellner, 1995). The
program’s defiance against hegemonic structure in addition to the visualizations of a capitalist
rooted high-consumption society was aligned with the rising popularity of cable television
channel, Music Television, operating under the acronym MTV.
As stated by Anson (2000), “MTV is a cultural phenomenon, a force that has changed the worlds of fashion, movies, and music itself” (para. 1). Aside from being credited for the international success of cross-cultural recording artists, the cultural phenomena spawned the controversial animated television show, *Beavis and Butt-Head*. Kellner (1995) asserts, “The series provides a critical vision of the current generation of youth raised primarily on media culture” (p. 143). With a format that presented the teenaged cartoon duo pliably critiquing pop culture in addition to performing violent acts of delinquency, *Beavis and Butt-Head* experimentally represented a world where entertainment ruled over authority.

Premiering in 1981, MTV changed the music industry by popularizing music videos in a marketing format that soon became an integral part of youth culture and a mandatory for recording artists wanting a widespread fan-base regardless of previously established segmentation. Through the packaged construction of musician images, while artists like Madonna were afforded televised opportunities to reconstruct femininity through the appropriation of traditionally male rebellion, pop artist like Michael Jackson were provided a platform to deconstruct racial limitations in regards to transcultural appeal (Culp, 1993; Freccero, 1992). As a cultural phenomenon, MTV’s transcultural appeal continued with the late 1980s debut of *Yo! MTV Raps*, the first nationally, and later internationally, aired hip-hop music show (George, 1989, pp. 98–101). It is for all these reasons and more that MTV should be heralded in this text as a major force behind the intertwining of postmodern ideology with popular youth culture, as well as one of the many media channels that showcased hip-hop as a product of postmodernism.

As stated by Lyotard (1984) “Postmodernity represents the precise historical moment at which all the institutional brakes holding back individual emancipation disintegrated and
vanished, thereby giving rise to the expression of individual desires, self-fulfillment and self-esteem” (p. 9). Hip-hop’s inception, representing a counter-aesthetic against popular Eurocentric culture through the performance arts, exhibited similarities to that of postmodernism’s artistic origins (Kellner, 1995; Potter, 1995). Classified by Potter (1995) as radical postmodernism, hip-hop culture fragmentally reconstructed the postindustrial urban U.S. landscape into a contemporary representation of African-American diasporic experience.

The postmodern identity, or lack thereof, represents a decentered sense of fragmented concentrations, detached from categorization and respectfully disconnected from anxious feelings of not cohering to a sense of acceptable individualism (Kellner, 1995 p. 43–45, 231–235). In support of this explanation’s relationship with hip-hop, Potter (1995) cites Chuck D.’s assertion that “hip-hop has come to mark more of a generational line that a racial one, and indeed this is one reason why it’s so threatening to the dominant race class system; it invites identification across forbidden lines, demonstrates widespread disaffection from the machinery of capitalism at a time when the free market is widely hailed in the media as the great economic savior” (p. 10).

As stated by postmodern semiotician Roland Barthes (1968), “We know that a text does not consist of line of words, releasing a single theological meaning, but is a space of many dimensions, in which are wedded and contested various kinds of writing, no one of which is original: the text is a tissue of citations, resulting from the thousand sources of culture.” (p. 4). Rap, which is hip-hop culture in its lyrical form, represents postmodern ideology that in addition to blurring the lines of race and social class, is critiqued and valued for its deconstructive explorations into recreating acceptable narratives, providing common themes of paradoxical juxtaposition, as well as hegemonic identifications of nationality, ethnicity, gender, sexuality,
and high culture (Back, 2000; Cepeda, 2004; Firat et al., 2001; Kellner, 1994; Miller, 2004; Stoute, 2011b).
The hip-hop music industry has been experiencing demographic changes of recording artists, such as race/ethnicity and gender. However, research on longitudinal demographic changes so far has been sporadic and anecdotal. Furthermore, hip-hop artists’ demographic changes can influence the relevance of a particular construct or theme in their songs. For example, African-American hip-hop recording artists may deal with race issues by denouncing racism and/or calling for racial unity. On the other hand, non–African-American artists may simply ignore the whole race theme altogether. Again, research on longitudinal changes in terms of the relevance of any construct in hip-hop songs has been scant. Therefore, the following research questions are posited:

RQ1a: How will the race/ethnicity of hip-hop recording artists be changed over time?
RQ1b: How will the gender of hip-hop recording artists be changed over time?
RQ1c: How will the relevance of race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, sexuality, and materialism in hip-hop songs be changed over time?

Hip-hop music has increasingly blurred racial or ethnic boundaries (Orlando, 2003; Sarkar & Allen, 2007), transcended male authority, aggression, and lyricism by female rappers (Mullins, 2013; Touré, 2011), described female homoerotic encounters (McCann, 2012), and presented hypersexualized images (Haugen, 2003). Operationalized as “paradoxical juxtapositions (of opposites)” (Firat & Shultz, 1997, pp. 191–192; Firat & Venkatesh, 1993, pp. 237–239), postmodernism predicts that coexistence, or postmodern hybridity, of oppositional modernist identities in hip-hop songs has increased over time. Therefore, the following research question and hypotheses are posed:
RQ2: How will postmodern hybridity of oppositional identities regarding race, gender, sexual orientation, and sexuality in hip-hop songs be changed over time?

H2a: Coexistence of oppositional racial or ethnic identities in hip-hop songs will increase over time.

H2b: Coexistence of oppositional gender identities in hip-hop songs will increase over time.

H2c: Coexistence of oppositional sexual orientations in hip-hop songs will increase over time.

H2d: Coexistence of oppositional modes of sexuality in hip-hop songs will increase over time.

Past scholars have identified rap music’s progression from undervalued art form to an international, capitalist multimillion-dollar industry, equating success to monetary advancement (e.g., Bynoe, 2004; Hunter, 2011). Additionally, chart-topping hip-hop artists like Haynes (2002) defend hip-hop’s materialist transformation through advantageous relationships with capitalism (Appendix A). As Douglas (1994) argues, “One of capitalism’s great strengths — perhaps its greatest — is its ability to co-opt and domesticate opposition, to transubstantiate criticism into a host of new, marketable products” (p. 260). In other words, late capitalism has accelerated postmodern hybridity of oppositional identities coexisting in our culture. Thus, the following research question and hypotheses are posited:

RQ3a: Will materialist identities in hip-hop songs increase over time?

RQ6b: Will postmodern hybridity of oppositional materialist and antimaterialist identities in hip-hop songs increase over time?
RQ3c: How will materialist identities affect postmodern hybridity of oppositional identities in hip-hop songs?

H3a: Coexistence of oppositional racial or ethnic identities in hip-hop songs will increase as materialist identities increase.

H3b: Coexistence of oppositional gender identities in hip-hop songs will increase as materialist identities increase.

H3c: Coexistence of oppositional sexual orientations in hip-hop songs will increase as materialist identities increase.

H3d: Coexistence of oppositional modes of sexuality in hip-hop songs will increase as materialist identities increase.
METHOD

Sampling

To answer this study’s research questions and test its hypotheses, a longitudinal content analysis of rap songs was conducted. This study probabilistically selected 150 most popular hip-hop songs for each of the past four decades. Those 150 songs equally represented all the years of a particular decade. In total, 600 songs were selected. Because Nielsen SoundScan’s Billboard music industry rap charts were not available until April of 1989, *Ego Trip’s Book of Rap Lists* (Jenkins, Wilson, Mao, Alvarez, & Rollins, 1999) was used between 1980 and 1989. This sample was chosen because it best represents both past and contemporary themes within the genre, as well as songs that were deemed popular by means of public exposure and public consumption.

Both resources for sampling hip-hop songs are considered reliable. *Ego Trip’s Book of Rap Lists*, a reference book produced by a multimedia team of the 1990s hip-hop magazine *Ego Trip*, is one of the few published works that historically address the early hip-hop genre through scholarly examination, including in-depth interviews, focus groups, and oral histories. In addition, “Billboard annually uses a complex algorithm, integrating data from both sales and airplay to determine the top songs according to exposure. Sales data for this algorithm are compiled by Nielsen SoundScan from merchants representing more than 90% of the U.S. music market, including sales from music stores, direct-to-consumer transactions, and Internet sales and downloads” (Primack, Gold, Shcwarz, & Dalton, 2008, p. 594).

