

THE CULTURAL COMMODIFICATION OF IDENTITY: HIP-HOP AUTHENTICITY

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ABSTRACT

Using the framework of symbolic interactionism, the concept of meaning, when discussing the relationship between hip-hop cultural members and how hip-hop culture is represented in advertisements, can be shaped by certain elements concerning a cultural authenticity. This is shown by how hip-hop cultural members make meaning of the images and messages that derive from commercial advertisements with a hip-hop influence on claims of what is an authentic cultural hip-hop identity. The present study investigated how portrayals of hip-hop artists in U.S. television commercials represented a hip-hop identity, using the analysis of McLeod's (1999) dimensions of hip-hop authenticity. A content analysis of 102 commercials was conducted to explore the relationship between each dimension of hip-hop authenticity and the categories of rap genre, race, and gender of the hip-hop artist featured in the advertisement. There were four significant findings. First, political hip-hop artists geared their message to the Black audience, and secondly, emphasized their connection to the community from which they came more than popular hip-hop artists. Third, Black hip-hop artists' exhibited masculine mannerisms more than White hip-hop artists. Lastly, male hip-hop artists significantly presented more masculine mannerisms than feminine, and female hip-hop artists expressed more feminine mannerisms than masculine; which suggests that there are certain elements involved in gender role performances surrounding hip-hop culture.

Key words: Identity, assimilation, authenticity, hip-hop, subculture of consumption, and
commodification

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INTRODUCTION

Hip-hop is not an accessory, a product, or a fad. It is a rich culture, with foundations in African music traditions, that give a voice to those who are rendered mute in U.S. society and abroad, and it should be treated as such. Due to the assimilation of hip-hop culture by advertising marketers to target new consumer demographics and create brand loyalty, hip-hop culture is jeopardized, along with what it means to be an authentic hip-hop cultural member.

The impact of these images on hip-hop culture, and the cultural members affiliated with hip-hop, is important to understand and acknowledge because of the potentially negative influence these images could have on not only those cultural members but also on the culture affiliated with Black people; Blackness is highly affiliated with hip-hop. Many members of Black culture identify with hip-hop, due to the majority of hip-hop cultural producers being a part of a Black identification. In advertising, hip-hop culture is at risk of assimilation, just as Blacks in previous advertisements were falsely represented as culturally commercialized versions of themselves.

These marketing practices commodify the culture of hip-hop and potentially threaten the authenticity of the culture itself. These commercialized messages of hip-hop culture may influence Black, and other, youth to internalize these messages about hip-hop culture as well as Black culture. This has potential implications for how Black youth may view themselves as well as their cultural community. .

Hip-Hop music has definitely surpassed the borders of U.S., and has impacted the lives of individuals around the world. One reason could be the freeing artistic nature hip-hop music has on its cultural members. In U.S. society and abroad, more and more people are using hip-hop to communicate their specific cultural narrative through song, dance, and art. Though there are geographical borders that separate hip-hop cultural members, the collective concept of hip-hop as an emancipatory source of expression remains unified around the world. According to McLeod (1999), the nature of hip-hop allows its cultural members to actively engage in social action concerning their community and society as a whole. One prominent sentiment amongst hip-hop cultural members is that without hip-hop many minorities may feel less inclined to confront the societal constraints they experience in everyday life, where one is judged based on their race, gender, or other reasons associated with living in society, without the association of hip-hop culture in their lives.

Hip-hop made it comfortable for me to express my narrative about being a dark-skinned Black girl growing up in the heated social arena of the South, and the U.S. abroad. I would not be as willing as I am to express the sentiments I have on the current state of hip hop, as I do with this thesis on the assimilation of hip-hop culture in advertising, and hip-hop authenticity. To situate myself in this project, Rose (2008) claims that “the worst of what we find in the [hip-hop] music and imagery is commercially promoted, encouraged, produced, and distributed by major

corporations” (p. 77). The authenticity and the pseudo-purity of hip-hop culture has already become tainted due to the business of selling records, and the promotion of an image that record companies and A&R representatives want their artists to portray. Yet, there are also advertising marketers that take certain foundational and popular elements of hip-hop culture and attach claims of hip-hop culture to sell their products, with imagery, hip-hop vernacular, and even a hip-hop artist in their advertisements. Though one can understand how many of these hip-hop artists have to pursue other ventures outside of hip-hop entertainment, due to the constraints and control performed by their music executives’ objectives of their record company, I argue that the practice of selling a culture in advertisements is inherently problematic. I do not agree with the current depictions of hip-hop as a culture in the media, specifically television, because the youth of our culture is at risk of a media-generated cultural assimilation, in which they may internalize these falsified representations of an authentic hip-hop culture based on the commodification of hip-hop culture in the media.

Peterson (2005) defines authenticity as “a claim that is made by or for someone, thing, or performance, and either accepted or rejected by relevant others” (p. 1086). Applying this concept to hip-hop culture, certain tenets associated with the culture must be collectively understood and enacted to be seen as authentic. Yet, I argue that determining one definition of authenticity of a culture is inherently problematic. Such that, all hip-hop members cannot possibly agree upon

what is authentic. Other cultural and geographical affiliations, gender, and sexuality can determine what is authentic on an individual level with hip-hop cultural members. However, it can be said that there are certain notions of authenticity that dominate in hip-hop culture. One element is the notion of “keeping it real”; this element of authentic hip-hop can be seen through the performance of race, sexuality and the impact of globalization. I argue that the contesting of these individuals who perform race and sexuality differently than dominant cultural members, as well as those individuals outside the U.S. who perform a hip-hop cultural identity, as authentic hip-hop cultural members is problematic for a number of reasons.

First, although the dominant conceptualization of hip-hop authenticity does not seem to recognize non-U.S. cultural members, these global hip-hop members are still a real part of the hip-hop community. The concept of “keeping it real” is so prevalent among artists that claim hip-hop authenticity, and as O’Hanlon (2006) found, Australian hip-hop artists maintain this American hip-hop cultural norm by also staying true to their own cultural identity, as they “keep it real” with their Australian heritage. With the Australian hip-hop artists studied by O’Hanlon, the desire to promote identification with a local audience overrides any allegiance to an American pronunciation, which is typically defined as African-American English (AAE). The Australian English accent is performed by Australian hip-hop artists to aid identification with their target audience, which mostly consists of the working class youth of the urban areas of

Australia, to maintain a local authenticity in Australia, which is also validated with the hip-hop philosophy of authenticity.

Sexuality also impacts how one can be seen as authentic in hip-hop culture. For example, a homosexual artist expressing their truth about being a part of a culture that discriminates against them would not be seen as authentic to many hip-hop cultural members because they are homosexual, and homosexuality has most often been trivialized and discussed in a negative manner in hip-hop culture.

This is also seen with race; arguments have been made in the past that one of the most popular hip-hop artists, Eminem, would not be seen as inauthentic based on his race being classified as White. Since hip-hop has become so appropriated within Black culture, Eminem would not be seen as authentic. I argue that race has no bearing on who is or is not an authentic cultural member. Race, heritage, and sexuality do not prevent a hip-hop artist and/or cultural member to portray an authentic hip-hop identity because that is the nature of who they are. Hip-hop cultural members, who use the expression of their personal cultural truth, are what authentic hip-hop is truly about. Thus, they should be seen as some of the most authentic identities within hip-hop culture. So, even through hip-hop globalization, racial differences, and performances of sexuality, the notion of “keeping it real”, in relation to hip-hop authenticity, can be seen to still maintain a bulk of hip-hop culture, which expresses that “keeping it real” is a foundational hip-

hip-hop cultural element that surpasses geographical borders and subcultures.

In light of these phenomena, I define hip-hop authenticity as a genuine performance of a hip-hop identity, which is in accordance to the character of the individual performer, including cultural and personal nuances that are incorporated in the hip-hop artists' persona. I believe that hip-hop authenticity could only be made on the individual level, because as stated previously, I believe that determining one definition of authenticity of a culture is inherently problematic for all individuals affiliated within the culture. When one makes claims of authenticity on the collective cultural level, many identities within the culture can become assimilated or forgotten altogether. Additionally, the communication of a collective hip-hop authenticity through commercial advertising may influence the individual claims one has or authenticity. Therefore, this thesis examines how hip-hop is portrayed in advertising messages in order to better understand what messages of authenticity hip-hop youth may be exposed to and potentially use when constructing their own identities and perceptions of the culture they inhabit.

Claims of authentic hip-hop in advertising need to be analyzed further, to better understand how this culture is affected by commercialization. If there are more inauthentic representations of hip-hop in advertising, the audience may be persuaded that these assimilated representations are authentic claims of hip-hop culture, which only validates that the identity of the cultural members is at risk of being assimilated to the mainstream ideal of what an authentic

hip-hop cultural member truly represents. In addition, if the portrayal of a prominent hip-hop artist is inauthentic in advertising, members of this subculture may internalize these assimilated portrayals as real, which could influence their cultural affiliation and desires for social action (which is a foundational element of hip-hop culture).

This thesis focuses on the use of hip-hop in commercial advertising and the intersection of race, authenticity, and consumer culture. In this study, I concentrate on how marketing techniques by companies, using advertising campaigns, convey a message of an authentic or inauthentic hip-hop identity. This thesis investigates how hip-hop artists are featured in television commercials because of the importance these images may have in terms of influencing a subculture. This research provides an analysis on how advertisements can connect to the demographic population of Black consumers and hip-hop fans alike, as a subculture of consumption, when corporations and other businesses incorporate components of blackness and hip-hop into their advertising and marketing, to make Black people and hip-hop fans become loyal consumers of their products. The images shown in these television commercials may influence meaning making of Black culture for Blacks as well as others, in part due to the relational connection fans have with the artists. The products that are sponsored by hip-hop artists in these commercial advertisements create a subculture of consumption amongst individuals who internalize the products as being apart of their culture; due to the support Blacks

and hip-hop fans give to certain products in the commercial advertisements hip-hop artists are featured in. The current study investigates the relationship between commercial advertisements featuring a hip-hop artist and authenticity claims, based on the rap genre, race, and gender of the artist. A content analysis assessed whether rap genre, race, or gender of the hip-hop artist impacted any claims of an authentic hip-hop identity present in the commercial advertisements the hip-hop artist was featured in. The goal of this study is to effectively recognize how hip-hop artists portray their identity, according to an authentic or inauthentic claim of hip-hop authenticity, in commercial advertising. In accordance with the theoretical framework of symbolic interactionism, the meaning derived from these advertisements on what is an authentic hip-hop identity, can have a potential effect on how members of hip-hop culture perceive an authentic identity.

Review of Literature

As a foundation for this content analysis, I will review literature to conceptualize the concepts and categorizations associated with blackness and hip-hop culture, advertising and marketing, subcultures of consumption, and hip-hop authenticity.

