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INTERNAL COLONIZATION AND REVOLT: RAP AS AN UNDERGROUND POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN OAKLAND, CA FROM 1965-2010

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Abstract

Herbert Lavar Pope

INTERNAL COLONIZATION AND REVOLT: RAP AS AN UNDERGROUND POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN OAKLAND, CA FROM 1965-2010

This study examines the relationship between rap music and internal colonization in Oakland, California from 1965-2010. As rap music continues to gain exposure and popularity, hip-hop culture has increasingly become a topic in the social sciences and humanities. Most studies of hip-hop culture have predominately focused on the mass-market trend toward worldwide commercialization of rap rather than fully examining how underground units continue to inform and innovate the mass trend. Inadequate attention is currently paid to the political development of rap as an underground narrative from a single location. Using primary sources from Oakland, this project explores rap's development from its origins in the "war" between the Black Panther Party (BPP) and COINTELPRO efforts. I argue two points. First, the messages in Oakland rap were shaped and influenced by the militant, radical, and political nature of the BPP in a way that mainstream rap music was not. Second, the styles of Oakland rap blended into a robust local brand before the scene gained a modicum of popular attention—while the New York/Los Angeles paradigm was in the spotlight. This raises significant questions about the agenda setting role of local rap artists—namely, their ability to create messages and styles of music that are resistant to co-optation even while achieving popularization and commercialization. As such, this study offers new insights into urban politics and addresses fundamental questions of power and equality in a liberal democracy.

Introduction

1. Background of the Problem

This study explores the successor relationships between: (1) the Black Panther Party (BPP); (2) underground rap music in Oakland, CA; (3) and mainstream rap music on the Billboard Charts by examining Black Nationalist expressions in rap music of the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s—showing how they reproduced, revised, and diverged from the nationalism originally espoused and acted upon by the BPP earlier. In particular, I attempt to answer two key questions:

> (1) What is the successor relationship between the BPP and the messages of rap music in Oakland from 1985-2010? and
>
> (2) How does this successor relationship differ from the successor relationship between the BPP and rap music on the Billboard Charts from 1985-2010?

To answer these questions, I define *hip-hop* as a movement that filled a void after the Black Power Movement (BPM) and argue that *rap* music in Oakland served as the successor of BPM message into locally based styles resistant to cooptation.

What we now label hip-hop culture emerged from South Bronx, NY in the mid- to late-1970s amongst post-industrial ruins and through at least five art-forms: graffiti art, DJing, breakdancing, fashion, and rapping. Of these five art forms, rap music became the major vehicle of exporting hip-hop culture from South Bronx to other domestic and international locations through analog audio. In the process, two fundamentally different versions developed— mainstream, Billboard rap and underground, local rap.

Existing rap scholarship largely relies on mainstream rap sources that are filtered, tamer versions of underground messages and styles. However, the construction of rap music in the South Bronx was an underground synthesis of BPP message (Gladney, 1995; Pough, 2004, p. 330; Reeves, 2008, p. 11) and "dub" style of music (Chang, 2005, pp. 23-30). The explosion of rap music's popularity was quickly followed by an explosion of scholarly works seeking to explain a phenomenon—namely how a music constructed out of an environment of political exclusion became immensely popularized in the 1980s (Rose 1994) and increasingly commercialized in the 1990s and the 2000s (Watkins, 2005). By 1998, rap music had overtaken country music as the leading genre of music in the United States (p. 63), and other authors even describe an academic fascination with hip-hop studies, "lining bookstore shelves alongside titles on music, culture, biography, sociology, history, politics and even current events" (Brown, 2002, p. 59).

Thus Oakland and Kingston, Jamaica are often used as starting points to explain the respective roots in Black Power message and "dub" style, but inadequate attention is paid to the historical development of messages and styles in these locations. Instead, the mainstream approach shows how the increase in popularity began after the Sugarhill Gang (1979) released the 15-minute song "Rappers Delight" and gained domestic and worldwide popularity through what was then understood as a "fad" culture. During the early-1980s, rap music's audience continued to expand. The rap group Run DMC (1986) released "Walk This Way" with rock group Aerosmith and topped pop charts, gained immense radio and MTV airplay, and

transformed rap music from a back alley subculture into a part of mainstream culture through commercialization.

While popularization does not necessarily undermine the nature of the political messages in rap, commercialization fundamentally threatens the potential for rap artists to effectively raise political, economic, and social concerns—resulting in a key political problem. The process of commercialization threatens to undermine messages through mass-market cooptation of styles. This problem is rooted in the differences between the processes of popularization and commercialization and the differences between mainstream, Billboard rap music and underground local rap music.

Popularization is a demand-side trend and occurs as more individuals decide to "buy into" the subculture of rap music. These subscribers do not change the nature of the messages or styles; in fact, the subscribers are legitimizing the product as it stands because they enjoy it. Commercialization is a supply-side attempt to effectively market rap music to get more individuals to "buy" rap products. Here, the buyers merely consume the products discovered, sponsored, and filtered by record executives. In addition, the process of commercialization increases the visibility of rap music by using it in cross-marking advertising campaigns and mainstream venues. Thus, the process of commercialization is limited to rap artists selected by major record labels to be presented to the public. Although these artists have traditionally been selected from local, inner-city communities, the effort to appeal to national and international mainstream audiences necessarily limits what the rappers can say about

state, market, and society. All of which lead to a filtering of messages and use of proven sounds in Billboard rap—often leading to tamer, pacified versions of what is on the streets.

In contrast, underground rap is discovered, sponsored, and filtered by the local community and seeks an audience of listeners through independent label production, manufacturing by demand, and local distribution and marketing (Table 1). This often entails the use of mixtapes (compilations of snippets or portions of songs mixed seamlessly by a DJ), bootlegs (collections of leaked or pre-released albums for sale on the streets for a fraction of the eventual album price), and campaigns on local radio shows. All of which lead to a largely unfiltered, experimental sound that then needs the approval of the given community to achieve larger audiences.

Table 1: Core Differences Between Mainstream and Underground Rap Music

	Mainstream, Billboard Rap	**Underground, Local Rap**
Target Audience (Filter)	Buyers (National/International)	Listeners (Local)
Discovery and Sponsor	Major Record Label	Independent Record Label
Message	Tamer, Pacified	Less Filtered
Sound (Producers)	Proven (Renown)	Experimental (Emerging)
Manufacturing (Units)	Mass (Thousands, Millions)	By Demand (Hundreds, Thousands)
Distribution	Worldwide	Local
Marketing	Major Media Outlets	Mostly Word of Mouth

I generally found that local Oakland rap did a better job of reproducing and tapping into the concerns established by the BPP than mainstream rap did. I also found differences among expressions of Black Power and Nationalism in the Oakland rap scene, mainstream rap, and even differences among the BPP. To fully explain

these differences—both between and among source types—I will pay attention to the significant qualitative differences, different modes of political action, and changing political and social contexts.

My focus on underground music differs greatly from the existing body of rap literature's predominant attention to mainstream sources. I am creating a narrative of underground politics in a single location. This approach will explore rap music as a political discourse that grew out of the experience of black youth in the aftermath of the Civil Rights movement that used elements of BPM discourse to reflect a key dichotomy—between a legitimized form of increasingly electoral black politics and the underlying exclusion and worsening condition of those living in black communities. Rap music from Oakland has direct geographical origins in the BPM of the late-1960s and provides a window on the transformation of a "post-war," underground discourse.

Yet, the Oakland case (along with other locales) is vastly underexplored. For example, Rose (1994, p. 60) tells us that within 10 years of rap's emergence, various "local hip hop scenes" were linked to local instances of "alienation, unemployment, political harassment, social, and economic isolation." Compton, Oakland, Detroit, Chicago, Houston, Atlanta, Miami, Newark and Trenton, Roxbury, and Philadelphia appropriated hip-hop's "language, style, and attitude" to such local conditions. However, this canonical text tells us very little about how each local scene began. Instead, the study focused on the popular and commercial development of rap music and videos, which were largely removed from these local contexts. The New

York/Los Angeles (NY/LA) axis was used to provide us with a robust, music video-led analysis of charting rap music. But how exactly did the non-NY/LA local scenes emerge? Specifically, was the Oakland scene exactly the same as the South Bronx, Harlem, and Los Angeles (Compton) scenes?

While scholars have started to approach these questions, there has yet to be a comprehensive investigation of the political content relationship between the local Oakland scene (or other local rap scenes) and the BPP. In some cases, the local BPP and rap link is taken as a given—assumed—but never fully explored. Taken as a given, Ginwright (2004, p. 31) has presumed a linked community and economic justice of the BPP (Newton, 1973) to hip-hop's current opposition to "oppressive urban conditions" though current studies (Kelley, 1996; Kitwana, 2002). Authors even avoid the political linkages and instead turn to current battles as the BPM/local rap linkage, such as Watkins' (2005, pp. 163-186) treatment of the Bay Area scene and quick turn to Proposition 21 (an anti-gang initiative). In these cases, a local connection between rap and the BPP/BPM is presumed but not documented historically.

Scholars who *have* located the BPP/BPM origins of Oakland rap music have done so in one of three major phases of explanation. *In each of these three cases, a BPM connection to local rap is either taken through the East Coast or is essentially negated by time.* A recent locale-intensive study suggests a fourth explanation but does not fully explore the political content implications or significance.

In the first explanation, the local BPM/rap link is often made through Black Arts Movement (BAM) artists such as The Last Poets and Gil Scott Heron. The concept is that the 1970s BAM largely based in Harlem, NY had a smaller-scaled influence locally in Oakland (Neal, 2004, pp. 354-355; Woodard, 2006, p. 66; Chang, 2007, pp. 3-4; Joseph, Forbes, Barlow, & Reyes, 2007, p. 83; Sullivan 2011). In another example, Acham (2004, pp. 42-45) has documented the national media emergence of the BPP (and the Poor People's Campaign) on *Black Journal's* (Detroit Public Television, 1968-2012) inaugural episode. The episode set the stage for a battle over the city of Oakland, taking significant "risks" in the process—from public opinion (both black and white) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). In other chapters, Acham focused on how *Soul Train* (Don Cornelius Productions, 1971-2006), how *The Richard Pryor Show* (Pryor, 1977), and even how *Sanford and Son* (Yorkin, Lear, Rubin, Orenstein & Turtletaub, 1972-1977) also spread elements and sentiments of the BAM and BPM to the mainstream. To a lesser extent, shows such *What's Happening!!* (Orenstein, Turtletaub, & Yorkin, 1976-1979) also contained elements of both movements, but instead used emerging dance styles and urban lingo. Overall, the BAM linkage of the BPP and local, Oakland rap would either go through Harlem, Detroit, MI (the home of the *Black Journal*), Chicago, IL (the home of *Soul Train*), Hollywood (*The Richard Pryor Show*, *Sanford and Son*, and *What's Happening!!*), or through some other mainstream media source and then later reappear in Oakland rap music.

The second explanation, the NY/LA rap axis filter, proposes that popular (but still politically significant) artists from rap's emergence or early growth travelled from the East Coast to Oakland to perform. This stage again begins on the East Coast and moves Westward and North, specifically focusing on how the NY/LA rap axis filter in the late-1980s brought popular domestic artists to Oakland venues (Arnold, February 23, 1994; Kabbani, 2002, pp. 12-13; Pough, 2004, p. 330). In Neal's approach (2004, p. 354), the starting point was Public Enemy, and it was traced back to the BPM through popular musicians such as Sly and the Family Stone, The Temptations, Freda Payne, and Marvin Gaye. Neal argued these artists and groups began targeting political, military, democratic, and "confusion of the era" issues. Then Neal moved to Gil-Scott Heron and The Last Poets—which were strikingly further left-leaning in merely song titles, let alone in terms of musical message and styling. Pough (2004, p. 330) has mentioned San Francisco-based artist Paris and the Oakland-based group The Conscious Daughters among the examples of post-BPM message centering on the themes of "unity, racial uplift, self-definition, self-determination, and Black diasporas" and even connected rap group dead Prez to this message. This stage, however, again leaves Oakland and later returns.