*Ego Trip’s Book of Rap Lists* included dozens of top hip-hop songs for each year between 1980 and 1989. After all redundant songs were eliminated from each year’s list, 15 unique songs were randomly selected for each year. Between 1990 and 2013, weekly Top 10 songs were cumulatively compiled for each year while redundant songs were eliminated. Then, 15 unique
songs were randomly selected for each year between 1989 and 2009, and 37 (2011, 2013) or 38 (2010, 2012) unique songs were randomly selected for each year of the 2010s.

Within numerous chart-topping hip-hop releases there is an affinity to credit DJs as the lead artist and present leading artists as featured artists even though the DJ may not have participated in writing lyrics or producing instrumentals. These credited DJs serve the purpose of promoting singles, with little to no inclusion in the creative process or concept creation. Due to this separation between credited DJs and lyrical content, DJs with no lyrical contribution outside of ad-libs will be omitted from the sample’s demographic based data. An example of this phenomenon occurring within the sample would be the 2011 release by DJ Khaled, “I’m on One,” featuring Drake, Rick Ross and Lil Wayne, in which Khaled was credited as a primary artist but neither wrote nor performed any lyrics outside of introductory and closing ad-libs.

Measures and Coding Procedures

The unit of analysis was the individual hip-hop song. For coding purposes, a content analysis was chosen because this research method establishes categorized meaning within written and visual sources through the quantitative apportionment of content (Payne & Payne, 2004). A coding sheet and a detailed coder instruction sheet were developed to gather basic information about each hip-hop song and assess for each song the degree of postmodern hybridization of oppositional modernist identities associated with race, gender, sexual orientation, sexuality, and materialism (Appendix B & C). The first author, a young African-American male, analyzed each song by first listening to it and again listening to it a second time while simultaneously reading the song’s lyrics.

Basic information collected about each song included the decade (the 1980s, the 1990s, the 2000s, the 2010s) of the song’s first appearance in a top chart, the song’s length in words, the
song’s rap subgenre (see below), and the gender (male, female, mixed), race (black, white, Latino/a, Asian, other monoracial, mixed), and geographic origin (East Coast, Midwest, South, West Coast, other U.S. region, international, mixed) of the song’s artists.

This study identified and used the following six rap subgenres: (1) conscious rap, which focuses on “uplift and political awareness” (Newman, 2005, p. 404); (2) crossover rap identified as rap songs containing major music and melodic influences from typically non-black genres, such as pop, electro, rock, and country; (3) gangsta rap described as “an expression of a gangster’s life on the streets, with a ‘gangster’ defined as a person who lives outside the law, selling drugs to make money, using women for his profit, and promoting violence and racism” (Grascia, 2003, p. 56); (4) party rap considered as supplementary to local rap parties (Chang, 2005; Kellner, 1995); (5) playa rap defined as a “genre of rap music characterized by its focus on consumption, adornment, and sensual pleasure” (Randolph, 2006, p. 200), and (6) other.

To investigate postmodern paradoxical juxtaposition of oppositional modernist identities associated with five constructs (i.e., race, gender, sexual orientation, sexuality, and materialism), literature review first searched for major psychological scales related to each construct and identified those scales’ underlying dimensions. Similar dimensions were often combined into one newly named dimension with polar opposites. For instance, one dimension of the gender construct has “antifemininity” to represent masculinity on one hand and “profemininity” to represent femininity on the other. All those dimensions were derived based on each scale’s items, its theoretical rationale, and research results. The coder checked “Yes” or “No” to indicate the existence of polar opposites in each hip-hop song. Coexistence of oppositional identities on any dimension of a construct (e.g., “self-hatred” for negativity/passiveness toward race vs. “power equality” for positivity/activeness toward race) in a song indicates postmodern hybridity of
oppositional identities. Also, if a song contained any identity on either of the polar opposites (e.g., heterosexuality vs. homosexuality) of a particular construct (e.g., sexual orientation), it was classified as relevant to the construct.

**Race.** The Cross Racial Identity Scale (Vandiver, Cross, Worrell, & Fhagen-Smith, 2002) and Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (Sellers, Smith, Shelton, Rowley, & Chavous, 1998) were used to identify the following four dimensions of race (negativity and passiveness vs. positivity and activeness toward race) in relation to racial identity, racial ideology, and racial prejudice: self-hatred versus self-love; other-hatred versus other-love; difference and particularism versus sameness and universalism; and power inequality versus power equality. Each variable was rated as either “yes” for being prevalent within a song’s lyrics or “no” for not being prevalent within a song’s lyrics. The concurrent prevalence of variables favorable toward negative race characteristics and positive race characteristics, representative of modernist paradoxical juxtaposition, showcases instances of postmodern hybridity within race. Additionally, racial identification of both American and international artists within the sample was demographically expanded into six categories — African-American or black, Caucasian-American or white, Hispanic-American or Latino, Asian-American or Asian, Other, and Mixed.

**Gender.** Five dimensions of gender (masculinity vs. femininity) were identified based on Bem’s (1974) Sex-Role Inventory, Choi, Fuqua, and Newman’s (2009) study on the contemporary relevance of Bem’s scale, Thompson and Pleck’s (1986) structuring of Male Gender Role Norms, and Fischer, Tokar, Good, and Snell’s (1998) reexamination of male gender norms: (1) status, respect, and rationality versus romance and emotionality; (2) violent toughness versus compliant friendliness; (3) antifemininity versus profemininity; (4) other social masculinity versus other social femininity; and (5) other personal masculinity versus other social masculinity vs. femininity.
femininity. Each variable was rated as either “yes” for being prevalent within a song’s lyrics or “no” for not being prevalent within a song’s lyrics. The concurrent prevalence of variables favorable toward both masculinity and femininity, representative of modernist paradoxical juxtaposition, showcases instances of postmodern hybridity within gender. Additionally, gender within this sample was demographically measured by individual songs’ credited artists’ gender-specific identification. Gender-specific classification was expanded into three categories — all male, all female, or both male and female — the existence of both males and females within a song’s credited artists.

**Sexual orientation.** Laumann, Gagnon, Michael, and Michaels (1994) measured three dimensions of homosexuality: sexual identity, sexual desire, and sexual behavior (pp. 290–301). Also using the Klein Sexual Orientation Grid (Klein, Sepekoff, and Wolf, 1985), this study identified three dimensions of sexual orientation (heterosexuality vs. homosexuality): heterosexual self-identity versus homosexual self-identity; opposite-gender sexual desire and attraction versus same-gender sexual desire and attraction; and opposite-gender sexual behavior and practices versus same-gender sexual behavior and practices. Each variable was rated as either “yes” for being prevalent within a song’s lyrics or “no” for not being prevalent within a song’s lyrics. The concurrent prevalence of variables favorable toward both heterosexuality and homosexuality, representative of modernist paradoxical juxtaposition, showcases instances of postmodern hybridity within sexual orientation.

**Sexuality.** To eliminate conceptual confounding, sexuality was defined as a behavioral construct other than and separate from sexual orientation. Based on Reid, Garos, and Carpenter’s (2011) Hypersexual Behavior Inventory, this study identified three dimensions of sexuality (normalcy and hypososexuality vs. hypersexuality): control versus failure to control;
noninstrumental engagement versus instrumental coping; and no negative consequences versus negative consequences. Each variable was rated as either “yes” for being prevalent within a song’s lyrics or “no” for not being prevalent within a song’s lyrics. The concurrent prevalence of variables favorable toward both normalcy/hyposexuality and hypersexuality, representative of modernist paradoxical juxtaposition, showcases instances of postmodern hybridity within sexuality.

Materialism. Richins (2004) defines materialism as “the importance ascribed to the ownership and acquisition of material goods in achieving major life goals or desired states,” conceptualizing “material values as encompassing three domains: the use of possessions to judge the success of others and oneself, the centrality of possessions in a person’s life, and the belief that possessions and their acquisition lead to happiness and life satisfaction” (p. 210). Based on his Material Values Scale, three dimensions of materialism (favorability toward materialism vs. favorability toward antimaterialism) were identified: material success versus nonmaterial success; material centrality versus nonmaterial centrality; and material happiness versus nonmaterial happiness. Each variable was rated as either “yes” for being prevalent within a song’s lyrics or “no” for not being prevalent within a song’s lyrics. The concurrent prevalence of variables favorable toward materialism and favorable toward antimaterialism, representative of modernist paradoxical juxtaposition, showcases instances of postmodern hybridity within materialism.