Maintenance of a Hip-Hop Identity

It should be noted, that for the purpose of this research, rap music and hip-hop music are to be considered interchangeably. This study investigates hip-hop culture as a whole, in which rap

music is also a vital element. Many believe that hip-hop is what one lives, and rap music is what one does. Though this argument is necessary to distinguish between the two, this thesis focuses on the portrayals hip-hop artists; therefore, rap music is inclusive in this analysis.

There is strong evidence that there has long been a reciprocal relationship between rap music and the identity of Blacks. Rap music has foundational roots in African culture (Stephens, 1991). Rap music is often produced by Blacks, who also make up the majority of their audience (Dixon & Brooks, 2002). Since Blacks dominated the creation of hip-hop music, and continue to do so, hip-hop has become a culture that influences Blacks, and in turn, Blacks influence hip-hop. An explanation of this phenomenon could be the identification Blacks feel towards rap music. With rap music, Blacks connect to this music genre because they can identify with the artist, since the majority of these artists are from the same racial or ethnic background.

Important to the present study is an understanding of the history and significance of rap music to Black culture in the U.S. Media effects research has found both negative and positive influences on rap music's audience members (Johnson, Jackson, & Gatto, 1995; Zillmann, et al., 1995). Research also shows that rap music can harmfully support attitudes of violence, sex, and materialism (Johnson, Jackson, & Gatto, 1995; Baxter, DeRiemer, Landini, Leslie, & Singletary, 1985; Kubrin, 2005; Smith, 2005). Even though there are negative and positive effects found within rap music, the connection an individual has with rap music can be considered an element

of cultural capital, especially when discussing African Americans, the culture primarily associated with the creation of hip-hop music in the U.S.

Clay (2003) details how African American youth use hip-hop as a form of cultural capital in every day settings, by focusing on how Black youth interact with one another at the City Youth Center in Lakeland, North Carolina. The article also examines how this particular form of cultural capital may be used to authenticate a Black identity. Clay found that typically, hip-hop communicates to more than just those who are a part of Black culture. For example, Michelle, a Mexican American student, said that even the Mexican people in her class listen to hip-hop. According to Clay, “these remarks suggest that it is imperative for those Black youth to engage in the performance of hip-hop culture to authenticate a Black identity” (p. 1352); through the management of fashion, gestures, language, and music. It is clear to see that rap music and hip-hop culture directly impact Blacks and other groups inclusively. Yet, for the purpose of this study, it is important to make certain distinctions within the genre of rap music, I highlight two categories of rap music that directly relate to this study: political/Afrocentric rap and popular/mainstream rap.

Rap Genre Classifications: Political Rap and Popular Rap

Most research has focused on rap as a whole, including Afrocentric rap and mainstream rap together, signifying a collective relationship in hip-hop culture. Yet, Boyd (1994) argued that

the genre of rap should essentially be categorized into two classes: the political and the popular. I will first begin with the political/Afrocentric genre.

Afrocentric rap is a form of music that promotes the interests and ideals associated with African values in relation to African-Americans values and identity. It is used as a response and resistance to the dominant structures that impose oppression on their community (McDonnell, 1992; Rose, 1994). Political rap [Afrocentric rap] also expresses a candid political, psuedo-Black Nationalist message (Newman, 2007). In all, Afrocentric rap instills a positive ethnic identity in the social group of Blacks, due to the uplifting and creative messages shared to the other Black members of their social group.

The popular form of rap is represented by music that is generally vacant of racially specific messages, in order to maintain commercial success. This class of rap can also be characterized as mainstream rap. Mainstream rap music is quite opposite in lyrical content to Afrocentric rap, because of the concentrated materialism in the majority of the songs. Though rap music fans may perceive these elements in a negative fashion, specifically Blacks, find it difficult to disassociate with rap music because of the collective representation of Black artists' in the genre/culture. One could argue that this is because of the lumping of rap music categories such as (defined by Boyd) political rap and popular rap within the overall genre of rap music. Typically, popular artists change their identity for mainstream popularity, while Afrocentric

artists maintain a cultural representations of African-American /Black life in American society.

This study aims to separate the rap categories, political rap and popular rap music when analyzing the relationship between rap artists featured in television advertising commercials and the six dimensions of hip-hop authenticity operationalized for this study. This will be shown by the types of representations that are found in the message of the advertisements that portray hip-hop artists in the political and popular categories of hip-hop.

For the purpose of this study, an Afrocentric artist could be distinguished as an someone like KRS-One and an artist such as Method Man (from the Wu-Tang Clan). Typically, KRS-One raps about Afrocentric empowerment to those who have to live in harsh social conditions in the United States. Yet, an artist like Method Man can rap about harsh conditions in the communities with a large minority population, yet with a different type of voice, one that may not be directly seen as Afrocentric. Though there are differences between Method Man and KRS-One, Method Man still expresses the same hardships, through a more hardcore manner. Both of these methods for communication may sound drastically differently when it comes to style, but the message is still the same; they both serve as a voice for the inner-city communities with a large minority population, and they inspire and influence that same population through different lyrical and rhythmic methods. An example of a mainstream rap artist would be a hip-hop artist like Drake.

As a hip-hop artist, Drake appeals to a mass audience of diverse fans, and he is very popular on the top rated album charts.

How these artists can potentially influence the marketing practices of those individuals who are a part of their culture will be discussed further in the following section.

Subculture of consumption

As Shillbury et al. (1998) detail, advertising can work as a method of transferring meaning to members of a cultural group. Due to this, it is important to analyze hip-hop under a cultural frame. According to Schouten and Alexander (1995), a subculture of consumption is “a distinctive subgroup of society that self-selects on the basis of a shared commitment to a particular product class, brand, or consumption activity” (p. 43). Though these subcultures maintain distinct characteristics, these characteristics are often imitated and commercialized by corporations for mass production. According to Mabry (1989), more than \$700 million dollars was spent in one year to target Blacks in advertising ventures by marketing firms; and as Armstrong (1999) states, “advertising is often carefully crafted to be a conduit of culturally transmitted meanings” (p. 268). Hip-hop culture easily corresponds to the concept of a subculture of consumption, because hip-hop culture includes of individuals who identify with certain products, such as fashion, music, and other forms of entertainment (Arthur, 2006). From the identification with the products, cultural members of hip-hop also internalize these images

and messages as being apart of their culture, which can influence their commitment to these products. How one attaches these products to one's cultural identity will be discussed further in the following section.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism explains how people communicate to each other through some form of symbolic contact. As Blumer's (1969) perspective of symbolic interactionism explains, the core principles of this theory are that individuals act toward certain objects based on the meaning they derive from the objects. That meaning is also influenced by the relationship an individual has with other members their community. In turn, these meanings are maintained and/or challenged through an interpretive process the individuals perform when an interaction between themselves and the object(s) they encounter, occurs. With this study, communication through media messages (commercial advertisements) can also be seen as an element of symbolic interactionism. Meaning, in the relationship between hip-hop cultural members and how hip-hop culture is represented in advertisements featuring a hip-hop artist, can be understood by how individuals in hip-hop culture, who are majority Black, make meaning of the images and messages that derive from these commercial advertisements on claims of what is authentic hip-hop. The present study will investigate the preliminary research necessary to understand this phenomenon. Using McLeod's (1999) definitions of hip-hop authenticity, this

study seeks to understand how hip-hop artists in television commercial advertisements represent hip-hop, on each level of each hip-hop authenticity dimension.

Before going further into an analysis of hip-hop culture and advertising, it is necessary to first begin with an analysis of Blacks in advertising, as the existence of hip-hop artists in commercial advertising is profoundly reliant on the previous success of Blacks in advertising.

Historical Timeline: Portrayals of Blacks in advertising

Through extensive research on minorities and advertising, it has been suggested that the minority portrayals seen in television and print advertisements are not the actual lived experiences of minorities in the U.S. (Branthwaite & Peirce, 1990; Humphrey & Schuman 1984; Staples & Jones, 1985; Wilson & Guitierrez, 1985). Therefore, there are some discrepancies in advertising of authentic portrayals of Blacks in media. Evidence has shown that Blacks have been overlooked and stereotyped in advertising, even though they make up a large subculture of purchasing power.

Many researchers detail the change from no Blacks to the incorporation of Blacks in advertising stemmed from the pressure of civil rights groups urging advertisers to include more minorities in their advertising (Zinkhan, et al. 1990; Kern-Foxworth, 1994; Burrell, 2010).

Kassarjian (1969) believed that in 1946, consumer advertising had just started to exist. In 1956, societal pressures from civil rights increased, therefore more Blacks were featured in advertising,

and 1965 was selected because of the “white backlash” that existed during this time, and the significance of the Watts riots that occurred that year, in response to the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. Kassarjian found that the frequency of Blacks featured in advertisements decreased in 1956, and by 1965 it only reached the frequency found in 1946. Also by 1956, Black entertainers in advertisements increased 36 percent from 1946, and the reference to labor occupations decreased 52 percent from 1946. By 1965, nearly 60 percent of Blacks in entertainment and sports represented the majority of occupations featured in advertising. In addition, in 1965, most of the segregated ads featuring Blacks were singers, sports heroes, entertainers, or actors, and they were typically seen alone in the ad. Zinkhan, Qualls and Biswas (1990) conducted a 40-year comprehensive longitudinal study on data collected from past research, of over 200,000 advertisements on the Black representations featured in magazine and television advertising (13,000 television commercials and 20,500 magazine ads). They found that there was a significant increase of Black representation in advertising from .57 percent in 1949 to 16.01 percent in 1986. In addition, Blacks were often represented more in television commercials than print advertising. Bush, Solomon, & Hair (1977) also found that between 1967 and 1974, Blacks were more likely to be present in advertisements promoting personal products, durable goods, and public service. With like results, Burrell advertising has been conducting research on the marketing tactics performed by major advertising agencies, on Black stereotypes

for a number of years. Burrell Communications' research conducted on the 1970s and 1980s showed that Blacks preferred high status products, and were doing so because of intense self-esteem issues of being characterized as dirty. Also, Blacks spent the most money in every product classified under hygiene, including feminine douches, scented laundry detergent, car deodorizers, and household disinfectants. Burrell (2010) defines these tactics used by advertisers as the "black inferiority marketing strategy", which he believes has been practiced by advertising companies since the 18th century. Burrell defines the propaganda strategies performed by advertising companies as *the big lie*, *appeal to fear*, *appeal to prejudice*, and *stereotyping*. Starting from the 18th century to the 21st century, Burrell also makes classifications for *the colonial era*, *the reconstruction era*, *the civil rights era*, and *the modern era*, through an historical analysis. The most current era in this analysis is *the modern era*, thus this era will be discussed in detail to gain perspective on the current practices of advertising agencies. *The modern era for the big lie* is "low-income Blacks are innate failures, responsible for their own moral and economic decline" (2010, p. 8). *The modern era for appeal to fear* is "low-income Blacks are violent and prone to crime. They threaten property values and must be contained or incarcerated" (2010, p. 8). *The modern era for appeal to prejudice* is characterized as, "social and economic woes are attributed solely to irresponsible Black parenting crime-coddling communities, and a sense of perceived "victimization" (2010, p. 9). *The modern era for the*

stereotyping marketing strategy is defined as "low-income blacks are drug-addicted, criminal, oversexed, dependent on government assistance, and irresponsible" (2010, p. 9).