The third—and by far—most popular connection, is through the rise of early- and mid- 1990s local popular artists such as Digital Underground, MC Hammer, Too $hort, and others. This stage occurs during the "Golden Age" of rap (early- to mid-1990s) centering on the teenage and early adult years of Tupac Shakur (and his emergence with the rap group Digital Underground), the Marxist lyrics of The Coup

(and member Boots Riley), and other local artists who have at one time or another promoted a "positive" message—including Black Dynasty (Anderson, 2003, pp. 69-71). In this case, we are also told that underground artists from LA and East Oakland travelled from city to city spreading gangsta rap and eventually "supplant[ing] message, Afrocentric, pop, and other subgenres of rap in the early-1990s" (Watkins, 1998, p. 183). During this time, Watkins also claimed labels pushed a largely fabricated gangster persona as a means of marketing records (pp. 185-190). Others tell us that West Coast "innovators" such as Ice-T and N*gg*z With Attitude (NWA) inspired the Northern California scene (Morgan, 2001, p. 192). During this stage, we would need to wait nearly 20 years between the height of the BPP and the rise of Oakland rap music.

The fourth explanation connects the BPP/BPM culture with the 1970s pimp/drug culture as a combined approach. In an outstanding chapter from a region-specific edited rap volume, Ciccariello-Maher and St. Andrews (2009, p. 257) began by connecting the early Oakland scene with both the BPP and *The Mack* (Campus, 1973) and the possibility of two paths out of a "world of poverty and violence"—pimping or revolutionizing. The authors argued that these two elements were not only the basis of Oakland rap, but also "profoundly influenced" the G-Funk sound—a major element of gangsta rap music elsewhere. In particular, the area known as "Deep East Oakland' remained deeply impoverished since the late-1970s and produced rappers such as Dru Down, Keak da Sneak, Too $hort, and the Luniz" (p. 259). Meanwhile, *The Mack*—a film based on real-life criminal Frank Ward's release from

prison and direct turn to a role as a pimp—contained one of the most famous (and often-quoted) scenes. In the interaction between Ward's character and his brother, one could see the conflict between community enrichment and getting rich at the expense of the community. The brother spoke about enrichment of the people, and Ward's character was concerned with peddling women and drugs. Back on the actual "Deep East Oakland" streets, Ward's pimp (and heroin-peddling) role was being replaced by crack-dealing syndicates such as gangster Felix Mitchell (p. 260).

Given the history above, it is no coincidence that Too $hort (who started rapping solely for money and developed a "mack" persona) emerged as the self-made rapper by selling tapes outside of Oakland Raiders games (p. 261). The influence of Too $hort on the rap scene grew to be so large that the dog house cover of Snoop Doggy Dogg's *Doggystyle* (1993) was modified from Too $hort's *Short Dog's In the House* (1990) "sideshow" cover. In addition, the Bay Area coined terms such as "fo shizzle" (by rapper E-40), and Snoop and others used these in Southern California. The bottom line is that there was a presence of funk music, revolutionary sentiment, and even alternative rap styles (as in the case of Del the Funky Homosapien) (p. 265). Yet, Ciccariello-Maher and St. Andrews (2009) do not truly capture the political significance and content, and they characterized the BPP legacy on local artists as a "subtle" impact—even with artists and groups such as The Coup, Boots Riley, and sometimes E-40, Mistah F.A.B., and the aforementioned Too $hort. There is some merit as to why they used the term "subtle" and why they struggled with identifying the local scene with the BPP entirely. Del the Funky Homosapien often rapped about

a drug culture, Too $hort was effectively a pimp on a record (and also born in LA and relocated to Atlanta, GA), and the culture was slowly gaining some elements of popularization and commercialization. Thus, the easiest link to be drawn was that of two of The Coup's members (front man Boots Riley and DJ Pam the Funkstress) meeting at a release party for *2Pacalypse Now* (2Pac, 1991) and through Paris (a Black Nationalist Muslim turned BPP strategist).

All four explanations above inform my study, but there are major weaknesses to the first three, and my ultimate scope is different than the fourth. As a whole, these explanations are helpful in a socio-historical analysis, but they have shortcomings when used to compare political content over time. Specifically, the first and second are too far away geographically and would be filtered back into Oakland. The third is much too late, and it is particularly troublesome because it *overemphasizes* the role of the NY/LA axis and *downplays* the role of Oakland rappers influencing the other scenes. The fourth is clearly the most useful, but it too downplays the significance of the BPP by looking at a handful of overtly political rappers instead of the politics of the scene as a whole. In this analysis, the pimp and drug culture was the commonplace and the BPP/BPM message was the exception. Not only does it miss the point about the political nature of the gangsta rap music, but it is also placed within a volume as one among 24 local scenes (Hess, 2009)—although it is the only scene requiring two authors to cover. The nature and significance of the political content in Oakland was missed.

My argument holds that Oakland's music is highly political and even one of the most political scenes. Even its most hardcore gangsta rappers recognized this political rooting and made references to the BPP, BAM, and the history of rappers who came before them. In this way, Oakland was really a training ground for political, radical, and militant message and alternative style development.

My argument connects this battleground in Oakland through analysis of political content over a 45-year history. I understand the late-1960s BPP struggle over the territory as linked with underground rap culture. I find no coincidence that Oakland is a well-known producer of gangsta rap and G-Funk, and I also challenge the position within the "black public sphere" literature that local artists used the LA/NY axis to simply posture as thugs. Instead, I argue that the Oakland rap artists were drawn from a politically astute subculture attuned to using hidden meanings and signifiers to make their messages heard.

2. Theoretical Framework

Since the political content of this environment has not been properly explored, my framework is built using the theory of *quotidian* discourse and the application of this discourse to a LA case of gangsta rap. The irony is not lost on me; to fully explain the Oakland scene, I too have to go through LA. In Oakland, the period from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s can be seen as an inter-period or gap in an alternative political discourse. After the BPP used "internal colonization" to describe a "war" between the ghetto colonies and the government, the group was duly undermined by both the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) COINTELPRO *and* BPP members'

entrances into electoral politics and educational settings. This dual breakup created a new space for the emergence of a new political, radical, and militant discourse. The remains after the breakup of the BPP must be understood as a post-war space riddled with the shortcomings of the Civil Rights movement into politics. Rap music is a soundtrack that reflects and comments on experience and thus becomes an underground political art.

This study attempts to understand rap music as a political art by using a Political Science framework—with power and institutionalism as core foci. To build this framework, I begin with Michael Hanchard's (2006) theory of *quotidian* politics as a means of personal, individual transformation into quasi-collective action, and I argue that the aggregate of such common, everyday accounts can be understood as a foundation of a parallel political community. I continue by turning to Robin D.G. Kelley's (1994) evidence of how such a community was created in LA by using the style of gangsta rap in the face of urban militarization and creating "an upside-down world where the oppressed are powerful" (p. 187). These combined accounts tell us that rap music is an element of hip-hop culture that can effectively use *quotidian* narratives as a means of transforming individual, subaltern positions into community sources of power centered on being seen, heard, and felt. When these *quotidian* narratives are explored as community-based source banks (collections of artwork and sounds from the local scene) and the source banks are connected to the local history of Black Nationalism, the narratives become understood as heirs to a militant and radical political movement.

As a theory, Hanchard has demonstrated there is a clear difference between macro- and micro- politics. *Macropolitics* is "where the powerful are most dominant" and "where "institutional forms [are] most prevalent." This form of politics centers on the state, its related institutions, and modes of production both within the state and within the economy (Hanchard, 2006, pp. 16-17). *Micropolitics* occur as a response to the "structural effects on groups and individuals" of *macropolitics*; it takes the form of "more direct, interpersonal modes of interaction," which "can have *macropolitical* consequences even if the political behavior does not assume collected form" (p. 17). Thus, the divide between macro- and micro- politics is a process of displacement and can produce individual *quotidian* narratives.

Second, Hanchard argues these *quotidian* narratives are hidden transcripts centered on "power, powerlessness, and modes of subaltern resistance" and explains this transformation though James Scott's (1990) description of the spillover of political domination into other areas of life as a "bubbling cauldron in which anger over injustice pours through a seemingly fastened lid of status quo norms, rules, regulations, and social graces" (Hanchard, 2006, pp. 55-56). Whether because of "general conditions" or "specific acts," the excluded individuals turned to other "spheres of society" for recourse. Here, the term *parallel politics* becomes vital in outlining how the oppressed population could seek redress:

> In response to general conditions of subordination or specific acts of racist violence and oppression, subordinate actors respond in spheres of society and in cultural forms that are not the medium or spheres in which the acts of deliberation or violence first occur. Certain forms of rap music, graffiti, and other visual areas are perfect embodiments of displacement and parallel macropolitics. These expressions of parallel politics enter civic discourse and

> its symbolic systems as objects of consumption first, and only later—if at all—enter into formal political discourse (p. 50).

Thus, the acts of resistance can be traced back through ideational and political culture—an "ethics of aversion" into political life, fiction, and other hemispheres.

Third, Hanchard (p. 65) presents four hypotheses of the cumulative effects of *quotidian* discourse. The first outcome is close to a revolution—or capture of state institutions or institutional powers—and is an exceptional case. During this process, the displaced overturn the "mechanism of domination" though collective, "aggregate politics." The second outcome involves a partial improvement of conditions due to subaltern politics. That is, the "partial" improvement is largely due to the effective and prior use of *quotidian* politics. The third outcome seems similar to the second outcome but only involves the partial improvement and incomplete resolve of some of the conditions—or the erosion of "conditions of domination." In addition, the possibility of the problems reoccurring is a real threat. The fourth outcome, increased repression by those in power, leads to deeper and more voluminous *quotidian* critiques made by those outside of power. Of these four cases, Hanchard decides the "overwhelming majority of subaltern politics cases" are a combination of "outcomes 2, 3, and 4" (p. 66). In applying these outcomes to this study, it is clear that these same outcomes are indeed the most plausible explanations.

The uses of subaltern politics by Black Nationalist groups in general (and the BPP specifically) were aimed at making problems such as poverty, racism, and oppression visible to the general public. Two crucial elements to this campaign were the BPP newsletters and social programs such as the "Free Breakfast Program" to

feed hungry schoolchildren. The former led to multiple calls to testify in front of Congress, and the latter was the major factor in FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover considering the BPP to be "the greatest threat to the internal security of the country" (The UC Berkeley Social Activism Sound Recording Project, 1996). Yet, at the same time of the newly launched COINTELPRO-Black Hate initiative, BPM proponents succeeded in getting schools to adopt Black, African-American, and Africana Studies departments, BAM elements were beginning to influence Motown (and thus mainstream America), and very high-profile professional athletes began to adopt Black Nationalist positions. Since racism was being attacked, this is an example of the second outcome, but was only a partial program because it did not change the "mechanisms of domination"—the state and the macro systems associated with it. An example of the third outcome can be seen in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and the Civil Rights Act of 1968. Each act was designed to address a separate element of a common problem—racism against blacks. Thus, the Legislature addressed employment and public accommodation in 1964, voting intimidation in 1965, and housing and education in 1968. Yet, the Voting Rights Act must be renewed every 25 years—creating a real possibility of "recidivism and reflux," and provisions of the 1968 Act have been under constant scrutiny of courts.

Yet, the fourth outcome "increased repression by those in power" is the most plausible explanation for the messages and styles in this study. Hanchard (2006, p. 17) argues that: "Protracted conflict between groups can increase the propensity of quasi-collective action." One example used by Hanchard is the black and Latino

youth response to "incessant police surveillance and violence" which he argues can be seen as a battle at the "analytic border between micro- and macropolitics."