Subgenres

Six types of rap subgenres were selected for projected relation to hip-hop’s musical progression — conscious rap, crossover rap, gansta rap, party rap, playa rap, and other.
Conscious rap. Conscious rap focuses on “uplift and political awareness” (Newman, 2005, p. 404). Aside from any Afrocentric implications, the subgenre maintains a general focus on communal betterment, knowledge, political awareness, impoverished struggle, psychological introspection, and/or social change. Identifiably similar subgenres within this sample include hip-hop soul, gospel rap, jazz rap, and political rap. An example of conscious rap is “U.N.I.T.Y.” by Queen Latifah.

Crossover rap. Crossover rap can be identified as rap songs containing major music and melodic influences from typically non-Black genres including but exclusive to pop, electro, rock, and country. Rap & contemporary R&B share a sometimes symbiotic relationship in which the only difference between a song being classified as one or the other depends on the leading artist attribution to the song, therefore R&B fused rap songs will not compositionally be considered as crossover rap. Identifiably similar subgenres within this sample include country rap, electro rap, and rock rap. An example of crossover rap is “Knockout” by Lil’ Wayne featuring Nicki Minaj, instrumentally and melodically a rock-rap hybrid.

Gangsta rap. Grascia (2003) describes gangsta rap as, “an expression of a gangster's life on the streets, with a "gangster" defined as a person who lives outside the law, selling drugs to make money, using women for his profit, and promoting violence and racism” (p. 56). As result of the murders of gangsta rappers, Tupac and Notorious B.I.G., the subgenre has experienced changes that could cause Grascia’s description to be vaguely out-of-date. Contemporary gangsta rap still features elements of this explanation but also features a lyrical focus on the glorification of drug sells, resulting violence, and a masculine bravado driven by classic gangster-esque commitment to establishing respect and making money from other illegal or ambiguous activities. Instrumentally, this subgenre features heavy bass- driven effects. Identifiably similar subgenres
within this sample include trap rap, G-funk, mafioso rap, hardcore rap, and crunk. An example of gangsta rap is “Real Muthaphuckkin G's” by Eazy-E.

*Party Rap.* Rap music began as a performance art, supplementary to local rap parties (Chang, 2005; Kellner, 1995). This subgenre, among one of rap’s firsts, reflects songs that lyrically refer to ambiguous happenings within a party/club, and instrumentally features DJ scratching, looped breakdance beats, sexually implicit references and light-hearted narratives. With the emergence of countless other rap subcultures that have separated the party rap subgenre into smaller classifications, this subgenre, most commonly identified with retro rap songs, is still prevalent within contemporary rap dance releases. Identifiably similar subgenres within this sample include snap music and break beat rap. An example of party rap is “Getting Jiggy Wit It” by Will Smith.

*Playa Rap.* Randolph (2006) identifies playa rap as a “genre of rap music characterized by its focus on consumption, adornment, and sensual pleasure.” Additionally, the subgenre has featured a lyrical focus of pleasurable activities, sexual prowess, and/or fast-paced consumption commonly taking place in nightclubs, strip clubs, shopping, or elaborate homes identifiably similar subgenres within this sample include New Jack swing, R&B rap and strip-hop. An example of playa rap is “Swagga Like Us” by Jay-Z & T.I. feat. Kanye West & Lil Wayne

*Other.* Rap songs classified as other either did not fit the criteria for any of the preexisting subgenres or was not exclusive to one primary subgenre. Identifiable subgenres unclassified in other major subgenres include Reggaeton, acid rap, ambient rap and nerdcore rap. An example of a rap song outside of the aforementioned major subgenres is "Love Lockdown" by Kanye West.
Intercoder Reliability

Hip-hop music is a genre monopolized by the presence and perspectives of African-American male artists. Because the first author who analyzed the songs was a young African-American male, the present study selected a young Caucasian-American female as the second coder to provide better intercoder reliability by incorporating racial and gender variability in coder characteristics. The coder was provided with a coding sheet, a detailed coder instruction sheet, an in-depth explanation of variables and coding procedures, and practice training with several hip-hop songs not analyzed for this study. The first author discussed with the female coder all coding discrepancies until she produced the same results as his. From each decade, 30 songs were randomly chosen for analysis, resulting in 120 songs, or 20% of the total sample. Based on Wimmer and Dominick’s (2014) recommendation for a reanalysis of between 10% and 25% of the total sample by independent coders (p. 175), the size of the subsample to calculate intercoder reliability for this study was deemed appropriate.

ReCal, an online intercoder-reliability utility developed and demonstrated to be quite accurate by Freelon (2010), was used to calculate Krippendorff’s $\alpha$-coefficient for each variable. All variables except for three—racial self-hatred (.494), homosexual self-identity (.664), and masculine status, respect, and rationality (.797)—achieved the intercoder reliability of .800 or higher. In fact, the $\alpha$-coefficient was .900 or higher for the vast majority of the variables. For racial self-hatred and homosexual self-identity, virtually all songs were judged to contain none of those characteristics; however, a couple disagreements between the coders significantly decreased the reliability coefficient. On the other hand, the vast majority of songs were found to exhibit lyrical elements to show masculine status, respect, and rationality, but one disagreement between the coders lowered its reliability. Because Krippendorff (2013) argues that .800 is the
threshold for acceptable reliabilities and the range of reliabilities between .667 and .800 is appropriate for drawing tentative conclusions (p. 325), the vast majority of the variables used in this study were acceptable.

Sample Characteristics

This study probabilistically chose 150 hip-hop songs from each of the four decades (the 1980s, the 1990s, the 2000s, the 2010s) in which the songs first appeared. The word length of 600 hip-hop songs ranged from 173 to 3,163 ($M = 691.10$, $SD = 345.39$). Playa rap had the highest number of the songs (49.0%), followed by conscious rap (16.3%), party rap (15.5%), gangsta rap (9.3%), crossover rap (7.0%), and other (2.8%). For statistical analysis, each rap subgenre except for the “other” category was used as a dummy variable with 1 assigned to it and 0 to the rest.

Exclusively male recording artists sang the vast majority of this sample’s hip-hop songs (79.8%), followed by both male and female artists together (13.3%), and exclusively female artists (6.8%). For statistical analysis, each gender category was used as a dummy variable with 1 assigned to it and 0 to the rest. Similarly, exclusively African-American or black recording artists sang the vast majority of the hip-hop songs (84.3%), followed by multiracial artists (9.3%), exclusively Caucasian-American or white artists (3.5%), exclusively Hispanic-American or Latino/a artists (1.8%), exclusively Asian-American or Asian artists (.5%), and other monoracial artists (.5%). For statistical analysis, a dummy variable was constructed with 1 assigned to African-American or black recording artists and 0 to the rest. Geographically, East Coast recording artists had the highest share of the hip-hop songs (40.3%), followed by mixed locations (24.5%), South (16.5%), West Coast (7.5%), other regions (5.3%), Midwest (3.3%), and
international (2.5%). For statistical analysis, East Coast, South, West Coast, and mixed locations were respectively used as a dummy variable with 1 assigned to each and 0 to the rest.
RESULTS

RQ1a and RQ2b ask if the race/ethnicity and gender compositions of hip-hop recording artists have been changed over time. Because of the predominance of exclusively African-American artists, all other racial/ethnic categories were combined. Table 1 shows longitudinal demographic changes of hip-hop artists.

The number of hip-hop songs by non–African-American/non-black or racially mixed recording artists increased over time as the number of songs by African-American artists decreased. The differences were statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 24.67, p < .0005$. Also, the number of hip-hop songs by exclusively male recording artists gradually decreased over time, so did the number of songs by exclusively female artists. However, the number of songs by both male and female artists in collaboration increased over time, reaching more than one-fifth of the subsample of 150 songs in the 2010s. The differences were statistically significant, $\chi^2(6, N = 600) = 31.40, p < .0005$.

Table 1

*Longitudinal Demographic Changes of Hip-Hop Recording Artists*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Demographic variable</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>2000s</th>
<th>2010s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race/ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non–African-American/</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-black (monoracial) or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mixed</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African-American/black</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(monoracial)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All male</td>
<td>88.7%</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
<td>79.3%</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All female</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>12.7%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>3.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male and female</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

$p < .0005$ for race/ethnicity and gender.
RQ1c asks how the relevance of race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, sexuality, and materialism in hip-hop songs has been changed over time. Table 2 shows longitudinal changes of the relevance of each construct in hip-hop songs.