This analysis inherently shows how there have been significant increases in manner and frequency of how Blacks are featured in advertising images. Since hip-hop cultural members are predominantly Black, this research is crucial to gaining insight to how hip-hop community members have been incorporated into the marketing tactics of many companies and corporations. There is an overwhelming amount of evidence that Blacks in advertising have traditionally been subjected to negative portrayals and stereotypical imagery. The impact of this imagery on the culture affiliated with Blacks in advertising will be discussed further.

Kern-Foxworth (1994) states "the characters, models, the symbols that represent Blacks in advertising have always been important to Blacks, because they are aware that they determined how they feel about themselves and their race and how others perceive them as well" (p. 43). So, based on this information and what is known about how a subculture of consumption operates, Blacks typically look to these negative advertising images, and internalize how they should feel about themselves. Due to the prevalence of Blacks featured in hygienic advertising, Blacks typically overcompensate with purchasing hygienic products more than other groups, due to the overrepresentations of Blacks featured in these advertisements. From this research, one can also presume that Blacks featured in the commercial advertisements that are analyzed in the

present study would be portrayed in a stereotypical way, through the lens of an inauthentic hip-hop culture, since this culture is being adapted for commercial marketing purposes to gain consumer loyalty from members of that subculture. As stated previously, there is an undeniable link between Blacks and hip-hop culture, therefore, one could expect that those who view commercials featuring a hip-hop artist who presents inauthentic claims of authenticity, will also internalize these negative representations into their own identity.

McLeod's (1999) Semantic Dimensions of Hip-Hop Authenticity

The semantic dimensions of hip-hop authenticity (McLeod, 1999) are used in the analysis of the present study. Authenticity are conceived as messages that include the notions of “true”, “real”, “realness”, “authentic”, or “keepin’ it real”, as identified by McLeod. He goes further to identify six dimensions of authenticity. Each dimension of hip-hop authenticity has two levels. The first level signifies an “authentic” or “real” claim of hip-hop authenticity; while the second level signifies an “inauthentic” or “fake” claim of hip-hop authenticity. The coders involved in this study, to identify what advertisements signify an authentic claim of hip-hop, will interpret these symbols after watching commercial advertisements featuring a hip-hop artist. McLeod categorizes his hip-hop authenticity dimensions in the following manner: social-psychological, racial, political-economic, gender-sexual, social-locational, and cultural.

Social – Psychological (SP) dimension. According to McLeod (1999), the social–psychological dimension of hip-hop authenticity highlights the difference between individualism and conformity in relation to the actions of hip-hop cultural members. The first level of the SP dimension, *staying true to yourself* is described as representing who you are in the most truthful manner possible, and not following the current trends of youth culture representations found in popular media programming. The second level of the SP dimension, *following mass trends* is described by McLeod as “changing one’s image, persona, and/or music to entertain the masses” (p. 140).

Racial (R) dimension. Racial is defined by McLeod (1999) as the racial and cultural background of the hip-hop cultural member. A *Black* message is “pro-Black in tone, and geared to the Black audience instead of ‘mainstream’ or white audiences” (p. 140). The second level of this dimension, *White*, is defined as “mainstream music with a pop flair, non-Black (neutral) messages, and/or White artists creating the hip-hop music”(p. 140).

Political-Economic (PE) dimension. According to McLeod (1999), the political-economic dimension of hip-hop authenticity addresses the anomaly of underground success versus commercial success. On the first level of this PE dimension, *the underground* can be seen as street credibility, consisting of “12-inch vinyl singles and hip-hop clubs used to disseminate hip-hop music locally, which avoid mainstream mass media” (p. 141). On the second level,

commercial is described as “when an artist is repositioning themselves within a music business culture dominated by the big five multinational corporations that control the US music industry” (p. 141). The songs and artists featured on the radio and MTV also signify a *commercial* claim.

Gender-Sexual (GS) dimension. Gender-sexual comments on a hip-hop cultural member’s gender and sexual orientation.

On the first level of this GS dimension is *hard*. The authentic claim of *hard* represents wholly male attributes, yet these attributes are described, as being more than being a male, for instance, the male hip-hop cultural member must also exhibit very masculine mannerisms to be characterized as *hard*. In regards to sexuality on this level, the artist is heterosexual, and homophobic—the artist does not act like a “pu**y” or a fa**ot” (p. 142). The second level of the GS dimension, *soft*, describes a hip-hop artist that is considered to have feminine mannerisms, which is seen as a fake claim to hip-hop authenticity. Under this definition, it seems that McLeod typically characterizes a cultural member as male, since feminine attributes are seen as fake. This distinction can be potentially troubling for female hip-hop cultural members, which also makes it difficult for coding purposes.

Social-Locational (SL) dimension. The hip-hop authenticity dimension, social-locational, as defined by McLeod (1999), is the “community with which a hip-hop artist and fan identifies himself or herself” (p. 142). The first level, *the street*, is characterized as African-

American dominated inner cities” (p. 142). Also, an artist that “does not disassociate themselves from the community from which they came” (p. 142). There are certain actions that hip-hop cultural member can engage in to provide an authentic claim to this dimension. McLeod states that artists can highlight one’s ties to the community by mentioning the name of one’s neighborhood in the lyrics of a hip-hop song. The second level of the (SL) dimension is classified as *the suburbs*. This level is described as “an artist who is a sell out, who distances themselves from their roots (their culture and the neighborhood they came from) and an artist whose identity represents suburbia, or makes music for teenie-boppers” (p. 143).

Cultural (C) dimension. Lastly, McLeod’s cultural dimension of hip-hop authenticity addresses hip-hop’s status as a rich culture, rather than as a commodity that can be marketed to a mainstream population. This discourse revolves around “discussions of what is pure and polluted culture” or, respectively, authentic and inauthentic hip-hop culture (p. 144). The first level, *old school* is defined as pure hip-hop that harkens back to the early days of hip-hop music before the culture became popular, and open to mainstream influences. The *old school* dimension is shaped by individuals who are characterized as break-dancers, DJs, MCs, and graffiti artists; those individuals who helped develop hip-hop as a culture, without the concerns of making a profit from their participation. The second level of this C dimension, *mainstream*, is categorized as hip-hop music that is played on the radio and MTV, making it inauthentic hip-hop. Hip-hop cultural

members who treat hip-hop like a product instead of a culture would be seen as members of a mainstream popular audience. Now that hip-hop authenticity has been conceptualized and understood, I will review some recent hip-hop authenticity marketing tactics performed by advertising agencies.

Recent hip-hop marketing tactics

Rose (2008) argued against the widespread inauthentic images of hip-hop street culture, stating that it was a type of market used to sell an idealized version of blackness in U.S. society. She also stated that the promotion of “keeping it real” is “a manipulation of black prophetic histories” that serve corporate and mainstream agendas (p. 3). This belief can also be applied to more recent instances of marketing hip-hop, which are discussed below.

Erin O. Patton (2009) explains the symbols his marketing team used to express authentic hip-hop to their consumer demographic of hip-hop fans, while working on the marketing campaign of NBA player Stephon Marbury’s athletic shoe, Starbury.

For creative messaging, we landed on the tagline, “This is my life, my vision. You Feel Me.” This authentic, urban vernacular also supported the opt-in strategy causing the consumer to identify with Stephon’s vision for Starbury. In addition we co-opted famous Hip-Hop lines and treated them in copy as Stephon’s voice. For example, we took the classic line from Erik B. and Rakim that says, “It ain’t

where you're from, it's where you're at" and flipped it to say, "Where you're from defines where you're at." This communicated to the consumer that we understood their mindset and that the Starbury brand was rooted in an authentic experience to make affordable sneakers and gear. Finally, we grounded the brand in Coney Island, shooting a documentary for the web from Stephon's old housing project. We also used images from the photo shoot in our print ads, including my favorite which is an image of young Stephon, and superimposed them in the front of Coney Island landmarks, similar to the rapper Nas' CD cover for his classic *Illmatic* (p. 127). (See Appendix B for illustrations of these examples).

Hip-hop marketing campaigns not only apply to selective sports merchandise, but also products that are inherently bought by a mainstream audience.

Historically, Kodak's advertising tactics has been known to essentially target young mothers, known as the "Katie" demographic by marketers (Hutson, 2011). "It's nice to see an old company get hip...it's showing that Kodak isn't dressing like Elmer Fudd anymore", says Kodak's former marketing chief, Jeffrey Hayzlett on the recent contemporary commissions of chart-topping hip-hop artists such as Drake and Pitbull in the marketing of their merchandise for their "So Kodak" campaign geared towards Kodak's new "M5 90 Easyshare" digital camera, launched in October 2010 (Mattioli, 2010). When asked about how Kodak's hip-hop marketing

campaign had affected their merchandise sales, Vincent Young, Director of Marketing Communications for Kodak's Americas region stated in the above-mentioned interview, that sales have significantly increased since the appropriation of hip-hop artists in their advertising, though he refused to disclose the exact the monetary figures about that increase in sales. [See Appendix C for commercial illustrations of each hip-hop artist featured in the campaign advertisements].

In some instances, a sort-of reverse marketing situation arises; some marketing campaigns came from hip-hop artists' support for certain products in their songs, like in the case of hip-hop artists' Lil' Wayne, Eminem, and Ludacris promotion of Trojan Magnum condoms in rap lyrics. Ludacris, a Grammy-Award winning Southern hip-hop artist, was contacted by Trojan to participate in the 2010 marketing campaign, "The Magnum Livin' Large Project", based on his lyrical content that supports safe sex through the use of Magnum condoms. To go along with the merchandise support the hip-hop artists lend to to the Trojan brand, Trojan held a rap jingle contest for their Trojan Magnum brand, and Ludacris congratulated the 2010 winner, who also received a \$5000 prize, at a future concert he won tickets to. Ludacris is back on board for a second year, as he helps launch the new contest for 2011, in which the future winner will perform at a concert in Miami . Trojan claims Magnum is now the most popular condom among African-Americans, stating that African American males account for 22 percent of all condom

purchases but 40 percent of Magnum purchases (Newman, 2010). [See Appendix C for illustrations of the Trojan online marketing campaign featuring hip-hop artist, Ludacris].