This is where forms of rap music can be understood as a product of the BPM and the BPP. I argue this general connection exists in three ways. First the link between the use of violence by the BPP and rappers is that both deal with traditional "matters of sovereignty" and apply the Hobbesian notion of the person as his or her own state (p. 48). A second link between the BPP and rappers is the use of violence to halt the dual macro-application of racism and power (p. 49). A third link can be forged when we consider the discussion of violence as the "final frontier" (p. 44-50). In the case of the BPP, community protection was often proposed by starting with an individual case, example, or illustration involving self-protection. Meanwhile, the use of violence was proposed as a means of stopping macro institutional power (the state and the capitalist market) and the use of racism by agents of the state as a method of control. In addition, the BPP spoke of violence as being an unfortunate necessity and a currency because power only responded to power. Contemporary correlations to rappers (especially gangsta rappers) exist in issues regarding "sovereignty," racism and state power, and use of violence as a currency.

As an example of the application of these issues as *quotidian* politics, I turn to Kelley's (1994) contextualization of the rise of the gangsta rap subgenre within the youth struggles against state forces in LA. Prior to Hanchard's (2006) theory, Kelley has provided a rich history of both Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) violence and an evolution of a style of rapping (Kelley, 1994, pp. 184-185). The history of the

evolving style started with a pair of popular blues images from *Hustlers' Convention* (Lightnin' Rod, 1973), the "baaadman," and the "trickster" (Kelley, 1994, pp. 186-187). The gangsta rap style was originally picked up by Schoolly D from Philadelphia, PA. Shortly thereafter, it was used by rapper Knowledge Reigns Supreme Over Nearly Everything (KRS One) and his disc-jockey Scott La Rock (collectively known as Boogie Down Productions) (BDP) from the South Bronx. Later, gangsta rap was widely popularized through N*gg*z With Attitude (NWA) and Ruthless Records from Compton, CA.

This emerging style was related to the history of gang violence as Kelley noted the microphone became a weapon—a tech-9 or an A.K. 47 rifle. Yet, as this music was popularized it further evolved into a form of subjective street journalism from the view of "the ghetto dweller, the criminal, the victim of police repression, the teenage father, the crack slanger, the gang banger, and the female dominator" (p. 191). However, Kelley suggested there were key differences between the songs and the reality on the streets: "After all, NWA members have even admitted that some of their recent songs were not representations of reality 'in the hood' but inspired by popular films like *Innocent Man*…and *Tango and Cash*" (p. 191). Meanwhile, the lack of jobs in the communities fueled discussion of the rising "crack economy" (pp. 192-193). The end result was the creation of an astute street-philosopher who made music about a new form of highly militarized presence on the streets. Kelley described the "increasingly militarized landscape" in this collection of mid- to late-1980s South Central LA locales as "war zones" replete with "[p]olice helicopters,

complex electronic surveillance, [and] even small tanks armed with battering rams…" (p. 193). Although much of the gangsta rap was harnessed in LA, the popularization of the subgenre created a new street subculture in many cities. While I am interested in its development as an overall domestic and international trend, I am much more interested in the impact this music had *and* has on the streets. I am even more interested in exploring the possibility that other scenes actually influenced the LA, NY, and even the Philadelphia origins.

Hanchard (2006) and Kelley (1994) are used as a combined framework because the former explains the theory behind common, everyday political discourse and the latter explains a case of such resistance in the mid-1990s. The works are not without their limitations, and their limitations are characteristic of other scholarship—some of it canonical. Hanchard's contribution is used only as a theoretical foundation. Given that he did not explicitly focus on rap in the US in any substantive way, his text is not useful in creating a locale-informed research project. Rap was mentioned as an example in a quote (p. 50) and was not seriously explored as a mode of resistance elsewhere in *Party/Politics*. In addition, he was not heavily focused on the BPM or the BPM.

Kelley (1994) was heavily engaged with the local LA sounds as they emerged as domestic/international products, yet still gave sufficient attention to the local political history by rooting his chapter in the then-recent LA riots. His use of then-popular rappers and groups such as Ice T, NWA, Ice Cube, and Dr. Dre was complimented by lesser-known groups such as Compton's Most Wanted, Lady of

Rage, WC, and the Minority Alliance of Anti-Discrimination Circle (MAAD Circle). Kelley's examples were both bound by time and theme, and he was explaining the transformation of a somewhat established local subculture into popular culture. While some rappers and groups (Ice T, NWA, Ice Cube, Dr. Dre, and Snoop Doggy Dogg) gained immense commercial viability and appeal, some of the lesser known groups achieved only levels of local stardom and only a modicum of commercial success. For example, Lady of Rage was regularly featured on Death Row Records albums and was a local legend, but her domestic popularity was largely due to her song "Afro Puffs" with Snoop Doggy Dogg—which appeared on the *Above the Rim: The Soundtrack* (1994) next to Warren G's chart-topping "Regulators (featuring Nate Dogg)." Kelley's use of sources that were gaining commercial appeal was largely unavoidable because this emerging subgenre was becoming popular, and such source use contributed to his overall point of the transformation of post-industrial LA.

However, Kelley remains vital in locating political content in rap music as a whole and explaining gangsta rap in particular. He was the first to take its political content seriously as a mode of resistance, and his work is essential. His timing was also important; this is when the local Oakland scene should have been explored or taken seriously. Given that there is an insufficient literature on Oakland and that I am really exploring an additional 16-18 years worth of material, I cannot really apply Kelley's approach. He was writing about gangsta rap music on the rise; I am writing about it on its decline—or as some have termed it, the post-gangsta stage.

Some of the limitations above are symbolic of the "black parallel public" work when applied to a study about underground rap music. First and foremost, Hanchard's (2006) work shows there is also some distance between the intellectual "black parallel public" approach and a street-level approach. In the former, rap music is often mentioned, but it is seldom examined in a meaningful way. Second, as Kelley's (1994) article showed, if rap is examined, there is a tendency to depend on more popular sources. This leads to two related outcomes. In one outcome, rap music is judged based on black (and sometimes white) public opinion, and it is ultimately examined by using mainstream videos and songs. In the other outcome, rap music (and particularly gangsta rap music) is sometimes understood as a vile, disgusting, and immature product of hatred that perpetuates false ghetto stereotypes, violence, misogyny, and homophobia. *As I argue below, neither of these outcomes takes the political content of rap seriously. Nor does either consider the possibility that significant political content may be purposefully hidden beneath a set of objectionable references.*

The first approach ("black public sphere") seeks to judge mainstream rap music's impact on attitudes, and it actively legitimizes rap as a valid form of quantitative research. By design, the approach exclusively uses mainstream, filtered, and mass media transmitted sources. Since the fundamental goal is to judge the second-hand reception of rap music, the music must be widely available. For example, commercialized sources of consumption have been used to judge exposure and attitudes (Dawson, 2001, pp. 71-82; Harris-Lacewell, 2004), behaviors (Gilliam

2005), and even applications to education (Guy, 2004). Gilliam's article turned to a Motivational Education Entertainment Corporation research study of young urban blacks in a set of cities (Baltimore, MD; NY; LA and Long Beach, CA; Oakland and Richmond, CA; Chicago, IL; New Orleans, LA; Detroit; and Philadelphia; and Atlanta). She used quantitative data such as the finding that: "Three out of every ten black youth listen to the radio more than four hours daily" (p. 12). Then Gilliam used this information to evaluate racial behaviors to compare them to research studies of both white and black attitudes (pp. 23-24).

This study in particular, and the above studies in general, effectively used rap music to satisfy quantitative agendas. In Gilliam's case specifically, there was an "empirical" fixation with rap music (p. 30). The irony is that the empirical authors claim to be writing against an overwhelming amount of theoretical/qualitative endeavors**.** While quantitative, empirical findings help inform the field, my project holds that until an intensive political content investigation is performed, analysis of raw data tells us little about the relationship between political power and rap music. For example, academics and journalists can tell us that 70% of rap music is consumed by white listeners (Kleinfield, 2000; Lewis, Thompson, Celious, & Brown, 2002, p. 98) and that hip-hop changed "radio-ready pop sounds" of *NSYNC and Britney Spears (Kun, 2002, p. 581). But how do we apply such findings to inner-city political messages?

Considering the commercialization of both rap music and its artists, it becomes essential to examine political content in rap beyond popularized, Billboard

sources. When we apply current mainstream, Billboard sources to understand local, inner-city politics, the picture becomes murky. One study is a prime example of this technique. Lester Spence (2011, p. 5) has dismissed the relationship between rap content and politics in his introduction by stating:

> Although hip-hop encompasses more than rap music, rap music is not only the most consumed aspect of hip-hop but is arguable the easiest form to infuse with politics. But with exceptions, these analyses are more anecdotal than systematic, and as a result, we are not able to make larger claims about the political content of rap.

This claim and his central focus on the relationship between "the production and consumption of rap and the circulation of hip-hop" and black politics (p. 8) were both deeply rooted in the exclusive use of mainstream sources. The claim and focus, however, was not centered on the development of any particular local community. Rather, the evidence was constructed into a (well-substantiated) study of a collective black parallel community.

His core argument used both neoliberal theory and empirical evidence (through surveys, experiments, and case studies) to determine the impact of hip-hop on black political attitudes, and he ultimately decided "that exposure to and consumption of rap shape[s] attitudes" of the black public and others (p. 171). Spence's study was persuasive and useful in its findings but fell short by: (1) relying on mainstream products as they are arguably co-opted by the very markets they enter and (2) using these sources to gauge black public opinion. While I find Spence's work interesting and important, I am asking a completely different question, with a different focus, and for different reasons. I am less interested in a gauging the

opinions of a collective "black parallel public" at large and more interested in what happens to the populations within the urban centers of America, how rap music continues to be created and reinvented by producers, and how both the urban populations and reinvention are related to the evolution of Black Nationalism. In certain ways, Spence and I are at the opposite ends of a related topic of inquiry. He was concerned with consumption. I am concerned with production. Our work is related in looking at representation through rap; while he explored if mainstream rap effectively represented the "black parallel public," I am exploring if underground rap effectively represents the types of locales associated with its emergence and development.

A commercial/conscious distinction alone also fails to tell us much about rap's political content. Recently, Rose (2008, p. 241) has revealed how a typical division at first glance can become more challenging upon examination:

> In the battle over the politics of hip hop, convention separates the commercial realm from conscious rap, with the latter largely considered part of "the underground." The distinctions made between the two tend to revolve loosely around whether or not a given artist has politically progressive content.

Although this distinction can become murky when we consider conscious rappers can have "commercially powerful record labels" or distribution deals, it can be reestablished by the general distinction that conscious rap "avoids pandering to the worst images of young black people, favors more socially conscious content, and is not nearly as heavily promoted as that of arts who rely on the gangsta-pimp-h* trinity" (p. 241).

A local/commercial distinction is more helpful. Richard Shusterman (1991, p. 613) has examined the notion of rap music as fine art and first discussed the condemnation of rap and organized resistance to it. He then argued about a "level of cultural combat" in which "we find attempts to dilute and undermine rap's ethnic and political content by encouraging and exploiting its most bland, 'sanitized,' and commercialized forms." He continued to explain why this was the case:

> None of this should be surprising. For rap's cultural roots and prime following belong to the black underclass of American society; and its militant black pride and thematizing of the ghetto experience represent a threatening sire to that society's complacent status quo. The threat is of course far more audible and urgent for the middle-brow public who not only interact more closely and competitively with the poor black population, but who rely on (and thus compete for) the same mass media channels of cultural transmission and who have a greater need to assert their sociocultural (and ultimately political) superiority over black America (p. 613).

With the above political motivations, rap music is thus easily dismissed and "discredited" as "a legitimate art form" due to spoken lyrics and prerecorded (even sampled, non-original) sounds.

Considering the popularization and commercialization of rap music, rap's historical roots as a local product, and the availability of music from current local scene, a micro approach will be better suited to gauge the relationship between rap and political content. While scholarship tends to focus on macro, market-based trends, there are some examples raised by scholars focused on specific locales domestically and internationally. While the *quotidian* narratives in Billboard, mainstream rap music can be seen as anecdotal accounts aimed at informing

outsiders, the aggregate of *quotidian* narratives in local, underground rap offers a systematic account aimed at enlightening insiders.