Table 2

Longitudinal Changes of Identity Constructs: Race/Ethnicity, Gender, Sexual Orientation, Sexuality, and Materialism

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Construct</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>2000s</th>
<th>2010s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race/ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrelevant</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrelevant</td>
<td>88.7%</td>
<td>75.3%</td>
<td>79.3%</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>16.7%</td>
<td>20.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrelevant</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexuality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrelevant</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materialism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irrelevant</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>10.0%</td>
<td>14.7%</td>
<td>28.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Relevant</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>90.0%</td>
<td>85.3%</td>
<td>72.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\[ p < .0005 \] for race/ethnicity and gender.

First, the percentage of hip-hop songs that contained a race/ethnicity theme, labeled as “relevant,” peaked in the 1990s (38.7%) while the other three decades merely had approximately half of the amount between 16.7% and 20.7%. However, the relationship between the decade and
the song’s race/ethnicity theme was statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 25.57, p < .0005$.

Second, nearly 100% of all songs in each decade had a gender theme, resulting in no relationship between the decade and the gender theme, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 2.22, p = .763 (ns)$. Third, the themes of sexual orientation, sexuality, and economic lifestyle all exhibited similar patterns: Each theme steadily increased over time, reaching more than 80% of hip-hop songs both in the 2000s and in the 2010s. The relationship between the decade and each of the three identity themes was statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 42.99, p < .0005$ (for sexual orientation), $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 57.89, p < .0005$ (for sexuality), and $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 84.64, p < .0005$ (for economic lifestyle).

RQ2 asked if postmodern hybridity, or paradoxical juxtaposition, of oppositional identities would be intensified over time. Table 3 shows longitudinal changes in the hybridity of each identity construct in hip-hop songs.

First, H2a predicted longitudinal increases in coexistence of oppositional racial/ethnic identities in hip-hop songs (e.g., Appendix C). However, the percentage of songs that included race/ethnicity-related hybrid identities remained fairly constant between 8% and 14% across the four decades. The relationship between the decade and the race/ethnicity-related hybridity was not statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 2.67, p = .471 (ns)$. Therefore, H2a was rejected.

Second, H2b predicted longitudinal increases in coexistence of oppositional gender-related identities in hip-hop songs (e.g., Appendix D). However, the percentage of songs that included gender-related hybrid identities remained fairly constant between 74.7% and 80.7% across the four decades. The relationship between the decade and the gender-related hybridity was not statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 1.86, p = .612 (ns)$. Thus, H2b was rejected.
Table 3

Longitudinal Changes in the Hybridity of Identity Constructs: Race/Ethnicity, Gender, Sexual Orientation, Sexuality, and Economic Lifestyle

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Identity Construct</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>2000s</th>
<th>2010s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Race/ethnicity</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not hybrid</td>
<td>91.3%</td>
<td>86.0%</td>
<td>86.0%</td>
<td>88.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>14.0%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not hybrid</td>
<td>21.3%</td>
<td>24.0%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>78.7%</td>
<td>76.0%</td>
<td>74.7%</td>
<td>80.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexual orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not hybrid</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>99.3%</td>
<td>88.0%</td>
<td>84.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sexuality</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not hybrid</td>
<td>59.3%</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
<td>33.3%</td>
<td>27.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>40.7%</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>66.7%</td>
<td>72.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic lifestyle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not hybrid</td>
<td>97.3%</td>
<td>88.0%</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total n for each decade: 150, 150, 150, 150

*p < .0005 for sexual orientation, sexuality, and economic lifestyle; p = ns for race/ethnicity and gender.*
As the data analysis for RQ1c revealed, the vast majority of hip-hop songs were irrelevant to the race/ethnicity theme across the four decades, and virtually all the songs were relevant to the gender theme. Therefore, the above findings were not surprising.

Third, H2c predicted longitudinal increases in coexistence of oppositional sexual orientations in hip-hop songs (e.g., Appendix E). The percentage of songs that contained hybrid identities related to sexual orientation steadily increased from none in the 1980s to 15.3% in the 2010s. The relationship between the decade and the sexual orientation–related hybridity was statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 42.29, p < .0005$. Hence, H2c was supported.

Fourth, H2d predicted longitudinal increases in coexistence of oppositional sexuality-related identities in hip-hop songs (e.g., Appendix F). The percentage of songs that contained sexuality-related hybrid identities steadily increased from merely 40.7% in the 1980s to 72.7% in the 2010s. The relationship between the decade and the sexuality-related hybridity was statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 38.59, p < .0005$. Therefore, H2d was supported.

Although not hypothesized, longitudinal changes in coexistence of oppositional identities related to economic lifestyle were examined (e.g., Appendix G). The percentage of songs that contained hybrid identities related to economic lifestyle steadily increased from merely 2.7% in the 1980s to 46.7% in the 2010s. The relationship between the decade and the economic lifestyle–related hybridity was statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 124.19, p < .0005$.

RQ3a and RQ3b asked if materialist identities in hip-hop songs would increase over time and if antimaterialist identities would also increase over time. Three dimensions of materialist identities were added to form the materialism index. Similarly, three dimensions of antimaterialist identities were added to create the antimaterialism index. Table 4 shows longitudinal changes in the mean value of materialist and antimaterialist identities.
Table 4

*Longitudinal Changes in Materialist and Antimaterialist Identities*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic lifestyle</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>2000s</th>
<th>2010s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Materialism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.73&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.94&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1.95&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1.69&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>1.02</td>
<td>1.06</td>
<td>1.10</td>
<td>1.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antimaterialism</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>.38&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>.39&lt;sup&gt;a&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1.14&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>1.06&lt;sup&gt;b&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Standard deviation</td>
<td>.89</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>1.24</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total n for each decade</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mean differences between <sup>a</sup> and <sup>b</sup> at <i>p</i> < .0005 (Bonferroni for materialism and Tamhane’s T2 for antimaterialism).

The one-way ANOVA showed that materialist identities generally increased across the past four decades except for a slight decline in the 2010s, <i>F</i>(3, 596) = 44.82, <i>p</i> < .0005, η² = .18. A Bonferroni post hoc test indicated a significant difference in materialist identities before and after 2000. Similar results were obtained for antimaterialist identities. Because the homoscedasticity assumption was violated, the Brown-Forsythe test was used in place of the one-way ANOVA test. Antimaterialist identities generally increased over time except for a slight decrease in the 2010s, <i>F</i>(3, 543.51) = 22.93, <i>p</i> < .0005, η² = .10. A Tamhane’s T2 post hoc test indicated a significant difference in antimaterialist identities before and after 2000.

RQ3c asked if hybridity of oppositional materialist and antimaterialist identities in hip-hop songs would be increased over time. Table 5 shows longitudinal changes in the hybridity of economic lifestyle composed of materialist and antimaterialist identities.
Table 5

Longitudinal Changes in the Hybridity of Materialist and Antimaterialist Identities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Economic lifestyle</th>
<th>1980s</th>
<th>1990s</th>
<th>2000s</th>
<th>2010s</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Materialist/Antimaterialist identities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not hybrid</td>
<td>97.3%</td>
<td>88.0%</td>
<td>52.0%</td>
<td>53.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hybrid</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>12.0%</td>
<td>48.0%</td>
<td>46.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total n for each decade</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The percentage of songs that contained hybrid identities related to economic lifestyle increased from merely 2.7% in the 1980s to 12.0% in the 1990s to 48.0% in the 2000s with a slight decrease in 2010s (46.7%). The relationship between the decade and the economic lifestyle–related hybridity was statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 124.19, p < .0005.$

RQ3d asked how materialist identities would affect postmodern hybridity of oppositional identities in hip-hop songs. In order to detect the unique contribution of materialist identities, binary logistic regression was run on the hybridity of oppositional identities regarding each identity construct (i.e., race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, and sexuality) by using the following 17 independent variables: the decade, length in words, rap subgenre (five dummy variables), race/ethnicity (one dummy variable), gender (three dummy variables), geographic origin (four dummy variables), materialism index, and antimaterialism index. In addition, a forward stepwise likelihood-ratio method was used to select the best model for each identity construct.
First, H3a predicted a positive relationship between the number of materialist identities in hip-hop songs and the coexistence of oppositional racial/ethnic identities. Table 6 shows a model of significant predictors for the postmodern hybridity of racial/ethnic identities.

Table 6

Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Hybridity of Racial/Ethnic Identities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Wald</th>
<th>Exp(B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>-1.801†</td>
<td>1.028</td>
<td>3.071</td>
<td>.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscious rap</td>
<td>1.050**</td>
<td>.303</td>
<td>11.996</td>
<td>2.858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antimaterialism</td>
<td>.280*</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>6.222</td>
<td>1.323</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


† $p < .10$. * $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.