Hip-hop marketing tactics are important to study because members of the subculture of consumption of Hip-Hop culture can digest these images as being apart of the Black cultural tradition, due to the prevalence of Blacks in Hip-Hop culture, and the relation many hip-hop fans have to these rap artists. As found with media effects literature, the members of this culture can in turn be influenced by these marketing tactics, to the point that the authenticity of hip-hop in these advertisements could be mistakenly interpreted as a cultural truth, instead if a tactic used by advertising companies.

The Present Study

As stated above, the present study seeks to understand how hip-hop artists are represented in advertising, in either an authentic or inauthentic manner. This analysis was done in hopes to understand how the members of the subculture of consumption affiliated with hip-hop, process the messages seen, and internalize these messages into their own identity. This study essentially wants to know if the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisements convey an authentic or inauthentic hip-hop identity. In addition, the current study seeks to examine the potential roles the political or popular rap genres, the race of the hip-hop artist, and the gender of the hip-hop artist have on the cultural authenticity expressed in these commercial advertisements.

Research questions are outlined below.

Research Questions

For the purpose of this study, the following components of hip-hop artistry and authenticity will be analyzed.

Research question 1 seeks to understand if there are more instances of authentic or inauthentic claims found on the advertisements used in this study. This will provide information on what claims are the most prevalent in the commercial advertisements featuring a hip-hop artist.

RQ1: Will television advertisements featuring a hip-hop artist reflect an authentic or inauthentic view of hip-hop culture?

Research question 2 analyzes the potential differences between a political hip-hop artist and a popular hip-hop artists' claims of authenticity.

RQ2: Is there a relationship between rap genre (*political* or *popular*) of the artists featured and dimension of hip-hop authenticity in the advertisement?

Research question 3 evaluates the relationship between the race of the hip-hop artist featured in the commercial advertisements and claims of an authentic or inauthentic hip-hop identity.

RQ3: Is there a relationship between the race of the hip-hop artist featured in the advertisement and each dimension of hip-hop authenticity?

Research question 4 investigates the relationship between the gender of the hip-hop artist featured in the commercial advertisements and claims of an authentic or inauthentic hip-hop identity.

RQ4: Is there a relationship between the gender of the hip-hop artist featured in the advertisement and each dimension of hip-hop authenticity?

Method

Sample

This research is interested in the representations of an authentic or inauthentic hip-hop identity performed by hip-hop artists in commercial advertisements. Also, how the intersection of rap genres, race, and gender impact the claims of authenticity found in these commercial advertisements. The sampling units used in the sampling frame of this study are commercial advertisements featuring a hip-hop artist that were initially shown between the years of 2005-2010 to effectively obtain the most up-to-date analysis of the current representations of hip-hop in advertising. The commercials used for analysis were obtained through youtube.com, due to the ease of use and the overall quantity and diversity of videos collected on this website. To find commercials that featured a hip-hop artist, the principal investigator, with some input from the coders, used their knowledge of commercials seen in the past featuring a hip-hop artist, or products that featured a hip-hop artist. From there, artists and brands that are known to be heavily affiliated with hip-hop culture were searched and added to the sample. Additionally, the format of Youtube.com allowed for use of a snowball sampling technique. The website automatically produces suggestions of similar videos when a user searches and views a particular

video. So, these suggested videos were also viewed and were related under the following framework.

For this study, a hip-hop commercial was defined as a television advertisement that contained a hip-hop artist supporting a product, and/or a hip-hop artists' track singularly featured in an advertisement in support of a product. A hip-hop artist had to physically be featured in the advertisement or their music had to be featured in the commercial advertisement to be considered a hip-hop commercial. Only television advertisements meeting these criteria, accessible through youtube.com were considered for this study. There were 116 commercial advertisements initially included in this study. The commercial advertisements featuring the hip-hop artist were then coded based on variables relating to McLeod's (1999) hip-hop authenticity dimensions.

Coding and Reliability

Four undergraduate student coders from a large Midwestern university went through a training process to learn the background of hip-hop culture and the coding system involving McLeod's (1999) semantic dimensions of hip-hop authenticity. There were two Black female coders, one White male coder, and one White female coder. The investigator trained the coders for approximately 20 hours, detailing the conceptual definitions of each variable, redefining those variables, and putting them into practice with a run-through of coding practices. The principal investigator and the 4 undergraduate coders practiced coding advertisements not

included in the sample, to answer any practical questions about the coding procedure involved with this project. After the training took place, the coding of the content was done separately with no interaction between the coders. Reliabilities reported below were calculated with an overlapping subset of the actual sample of television advertisements (10%, $n = 12$) using Krippendorff's α .

Units of Analysis

Judgments were made on two levels on analyses: (1) character level, and (2) television advertisement level. The character level was defined as the race and gender of the artist featured in the television commercial advertisement. The television advertisement level examined the relationship between the artist featured in the television commercial and the commercial advertisement message (through the use of the symbols and the words seen and heard in the commercial advertisement) on the seven dimensions of hip-hop authenticity, as identified by McLeod (1999).

Character Level Variables. The variables included in the character level analyses were designed to gain descriptive information about the race/ethnicity and gender of the hip-hop artists featured in the television advertisements. The rap genre that the hip-hop artist is associated with was determined outside of the initial coding procedures.

Race/Ethnicity. The *race/ethnicity* ($\alpha = 1.0$) of the artist featured in the commercial advertisement was classified as *Black* (N= 68, 80.5%), *White* (N= 5, 6.8%), *Latino* (N= 5, 4.2%), *Other* (N= 2, 1.7%), and *Unknown* (N= 8, 6.8%).

Gender. The *gender* ($\alpha = 1.0$) of the artist featured in the commercial advertisement was classified as *Male* (N= 72, 84.7%), *Female* (N= 10, 10.2%), and *Unknown* (N= 6, 5.1%).

Rap genre. The principal investigator and 7 volunteer hip-hop cultural members, who were different from the coders who analyzed the commercial advertisements, , determined the rap genre of the artist. The *rap genre* of the artist featured in the commercial advertisement was classified as *political* (N = 51, 44%), and *popular* (N = 65, 56%). The assessment of rap genre was grounded in online directories of rap artist categorizations on yahoo.com. In addition to the online directory, the principal investigator also conducted personal interviews with hip-hop cultural members who personally categorized the rap artists featured in the commercial advertisements of this study as either a part of the political or popular rap genre. These judgments were based on the public persona of that artist during the period of 2005-2010, since that is the period used for the advertisements. The cultural members contacted ranged in age and gender, such that there were 3 Black female hip-hop cultural members, and 4 Black male cultural members interviewed, ranging in age, 21-32. There was ($\alpha = 1.0$) agreement in the rap genre

category of the artists included in the sample (10%, $n = 8.2$) with the judgments made by the principal investigator and the four coders interviewed.

Television Advertisement Level Variables. For the purpose of this study, certain definitions, and conceptions of McLeod's (1999) dimensions of hip-hop authenticity needed to be redefined to assess the commercial advertisement messages seen in the ads, and the hip-hop artist featured in these advertisements. As a cultural member of the hip-hop community, I felt that certain conceptual definitions of McLeod (1999) were outdated, culturally offensive, or inappropriately defined to be apart of this study. I will go into detail on each dimension, and highlight why some definitions needed to be reevaluated.

Social-Psychological (SP) dimension. ($\alpha = .89$). The first level of the (SP) dimension, *staying true to yourself*, was redefined as *maintaining one's original music persona* which means, staying true to the musical persona that is portrayed in the public sphere. As I stated previously, making claims on someone's ability to stay true themselves on a collective cultural level is problematic. Therefore, this level was redefined to pertain to how the hip-hop artists featured in these advertisements stay true to the musical persona that was present during 2005-2010, based on the time period of the advertisements featured in this study. The second level remained *following mass trends*, but was slightly redefined to changing one's image, persona,

musical taste, musical genre, for the product they are sponsoring, to entertain the masses to also attend to the individual nuances that are present in one's public hip-hop persona.

Racial (R) dimension. Frayley (2009) argued that White hip-hop artists have to use an array of tactics to validate their authority as an authentic hip-hop artist, due to the fact they are White and not Black, since many hip-hop cultural members liken the Black race to an authentic performance of hip-hop authenticity. It is interesting to note that a hip-hop artist such as Eminem, who was featured rapping "Lose Yourself" in the 2006 iPod commercial, would be seen as fake or inauthentic. There are also no references to street life in his lyrics, and being a White artist inherently makes him inauthentic, under the current framework of this definition. Due to this, the racial dimension ($\alpha = 1.0$) was redefined on both levels. The first level of the racial dimension, *Black* was redefined as *Target: The Black Demographic* which means the message expressed by the artist is geared to the Black audience instead of mainstream or racially ambiguous audiences; and/or artists creating music in promotion of Black culture. For example, a Black-targeted message may include references to an Afro-centric identity and feature visual imagery of Black culture, such as the majority of the actors in the commercial being Black and the depiction of a raised fist – the symbol of the promotion of Black power. The second level of the racial dimension was changed from *White* to *Target: The racially ambiguous audience*, which is interpreted to mean a mainstream message, with non-pro-Black (neutral) messages.

These messages were targeted to a diverse audience and featured imagery that was multi-cultural, rather than reflective of a Black identity. These redefinitions were done to maintain a racial discrepancy between the two levels, without referencing the White as inauthentic.

Political-Economic (PE) dimension. The titles for each level of the PE dimension ($\alpha = 1.0$) were not changed, but the definitions for each level were slightly adjusted. Such that, *the underground* was redefined as, artists who avoid mainstream mass media. This level also includes hip-hop artists who are not immediately known by the masses. On the second level, *commercial* was redefined as when a hip-hop artist repositions themselves within a music business culture. The radio or MTV (excluding specialty programming) also signify commercial; Lastly, this level includes artists' whose music is played on mainstream/popular television and radio programs.