There is self-criticism of the quantitative "black public spheres" approach. Kim and Sherman (2006) have attempted to debunk notions gained through public opinion polls and research of youth merely as a problem and turned to looking at the youth as a potential solution. Squires (2002, p. 3) has theorized three models of a "marginalized public spheres," an *enclave* approach (centered on hiding ideas and strategies), a *counterpublic* approach (engaging "wider publics to test ideas" and using existing strategies), and a s*atellite* approach (centered on separation but not because of "oppressive relations"). Another challenge has been presented by Ginwright (2002) contending that, "black middle class community members misdiagnosed the problem…through culturist framing" and missed the role social class plays in how problems are defined, interpreted, and addressed. Elsewhere, Ginwright (2004, pp. 119-136) has argued there is an overall gap between Civil Rights and Black Power advocates when applied to education.

I contend that this gap is also a major source of differences within "black public spheres" approaches. The quantitative aim to fit rap music within the field of Political Science has lead to the path of examining the relationship between black electoral officials (such as President Barack Obama and former Detroit Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick) instead of truly examining the formation of political messages on the streets. Even within qualitative examples of the "black public sphere" literature, mainstream sources have also been used to act as a basis of harsh intellectual

criticism (Reed, 1999). Even authors forming a close examination of gangsta rap criticism (Dyson, 2004, pp. 411-418) rely heavily on popular reception. In the case of Tupac Shakur (2Pac), this has led to a position that rap icons often glorify guns, gangs, and the ghetto (Dyson, 2001, p. 142). Yet, others have found that "[p]opular and academic writers have failed to examine Tupac's distinct political ideas and identifiable activism" including his contributions to fighting "racism and injustice" (Stanford, 2010). In addition, the local/Billboard distinction has also caused issues because hip-hop styles and tastes "differ by region, as do discourses of race, class, and gender," and locale-specific studies are likely to "produce different data sets" (Jeffries, 2011, p. 196). Nonetheless, Jeffries performed a Billboard-intensive study but contended that that textual analysis alone ran the danger of "[t]reating texts as inanimate objects."

My philosophy is quite different in this project. To seriously examine political content in local texts, I need to take them as self-functioning speeches or statements. Since we would not perpetually examine the public reception of a presidential speech (and instead evaluate the content and context of the speech), my endeavor is to give the rappers the same level of respect *before* moving on to how their messages are received by the public. In other words, how do the local texts (and their political content) function on their own terms, and how do these texts inform contemporary and future artists? In my study of the BPP and rap in Oakland, I do not depend on public opinion, intellectual critique, or popular reception for legitimization. This is a people's history of the underground using local underground sources.

In both quantitative and qualitative approaches, the effort to label rap and treat is as a part of the "black public sphere" without fully examining its political content and reasoning has led to an overwhelming level of rap criticism. Thus, a second and related approach looks into the limitations of popular rap music. The leading example is, once again, Rose's *Black Noise* (1994, p. 15). She has found that rap music and videos were "wrongfully characterized as thoroughly sexist but rightfully lambasted for their sexism." While she made her frustration and disappointment with "stories of abuse and domination of young black women," she also questioned why there was a "tone that suggest[ed] that rappers have infected an otherwise sexism-free society." Therein lies the major question we should be asking. Does rap music (and video) demean women *more* than other genres of music, *more* than other segments of American society, and *more* than existing political institutions? This question has implications for not only for claims of misogyny in rap music but also for claims of homophobia, violence, and "hood" sentiments in rap music.

Two recent works are emblematic of focusing on rap criticism. Both Rose (2008) and Cohen (2010) have devoted entire chapters of material to addressing concerns of rap critics. For example, Cathy Cohen's *Democracy Remixed* was largely concerned about the reaction of black elites to rap music. These "moral panics," as she called them, included negative depictions of black women by rappers (pp. 73-78). However, Cohen argued that this was not a new trend in music and should not negate rap music's long, powerful history. Meanwhile, Jeffries (2011, pp. 196-197) has contended that**,** "collective and personal identities" actually gained American

attention with an "emphasis on domination-driven masculinity, immediate gratification, and consumption," and he has also pointed to data indicating rap was "degrading and marginalizing women" and presented a clear "heterosexual male supremacy" (p. 197). There are many other examples of this line of critique, and I do not want to understate its importance to the field. I am extremely concerned with elements of sexual violence (Rudman & Lee, 2002; Cole & Guy-Sheftall, 2003, p. 186) and pornographic imagery (Watkins, 2005, pp. 207-227**)** in rap music and videos, but I also find that many of the songs drawing criticism for sexual violence and pornography were not from hardcore gangsta rappers. Instead, they were often from popularized, party-oriented rappers (such the group 2 Live Crew). In addition, the problem of sex and violence is a much bigger problem than rappers. As Coker (August 1994, p. 62-64) has stipulated, these problems include the "financial structure that manufactures and distributes their records" and that: "Rap as a direct reflection of society, will change no sooner than the populace that influence it changes its attitudes." Finally, there is a notion that the "moral panic" could lead to "self-examination" (Jeffries, 2011, p. 197) and also a notion that the music may be vitally important to a black male demographic positioned "at the lower rungs of society…experiencing underachievement in almost all aspects of life" (Jenkins, 2006). However, using rap to politically uplift black men should never come at the expense of black women, as Black Nationalist rapper Ice Cube learned during an uncomfortable interview with ex-BPP hero Angela Davis (Chang, 2005, pp. 334-337).

Overall, in regard to the "black public sphere" and related rap criticism approaches, I am asking the reader to look beyond the foul language, depictions of women and to attempt to understand what these local rappers are saying. In many ways, you will find the local incarnations are quite different from the mainstream sounds. In some ways, they can replicate the pitfalls, but in many other ways, they are able to transcend these shortcomings. The use of "hood" claims and violence, however, are a prominent aspect of my study. I argue that these are the major claims of the BPP being revealed in the local music. The major difference is that rappers often direct most (if not all) of this towards police and/or competitors within the community and use violence as a means of protecting and obtaining currency.

If sections of Philadelphia, South Bronx, and LA were marred the by militarization of urban space, sections of Oakland would be characterized as a "hyper-militarization"—existing in the territory of the BPP aftermath, an emerging (and failing) war on drugs and crime, and in the backyard of the American digital age dreamland. Still, a very unclear (and hazy at best) picture of the emergence of the underground Oakland rap scene is often drawn, and worse, it is somehow seen as more acceptable than its NY/LA counterpart's standards. These different standards are likely due to the difficulties in collecting and analyzing non-popularized and non-commercialized texts.

I find the most effective way to learn about a locale's political content is to measure it by the use of internal texts. The collection of political discourse for this study is comprised of three source types from Oakland: (1) articles released by the

BPP from 1966-1980 (BPP Statements); (2) rap albums released by Oakland, Richmond, and Vallejo, and East Bay Area, CA artists from 1985-1999 (Oakland Rap Albums); and (3) rap singles released by Oakland, East Bay Area, and San Francisco Bay Area, CA rappers from 2000-2010 (Oakland Rap Singles).

3. Research Methodology

I used this sound bank to form a "grounded theory" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) using ethnomethodology (Gubrium & Holstein, 1997) to examine political content. Thus, my application of this method included four steps: (1) collecting a bank of sources based on "everyday" local sources; (2) marking subversive artwork, urban references, and violence; and (3) framing the markings under the concepts of militant/anti-state images, internal colonization language/lyrics, and warfare language/lyrics; and (4) comparing the primary sources from Oakland to top Billboard rap albums and singles selected based on the actual release date (or the release year) of each Oakland rap album and single. Using this method, this project remains rooted in the local messages while forming a political content comparison between local and commercial rap messages.

This research method began with data collection. I selected common sources from the Oakland area (the underground) and common sources from the Billboard (the market) for comparison. The primary sources and their bibliographical data (author, date, project title, source title, publisher, day of release, length/page information) were collected in one location. The source files were then named by their bibliographical data, sorted in the order of release date, and numbered (100-level

for BPP articles, 200-level for Oakland albums, 300-level for Oakland singles, 400-level for Billboard rap albums, and 500-level for Billboard rap singles).

The primary sources were then converted from their respective formats (photograph, physical audio, and digital audio) into digital image and text for political content analysis. This conversion enabled political content analysis by "flattening" the sources into a common format, allowed for visual analysis of keywords through text, and allowed for the creation of a project source bank (Appendix A) for replication of the quantitative basis for this experiment. To maintain the precision of the numerical system for primary sources, primary and Billboard source bibliographical information is provided in Appendix A rather than the project References. With the exception of the sound bank references, this study strictly applies the style contained in the most recent American Psychological Association's (2010) publication manual.

The selection of primary sources was limited by four conditions regarding the material: (1) it must have been created from a local author from Oakland (articles), the East Bay Area (albums), or the San Francisco Bay Area (singles); (2) it must have been published and readily available in multiple mediums; (3) it must have had a release year and/or a release date between 1965 and 1980 (articles), 1981 and 1999 (albums), or 2000-2010 (songs); and (4) preference was given to the most popular of the underground material. In cases of no known release date, the album or single was analyzed by release year and considered to be released by December 31st of the given year. For album source lyrics, one song meeting the first of these preferences was

selected: title song, first song released, most popular song released, first song with the artist name, first song, or first song after introduction.

The shifts from East Bay Area to greater San Francisco Bay Area rappers and from albums to singles reflect the respective rise of collaborative efforts by artists and changes in the media format. In terms of collaborations, artists from Oakland and the East Bay melded a mainly gangsta rap music sound in the album stage, and then artists from Oakland and the East Bay began working with artists from San Francisco and the South Bay Area to truly create the "hyphy" sound of the greater Bay Area during the album stage.

The use of albums *and* singles was done because the market clearly shifted from full albums, to illegally downloaded singles via Napster and other peer-to-peer networks (around 1999), to legally downloaded singles via the iTunes and other music stores (around 2003). One of the appeals of Napster's peer-to-peer service was that artists in general (and rap artists in particular) were beginning to release albums comprised of a few hit songs and a bunch of filler songs (Burnett & Wikström, 2006; Choi & Perez, 2007). Through Napster, listeners could illegally download the few songs they wanted. By May 24, 2000, a Congressional Committee on Small Business "held a hearing to learn more about the potential economic impact" (Watkins, 2005, p. 111). By July 1, 2001, Napster was shut down and ordered to pay $36 million dollars in damages.

The response was two-fold from the industry. The first legitimized buying singles (through networks such as iTunes) and the second was a focus on creating

stronger albums (Elborough, 2009). Towards the end of Napster, authors focused on questions about legality and economic loss (Meisel & Sullivan, 2002) before turning to the implications of new digital storefronts (Rayburn, 2001) to solve the illegal downloading "mess" (Elkin, 2003). Online music merchants such as Apple's iTunes music store (Cohen, July 21, 2003) and approximately five other major music stores with an emphasis on Windows operating systems began selling legal downloads (Dreier, August 5, 2003). Yet, the lore of illegal downloads has remained a major concern for the music industry (Recording Industry of America, 2012) and economists (Bakker, 2005; Waldfogel, 2010, 2011).

The media formats above are not the only change in the record industry. When we begin to look into the history of the Billboard charts, the first thing we find is that best reflection of rap on the charts changes over time. The Billboard rap albums charts (1985-1999) change from "R&B and Hip-hop Albums" to "Rap Albums" in 1999. The Billboard singles charts change from the "Hot 100" (2000-2002) to "Rap Singles" charts (2002-2010). Overall, the Billboard rap sources were heavily influenced by R&B and pop music from 1985-2010.

Although the local, underground rap music from Oakland was mostly omitted from Billboard charts, there were 13 "anomalies"—12 rap albums and one rap single. Two of the 12 rap album anomalies were classified as a Billboard sources rather than an Oakland sources—MC Hammer's *Please Hammer Don't Hurt Em* in 1990 (Appendix A-4, Source 412) and *Too Legit to Quit* in 1991 (Source 424)—because of the profoundly pop-influenced message and style. For the remaining 10 rap album

anomalies and the rap single anomaly, a non-Oakland Billboard rap album or single was selected for comparison. As Table 2 shows, Too $hort was the first artist to appear on the Top Billboard charts in 1990, and E-40 had the only charting single from my source bank in 2006. The remainder of the sources (all between 1993 and 1995) included two more albums from Too $hort, three total albums from 2Pac, and one album each from Spice 1, The Luniz, The Click. Every one of these artists contained a mixture of gangsta-orientated rap paired with some element of politically- or socially- conscious message.