Despite what the hypothesis predicted, materialism was not even entered into the final model as a significant predictor for the postmodern hybridity of oppositional racial/ethnic identities. Therefore, H3a was rejected. The final model, which contained female recording artists, conscious rap, and antimaterialism, was statistically significant, $\chi^2(3, N = 600) = 33.514, p < .001$. However, the amount of variance accounted for by the model was rather small, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .104$. Although the model correctly predicted 87.7% of cases, all of them were songs with no postmodern hybridity of racial/ethnic identities. None of songs with postmodern hybridity was classified correctly.

Among three predictors in the model, conscious rap, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 11.996, p = .001$, and antimaterialism, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 6.222, p = .013$, were both statistically significant. Conscious rap’s odds ratios (OR), designated as Exp(B) in the table, showed that a song
classified as such was a little less than three times (OR = 2.858) more likely to contain postmodern hybrid racial/ethnic identities than a song classified as other rap subgenres. Also, for one unit increase in antimaterialism, the odds that a song included postmodern hybrid racial/ethnic identities increased by 32.3%. However, after entering into the model, female recording artists turned out to be a statistically insignificant predictor, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 1.801, p = .080$. In fact, if a song’s recording artists were exclusively female, the odds that it contained postmodern hybrid racial/ethnic identities decreased by 83.5%.

Second, H3b predicted a positive relationship between the number of materialist identities in hip-hop songs and the coexistence of oppositional gender-related identities. Table 7 shows a model of significant predictors for the postmodern hybridity of masculinity and femininity.

Table 7

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>$B$</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Wald</th>
<th>Exp(B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>-1.783***</td>
<td>.413</td>
<td>18.652</td>
<td>.168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangsta rap</td>
<td>-1.804***</td>
<td>.314</td>
<td>33.109</td>
<td>.165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Party rap</td>
<td>1.028**</td>
<td>.393</td>
<td>6.836</td>
<td>2.794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materialism</td>
<td>-.230*</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>6.520</td>
<td>.794</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .212$. Model correctly classified 77.5% of cases. Omnibus test of model coefficients, $\chi^2(4, N = 600) = 89.774, p < .001$. Hosmer and Lemeshow goodness-of-fit test, $\chi^2(6, N = 600) = 6.019, p = .421$.

† $p < .10$. *$p < .05$. **$p < .01$. ***$p < .001$.

Contrary to the hypothesis, materialism was a significant negative predictor for the postmodern hybridity of oppositional gender-related identities, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 6.520, p = .011$.  

55
Its odds ratio (OR = .794) showed that for each unit increase in materialism, the odds that a song contained postmodern hybrid oppositional gender-related identities decreased by 20.6%. Therefore, H3b was rejected. The final model, which contained male recording artists, gangsta rap, party rap, and materialism, was statistically significant, $\chi^2(4, N = 600) = 89.774, p < .001$. However, the amount of variance accounted for by the model was relatively modest, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .212$. Although the model correctly predicted 77.5% of cases, all of them were songs that contained postmodern hybrid gender-related identities. None of the songs with no postmodern hybridity was classified correctly.

All the remaining three predictors in the model were also statistically significant: $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 18.652, p < .001$ for male recording artists, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 33.109, p < .001$ for gangsta rap, and $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 6.836, p = .009$ for party rap. The odds ratio for male artists (OR = .168) showed that their song was almost six times less likely to contain postmodern hybrid gender-related identities than female artists’ song. Also, a song classified as gangsta rap (OR = .165) was more than six times less likely to contain postmodern hybrid gender-related identities than a song classified otherwise. However, a song classified as party rap (OR = 2.794) was approximately 2.8 times more likely to contain postmodern hybrid gender-related identities than a song classified otherwise.

Third, H3c predicted a positive relationship between the number of materialist identities in hip-hop songs and the coexistence of oppositional identities related to sexual orientation. Table 8 shows a model of significant predictors for the postmodern hybridity of heterosexuality and homosexuality.
Table 8

Logistic Regression Analysis Predicting the Hybridity of Identities Related to Sexual Orientation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Wald</th>
<th>Exp(B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>.743*</td>
<td>.364</td>
<td>4.158</td>
<td>2.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decade</td>
<td>1.155***</td>
<td>.233</td>
<td>24.618</td>
<td>3.175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materialism</td>
<td>.373*</td>
<td>.161</td>
<td>5.369</td>
<td>1.452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antimaterialism</td>
<td>-.388*</td>
<td>.175</td>
<td>4.920</td>
<td>.678</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


As predicted by the hypothesis, materialism was a significant positive predictor for the postmodern hybridity of oppositional identities related to sexual orientation, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 5.369, p = .020$. Its odds ratio (OR = 1.452) showed that for each unit increase in materialism, the odds that a song contained postmodern hybrid oppositional sexual orientations increased by 45.2%. Therefore, H3c was supported. The final model, which contained the South, the decade, materialism, and antimaterialism, was statistically significant, $\chi^2(4, N = 600) = 58.999, p < .001$. However, the amount of variance accounted for by the model was modest, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .235$. Although the model correctly predicted 93.0% of cases, all of them were songs that did not simultaneously contain heterosexual and homosexual identities. None of the songs with postmodern hybridity was classified correctly.

All the remaining three predictors in the model were also statistically significant: $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 4.158, p = .041$ for the South, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 24.618, p < .001$ for the decade, and $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 4.920, p = .027$ for antimaterialism. The odds ratio for the South (OR = 2.102)
showed that a song by recording artists who came from the South was more than twice as likely to contain postmodern hybrid identities related to sexual orientation than a song by artists who were from other geographic areas. Also, for one unit increase in the decade of a song’s first appearance (OR = 3.175), the odds that a song contained both heterosexual and homosexual identities increased more than three times. However, for one unit increase in antimaterialism (OR = .678), the odds that a song contained mixed sexual orientations decreased by 32.2%.

Fourth and finally, H3d predicted a positive relationship between the number of materialist identities in hip-hop songs and the coexistence of oppositional identities related to sexuality. Table 9 shows a model of significant predictors for the postmodern hybridity of hyosexuality/normalcy and hypersexuality.

Table 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predictor</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>Wald</th>
<th>Exp(B)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>1.003**</td>
<td>.293</td>
<td>11.717</td>
<td>2.727</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decade</td>
<td>.404***</td>
<td>.096</td>
<td>17.795</td>
<td>1.497</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conscious rap</td>
<td>-.737*</td>
<td>.294</td>
<td>6.281</td>
<td>.479</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Playa rap</td>
<td>.711***</td>
<td>.202</td>
<td>12.421</td>
<td>2.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Materialism</td>
<td>.187*</td>
<td>.085</td>
<td>4.777</td>
<td>1.205</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antimaterialism</td>
<td>-.280**</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>8.601</td>
<td>.756</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note. Nagelkerke $R^2 = .249$. Model correctly classified 58.0% of cases. Omnibus test of model coefficients, $\chi^2(6, N = 600) = 122.601, p < .001$. Hosmer and Lemeshow goodness-of-fit test, $\chi^2(8, N = 600) = 10.955, p = .204$.

$p < .10. \ast p < .05. \ast\ast p < .01. \ast\ast\ast p < .001.$
As the hypothesis predicted, materialism was a significant positive predictor for the postmodern hybridity of oppositional identities related to sexuality, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 4.777, p = .029$. Its odds ratio (OR = 1.205) showed that for each unit increase in materialism, the odds that a song contained postmodern hybrid oppositional identities related to sexuality increased by 42.5%. Therefore, H3d was supported. The final model, which contained the South, the decade, conscious rap, playa rap, materialism, and antimaterialism, was statistically significant, $\chi^2(6, N = 600) = 122.601, p < .001$. However, the amount of variance accounted for by the model was modest, Nagelkerke $R^2 = .249$. Although the model correctly predicted 58.0% of cases, all of them were songs that simultaneously contained hyposexual/sexually normal and hypersexual identities. None of the songs with no hybrid identities was classified correctly.