Gender-Sexual (GS) dimension. The levels of the GS dimension ($\alpha = .78$) were redefined for this study. On the second level of the GS dimension, *soft* was described as selling out from a masculine identity to a more effeminate identity as a hip-hop artist. McLeod (1999) defines artists on the level as representing “feminine, homosexual attributes” (p. 142). These definitions are potentially offensive in the current social strata. Therefore, these definitions have been redefined on four levels. The first level, *hyper-masculine* means the artist exhibits very stereotypical masculine mannerisms. The second level, *masculine*, means the artist represents

conventional masculine attributes. The third level, *feminine*, means the artist represents conventional feminine attributes. Lastly, *hyper-feminine* means the artist exhibits very stereotypical feminine mannerisms. In accordance to the two-level split McLeod makes in each dimension of his analysis of hip-hop authenticity, the first two levels (*masculine and hyper-masculine*) are classified as (1) authentic claims, and the third and fourth levels (*feminine and hyper-feminine*) are classified as (2) inauthentic claims of the GS dimension, to maintain the same coding criteria. As a female cultural member myself, I would like to note that I do not agree with the current notion that women and homosexuals involved in hip-hop are inauthentic. This culturally embedded concept is not only problematic to women, but also the culture as a whole. When a hip-hop community renders one mute, such as with women and homosexuals being inauthentic, you risk trivializing one of the foundational elements of hip-hop authenticity, which is keeping it real. Women and individuals with diverse sexual practices have shaped and been present in hip-hop culture since its infancy, and have every right to be considered an authentic cultural member. It is also detrimental to link one's gender with their sexuality, which is also done far too frequently within hip-hop culture. If a male cultural member is not seen as masculine, they are described as a pussy, which related to the anatomy of a female and a faggot which offensively relates to one's sexuality. Unfortunately, a lot of misogyny and homophobia still exists in hip-hop; therefore, women and homosexuals are still typically seen as inauthentic

based on their gender and sexuality, even though as a cultural member I know that this practice is undoubtedly immoral. Hopefully in the future his dimension dealing with one's sexuality and gender will not be as relevant as it is today in hip-hop culture.

Social-Locational (SL) dimension. The levels of the SL dimension ($\alpha = .86$) were also redefined for the purpose of this study. The second level of this SL dimension, *the suburbs* definition is a bit dated for the current music scene. In the past, hip-hop street culture signified authentic, while one's with another socio-economic status would be inauthentic, since they did not reference a place where hip-hop originated — the streets. Many hip-hop artists should be able to authentically represent themselves; which also means claiming the neighborhood from where they came. It is not an inauthentic claim if a hip-hop cultural member is from the suburbs. That is just one's geographical location; it does not determine one's connection to hip-hop culture. This dimension was redefined into the following: on the first level, *their street* and on the second level, *Main St.* The first level of this SL dimension, *their street*, refers to an artist that does not disconnect themselves from the community from which they came. Artists described to fit on this level also emphasize one's ties to the community. Therefore, if an artist refers to their neighborhood, the suburbs or not, they are seen as authentic, under the new definition, instead of inauthentic. The second level, *Main St.* is defined as an artist that allows a record label employee to tell them to disassociate himself or herself from their community so that the record company

can sell their music; an artist that distances themselves from their initial community to sell records to a different demographic than their own community; and an artist whose identity represents Main St. (an undefined location representing an indefinite social status).

Cultural (C) dimension. The levels of the cultural dimension ($\alpha = 1.0$) were also redefined for this study. Though it is a very difficult task to assess what is an authentic cultural portrayal of hip-hop, certain elements of hip-hop culture were included in each dimension to determine an authentic or inauthentic portrayal of hip-hop. Therefore, the first and second levels of the cultural dimension were redefined as *individualistic cultural expression* and *heavy mainstream influence*, respectively. The first level, *individualistic cultural expression* was defined as individuals who are characterized as break-dancers, DJs, MCs, and graffiti artists; those individuals who helped develop hip-hop as a culture, without the concerns of making a profit from their participation; and lastly, 80's and 90's hip-hop culture. This definition was only adjusted slightly, by adding 90's street culture. The second level, *heavy mainstream influence* was defined as, hip-hop played on the radio and MTV (not including MTV2 and other specialty MTV channels, since those new specialty channels typically show underground artists); an artist who is commercial, and an artist who treats hip-hop like a product instead of as a culture.

Results

Though 116 commercial advertisements were initially coded in this study, only the advertisements that were able to be coded for the appropriate gender and race were retained. A total of 102 advertisements featuring a hip-hop artist physically and/or through song were analyzed. Chi-square goodness-of-fit tests were used to analyze the data associated with the research questions of this study. Standardized adjusted residuals were calculated for each of the cells in order to determine which cell differences contribute to the chi-square goodness-of-fit tests results. Standardized adjusted residuals were considered significant if they reached or exceeded 1.9. In the sample, there were 94 (92.2%) instances of Black hip-hop artists, and 8 (7.8%) instances of White artists featured in the advertisements. There were 91 (89.2%) instances of male hip-hop artists, and 11 (10.8%) instances of female hip-hop artists featured in the advertisements.

Research Question 1: Authentic / Inauthentic Claims

Research Question 1 (RQ1) analyzed the differences between the authentic and inauthentic claims, on each dimension, seen in the commercial advertisements. [See Figure 1 for the *n* values associated with each dimension.] Results indicate the following findings.

Social-Psychological (SP) dimension. Frequency tables indicated that the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisements, (1) stayed true to their public musical persona; or a

hip-hop artist ($n = 46, 45.1\%$), or (2) changed their image, persona, musical taste in the commercial advertisement ($n = 56, 54.9\%$).

Racial (R) dimension. Frequency tables suggest that the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisements, (1) geared their message to the Black audience instead of mainstream or racially ambiguous audiences ($n = 23, 22.5\%$), or (2) expressed a non-pro-Black (neutral) messages in the commercial advertisement ($n = 79, 77.5\%$).

Political-Economic (PE) dimension. Frequency tables suggest that the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisements, (1) disseminated their music locally, and avoided mainstream media ($n = 18, 17.6\%$), or (2) represented a persona that repositioned themselves within a music business culture ($n = 84, 82.4\%$).

Gender-Sexual (GS) dimension. Due to the amount of cells fewer than five, the levels (*hyper-masculine, masculine, feminine, and hyper-feminine*) classified under the GS dimension were collapsed into two levels: (1) *masculine attributes* (2) *feminine attributes*. Frequency tables suggest that the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisements, (1) presented masculine mannerisms ($n = 89, 87.3\%$), or (2) presented feminine mannerisms ($n = 34, 12.7\%$)

Social-Locational (SL) dimension. Frequency tables suggest that the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisements, (1) emphasized their connection to the community from which they came ($n = 28, 27.5\%$), or (2) referred to an identity that represents Main St. (an

undefined location representing an indefinite social status), instead of referencing their own community ($n = 74, 72.5\%$)

Cultural (C) dimension. Frequency tables suggest that the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisements were (1) individuals who are characterized as break-dancers, DJs, MCs, and graffiti artists; those individuals who helped develop hip-hop as a culture, without the concerns of making a profit from their participation ($n = 19, 18.6\%$), or (2) were commercial and treated hip-hop like a product instead of as a culture ($n = 83, 81.4\%$).

Research Question 2: Rap Genre

Research Question 2 (RQ2) asked if there is a relationship between the rap genre (*political* or *popular*) of the artists featured and dimension of hip-hop authenticity in the advertisement. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test results performed for each variable are reported below. A Fisher's test was run for cells fewer than 5. [See Table 1 for the n and percentage values associated with each dimension.] Results suggest that there were significant outcomes on the racial and social-locational dimensions.

Social-Psychological (SP) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between political hip-hop artists and popular hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the social-psychological dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 2.91, p = .59$.

Racial (R) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that political hip-hop artists were proportionally overrepresented on authentic claims of hip-hop authenticity and were also proportionally underrepresented for inauthentic claims of hip-hop authenticity on the racial dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 6.04, p = .01, V = .24$. More specifically, political hip-hop artists were significantly more likely to gear their message to the Black audience instead of mainstream or racially ambiguous audiences than popular hip-hop artists and were significantly less likely to express a non-pro-Black (neutral) messages in the commercial advertisement than popular hip-hop artists.

Political-Economic (PE) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between political hip-hop artists and popular hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the political-economic dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 1.73, p = .19$.

Gender-Sexual (GS) dimension. Due to the amount of cells fewer than five, the levels (*hyper-masculine, masculine, feminine, and hyper-feminine*) classified under the GS dimension were collapsed into two levels: (1) *masculine attributes* (2) *feminine attributes*.

The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between political hip-hop artists and popular hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the gender-sexual dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 1.59, p = .21$.

Social-Locational (SL) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that political hip-hop artists were proportionally overrepresented on authentic claims of hip-hop authenticity and were also proportionally underrepresented for inauthentic claims of hip-hop authenticity on the social-locational dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 4.60, p = .03, V = .21$. Such that, political hip-hop artists were significantly more likely to emphasize their connection to the community from which they came, and significantly less likely to refer to an identity that represents Main St. (an undefined location representing an indefinite social status), than popular hip-hop artists in the commercial advertisements analyzed in this study.

Cultural (C) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between political hip-hop artists and popular hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the cultural dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 1.1, p = .29$.

Research Question 3: Race

Due to the amount of cells fewer than five, the levels (*Black, White, Latino, Other, and Unknown*) were reclassified as (1) *Black* (2) *White*. Due the low frequency of the racial categories of *Latino* and *Other* of the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisements,

these categories were dropped from the analysis. Therefore, the only racial categories of the hip-hop artists included in the following analyses are (1) *Black* and (2) *White*.

Research Question 3 (RQ3) asked if there is a relationship between the race (*Black* or *White*) of the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisement and each dimension of hip-hop authenticity. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test results performed for each variable are reported below. A Fisher's test was run for cells fewer than 5. [See Table 2 for the *n* and percentage values associated with each dimension.] Results indicate that there were significant findings on the gender-sexual dimension.

Social-Psychological (SP) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between Black hip-hop artists and White hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the social-psychological dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = .08, p = .77$.

Racial (R) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between Black hip-hop artists and White hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the racial dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 2.53, p = .11$.

Political-Economic (PE) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between Black hip-hop artists and White hip-hop artists for

hip-hop authenticity on the political-economic dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 1.73, p = .19$.

Gender-Sexual (GS) dimension. As a reminder, due to the amount of cells fewer than five, the levels (*hyper-masculine*, *masculine*, *feminine*, and *hyper-feminine*) classified under the GS dimension were collapsed into two levels: (1) *masculine attributes* (2) *feminine attributes*.

The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that Black hip-hop artists were proportionally overrepresented on authentic claims of hip-hop authenticity and were also proportionally underrepresented for inauthentic claims of hip-hop authenticity on the gender-sexual dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 10.83, p = .001, V = .33$. Such that, Black hip-hop artists were significantly more likely to present masculine mannerisms, and less likely to present feminine mannerisms than White hip-hop artists in the commercial advertisements analyzed in this study.

Social-Locational (SL) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between Black hip-hop artists and White hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the social-locational dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = .44, p = .51$.

Cultural (C) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between Black hip-hop artists and White hip-hop artists for hip-hop

authenticity on the cultural dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 2.04, p = .15$.

Research Question 4 (RQ4) asked if there is a relationship between the gender (*male* or *female*) of the hip-hop artists featured in the commercial advertisement and each dimension of hip-hop authenticity. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test results performed for each variable are reported below. A Fisher's test was run for cells fewer than 5. [See Table 3 for the *n* and percentage values associated with each dimension.] Results indicate that there were significant outcomes on the gender-sexual dimension.