Table 2: Charting Rap Albums and Singles from Oakland, CA Primary Sound Bank

Artist/Group	Year	Album/Single	Appendix A, Source #
Too $hort	1990	*$hort Dogs In The House*	212
	1993	*Get In Where You Fit In*	249
	1995	*Cocktails*	279
Spice 1	1994	*AmeriKKKa's Nightmare*	266
	1995	*1990-Sick*	285
2Pac	1994	*T.H.U.G. L.I.F.E. VOL. 1*	261
	1995	*Me Against The World*	273
	1995	*All Eyez On Me*	291
The Luniz	1995	*Operation Stackola*	276
The Click		*Game Related*	283
E-40	2006	"Snap Yo Fingers"	336

The remaining 189 primary project sources were largely underground sounds centered in Oakland. In other words, Table 2 shows the 11 times when the local rap music appeared at the industry level, and I selected an appropriate contemporary album or single for comparison. These "anomalies" are described in further detail in the respective chapters on local rap albums and local rap singles (chapters four and five). In terms of methodology, I want to be clear that exactly 6.5% of the local music can be considered mainstream by Billboard measurements. Yet, even most of the

Oakland products that made it to the Billboard remained more authentic than most other mainstream sounds—as I illustrate through qualitative analysis.

My "grounded" method continued with the marking of codes. While listening to each of the albums/singles, reading the content of the newsletters, and viewing the images, I began to highlight all instances of political subversion. I grouped these instances of political subversion into larger concepts for analysis. To compare the sources from Oakland and the Billboard, I created three tests. The first test was an image test designed to measure the use of militant and anti-state symbolism in photography ($\mathbf{I_{M\text{-}AS}}$). The second test was a content analysis test designed to measure the use of the themes of "internal colonization" in articles, albums, and songs ($\mathbf{L_{IC}}$). The third test was a content analysis test designed to measure the use of the themes of "warfare" in articles, albums, and songs ($\mathbf{L_{WF}}$).

My formula for evaluating the sources was as follows: the image test ($\mathbf{I_{M\text{-}AS}}$), "internal colonization" test ($\mathbf{L_{IC}}$), and "warfare" test ($\mathbf{L_{WF}}$) were added for each source bank. These were logged for both Oakland, underground rap ($\mathbf{O_R}$) and Billboard, mainstream rap ($\mathbf{M_R}$) from 1985-2010 and rap albums from 1985-1999 ($\mathbf{R_A}$) and rap singles from 2000-2010 ($\mathbf{R_S}$):

$$\mathbf{I_{M\text{-}AS} + L_{IC} + L_{WF} = O_R}$$
$$\mathbf{I_{M\text{-}AS} + L_{IC} + L_{WF} = M_R}$$
$$\mathbf{I_{M\text{-}AS} + L_{IC} + L_{WF} = R_A}$$
$$\mathbf{I_{M\text{-}AS} + L_{IC} + L_{WF} = R_S}$$

By *militant images*, I mean illustrations or photographs displaying the suggestive use of force by an organization or individual against another party. This included—but was not limited to—displays of firearms, explosives, and other weapons as an implied

threat to some group or individual. In the BPP articles, this threat was mostly (if not entirely) directed toward the state—although mostly expressed through illustrations, drawings, and comic book style graphics. In the rap sources, the threat was usually undefined—although usually expressed through quite graphic, vivid, and colorful photographs of the artists pointing weapons at the camera.

By *anti-state images*, I mean illustrations or photographs displaying symbols of state repression. This included—but was not limited to—displays of overly aggressive agents of state authority actively firing upon, beating, detaining, harassing, arresting, prosecuting, imprisoning, or spying on suspects, displays of American symbols or leaders in very negative manners, and general displays of victims and victimhood. In the BPP articles, the anti-state images often highlighted the state as a repressive force by displaying the abuse of victims of unprovoked attacks—although through illustrations. In the rap sources, the anti-state images were less clear about whether the repression was provoked, but the vibrant photographs still displayed abuse.

By *internal colonization framework*, I am largely referring to the themes and topics set out by the BPP regarding the inner-city as a separate political entity from the rest of America. The rap sources modified and added to this framework in a few ways. The internal colonization model for rappers usually started by establishing an *explicit* or *implicit* comparison of their environment to the rest of America. In both forms of comparisons, the artists referred to their territory as an urban wasteland—full of immense poverty, violent crime, and use of hard drugs. In *explicit*

comparisons, the artists then compared this urban wasteland to the rest of America—sometimes noting that the urban wasteland looked more like a Third World country than the rest of America. In *implicit* comparisons, the artists instead issued warnings to outsiders, characterized "off days" free of violence as a form of mockery, and/or referred to the impact of the environment on the physical, emotional, or mental health of the inhabitants. Although I do my best to analyze the type of comparison being used by rappers, both comparisons fall under the internal colonization as a divide between the colony and rest of America.

By *warfare framework,* I am largely referring to the themes and topics set out by the BPP regarding the militarization of urban space and the responses from inhabitants. The rap sources modified and added to this framework in a few ways. While the causes of warfare were well explained by the BPP, they were only engaged in one active war (a struggle over the liberation of the colonies). The rap sources, especially the rap album sources, described a murkier battlefield. This is likely because they could feel the aftershock of the war against the BPM, the failures of the war on poverty, and the failures of electoral politics. This is also likely because of the intensification of the failing wars on crime and drugs. In any regard, the rap sources were less clear about the causes and targets of the wars on the streets. The causes were attributed to a myriad of reasons—ranging from institutional inadequacies to individual poor choices. The targets could have been state agents, rival gang members or delegitimized economic competitors, the rest of America, or other inhabitants of the colonies (especially "snitches" or those working with state agents). *However, the*

rap sources were no less clear in highlighting the militarization of urban space than the BPP.

In the final step of my "grounded" method, I compared the Oakland sources to the Billboard sources based on these groupings. My quantitative findings are detailed below. The qualitative differences are detailed throughout the project and within the respective chapters on the *quotidian* discourses (BPP statements, rap albums, and rap singles).

4. Quantitative Findings

I found a significant difference between mainstream rap and underground rap in the use of militant and anti-state images, internal colonization lyrics, and warfare lyrics from 1985-2010. Yet, I found a slightly greater significant difference between the rap album (1985-1999) and rap single (2000-2010) sources.

Table 3: O_R, M_R, R_A, and R_S Tests

Sources	Militant or Anti-State Images	Internal Colonization Lyrics	Warfare Lyrics	Total
Oakland Rap (**O_R**)	30	51	42	123
Mainstream Rap (**M_R**)	12	35	15	62
Rap Albums (**R_A**)	38	56	34	128
Rap Singles (**R_S**)	4	30	23	57

As Table 3 shows, underground rap sources from Oakland used the elements nearly twice as much as mainstream rap from 1985-2010. Yet, rap album sources used the elements nearly two and a quarter times (2.25) as much as rap single sources. This data reveals two major trends—a reduction in the use of the elements in both location and time from the original levels of the BPP statements.

Differences in locale played a significant role in the reduction of all elements tested. In other words, the material drawn from Oakland continued the nature of the BPP's discourse more effectively than material drawn from the Billboard. When comparing Oakland and Billboard rap sources, we find that the use of each element was reduced at a significant rate—especially warfare themes.

Over time, the use of each element was also reduced in rap sources from both Oakland and from the Billboard—although warfare theme was reduced the least. In general, the material in *all* rap sources became less effective in continuing the nature of the BPP's discourse.

Thus, this study finds significant differences between the rap sources from Oakland and the Billboard *and* between rap albums and rap singles. This first difference is not surprising; by merely listening to the material drawn from Oakland, one can hear the difference between it and the Billboard charts in the level of systematic, political content. The second difference confirms that rap is slowly losing systematic, political content over time. Although this trend is not surprising to me, the degree of the impact of time on political content is astonishing. This observation was a guiding element to my analysis and my conclusions. However, both trends confirm that rap music from Oakland has remained more effective in continuing systematic, political critiques than its mainstream counterparts (Table 4; Figures 1 and 2).

Table 4: Comprehensive Results of Tests

Sources	Militant or Anti-State Images	Internal Colonization Language/Lyrics	Warfare Language/Lyrics	Total
BPP Statements	25	57	40	122
Oakland, CA Albums	27	29	26	82
Oakland, CA Singles	3	22	16	41
Billboard Albums	11	27	8	46
Billboard Singles	1	8	7	16
All Sources	67	143	97	307

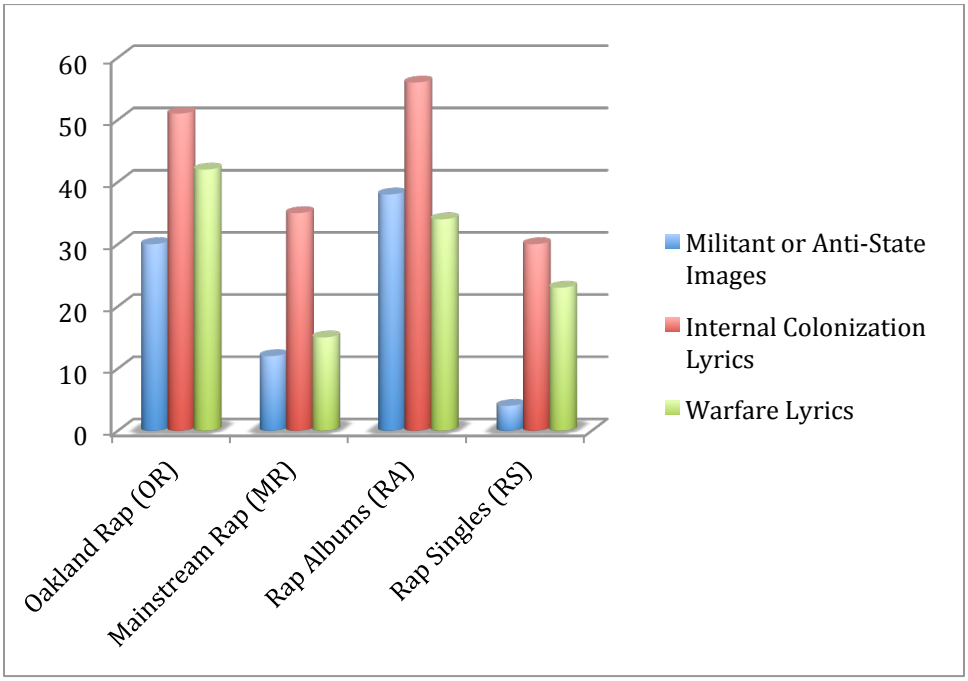

Figure 1: O_R, M_R, R_A, and R_S Comparison

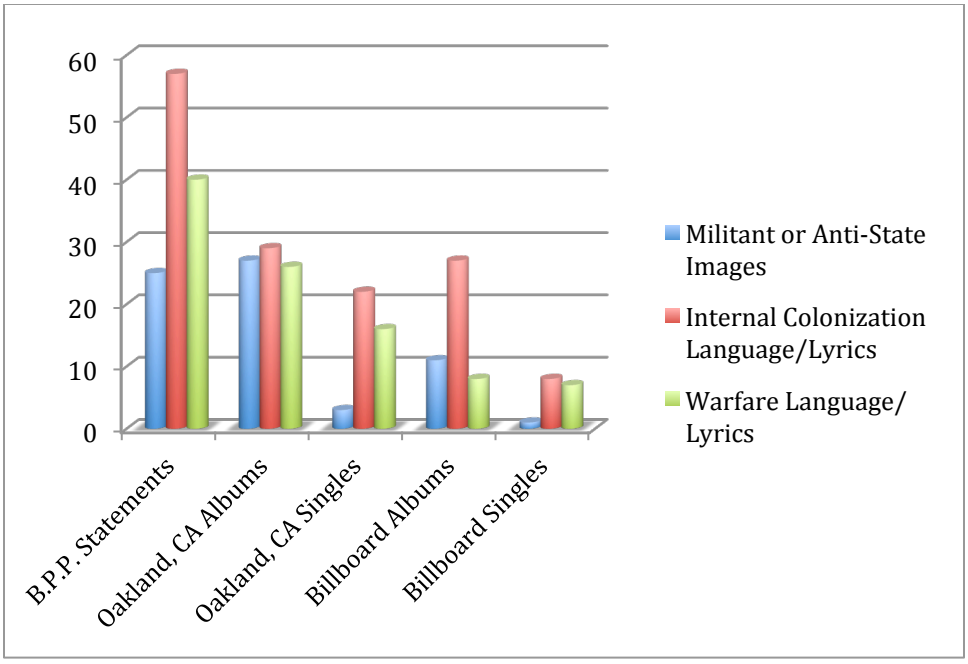

Figure 2: Comprehensive Results of Tests

5. Organization and Main Contribution of This Study

Because of Oakland rappers' geographical and historical proximity to the headquarters of the BPP, I am interested in how local rappers made use of the messages of the Party and how this compared to popularized and commercialized rappers. Given this history and the fact that Oakland was a (or *the*) central location of the end of the BPM, we should expect that local rap music developed differently there than mainstream rap music elsewhere. By revisiting the underground in Oakland, I am telling a story of the development of a political discourse of resistance and opposition which grew out of the BPM and created new brands of rap music. Thus, I am telling concurrent stories about the development of rap—one based in local rap music from Oakland and one based on popularized and commercialized rap music. I