All the remaining five predictors in the model were also statistically significant: $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 11.717, p = .001$ for the South, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 17.795, p < .001$ for the decade, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 6.281, p = .012$ for conscious rap, $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 12.421, p < .001$ for playa rap, and $\chi^2(1, N = 600) = 8.601, p = .003$ for antimaterialism. The odds ratio for the South (OR = 2.727) showed that a song by recording artists who came from the South was more than 2.7 times as likely to contain both hyposexuality/normality and hypersexuality than a song by artists who were from other geographic areas. Similarly, for one unit increase in the decade of a song’s first appearance (OR = 1.497), the odds that a song contained hybrid sexual identities increased by approximately 50%. Although a song classified as conscious rap (OR = .479) was more than twice as likely to contain postmodern hybrid sexuality-related identities as a song classified otherwise, a song classified as playa rap (OR = 2.036) was more than twice as likely to contain hybrid hyposexual/normal and hypersexual identities as a song classified otherwise. Also, for
one unit increase in antimaterialism (OR = .756), the odds that a song contained mixed modes of sexuality decreased by 24.4%.
CONCLUSION

Discussion

This study longitudinally examined the lyrics of top-chart hip-hop songs from 1980 to 2013 to analyze how postmodern hybridity of oppositional modernist identities related to race/ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, sexuality, and economic lifestyle expressed in those songs was changed over time. The results generally revealed progressive changes in the themes of sexual orientation, sexuality, and economic lifestyle. In other words, traditional modernist boundaries between two oppositional identities associated with each of those identity constructs were becoming more and more blurred. However, race/ethnicity and gender did not show progressive changes toward postmodern hybridity. Those results in and of itself indicate intensified sexualization of the hip-hop culture.

Hip-hop is a genre still dominated by African-American men. Yet, the race/ethnicity and gender of hip-hop recording artists were shown to be growing more and more heterogeneous over time. The number of hip-hop songs by African-American recording artists was gradually decreased while that of non–African-American or racially mixed recording artists was steadily increased. Although the number of songs by either exclusively all-male or all-female recording artists was decreased over time, that of songs by collaborative efforts between male and female recording artists was increased over time.

The present study’s longitudinal quantitative investigation of oppositional identities related to each of the five identity constructs provides some insight into the hip-hop culture. The number of hip-hop songs with lyrical relevance to racial/ethnic identities showed no progressive increase or decrease, except for a notable peak during the 1990s. They stayed fairly constant across the past four decades. Gender remained relevant in almost all songs analyzed in this study.
However, the identity constructs of sexual orientation, sexuality, and economic lifestyle, exhibited a steady increase over time.

Both materialist and antimaterialist identities in the sample generally increased over time. Notably, there was a significant difference in materialist identities before and after the year 2000. The postmodern hybridity of economic lifestyle with materialist and antimaterialist identities also generally increased over time.

As expected, materialist identities affected the postmodern hybridity of masculine and feminine identities, oppositional sexual orientations, and sexuality-related identities. While having a negative relationship with the postmodern hybridization of gender identities, materialism had a positive relationship with a rise of postmodern hybridity occurring within the constructs of sexual orientation and sexuality.

Several other variables had positive or negative relationships in regards to the postmodern hybridity of the analyzed constructs. Conscious rap had a positive relationship with hybridized race identities, possibly because of the subgenre’s focus on racial equality. Gangsta rap had a negative relationship with hybridized gender-related identities, possibly because of the subgenre’s violent focus on masculine bravado. The geographic region of the South had a positive relationship with hybridized sexual orientation and sexuality, possibly because of the Dirty South’s lyrical emphasis of unrestricted sexual pleasure, which may involve orgies with both same and opposite genders.

The present study has some limitations. First, sampling could have changed the results obtained in the study. Past content-analytic media studies usually eliminated duplicates of repetitious media to increase variability among a sample (Sherman & Dominick, 1986; Tapper, Thorson, & Black, 1994). However with this study, eliminating songs by the same recording
artists was not always possible. Randomly selected hip-hop songs within the 1980s and 1990s had a much greater chance of featuring unique artists who did not monopolize the genre’s popularity by frequent chart appearances. Conversely, randomly selected hip-hop songs within the 2000s and early 2010s featured songs released by the same artists who were leading and/or featured in attribution. Omitting duplicated artists’ songs could possibly result in a wider representation of the hip-hop genre.

An additional limitation in reference to sampling was the selection of 150 songs to represent the incomplete 2010s decade. Considering this was a quantitative study, an equal sample number in comparison to the preceding three decades was decided upon to ensure statistical uniformity; however, the four years of the 2010s represented do not fully represent emerging trends and thematic inclinations toward postmodern hybridity for the entire decade.

In reference to coding procedures, one limitation is the subjectivity involved in categorizing rap subgenres. Although different classifications of rap subgenres exist, academic research to systematically classify various rap subgenres is lacking. Therefore, some songs of the sample analyzed in this study could have been coded differently had they been analyzed with more exactitude and less of a dependence on both lyrical content and instrumentation.

Lastly, there lies a limitation within coding for the construct of sexual orientation. In reference to the items of same-gender sexual desire and same-gender sexual practices, a lyrical separation was presented between male and female artists expressing either sexual preferences toward the voyeuristic explorations of homosexual female interactions or joining in sexual acts with members of the same gender with a focus placed on a member of the opposite gender. Even though male artists may have represented themselves as heterosexual with a sole attraction to females, an arguable preference toward other same-gender attractions and practice showcases
instances of postmodern hybridity within sexual orientation. These indistinct instances, considering recitations of sexual orgies, could possibly be perceived as faintly homoerotic or strictly heterosexual. Rap music is a genre at times composed of complicated lyrics, exaggerated vernaculars, ambiguous significances, and incomprehensible ad-libs (Buckholz, 2010). All of the aforementioned characteristics are limitations in instances of deciphering lyrical meaning as explained with the construct of sexual orientation.

This study possesses a generalizability that can result in expanded directions for future research. First, this study analyzed five identity constructs simultaneously for their proposed relationships to hip-hop music and postmodern paradoxical juxtapositions of oppositional identities. However, future studies can expand upon this study by choosing one specific theme, or even considering the effects of the internet on the consumption of popular hip-hop music in contrast with underground hip-hop music.

Although this study analyzed only 15 songs for each year, future research can increase each year’s sample size to 20, for example.

Additionally, this study analyzed the progression of postmodern hybridity within hip-hop music since 1980. However, the final decade within the study remained incomplete due to timing. Future research could expand upon this study by analyzing four complete decades up to 2019. This expansion would also ensure each decade to be equally represented with a consistent yearly number of songs within the sample.
APPENDIX A

LYRICAL EXAMPLE OF HIP-HOP ARTIST DEFENDING CAPITALIST AFFILIATIONS

Ayyo I'm tired of people judgin what's real Hip-Hop
Half the time you be them niggas who fuckin album flop
YOU KNOW! Boat done sank and it ain't left the dock
C'MON! Mad cause I'm hot; HE JUST - mad cause he not
You ain't gotta gimme my props, just gimme the yachts
Gimme my rocks, and keep my fans comin in flocks
'Til you top the Superbowl, keep your mouth on lock
Shhhhhh.. {*crickets*} I'm awake, ha ha ha!
I'm cocky on the mic but I'm humble in real life
Taking nothin for granted blessin e'rything on my life
Trying to see a new light at the top of the roof
Baby name not Sigel but I speak The Truth
I heat the booth - Nelly actin so uncouth
Top down shirt off in the coupe, spreadin the loot
With my family and friends, and my closest of kin
And I'll do it again if it means I'mma win
Song number: ____________________  Song title: __________________________________________

Artist(s): ____________________________________________________________

1. Year song emerged on chart/list: __________

2. Decade of emergence: Circle one
   (1) 1980s  (2) 1990s
   (3) 2000s  (4) 2010s

3. Length of song: __________ (in words, including refrains); __________ (in lines, including refrains)

4. Lead hip-hop/rap artists’ gender (could be more than one lead artist): Circle one
   (1) Male/All male  (2) Female/All female
   (3) Both male and female

5. Lead hip-hop/rap artists’ race (could be more than one lead artist): Circle one
   (1) African-American or black (monoracial)
   (2) Caucasian-American or white (monoracial)
   (3) Hispanic-American or Latino/a (monoracial)
   (4) Asian-American or Asian (monoracial)
   (5) “Other” (monoracial)
   (6) Mixed

6. Lead hip-hop/rap artists’ geographic origin (could be more than one lead artist): Circle one
   (1) East Coast U.S. (exclusively)
   (2) Midwest U.S. (exclusively)
   (3) South U.S. (exclusively)
   (4) West Coast U.S. (exclusively)
   (5) Other U.S. (exclusively)
   (6) International (exclusively)
   (7) Mixed

7. Rap subgenre: Circle one
   (1) Conscious Rap
   (2) Crossover Rap
   (3) Gangsta Rap
   (4) Party Rap
   (5) Playa Rap
   (6) Other