Social-Psychological (SP) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between male hip-hop artists and female hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the cultural dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = .38, p = .54$

Racial (R) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between male hip-hop artists and female hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the racial dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 1.28, p = .26$.

Political-Economic (PE) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between male hip-hop artists and female hip-hop artists for

hip-hop authenticity on the political-economic dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = .002, p = .96$.

Gender-Sexual (GS) dimension. Again, due to the amount of cells fewer than five, the levels (*hyper-masculine, masculine, feminine, and hyper-feminine*) classified under the GS dimension were collapsed into two levels: (1) *masculine attributes* (2) *feminine attributes*.

The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that male hip-hop artists were proportionally overrepresented on authentic claims of hip-hop authenticity and were also proportionally underrepresented for inauthentic claims of hip-hop authenticity on the gender-sexual dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = 84.41, p < .001, V = .91$. Such that, male hip-hop artists were significantly more likely to present masculine mannerisms, and significantly less likely to present feminine mannerisms than female hip-hop artists in the commercial advertisements analyzed in this study.

Social-Locational (SL) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between male hip-hop artists and female hip-hop artists for hip-hop authenticity on the social-locational dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = .53, p = .47$.

Cultural (C) dimension. The chi-square goodness-of-fit test revealed that there was no significant difference between male hip-hop artists and female hip-hop artists for hip-hop

authenticity on the cultural dimension in the commercial advertisements, $\chi^2(1, 102) = .002, p = .96$.

Discussion

This content analysis of the hip-hop authenticity claims found in television advertisements featuring a hip-hop artist revealed four significant findings. There are also statistically insignificant findings that need to be discussed in more detail. First, I will discuss the research question 1 (RQ1) and how the results relate to symbolic interactionism. The first tenet of symbolic interactionism suggests that individuals have certain attitudes about the objects they encounter in everyday life. In the case of this study, hip-hop cultural members develop attitudes about the commercial advertisements they are exposed to in their everyday lives in different ways. Some may interpret these images as an authentic hip-hop identity while some others could be cognizant of these images and messages, and may not internalize them to the same effect others who watch the same commercial. Meaning, an individuals' attitude about an object is also impacted by their own personal experiences in their lives, which influences how they interpret and act towards these objects. Results indicated that there were typically more inauthentic claims of hip-hop authenticity found in the commercial advertisements than authentic claims of hip-hop authenticity. Therefore, one could argue that individuals who see these commercials will have to negotiate whether these commercials depict an authentic or inauthentic claim to authenticity

based on their personal experiences associated with hip-hop culture.

Research question 2 (RQ2) asked if the rap genres political and popular impacted claims of authenticity in the commercial advertisements. It was found that political hip-hop artists geared their message towards the Black audience more than popular hip-hop artists, who relayed more of a mainstream message in the commercial advertisements featured in this study. Yet, interestingly enough, there were no statistically significant differences in the portrayals of political and popular hip-hop artists on the Social-Psychological (SP) dimension. Meaning, there was not a strong difference in the way the hip-hop artists from both rap genres either stayed true to their music persona, or changed who they were for the purpose of the advertisement. This can be potentially disheartening for individuals involved in hip-hop culture. Even though, political rap artists' messages are essentially geared to a Black audience, the fact remains that the political rap artist's persona, portrayed in the commercial advertisements, did not differ significantly to the Black demographic; they are not doing so in a manner that is an authentic representation of their musical persona. Therefore, the discrepancy within the hip-hop artists' music image and the hip-hop persona portrayed in the commercial advertisement may communicate a message about hip-hop identity that is not altogether authentic but that ultimately becomes authentic as fans begin to view these commercial personas as real. Under the second tenet of symbolic interactionism, it is posited that individuals learn meaning by interacting with others around

them. For example, in 2011 Snoop Dogg became the spokesperson for a new malt liquor beverage “Blast by Colt 45”. A hip-hop artist can promote a product in a commercial advertisement and provides messages that link that product to hip-hop culture, such as how Snoop Dogg promotes the malt liquor in the commercial advertisements. A hip-hop cultural member who sees the advertisement could also be influenced by not only the messages in the advertisement but also other cultural members who have also seen the commercial. Such that, if other cultural members internalize these messages as authentic and start using the product because it was promoted by a hip-hop artist, one may also be influenced by not only their interaction with the product but also the interactions they have with their social counterparts because individuals learn meaning by interacting with others around them. They in turn could possibly internalize these messages as authentic or inauthentic since other cultural members have done so. So, a product could possibly become apart of a culture because of the interactions one has with the advertisement and the other cultural members involved.

The second significant finding is that political hip-hop artists emphasized the community from which they came from, in the commercial advertisements, more than popular hip-hop artists, who referenced a non-specific location of origin (*Main St.*) more often. This result could be expected; because of the focus political hip-hop artists place on community uplift, whereas mainstream artists typically do not represent their places of origin often, in order to maintain

their mainstream appeal. The fact that there are images of political hip-hop artists representing a positive model of African-American culture in television advertising brings hope to hip-hop culture, since symbolic interactionism states that the interaction one has with media messages can influence their self-concept. Such that, these authentic hip-hop representations could positively affect the belief systems one has about one's culture and themselves, based on how members of their social group are portrayed in the media.

Research question 3 (RQ3) assessed whether race had any impact on hip-hop authenticity in the commercial advertisements. It was interesting to find that Black hip-hop artists changed their image and persona for the commercial advertisement more than staying true to who they were in these advertisements, though the change was not significant. This inconsistency can possibly affect those who are fans of that artist and those who are a part of Black culture if an artist is portraying themselves in an inauthentic way more than authentically, while promoting a product that is geared toward the Black demographic and hip-hop fans alike. The promotion of a racially ambiguous identity of *Main St.* also jeopardizes the cultural thread of hip-hop authenticity and hip-hop culture, due to the incongruity between the hip-hop artists' reality and whom they portray in the commercial advertisements. The same worries could be expressed for the cultural dimension of hip-hop authenticity and the racial category of Black hip-hop artists, which revealed that Black hip-hop artists treated hip-hop like a product more than a close-knit

communal culture, in commercial advertisements. Though the interpretation of these results are troubling, there can also be some interesting factors on why this is the case.

Though artists' have some agency in how they promote themselves in a television commercial, the corporations and music executives also play a large role in how hip-hop is represented in advertising. . One method that could be in play here with Black and political hop-hop artists, is the notion of a type of cultural code-switching (Myers-Scotton & Ury, 1977) in which the hip-hop artists perform a persona that will be the most profitable and lucrative for the marketers, and in turn, themselves. One could argue that political and popular hip-hop artists are portraying a persona for the advertisement in order to reap the financial benefits associated with the promotion of a product. P. Diddy, one of the most commercial-friendly rap artists in hip-hop, highlighted this concept in his rap lyrics for "Oh Let's Do It (Remix)", the song originally created by southern rapper, Waka Flaka Flame, "I got my billions up fucking with them white folk, now I don't give a fuck cause I'm richer than them white folks" (P.Diddy, 2009). Through his lyrics, P.Diddy touched on the dominant white ideology associated with the marketing of hip-hop culture and how he maneuvered through this set-up, to make a profit that eventually surpassed the individuals he changed his persona for. I am not naive enough to believe that hip-hop artists should not be open to opportunities that could potentially support them and their family, but I do argue against some of the stereotypical portrayals of hip-hop culture in

advertising, that hip-hop artists support by being affiliated with the brands and companies that promote these stereotypes. I would go as far to issue a call-to-action for hip-hop artists to cautiously involve themselves with certain branding techniques that could potentially harm the culture. In essence, these popular hip-hop artists that are approached by companies can and should take more agency in determining how they represent themselves in these commercial advertisements. Hip-hop and marketing is a business after all, and one cannot presume that an individual cannot maximize on business ventures because they are affiliated with hip-hop culture. Because these artists are desired by these companies to represent their products, the hip-hop artists may have the opportunity to exert their influence over how hip-hop is presented in commercial culture, helping to promote a more meaningful representation of hip-hop culture. Also relating to research question 3 (RQ3), the race of the hip-hop artist brought about one significant result on the gender-sexual dimension. Black hip-hop artists, in comparison to White hip-hop artists, presented more hyper-masculine/masculine mannerisms than feminine. However, due to the small number of White artists featured in the commercials, this finding only cautiously suggests that race is in fact related to the presentation of a masculine identity.

Lastly, in relation to research question 4 (RQ4) which addressed how gender could impact hip-hop authenticity, as one could expect, male hip-hop artists significantly presented more masculine mannerisms than feminine, and female hip-hop artists expressed more feminine

mannerisms than masculine. These specific results are interesting, however, based on how misogyny and homophobia are particularly represented in hip-hop and African-American culture. The third tenet of symbolic interactionism states that individuals must interpret meaning and modify their own meaning for an object, to communicate with others about the same object, since individuals can interpret an object in different ways. This relationship can be seen with on the gender-sexual dimension of this study. Due to the misogynistic and nature of hip-hop culture, males, females have different perceptions on what hip-hop truly is and how they must negotiate within the culture. Therefore, they have to negotiate between the meanings of hip-hop that are expressed by each other. Unfortunately, this action is not performed enough in hip-hop culture. Below, I will discuss possible reasons why this is the case.

Jackson Katz, an interviewee in the documentary, *Beyond Beats & Rhymes* (2006), discussed how misogyny and the dominant notion of masculinity have impacted the culture of hip-hop.

If you're a young man growing up in this [hip-hop] culture, and the culture is telling you that being a man means being powerful, being dominant, being in control, having the respect of your peers, but you don't have a lot of real power, one thing you do have access to is your body and your ability to present yourself physically as somebody who is worthy of respect. And I think that's one of the

things that accounts for a lot of the hyper masculine posturing by a lot of young men of color and a lot of working class white guys as well. Men who have more power, men who have financial power and workplace authority and forms of abstract power like that don't have to be as physically powerful because they can exert their power in other ways.

Dr. Michael Eric Dyson discussed some of the elements in play when it comes to misogyny in hip-hop music in the documentary *Beyond Beats & Rhymes*, "If we have a glorified sense of our own victimization as black and brown men, what we must not miss and what we often do, is to understand that black and brown women themselves are so victimized, not only by white patriarchy but by black male supremacy and by the violence of masculinity that is directed toward them." So, even though Black males have been emotionally victimized by portrayals of masculinity and socialized to believe in a stereotypical and dominant notion of what masculinity is, they must also realize what impact their actions have on the identity and self-concept of the women involved in hip-hop as well.