am also writing about re-articulation and decline (though not disappearance) of Black Power ideologies in this local changing context. The point is this—Oakland provided a level of resistance that could only really be attributed to BPP and BPM roots when compared to the mainstream, Billboard changes. Others may tell you that Oakland was similar and produced a popularized and commercialized, gangsta mantra. Yet, Oakland was one of the first local rap scenes and was one of the last to gain widespread domestic and international attention for its local scene known as "hyphy." In many ways, it retained its message and was geared towards creativity due to the mixture of BPP ideology and the Silicon Valley backyard. Furthermore, I assert that the failure of local politicians, police, and the even the State of California to truly represent, protect, and intervene contributed to this internal colony.

To carry this study out, there are two main objectives and sections. The first section (chapters one and two) sets up the theory and history by beginning with an exploration of the BPP's use of specific BNM and BPM elements. The first section continues with an exploration of the current literature on rap music and its dealing with both local and national scenes. The second section (chapters three, four, and five) applies the framework established above to empirical evidence centered on the use of militant and anti-state images, use of internal colonization language and lyrics, and use of warfare language and lyrics by the BPP, Oakland rap artists, and Billboard rap artists.

"Chapter 1: The Origins and Development of Black Power" examines the BPP as a late variant of the BNM. I argue that the BPP goal was a *revolutionary Black*

Nationalism using *territorial separatism* and *socialist economic nationalism* to achieve community control and freedom for oppressed peoples. When this message gained visibility, an audience, and subscribers, it was targeted by the FBI, destroyed, and left behind a void.

"Chapter 2: The Origins and Development of Rap" critically examines the existing literature on the relationship between rap and politics—specifically focusing on how the development of four rap subgenres (*gangsta*, *politically conscious*, *socially conscious*, and *alternative*) can be understood as different trajectories of BPP succession. In place of the common BAM, LA/NY axis, and popularized Oakland rap links to Black Power, I argue that local rap in Oakland began as a subaltern protest discourse, both contributed to and adopted the *gangsta rap* format, and made prevalent use of *quotidian* politics and day-to-day accounts—revisiting themes and issues originally raised by the late-1960s and early-1970s BPP and its leadership.

"Chapter 3: The *Quotidian* Discourse of the BPP" analyzes the use of militant and anti-state images, internal colonization language, and warfare language by the BPP to describe both Oakland and national/international struggles from 1966-1980. I argue: (1) image use was aimed at achieving visibility of *revolutionary Black Nationalism* and rejecting *bourgeois reformism* (or *reactionary Black Nationalism*); (2) internal colonization language was aimed at voicing the condition of *territorial separatism* and a rejection of integrationist solutions; and (3) warfare language was aimed at placing the reader within the context of urban struggles between the Party and the state by presenting how *territorial separatism* led to the development of

revolutionary Black Nationalism and responses by repressive, capitalist, and racist state agents at three government levels. While the local and state responses were less effective, the federal response destroyed the Party.

"Chapter 4: The *Quotidian* Discourse of Oakland, CA Rap Albums" analyzes the use of militant and anti-state images, internal colonization lyrics, and warfare lyrics by Oakland and mainstream rappers from 1985-1999. Overall, local gangsta rap reproduced many of the concerns of the BPP by: (1) aiming at internal and local visibility; (2) using vivid and personal accounts to describe the territory; and (3) contextualizing struggle within the local environment. However, gangsta rap diverged from the BPP by revising the solution from *revolutionary Black Nationalism* to *delegitimized capitalism*. The less prominent local subgenres of *politically conscious*, *socially conscious*, and *alternative* rap better reproduced many of the solutions of the BPP, but diverged from the BPP by not effectively and vividly highlighting the degree of inner-city problems.

"Chapter 5: The *Quotidian* Discourse of Oakland, CA Rap Singles" analyzes the use of militant and anti-state images, internal colonization lyrics, and warfare lyrics by Oakland and mainstream rappers from 2000-2010. I begin by showing how the use of the four local rap subgenres developed in the previous chapter (*gangsta rap*, *politically conscious rap*, *socially conscious rap*, and *alternative rap*) became key components of the "hyphy" sound in Oakland and differed greatly from the "crunk" sound domestically and worldwide. Although both sounds largely ignored or rejected positions promoted by the BPP, the "hyphy" sound's roots in the local

subgenres better continued a political discourse by using unpredictability and craziness as a threat to recapture public spaces. The local brand continued to document current struggles in vivid detail, while the Billboard brand moved to a sort of claim to fame and used the previous existence in the inner-city as a way of parading dangerous roots. Although the local struggle remained inconsistent with many elements of BPP ideology, local artists regularly linked the struggle back to the BPP and its leadership.

The "Conclusion" articulates my findings regarding political content. I also argue that future scholarship will likely continue the path of defining rap by Billboard or popular charts, even with the rising availability of more underground sources from local communities. However, as commercialized rap music becomes less representative of the locations associated with its birth and development, it is important to continue to examine the emergence of local resistant styles.

The "Epilogue" vividly and painstakingly details my role as an "involved participant" by documenting my journey as a disc-jockey (DJ), producer, and engineer in the Bay Area from 2005-2010. While others have used the methodological approach known as "participant-observer," my application of it is quite different. It is a methodological, temporal, and locale update of Clark's (1965) study of Harlem. My approach is a methodological update of Clay's (2006) study of Oakland and Ginwright's (2004, p. 8) study of West Oakland. I differed from the Clay and Ginwright texts by taking a pre-existing, natural, and active role in the production of music, video, and web resources. It was pre-existing, because I was

engaged in these activities and did not consult the texts before entering the Bay Area music scene. It was natural, because at no time during my involvement did I ever think of myself as a researcher performing a study. I *should* have consulted the Clark (1965, p. xxx) text, because he has written about the risks entailed within an active role even as an "involved *observe*r":

> The role of the "involved observer," however, differs from the other two ["participant-observer" and cultural anthropologist] in that it demands participation not only in rituals and customs but in the social competition with the hierarchy in dealing with the problems of the people he is seeking to understand. While the observer of an alien group has the protection of the stranger to whom the group is required to show some degree of courtesy or hospitality, the "involved observer" runs the risk of joining in the competition for status and power and cannot escape the turbulence and conflict inherent in the struggle. He must be exposed at the same time that he seeks to protect himself and to protect his role of observer.

I was an "involved *participant*" in the scene, and the "Epilogue" details how this costly method presented me with a deeper understanding of the underground politics of the Oakland scene, rap, hip-hop, subcultures, and most of all, political redress.

Chapter 1: The Origins and Development of Black Power

1. Introduction

This chapter analyzes the Black Panther Party (BPP) as a late variant of the Black Nationalist Movement (BNM) and as a major source of both the Black Power Movement (BPM) and Black Arts Movement (BAM). I examine the field of literature and original BPP documents to detail how the BNM's growing focus on institutional separation (political and economic) became a major element of the BPM's call to the people (social and cultural). This became a major influence on the BAM, and current rap scholarship uses the BAM to link Black Power and rap music. However, in Oakland, CA, the BAM movement and rap connection is an unnecessary filter. We can directly link local rap music to the BPP and thus late-1960s Black Nationalism.

This chapter's examination is done in two parts. The first half of the chapter: (1) defines key components of Black Nationalist ideology and applications by 1960s BPM and BAM proponents; (2) explains the political, economic, and cultural setting of Oakland prior to and during the Panther emergence; and (3) outlines the BPP's origins, shifts, and demise. The second half of the chapter provides an overview of the BPP's use of BNM, BPM, and BAM components in their Party statements and evaluates "recontextualizations" of the Party by current scholars and a filmmaker. The discussion in this chapter sets up the political context/void in which rap music emerges (Chapter 2) and also sets up the empirical investigation of the BPP statements (Chapter 3).

Overall, I argue the BPP goal was a *revolutionary Black Nationalism* that advocated *territorial separatism* and *socialist economic nationalism* to first achieve community control and then to achieve freedom for oppressed peoples. Although the BPP attempt at community control was the latest in a long history of similar attempts by other Black Nationalist organizations, the BPP technique was presented as an alternative to other Black Power ideologies. In particular, BPP use of *revolutionary Black Nationalism* was presented as an alternative to *reactionary Black Nationalism* (or *bourgeois reformism*), *territorial separatism* was an alternative to integrationist strategies, and *socialist economic nationalism* was an alternative to black capitalism (or *capitalist economic nationalism*). I also argue that the history of the rise and shifts of the BPP shows evidence of the enduring multifaceted nature of the group—between a black military organization, a community service organization, and a self-claimed worldwide socialist organization.

The demise of the Party is explained by both Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) COINTELPRO successes against the BPP *and* BPP members' entrances into electoral politics, educational settings, and other arenas. It is my contention the BPP was an important alternative for Oakland youth, and it was destroyed. A comparison of crime summary data from the BPP period (1969-1980) and post-BPP periods (1980-2000 and 2000-2010) indicates a continued institutional failure of Oakland officials to control violent and serious crime, the emergence of a new types of crime, and the impact of the loss of the BPP. Locally, in the early-1980s, there was a rise in

a new brand of rap music focused on detailing this criminal activity (as discussed in the next chapter).

2. Key Components and Applications of Black Nationalist Ideology by BNM and BAM Proponents

Michael Dawson's *Black Visions* (2001) has established that the BNM of the 1960s was the latest version of a reoccurring theme in black political thought. Although conversant with Black Liberalism, Black Nationalism "builds an alternative vision based on taking race as the fundamental analytical category of concern" and has been the longstanding challenger to Black Liberalism. This began with Martin Delaney in the 1850s, "black Civil War Veterans," Marcus Garvey and "black cadres within the Communist Party of the United States in the 1920s," and Black Nationalists and Black Marxists in the late-1960s and early-1970s. Each of the BNM forms used the "concepts of separation, self-reliance, and self-determination" differently, as proponents sought to "distance themselves either spiritually, economically, politically, or socially from white America" (2001, pp. 4-22).

Before examining these different uses and applications, I need to define the core differences of Black Nationalist ideology. In the middle of the late-1960s and early-1970s Black Nationalist/Black Marxist campaign, John H. Bracey, Jr., August Meier, and Elliot Rudwick (1970) edited a highly influential volume containing speeches, statements, and letters that expressed the mounting calls for economic and political separation. Before presenting the calls, however, Bracey, Meier, and Rudwick began by defining 10 key components of Black Power ideology. Below, I

group these 10 components using Dawson's characteristics of self-determination, self-reliance, and separation (Table 5).