8. Materialism (materialism, antimaterialism, paradoxical juxtaposition)
   (A) Materialist characteristics
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Favorable toward materialism</th>
<th>Favorable toward antimaterialism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Material success</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material centrality</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Material happiness</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonmaterial success</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonmaterial centrality</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonmaterial happiness</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

   (B) Relevance to materialism/anti-materialism coexisting in “I”
   (0) No (→ if “0” for all items)
   (1) Yes

   (C) Materialism and antimaterialism coexisting in “I”
   (0) No (→ if “0” in all items of either column)
   (1) Yes

9. Race (negative/passive, positive/active, paradoxical juxtaposition)
   (A) Race characteristics
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Negative/Passive</th>
<th>Positive/Active</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Self-hatred</td>
<td>(0) No (1) Yes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other-hatred</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difference/Particularism</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Power inequality</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**B Relevance to race**
- **coexisting in “I”**
  - (0) No (→ if “0” for all items)
  - (1) Yes

**C negative/passive and positive/active**
- (0) No (→ if “0” in all items of either column)
- (1) Yes

10. **Gender (masculinity, femininity, androgyny)**

(A) **Gender characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Masculinity</th>
<th>Femininity</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Status/Respect/Rationality</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Violent toughness</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antifemininity</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other social masculinity</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other personal masculinity</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Romantic/Emotionality | (0) No   | (1) Yes |
| Compliant friendliness | (0) No   | (1) Yes |
| Profemininity | (0) No   | (1) Yes |
| Other social femininity | (0) No   | (1) Yes |
| Other personal femininity | (0) No   | (1) Yes |

(B) **Relevance to gender**
- **coexisting in “I”**
  - (0) No (→ if “0” for all items)
  - (1) Yes

(C) **Masculinity and femininity coexisting in “I”**
- (0) No (→ if “0” in all items of either column)
- (1) Yes

11. **Sexual orientation (heterosexuality, homosexuality, bisexuality)**

(A) **Sexual-orientation characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Heterosexuality</th>
<th>Homosexuality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Heterosexual self-identity</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposite-gender sexual desire/attraction</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opposite-gender sexual behavior/practices</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homosexual self-identity</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-gender sexual desire/attraction</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Same-gender sexual behavior/practices</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(B) **Relevance to sexual orientation**
- **coexisting in “I”**
  - (0) No (→ if “0” for all items)
  - (1) Yes

(C) **Heterosexuality and homosexuality coexisting in “I”**
- (0) No (→ if “0” in all items of either column)
- (1) Yes

12. **Sexuality (normal/hyposexual, hypersexual, both)**

(A) **Sexuality characteristics**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Normalcy/hyposexuality</th>
<th>Hypersexuality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Control</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noninstrumental engagement</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No negative consequences</td>
<td>(0) No</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Failure to control | (0) No   | (1) Yes |
| Instrumental coping | (0) No   | (1) Yes |
| Negative consequences | (0) No   | (1) Yes |

(B) **Relevance to sexuality**
- **coexisting in “I”**
  - (0) No (→ if “0” for all items)
  - (1) Yes

(C) **Hyposexuality and hypersexuality coexisting in “I”**
- (0) No (→ if “0” in all items of either column)
- (1) Yes
APPENDIX C

CODING INSTRUCTION SHEET


**Coding Instructions.**

**Song Number.**
- The number assigned to the song. Each song’s number will be provided with the list of songs.

**Song Title.**
- The listed name of the song.

**Artist(s).**
- All musical artists credited for the song by the Billboard Rap Chart or Ego Trip’s Book of Rap Lists.

**Item 1- Song’s Year.**
- The year the song was first listed on the Billboard Rap Chart or Ego Trip’s Book of Rap Lists.

**Item 2- Decade of emergence.**
- The 10 year period of time in which the song emerges on the chart/ list.

**Item 3- Length of Song.**
- The song’s word count, including refrains.
- The song’s line count, including refrains.

**Item 3- Gender.**
- The gender identification of all listed artists/ groups.
- The presence of male & female artists = “Both male and female” classification.

**Item 5- Race.**
- The racial identification of all artists/ groups.
- The presence of more than 1 racial identification between artists = “Mixed” classification.
- For reference on racial background visit [www.nndb.com](http://www.nndb.com) & conduct a search of the leading artist.

**Item 6- Geographic Origin.**
- The geographical origin of all artists/ groups.
- The presence of more than 1 origin between artists = “Mixed” classification.
- For reference on artist’s birthplace visit [www.nndb.com](http://www.nndb.com) (google.com as secondary)& do a search of the leading artist.
- Instances of groups being listed instead of individual artists should be regarded by the geographic region in which the group originally formed.

**Item 7- Rap Subgenre.**
- **Subgenres.** Six types of rap subgenres were selected for relation to hip-hop’s musical progression — conscious rap, crossover rap, gansta rap, party rap, playa rap, and other.
1. Conscious rap.
The subgenre maintains a lyrical focus on communal betterment, knowledge, political awareness, impoverished struggle, psychological introspection, and/or social change. Identifiably similar subgenres: hip-hop soul, gospel rap, feminist rap, and political rap.

2. Crossover rap.
This subgenre can be identified as rap songs bridging major music and melodic influences from typically non-Black genres including but not exclusive to pop, rave-electro, rock, and country. Identifiably similar subgenres: country rap, electro rap, reggae-rap & rock rap.

This subgenre features a lyrical focus on the glorification of drug sells, resulting violence, and a masculine bravado driven by classic gangster-esque commitment to establishing respect and making money from other illegal or ambiguous activities. Instrumentally, this subgenre features heavy bass-driven effects. Common narratives include characters that live outside of the law, selling drugs to make money, using women for his profit only, and the proliferation of violent acts. Identifiably similar subgenres: trap rap, G-funk, mafioso rap, and hardcore rap, and crunk.

This subgenre, among one of rap’s firsts, reflects songs that lyrically contain mood references to ambiguous happenings within a party/club, and instrumentally features DJ scratching, looped breakdance beats, sexually implicit references and light-hearted narratives of entertaining partygoers. With the emergence of countless other rap subcultures that have separated the party rap subgenre into smaller classifications, this subgenre, most commonly identified with retro rap songs, is still prevalent within contemporary releases. Identifiably similar subgenres: snap music, disco rap, and break beat rap.

5. Playa Rap.
This subgenre is characterized by its focus on consumption, hyper-sexuality, and sensual pleasure. Additionally, the subgenre has featured a lyrical focus of pleasurable activities, sexual prowess, and/or fast-paced consumption commonly taking place in nightclubs, strip clubs, shopping, or elaborate homes. Identifiably similar subgenres: New Jack swing, R&B rap and strip-hop.

6. Other.
Rap songs classified as other either did not fit the criteria for any of the preexisting subgenres or was not exclusive to one primary subgenre. Identifiable subgenres: Acid Rap, and Nerdcore rap.

Item 8- Materialism Scale
Materialism

1. Success
   Material Success: The mention of possessing or admiring to possess material items that currently are or will become signs of achievement, personal worth, or success.
   Nonmaterial Success: The mention against needing material items as signs of achievement, personal worth, or success.

2. Centrality
   Material Centrality: The mention of material needs/wants as the center of a finer state of living, frivolous spending habits, and enjoying or wanting to enjoy a life of luxury.
   Nonmaterial Centrality: The mention against placing a central emphasis on the importance of material possessions in one’s life and/or a simplistic life view of what’s necessary.

3. Happiness
   Material Happiness: The mention of glorifying material possessions as key to enjoyed living, acquiring to achieve joy through desired material possessions, or being saddened by not being able to afford material desires.
   Nonmaterial Happiness: The mention of achieving or wanting to achieve joy through intangible possessions, being satisfied with one’s current state of life, or the mention against glorifying material possessions as a route to happiness

Item 9- Race Scale

Race

1. Self-hatred and self-love
   Self-hatred: self-loathing, inferiority in belonging to a racial group
   Self-love: self-affirmation, satisfaction with belonging to a racial group

2. Other-hatred and other-love
   Other-hatred: unfavorability toward other racial groups, stereotyping, mocking, prejudice
   Other-love: favorability toward other racial groups

3. Difference/Particularism and Sameness/Universalism
   Difference/Particularism: racial identity, Afrocentricity, Asiacentricity, Latinocentricity, isolation, separation, exclusion
   Sameness/Universalism: American identity, human being, assimilation, inclusion

4. Power inequality and Power equality
   Power Inequality: domination–subordination, oppression–rebellion, discrimination–challenge to the status quo, white power–cooperation with other oppressed racial groups, victimized-victimizing
   Power Equality: equal racial relations, denial of racism, color-blind society, multiculturalism

Item 10- Gender Scale

Gender

1. Rationality and Emotionality
Status/Rationality/Respect: receiving and/or gaining the respect of others, achieving/maintaining a superior status, and rational reactions in spite of possibly interfering forces. Romantic/Emotionality/Dependence: romanticizing experiences influenced by love or possibilities of love, needing protection and/or devoted attention, and prioritizing interpersonal relationships above all others through emotional expressions.