As found by Armstrong (2001), violent rap lyrics against women (assault, rape, and murder) were found in 22% of rap songs between the periods of 1987-1999. Blackness, misogyny, and hip-hop culture are interrelated at some level, which could harm the women in hip-hop culture because these images could potentially promote gender inequality in society

(Johnson, et al., 1995). Some women in hip-hop argue that contentions need to be made against the misogyny commonly featured in hip-hop lyrics and videos (Pough, 2002). There has not been a lot of research done that scrutinizes hip-hop in terms of how women are represented in hip-hop, and the effects those images have on a women's self-concept (Roach, 2004). Yet, women involved in hip-hop culture could convey their stories of misogyny and gender inequality in some potential ways. As one female interviewed for the documentary, *Beyond Beats & Rhymes*, states, "I jokingly say that I am in recovery from hip-hop. It's like being in a domestic violence situation. Your home is hip-hop and your man beats you". Comments such as these are expressed by many women affiliated with hip-hop; thankfully, there are ways that these women can voice their concerns with being a female inside the culture of hip-hop.

Feminist standpoint theory operates from a position of difference between men and women. Under the scope of standpoint theory, men typically have power while women hold under- advantaged roles in society. From this, one could understand how the misogyny of male hip-hop artists has a certain power of the black female counterparts associated with hip-hop culture, putting them into a disadvantaged group. Considering this, I believe a further analysis of standpoint theory and feminist hip-hop theory will help flesh out the different narratives given by women in hip-hop, such that, each individual standpoint these women have about their feminist ideology and identity associate with hip-hop, will be taken into account and organized under the

tenants of standpoint theory. In doing so, there will be more information regarding how black women, and women of other racial/ethnic backgrounds, affiliated with hip-hop, navigate through the masculine power and misogyny associated with hip-hop music and lyrical content, and in turn, how these women develop a feminist identity in spite of these historical tools of oppression. Women affiliated with hip-hop culture have to constantly battle with how their voices as seldom heard and their bodies are frequently seen. Due to the negative relationship, more research needs to investigate the way in which women are portrayed in hip-hop culture, and how these portrayals affect the identities of the women involved.

In summary, these findings suggest that the rap genre, the race/ethnicity, and the gender of the hip-hop artist featured in the commercial advertisement, does influence hip-hop authenticity judgments made on the images of the artist and messages seen in these commercial advertisements. Findings from the present study cautiously suggest possible relationships between hip-hop culture and those affiliated within the subculture. More research in the area of media effects needs to be conducted before analyses of this nature can be made about this subculture. The intent of this study is to serve as a catalyst for this kind of research, not to posit anything related to how these findings affect individuals apart of this subculture; this pronouncement serves as a limitation of the present study. I believe more research can be done in the areas of misogyny and women involved in hip-hop culture, on political versus popular rap

genres and the effects of their lyrical content on the identities of hip-hop cultural members, and lastly if racial affiliation of hip-hop artists influences how hip-hop cultural members internalize the messages expressed by the hip-hop artist.

As detailed by previous literature, there is a positive relationship between the uplifting and creative messages of hip-hop artists engaged in political rap and African-Americans. Even though there were some positive and authentic portrayals of political hip-hop artists found in these television commercials, the popular rap genre remains to be the most mainstream, which means more opportunities to affect an audience. With this in mind, studies on the effects of mainstream/popular rap on the subculture of hip-hop should be investigated further. It would also be interesting to investigate potential differences between African-American individuals who are exposed to political rap and mainstream/popular rap music, and analyze the differences between the self-concept associated with themselves and their culture, after they are exposed either the political or popular rap genre.

The development of hip-hop culture since infancy has been a means for which members of that cultural group can express themselves through artistry and lyricism. The woes of the society they live in are often discussed, which provides an outlet for their cultural expression. If these cultural members are improperly represented in advertising, the audience of other cultural members can internalize these false representations, which could potentially damage the purpose

of hip-hop culture as a whole, which is to give true an real representation of who you are, your life, and the society you live in; chronicling the good and the bad of the observations detailing your experiences in the society and culture you are apart.

Hip-hop culture has spread internationally, with hip-hop artists performing in English, and other languages. For this reason, some argue that hip-hop can no longer be seen only as an expression of African American culture; it is now, according to Mitchell (2001), a ‘vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world’ (p. 2). Even within the US, hip-hop is now no longer considered representative only of African American culture. Rather, according to Cutler (1999), it is viewed as a ‘multicultural lifestyle’, and not as a symbol of a specific ethnic identity (p.435). I argue that even though hip-hop has expanded beyond the borders of the United States, the foundational notions of hip-hop authenticity should be researched further to help understand this commodification of this collective culture.

Appendix A

Results Figures and Tables

Figure 1. Semantic Dimensions x Authenticity Claims Frequency Results

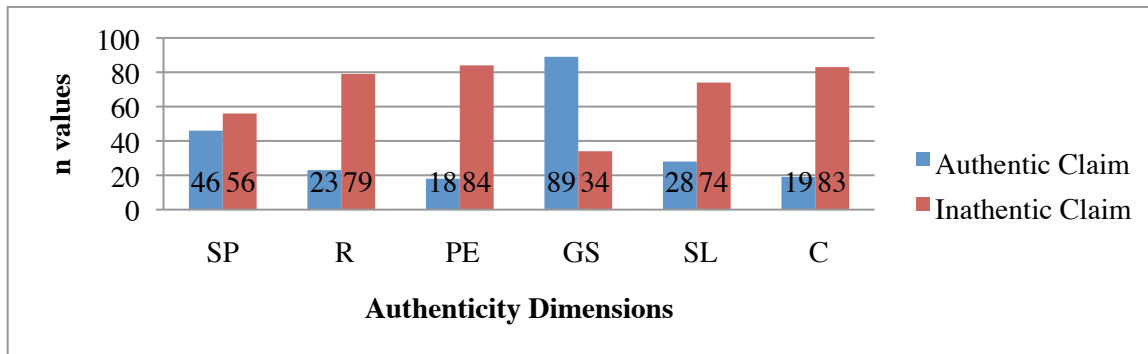


Table 1. Semantic Dimensions x Rap Genre Chi-Square Results

<i>Authenticity Dimensions</i>	<i>Authenticity Claim</i>	<i>Rap Genre Categories</i>	
		<i>Political</i>	<i>Popular</i>
Social-Psychological $\chi^2(1, 102) = 2.91, p = .59$	Authentic	$n = 23, 47.9\%$	$n = 23, 42.6\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 25, 52.1\%$	$n = 31, 57.4\%$
Racial* $\chi^2(1, 102) = 6.04, p = .01, V = .24$	Authentic	$n = 16, 33.3\%$	$n = 7, 13\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 32, 66.7\%$	$n = 47, 87\%$
Political-Economic $\chi^2(1, 102) = 1.73, p = .19$	Authentic	$n = 11, 22.9\%$	$n = 7, 13\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 37, 77.1\%$	$n = 47, 87\%$
Gender-Sexual $\chi^2(1, 102) = 1.59, p = .21$	Authentic	$n = 44, 91.7\%$	$n = 45, 83.3\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 4, 8.3\%$	$n = 9, 16.7\%$
Social-Locational* $\chi^2(1, 102) = 4.60, p = .03, V = .21$	Authentic	$n = 18, 37.5\%$	$n = 10, 18.5\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 30, 62.5\%$	$n = 44, 81.5\%$
Cultural $\chi^2(1, 102) = 1.1, p = .29$	Authentic	$n = 11, 22.9\%$	$n = 8, 14.8\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 37, 77.1\%$	$n = 46, 85.2\%$

* - Indicates a significant chi-square outcome.

Table 2. Semantic Dimensions x Race of artist Chi-Square Results

<i>Authenticity Dimensions</i>	<i>Authenticity Claim</i>	<i>Race of Artist</i>	
		<i>Black</i>	<i>White</i>
Social-Psychological $\chi^2(1, 102) = .08, p = .77$	Authentic	$n = 42, 44.7\%$	$n = 4, 50\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 52, 55.3\%$	$n = 4, 50\%$
Racial $\chi^2(1, 102) = 2.53, p = .11$	Authentic	$n = 23, 24.5\%$	$n = 0, 0\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 71, 75.5\%$	$n = 8, 100\%$
Political-Economic $\chi^2(1, 102) = 2.35, p = .13$	Authentic	$n = 15, 16\%$	$n = 3, 37.5\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 79, 84\%$	$n = 5, 62.5\%$
Gender-Sexual* $\chi^2(1, 102) = 10.83, p = .001, V = .33$	Authentic	$n = 85, 90.4\%$	$n = 4, 50\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 9, 9.6\%$	$n = 4, 50\%$
Social-Locational $\chi^2(1, 102) = .44, p = .51$	Authentic	$n = 25, 26.6\%$	$n = 3, 37.5\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 69, 73.4\%$	$n = 5, 62.5\%$
Cultural $\chi^2(1, 102) = 2.04, p = .15$	Authentic	$n = 16, 17\%$	$n = 3, 37.5\%$
	Inauthentic	$n = 78, 83\%$	$n = 5, 62.5\%$

* - Indicates a significant chi-square outcome.

Table 3. Semantic Dimensions x Gender of artist Chi-Square Results

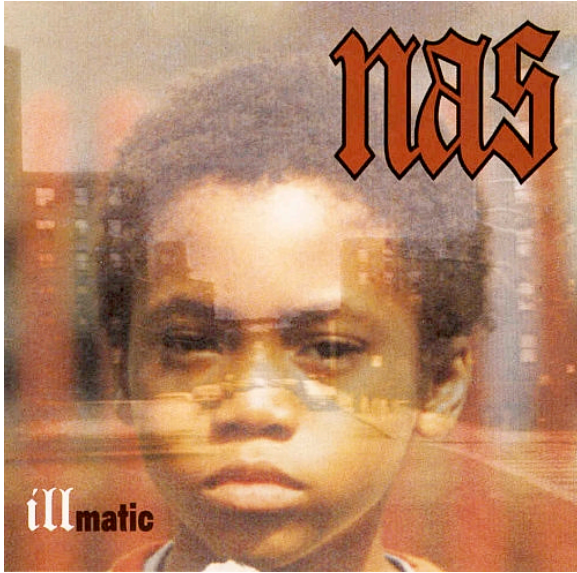
<i>Authenticity Dimensions</i>	<i>Authenticity Claim</i>	<i>Gender of Artist</i>	
		<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>
Social-Psychological $\chi^2(1, 102) = .38, p = .54$	Authentic	<i>n</i> = 42, 46.2%	<i>n</i> = 4, 36.4%
	Inauthentic	<i>n</i> = 49, 53.8%	<i>n</i> = 7, 63.6%
Racial $\chi^2(1, 102) = 1.28, p = .26$	Authentic	<i>n</i> = 22, 24.2%	<i>n</i> = 1, 9.1%
	Inauthentic	<i>n</i> = 69, 75.8%	<i>n</i> = 10, 90.9%
Political-Economic $\chi^2(1, 102) = .002, p = .96$	Authentic	<i>n</i> = 16, 17.6%	<i>n</i> = 2, 18.2%
	Inauthentic	<i>n</i> = 75, 82.4%	<i>n</i> = 9, 81.8%
Gender-Sexual* $\chi^2(1, 102) = 84.41, p < .001, V = .91$	Authentic	<i>n</i> = 89, 97.8%	<i>n</i> = 0, 0%
	Inauthentic	<i>n</i> = 2, 2.2%	<i>n</i> = 11, 100%
Social-Locational $\chi^2(1, 102) = .53, p = .47$	Authentic	<i>n</i> = 26, 28.6%	<i>n</i> = 2, 18.2%
	Inauthentic	<i>n</i> = 65, 71.4%	<i>n</i> = 9, 81.8%
Cultural $\chi^2(1, 102) = .002, p = .97$	Authentic	<i>n</i> = 17, 18.7%	<i>n</i> = 2, 18.2%
	Inauthentic	<i>n</i> = 74, 81.3%	<i>n</i> = 9, 81.8%

* - Indicates a significant chi-square outcome.