Key Components. The self-determination category includes *racial solidarity*, *cultural nationalism*, *Pan Negroism*, and *Pan Africanism*. Each of these components began with blacks as a having "linked fate" (Dawson, 2001, p. 11). Also, each of the components influenced the BAM—racial solidarity as a basis, cultural nationalism as a driving force for difference, and *Pan Negroism/Africanism* to connect the black diaspora.

Table 5: 10 Key Components of Black Nationalism

Group	Component	Objective
Self-determination	*Racial Solidarity*	To organize blacks to improve their condition.
	Cultural Nationalism	To celebrate and develop culture, style, and aesthetic values.
	Pan Negroism	To create international racial solidarity and leadership.
	Pan-Africanism	
Self-reliance	*Capitalist Economic Nationalism*	To create a black capitalist parallel economy.
	Bourgeois Reformism	To achieve black political power through electoral politics.
	Religious Nationalism	To create self-functioning black religious institutions.
Separatist	*Socialist Economic Nationalism*	To reinstate preindustrial communalism.
	Revolutionary Black Nationalism	To gain freedom by overthrowing "existing political and economic institutions."
	Territorial Separatism	To literally or symbolically take control of the black community.
	Emigrationism	To return to Africa, some "ancestral homeland," or a "new potential homeland."
Source: Bracey, Meier, & Rudwick, 1970, pp. xxvi-xxix		

In the self-reliance category, *capitalist economic nationalism*, *religious nationalism*, *bourgeois reformism* respectively express monetary, spiritual, and electoral solutions at achieving equality by way of creating a black parallel sphere. Robert Allen's Black *Awakening In Capitalist America, An Analytic History* (1970) has centered on the division between Black Capitalism and the socialism detailed below. President Richard Nixon's administration took full advantage of this divide and pushed capitalist strategies through funding and loans. By effectively supporting black business, Nixon was able to co-op any radical sentiments towards Marxism in American cities. Overall, this concept of black self-reliance relates to my study through businesses such as Black Entertainment Television (BET) and black-owned record labels, black religious groups such as the Nation of Islam (NOI), and political coalitions such as the Black Caucus. BET is a major network that plays both mainstream rap sources and popularized local sources. The NOI influence is not only a major contributor to the BPM overall, but it also becomes a major influence on the BPP and rap music both in Oakland and domestically. Yet, also related are the teachings within forms of Christian religious nationalism, especially black churches that taught that God, Jesus, or both were black and that blacks were "chosen people." Most of these examples (with the exception of the Black Caucus) directly relates to both the BAM and rap music. The teaching that deities were black and/or that blacks were "chosen people" finds its way into the BPM, BAM, rap (through Five Percenters), and reggae (through Rastafarians).

The separatist category from Table 5 essential in evaluating the BPP discourse. Through *socialist economic nationalism*, the BPP explained the black condition in America through Marxism and proposed using militancy to achieve freedom from this condition. This was the other side to Nixon's Black Capitalism support; the Panthers (and economic radical/militants) were targeted by the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI) COINTELPRO (Allen, 1970). Through *territorial separatism*, the Party made it clear that they believed blacks had a hand in making America prosperous (through slave labor) and should thus have a "share of the country." Some Panthers (and others) advocated the creation of all-black towns, states, or even a nation composed of several states (Bracey, Meier, & Rudwick, 1970, p. xxix). The milder version of this position was more symbolic, it could be accommodated by American pluralism, but the extreme version was more literal, separatist, and not really possible without restructuring the Union. The BPP's use of internal colonization (explained below) began as an example of both versions, moved steadily to the extreme version over Party history, and then moved toward electoral community control initiatives. This is significant because previously the Panthers suggested that the existing political and economic institutions could not be changed to fully accommodate blacks in America.

Combining the economic and political separatisms above, the BPP used the term *revolutionary Black Nationalism* to describe the type of change necessary for freedom. The Party negatively connoted *bourgeois reformism* to *reactionary Black Nationalism* until they began running for office. Also, this position "view[ed] the

overthrow of the existing political and economic institutions as a prerequisite for the liberation of black Americans" and did not exclude "the [potential] use of violence" (Bracey, Meier, & Rudwick, 1970, p. xxviii). This position went beyond the goal of political inclusion and reforms and suggested the only way to advance the position of black Americans was by the destruction of the government and market. Although the BPP never really accepted *emigrationism* as a solution in their discourse, individual members sought refuge in foreign locales and ended up staying.

Dawson considered the Panthers to be in between a hybrid Black Nationalism/Marxism, their "official' position," and Black Nationalism (2001, p. 89). However, through the Party literature, the BPP moved from black self-defense to "communalism" to electoral politics. Thus, they were a militant, radical, and political entity.

To fully explain Panther use of Black Nationalist ideology, they need to be considered as the latest version of a reoccurring theme in black America. Classic forms (1852-1919) from authors such as Martin Delany (Moses, 1996) inspired modern forms (1920s-1950s) in the likes of Marcus Garvey and his "Back to Africa Movement" (Gates & McKay, 1996; Van Deburg, 1997; Grant, 2008). In the 1960s, Black Nationalism was "rediscovered" (Draper, 1970a, 1970b), and there was a change from strategies of self-reliance to an emphasis on separatism (Maglangbayan, 1972) and armed self-defense (Williams, 1962).

As the NOI spokesman, Malcolm X announced a separation from the national government, and he began to articulate a political and economic ideology (Malcolm

X, 1960). Two years later, the leader of the Black Muslims, Elijah Muhammad, issued a list of enumerated and extreme demands and tied the political, radical, and militant movement to religion (Muhammad, 1962). After Malcolm X's assassination, the NOI pushed the segregation message even more. Elijah Muhammad's "Separation of the So-Called Negroes from Their Slavemasters' Children is a Must" articulated a definition of selfhood, debunked the notion of "colored," and presented Africans as a divine race of people. As such, Muhammad contended blacks needed to seek power in unity and undergo shifts in epistemology, political ideology, and economic ideology. According to Muhammad, the traditional political-economy was a failure, and his society of Black Muslims would usher in equality by separation (Muhammad, 1965).

The NOI message of segregation provided a political groundwork for the radical and militant movements such as the BPP movement based in Oakland during the mid-1960s. The Party, however, also wholeheartedly adopted and embraced the use of media including television and their own newsletter.

Applications by BPM and BAM Proponents. The institutional (political and economic) ideology of Black Nationalism was transformed into the BPM (a social/cultural call to the people). Responding to sentiments of ghetto entrapment (Harrington, 1963; Glasgow, 1980), black youth turned to using elements of Black Power (Carmichael & Hamilton, 1967). The BPM also included a range of cultural, athletic, academic, and artistic endeavors.

Cultural leaders included the US Organization led by Ron Karenga (Maulana Karenga) and his aims such as the creation of Kwanzaa in 1966 (Karenga, 1998; Brown & Carson, 2003). The standalone cultural emphasis of Black Power was later criticized by the BPP, and the FBI deepened this distaste by sending forged letters from the BPP to the US Organization and from the US Organization to the BPP (Gentry, 2001, p. 622). The organizations battled over leadership of a black student organization at the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA), which eventually ended in the killing of two Panthers. The cultural element to the BPM became understood as part of future black "cultural norms" and communication in Kochman's *Rappin' and Stylin' Out* (1972). Eventually, as one author has argued, the difference between black culture and the norms in America actually created an industry through the commodification of black culture as a product to be sold to whites (Cashmore, 1997).

Academically, the establishment of departments focused on Black Studies became an important topic. In 1968, San Francisco State University hired sociologist Nathan Hare to create the first Black Studies program in the US. Also in 1968, the demands from a black student organization were written using the language of Black Power (Northwestern University Black Students, 1968). Contemporary scholars have connected Black Studies departments to cultural nationalism (Karenga, 1993), more radical forms of Black Power (Rojas, 2007), and even rap music (Baker, 1993). Others have turned to a focus on teaching Civil Rights to elementary, middle, and

high school students (Menkart, Murray, & View, 2004) and teaching Black Power (Guerty, July 2008).

In athletics, figures such as Muhammad Ali (formerly Cassius Clay) and Kareem Abdul-Jabbar (formerly Lew Alcindor) joined the NOI and changed their name in 1964 and 1971, respectively. Although there were other examples, the impact of Ali (who is now considered one the greatest boxers of all time) and Abdul-Jabbar (the National Basketball Association's all time leading scorer) both changing their name in the 1960s and 1970s remains a sign of the importance of the far-reaching impact of Black Power both on and within athletics. In addition, Abdul-Jabbar described Ali's impact on young people as "very formidable" and met with him while at UCLA in 1967 (Shearer, March 3, 1989). A year later at the Summer Olympics in Mexico City, two American sprinters (Tommie Smith and John Carlos) raised their gloved fists during the playing of the National Anthem. Both Smith and Carlos stood shoeless with black socks on to represent the urban poor in America. This variation of the Black Power salute (Carlos raised his left hand rather than the traditional right-handed form) outraged many in America (*Time Magazine*, October 25, 1968). It also created a field of study regarding the role of Black Power in sports (Bass, 2004).

In the arts, authors have forged a connection between the BPM and popular music. Freeland (2009) has argued the BPM provided "ideological conviction and emotional courage" and called for "social consciousness and political solidarity." Gladney (1995) has maintained that three areas "show the ideological progression" from the BAM to hip-hop including: "elements of anger and rage," an "ideological

need" for black institutions and businesses, and the "Black aesthetic' as a yardstick to measure the value of Black Art." Alim (2009, 279, p. 273) has described connectivity between the language of urban locales including Oakland (Mitchell-Kernan, 1971) and Harlem (Labov, 1972) ultimately leading to the styling of the first rap song to be played on the radio, Sugarhill Gang's "Rapper's Delight" (1979).

Others have connected soul music to the BPM through James Brown, his "King Heroin" (1972) as the first rap record, and rap artists' sampling of his work (Vierkant, 2007, p 21). The brand of music signified a call and response (Floyd Jr., 1996, p. 95) to "[l]ower-class black adults, [who] tended to go for darker funk tones, deep soul classics, and later for the rap stylings which spoke more directly to their still functioning segregated and disadvantaged black lives" (Ward, 1998, p. 427).

The components and application of Black Nationalism are difficult to delineate and put into "mutually exclusive categories." Individuals and groups can assume combinations of these components, and some of the components of Black Nationalism coexist with a commitment to integration (Bracey, Meier, & Rudwick, 1970, p. xxix). The applications overlap as well. However, as I argue later, literal and extreme use of certain elements are difficult to harmonize with other components.

As Figure 3 shows though Newton's pose, the BPP's call to arms was an example of an extreme use of Black Nationalist components.

Figure 3: Appendix A-1, Source 117

3. The Setting: Oakland, CA 1966-1980

The BPP story began with demographic shifts and rising, unmet expectations transforming Oakland from a popular locale for southern migration into a locale popular that popularized one of the most divisive forms of Black Nationalism. Oakland is located 12 miles East of San Francisco, and in 1960, had a population of 367,548 people. It was a port city focused on building, construction projects, and expansion into a 1st rate city (City of Oakland, 2002).[1] In the mid-1960s, West and North Oakland produced one of the most radical and militant forms of Black Nationalism, the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. The political, economic, and

social setting *combined with* the geographical, cultural, and educational setting greatly contributed to the Party's emergence.

Demographic shifts from the mid-1800 to the late-1970s produced a local legacy of black aspirations and rising hope for over 100 years in the Oakland/East Bay Area (Crouchett, Bunch, & Winnacker, 1989; McBroome, 1993).[2] As other authors have demonstrated, this shift from the South to the North and West was a reoccurring theme in black America (Johnson & Campbell, 1981; Grossman, 1991; Lemann, 1991; O'Hare, Sawicki, & Joint Center for Political Studies, 1992; Sernett, 1997; Tolnay, 1998; Countryman, 2007; Mathieu, 2009). The black return migration to the South (Campbell, Johnson, & Slangler, 1974; McHugh, 1987; Falk, Hunt, & Hunt, 2004) and move to suburbs (Schneider & Phelan, 1993) is also an important topic, and it indicates that the migrant's expectations in Northern cities often went unmet or suggests a desire to return to some "promised land" in the South.