2. Violent toughness and Compliant friendliness
Compliant friendliness: Acts of being in the interests of others in favor of accommodating their feelings/wants over one’s personal needs or desires.

3. Antifemininity and Profemininity
Antifemininity: certain jobs (e.g., secretary), hobbies (e.g., cooking), behaviors (e.g., crying) are inappropriate for men but appropriate for women.
Profemininity: traditionally female jobs, hobbies, or behaviors are appropriate for men too, no gender distinctions, gender equality.

4. Other Social masculinity and Social femininity
Social masculinity: (social control of others) forceful, dominant, aggressive, assertive, hot-headed.
Social femininity: (social consideration of others) affectionate, compassionate, sympathetic, sensitive to needs of others, soothe hurt feelings, understanding, patient.

5. Other Personal Masculinity and Personal femininity
Personal masculinity (tough image): (self-control locus) willing to take a stand, defends own beliefs, independent, has leadership abilities, strong personality, confidence, ambition,
Personal femininity (soft image): warm, gentle, tender, interdependent, submissive, domesticated, passive.

Item 11- Sexual orientation

Sexual Orientation

1. Sexual Identification
   Heterosexual self-identity: heterosexual self-image
   Homosexual self-identity: homosexual self-image

2. Sexual Attraction
   Opposite-gender sexual desire/attraction: heterosexual preference, attraction, fantasies, homophobia
   Same-gender sexual desire/attraction: homosexual preference, attraction and fantasies, gay-friendliness

3. Sexual Behaviors
   Opposite-gender sexual behavior/practice: heterosexual lifestyle
   Same-gender sexual behavior/practice: homosexual lifestyle

Item 12- Sexuality

Sexuality

1. Control over sexual behaviors
   Control: normal/little/no sexual behavior (undersexed), weak/no sexual cravings and desires (low/no libido)
Failure to control: repetitive sexual behavior (oversexed), strong sexual cravings and desires (high libido)

2. Noninstrumental engagement and Instrumental Coping
   Noninstrumental engagement: noninstrumental engagement in sex (e.g., love, procreation)
   Instrumental coping: instrumental use of sex to deal with life problems (e.g., worries of daily life, loneliness, unpleasant feelings, restlessness, stress, emotional problems)

3. Consequences
   No negative consequences: positive consequences in life of sexual experiences, no negative consequences
   Negative consequences: sacrificing life, distraction from important tasks, interference with work and school, damaged relationships, unplanned offspring
APPENDIX D

LYRICAL EXAMPLE OF THE COEXISTENCE OF OPPOSITIONAL RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITIES IN HIP-HOP SONGS
Be, be, 'fore we came to this country.
We were kings and queens, never porch monkeys
There was empires in Africa called Kush
Timbuktu, where every race came to get books
To learn from black teachers who taught Greeks and Romans
Asian Arabs and gave them gold when
Gold was converted to money it all changed
Money then became empowerment for Europeans
The Persian military invaded
They heard about the gold, the teachings and everything sacred
Africa was almost robbed naked
Slavery was money, so they began making slave ships
Egypt was the place that Alexander the Great went
He was so shocked at the mountains with black faces
Shot up they nose to impose what basically still goes on today, you see?
If the truth is told, the youth can grow
They learn to survive until they gain control
Nobody says you have to be gangstas, hoes
Read more learn more, change the globe
Ghetto children, do your thing
Hold your head up, little man, you're a king
Young Princess when you get your wedding ring
Your man is saying "She's my Queen"
APPENDIX E

LYRICAL EXAMPLE OF THE COEXISTENCE OF OPPOSITIONAL GENDER-RELATED IDENTITIES IN HIP-HOP SONGS
Pull up in the monster automobile, gangsta
With a bad bitch that came from Sri Lanka
Yeah I'm in that Tonka color of Willy Wonka
You could be the king but watch the queen conquer
OK, first things first I'll eat your brains
Then I'm a start rocking gold teeth and fangs
Cause that's what a motherfucking monster do
Hair dresser from Milan that's the monster do
Monster Giuseppe heel, that's the monster shoe
Young Money is the roster and a monster crew
And I'm all up, all up, all up in the bank with the funny face
And if I'm fake, I ain't notice cause my money ain't
So let me get this straight, wait, I'm the rookie?
But my features and my shows ten times your pay?
50K for a verse, no album out
Yeah, my money's so tall that my Barbiez got to climb it
Hotter than a Middle Eastern climate, violent
Tony Matterhorn, dutty wine it, wylin'
Nicki on them titties when I sign it
That's how these niggas so one-track-minded
But really really I don't give a F-U-C-K
Forget Barbie, fuck Nicki cause she's fake
She's on a diet but her pockets eating cheesecake
And I'll say bride of Chucky is child's play
Just killed another career, it's a mild day

Besides 'Ye, they can't stands besides me

I think me, you and Am should ménage Friday

Pink wig, thick ass, give them whiplash

I think big, get cash, make them blink fast

Now look at what you just saw

This is what you live for

I'm a motherfucking monster
APPENDIX F

LYRICAL EXAMPLE OF THE COEXISTENCE OF OPPOSITIONAL SEXUAL ORIENTATIONS IN HIP-HOP SONGS

You don't know nann ho uh-uh
Don' been the places I been
Who can spend the grands that I spend
Fuck bout 5 or 6 best friends
And you don't know nann ho uh-uh
That's off the chain like me
That'll floss the thang like me
On and off a lil thang like me
You don't know nann ho uh-uh
That sell more ass than me
You know nann ho
That'll make you come like me
Nigga you don't know nann ho uh-uh
That don' tried all types of shit
Who quick to deep throat the dick
And let another bitch straight lick the clit
Now you don't know nann ho uh-uh
That'll keep it wet like me
Make it come back to back like me
Lick a nigga nut sack like me
Now you don't know nann ho uh-uh
That'll ride the dick on the dime
Who love to fuck all the time
One who's pussy fatter than mine
APPENDIX G

LYRICAL EXAMPLE OF THE COEXISTENCE OF OPPOSITIONAL SEXUALITY-RELATED IDENTITIES IN HIP-HOP SONGS
Bad girls ain't no good, and the good girls ain't no fun
And the hood girls want a smart nigga, college girls all want a thug
So it seems we fiend what we don't need
Got a thing for a queen who know when to leave
I ain't bout to judge you, don't judge me
You ain't gotta really sing about your rap sheet
Cause I heard you (bad nooo)
In the literal sense I mean that
Rough sex saying I love yah
But to kiss them is saying you mean that
I know I just be calling her mean ass
Oh the irony, got the bomb indeed
But the problem is it's probably a deep past
Still I'm feeling of something I need bad
Thinking if I get her, I get her to need this
I don't need emotions to open your deep sea
I conceive an ocean by going between legs
Beg, nope, bed, floor, dope
Go, for it, couch, now
Slow, mo-tion, around, put it down
Lord knows she was going for the morn, hold up
APPENDIX H

LYRICAL EXAMPLE OF THE COEXISTENCE OF OPPOSITIONAL IDENTITIES RELATED TO ECONOMIC LIFESTYLE IN HIP-HOP SONGS

I say fuck the police, that's how I treat 'em
We buy our way out of jail, but we can't buy freedom
We'll buy a lot of clothes when we don't really need em
Things we buy to cover up what's inside
Cause they make us hate ourself and love they wealth
That's why shorty's hollerin' "where the ballers at?"
Drug dealer buy Jordans, crackhead buy crack
And a white man get paid off of all of that
But I ain't even gonna act holier than thou
Cause fuck it, I went to Jacob with twenty-five thou
Before I had a house and I'd do it again
Cause I want to be on 106 and Park pushin' a Benz
I want to act ballerific like it's all terrific
I got a couple past due bills, I won't get specific
I got a problem with spendin' before I get it
We all self-conscious, I'm just the first to admit it.
REFERENCES


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