Appendix B
Marketing Hip-Hop

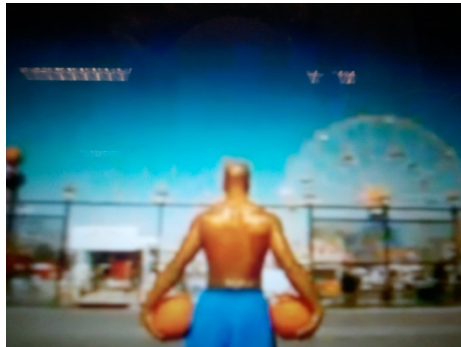
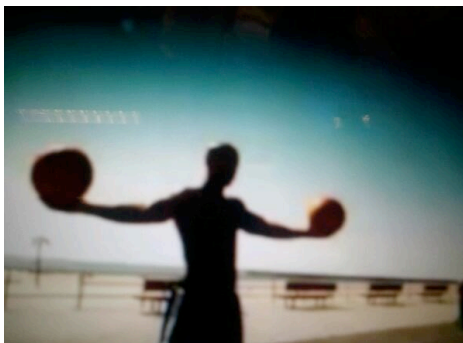
CD Illustrations

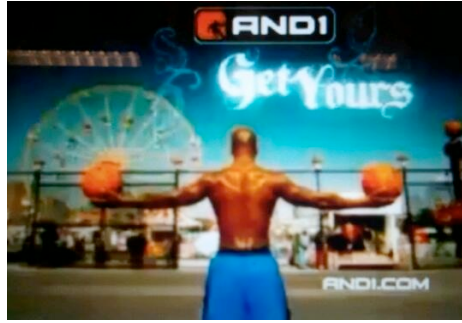
Nas – Illmatic CD cover



Television Commercial Illustrations

Stephon Marbury - Images from television advertisement of Starbury shoes



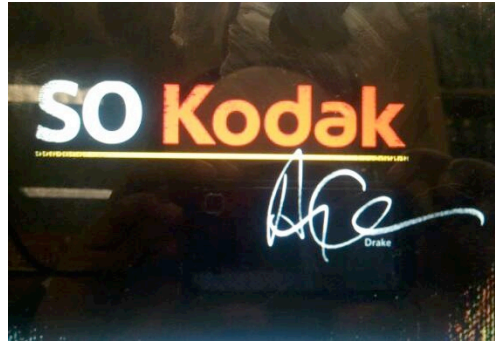


Appendix C

Recent Marketing Campaigns

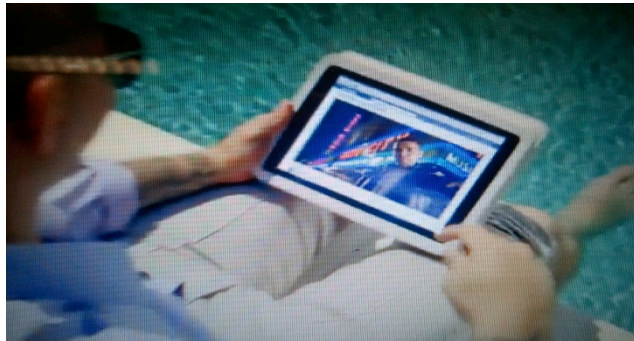
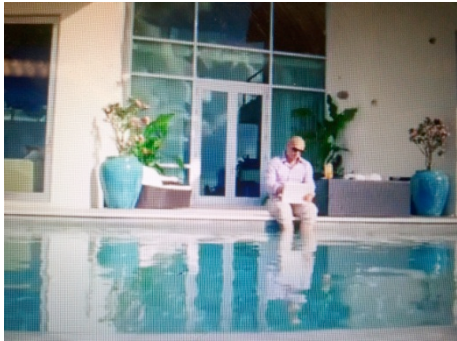
Television Commercial Illustrations

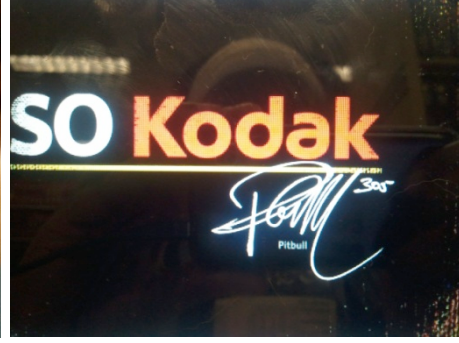
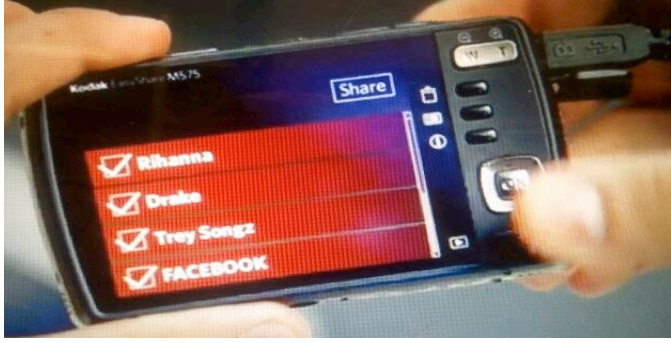
Drake – So Kodak Easyshare camera campaign



Television Commercial Illustrations

Pitbull – So Kodak Easyshare camera campaign



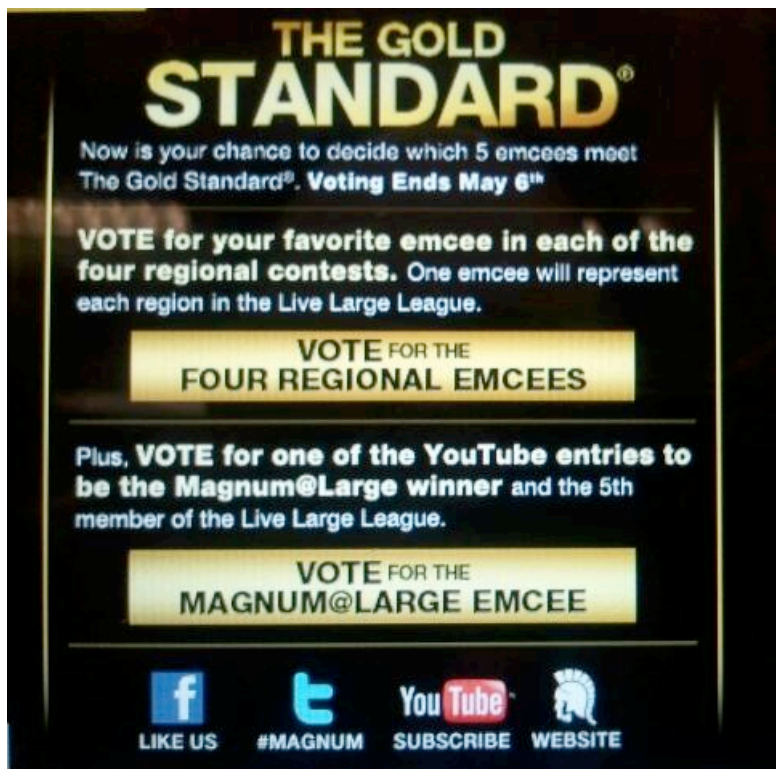
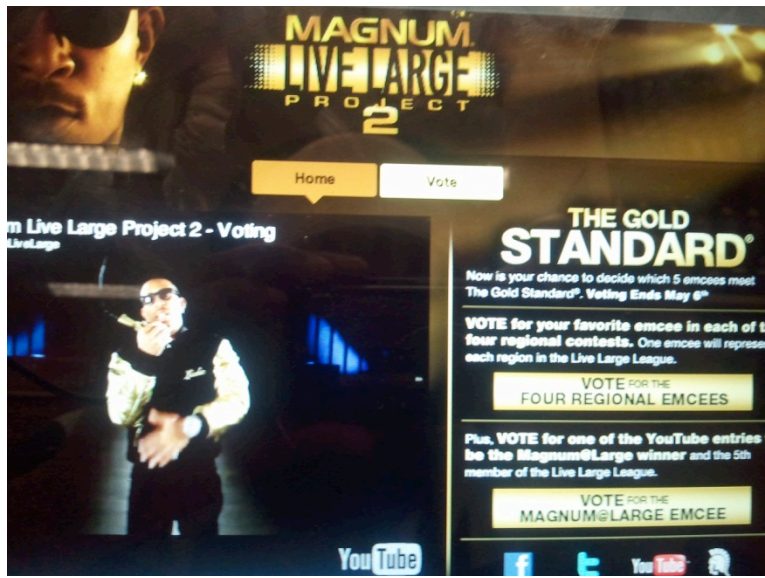


Appendix D

Recent Marketing Campaigns

Illustrations

Ludacris – Trojan Magnum Live Large online campaign



MAGNUM® LIVE LARGE PROJECT

MAGNUM LIVE LARGE PROJECT

GO ONLINE, GO GOLD.

LIVE LARGE AWARDS - We met the Gold Standard in Atlanta, June 18-20. And we have the music and photos to prove it. From Ludacris, to contest winner RC, to our exclusive VIP event, see it all at MagnumLiveLarge.com.

LISTEN



**BIRTHDAY BASH
PHOTOS**

**LISTEN TO A FEW OF
THE CONTEST FINALISTS**

Like 91 people like this. Be the first of your friends.

Live up to The Gold Standard®

**MAGNUM
LIVE LARGE
PROJECT 2**

**YOUR VOTE HELPS CHOOSE THE
5 EMCEES
WHO WILL APPEAR WITH
LUDA
AT SPRINGFEST '11**

VOTE ABOVE

Event Dates

Spring Fest May 29, 2011 07:00 PM
2011/Bicentennial Park
1075 Biscayne Blvd.
Miami, FL HipHopDay US
May 28 and 29

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