On one hand, Oakland had much in common with other cities in the industrialized North and followed a reoccurring theme of urban crisis.[3] Northward and Westward Black Migration—specifically the Second Great Migration between the 1940s and 1970s—brought about historical "pushes" or stages en route to Oakland, Alameda, Richmond, and other Northern California locations (Trotter, 1991, p. 107). However, there was an inability to effectively remove the old political guards in major cities such as Oakland, Los Angeles (LA), and Detroit, MI "where at-large city council elections or gerrymandered districts minimized the black vote and kept African Americans politicians out of city government" (Gregory, 2005, p. 268).

Yet, the political environment in Oakland differed from other American locales. When compared to LA and Detroit (Table 6), it took five additional years for Oakland to elect a black mayor—despite having a larger black percentage of the population than LA. Other major cities (Cleveland, OH; Gary, IN; and Washington, DC) elected black mayors as many as 10 years before Oakland. In addition, cities of relatively similar size (Newark, NJ; Atlanta, GA) also preceded Oakland's election of a black mayor. It took until 1977 for Oakland Mayors from the "Old Republican Guard" (John C. Houlihan and John H. Reading) to be replaced by a black Democrat (Lionel J. Wilson). A further difference between Oakland and other Northern and Western cities was exhibited in the 1973 election; Reading was strongly challenged by BPP co-founder Bobby Seale, who earned 40% of the vote. The fact that four out of 10 citizens in Oakland were willing to elect a radical and militant executive remains a remarkable indication of the town's different brand of politics. Yet, even steeped heavily (or at least accepting) of Black Power, Oakland was unable to achieve the vision of community control by the people and for the people through traditional electoral politics.[4]

Table 6: Black Mayors in Major US Cities, 1967-1978

Year	City	Mayor	Population in 1970*	Black Population in 1970 (%)***
1967	Cleveland, OH	Carl B. Stokes	750,903	38%
	Gary, IN	Richard G. Hatcher	175,415	52.8%
	Washington, DC	Walter Washington	756,510	71.1%
1970	Newark, NJ	Kenneth A. Gibson	382,417	54.2%
1973	Atlanta, GA	Tom Bradley	496,973	51.3%
	Compton, CA	Doris A. Davis	78,547**	73.9%****
	Detroit, MI	Coleman Young	1,849,568	43.7%
	Los Angeles, CA	Tom Bradley	2,816,061	17.9%
1978	Oakland, CA	Lionel J. Wilson	361,561	34.5%
	New Orleans, LA	Ernest Nathan Morial	593,471	45%

*Source: U.S. Census Bureau Population Division, 2012
** Source: Los Angeles Almanac, 1998-2012
***Source: Gibson & Jung, February 2005
**** Source: State of the Cities Data Systems (SOCDS), 2012
Note: Year Complied by First Full Year in Office

In terms of electoral politics in West Oakland, the head of the local Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters union (C.L. Dellums) was linked with a real estate mogul and newspaper publisher (D.G. Gibson) in the late-1940s. The two led a "campaign for a state law to build the East Bay Democratic Club (EBDC), which in turn became the core institution for black electoral politics in the Bay Area" (Gregory, 2005, p. 268). Wilson's Mayoral election and Ronald V. Dellums' Congressional election were just two results of the EBDC. Although there was an

eventual changing of the electoral guard, a new political "underclass" was already empowered by the late-1960s. This included the BPP, as I document in the next two sections. By the time the Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) system was being planned to run straight through West Oakland in 1973, the citizens had developed the proper "grassroots" machinery to challenge the initiative. Although unsuccessful in stopping the BART program, "the newly unified community did gain local control of schools and urban poverty programs" (Rodriguez, 1999).

Political executives became a staple of criticism in the BPP statements. San Francisco Mayor Joseph Alioto, California Governor Ronald Reagan, and President Richard Nixon become popular targets—likely because of their anti-BPP stances and interventions. In the case of Nixon and Reagan, the use of covert and counterintelligence strategies was also perceived at the time. Today, we know even more about the operations of both executives against the BPP (Newton, 1980; Glick, 1989, pp. 77-79; O'Reilly, 1989, pp. 299-324; Goldstein, 2001, pp. 523-530; Jeffreys-Jones, 2007, pp. 170-189; Rosenfeld, 2012, pp. 418-424). In the BPP articles, the only government officials discussed nearly as often as mayors, governors, and presidents were court judges during active trials of Panther members and associates. The BPP's denouncing of local, state, and national executives was designed to hold them accountable for their neglect of the people and their authorization of constant, secret harassment of the Party.

In addition to the changing political climate, there were significant demographic changes (Figure 4). Simply put, the data indicates there was a growing

presence of young black men. Between 1960 and 1970 in Oakland, there were fewer citizens overall but an 11.7% rise in the black population and slightly higher populations of Latinos and men. This was accompanied by "white flight" (-14.5%), a younger population (by 4.3 years), with fewer families (and families with children), and less populous households during the same period.

Between 1970 and 1980, Oakland experienced an even greater population decline, another surge (12.5%) in black population, and a remarkable instance of "white flight" (-20.5%). During this time, there was an indication of a new black middle class—as population per household increased along with median household income. Alongside this evident rising black middle class, however, was a new urban poor population. Per capita income fell, and the percentage of the population living below the poverty level was nearly 17%. Additional data on these shifts can be found in Appendix C-1.

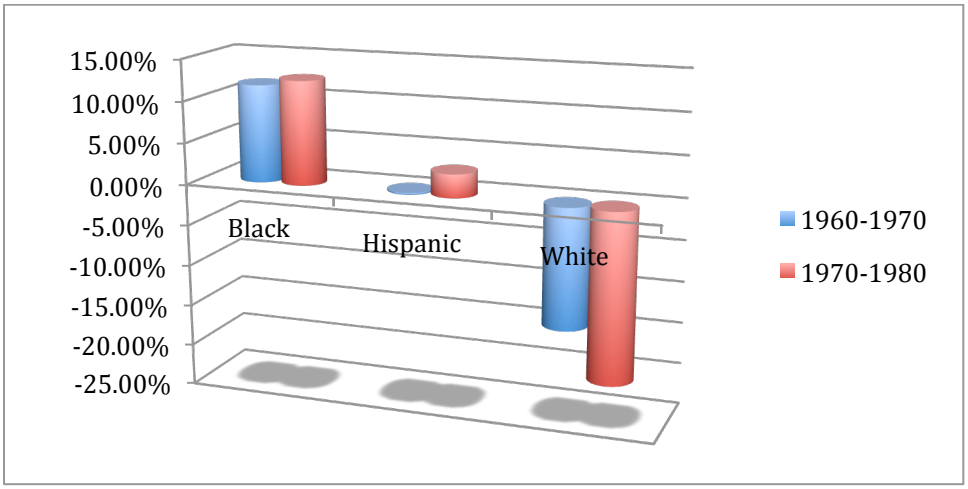

Figure 4: Percentage Changes in Black, Hispanic, and White Populations in Oakland, CA from 1960-1980

The degree of the uneven development also differentiated Oakland from other Northern and Western American cities. While much of black West and North Oakland was experiencing dislocation and poverty, the town was using federal funds to build and redevelop highways, light-railways, and ports. When this is paired with the late and high expectations of migration, lack of unskilled labor in the face of prosperity, and the relative availability of higher education, it is easy to understand why Oakland became the birthplace of the BPP.

As Robert Self (2000) has indicated in "To Plan our Liberation: Black Power and the Politics of Place in Oakland, California, 1965-1977," the scale and magnitude of dissent in Oakland was enhanced by the unmet "promises of democracy and opportunity" (pp. 760-761) and the false hope experienced after the failure of federal employment programs of the mid-1960s locally (p. 774). In addition, the composition, timing, and outcomes of black migration were different in Oakland. In terms of composition, Oakland's migration was largely blacks coming from "Texas, Oklahoma, Louisiana and Arkansas" after World War II. This also occurred later than most other cities, and Oakland lacked the unskilled manufacturing jobs found in "industrial powerhouses" such as "Detroit, Chicago, and Los Angeles." The result was that jobs ran "through [segregated] union-controlled apprenticeship programs" (p. 766). While the labor problem was true of other Northern cities, Oakland was surrounded by affluence, was a major gateway linking the South Bay (San Jose Area) to San Francisco, and was "reshaped by massive federal investment" (p. 765).

The Bay Area educational network also exacerbated discontent among young, black and poor youth. Recently, in *Living for the City: Migration, Education, and the Rise of the Black Panther Party in Oakland, California*, Donna Jean Murch (2010) has argued that the new migrants carried a "rich culture, historical memory, and expectations" as Bay Area newcomers. They instead faced "heartfelt disappointment" as they were met with new forms of segregation and repression. Many of the BPP's leaders and rank-and-file membership were children of the families who experienced the rising expectations and deep disappointment (Murch, 2010, p. 3-11).[5] Education became a key factor in transformation of the "black underclass" in Oakland:

> Bay Area Black radicalism was inextricably linked not only with the region's expansive southern diaspora, but also with the thick network of public universities and colleges that crisscrossed the metropolitan area. Alienation from local schools, harassment by police, and growing incarceration prompted migrant youth to develop critiques of the existing order, and urban campuses became incubators of radical ideas (Murch, 2010, p. 7).

This linkage with higher learning—and particularly a specialized form of higher learning—that could verify the "rich culture, historical memory, and [unmet] expectations" of the children of the Bay Area newcomers undoubtedly exacerbated the uprising of the youth in Oakland and surrounding areas into new local radical brokers.

Another factor in this unrest was police harassment. Oakland's ongoing struggles with crime, especially of a violent nature, only strengthened the BPP claim of internal colonialism. First, the high rate of crime reinforced the idea that blacks and the poor were faced with a different reality than the rest of America, the rest of California, and even the rest of the Bay Area. Second, due to the high crime rate,

police presence and harassment was more easily legitimized. Third, it fortified the BPP claim that police officers could never do an effective job in servicing the needs of the urban, black and poor community. There are some notable trends:

(1) There were surges in murders in 1973, 1975, and 1979-1980.

(2) Forcible rape climbed steadily from 1969 levels (197) to 1980 levels (430).

(3) Robbery climbed steadily from 1969 levels (2,572) to 1980 levels (4,250).

(4) Felony assault climbed steadily from 1969 levels (1,131) to 1980 levels (2,753).

(5) Burglary oscillated until 1973 then dropped sharply until a rise in 1980.

(6) Total larceny oscillated until hitting lows between 1973 and 1974, before rising again in 1980.

(7) Auto theft declined in most years, but was cut by 45% from 1969 (6,220) to 1980 (3,406).

(8) Overall, total offenses oscillated but end up being 50 more in 1980 than in 1969.

Given these trends, there is little evidence to conclude that the BPP movement contributed to the streets of Oakland becoming more dangerous—at least using the measures of the Uniform Crime Reporting index employed by the FBI. However, given that the surges in murders happened during the decline of the BPP, the dramatic cut in auto theft overall, and the fact that total offenses rose less than 0.02%, the BPP can be viewed as an effective alternative sphere for young blacks in the town and perhaps a deterrent to criminal activity.

On the other hand, given the overall rises in forcible rape, robbery, felony assault, and the 1980 rises in burglary and total larceny, we can conclude that Oakland was gradually and ultimately becoming a more dangerous place. It is

difficult to discern what is attributable to the sometimes violent BPP discourse, what is attributable to the non-BPP Oakland population, and what is attributable to changing times. However, data from the post-BPP periods (1980-2000 and 2000-2010) indicates either a continued institutional failure of Oakland officials to control violent and serious crime, a new class of urban criminals committing new types of crime, and/or the impact of the BPP being destroyed as an alternative for young, black Oakland youth.

As Figure 5 shows, between the years 1970 and 1978, total criminal offenses only increased twice (1971 and 1975). In addition, after three years of declines (1976-1978), total offenses spiked from 1979-1980.

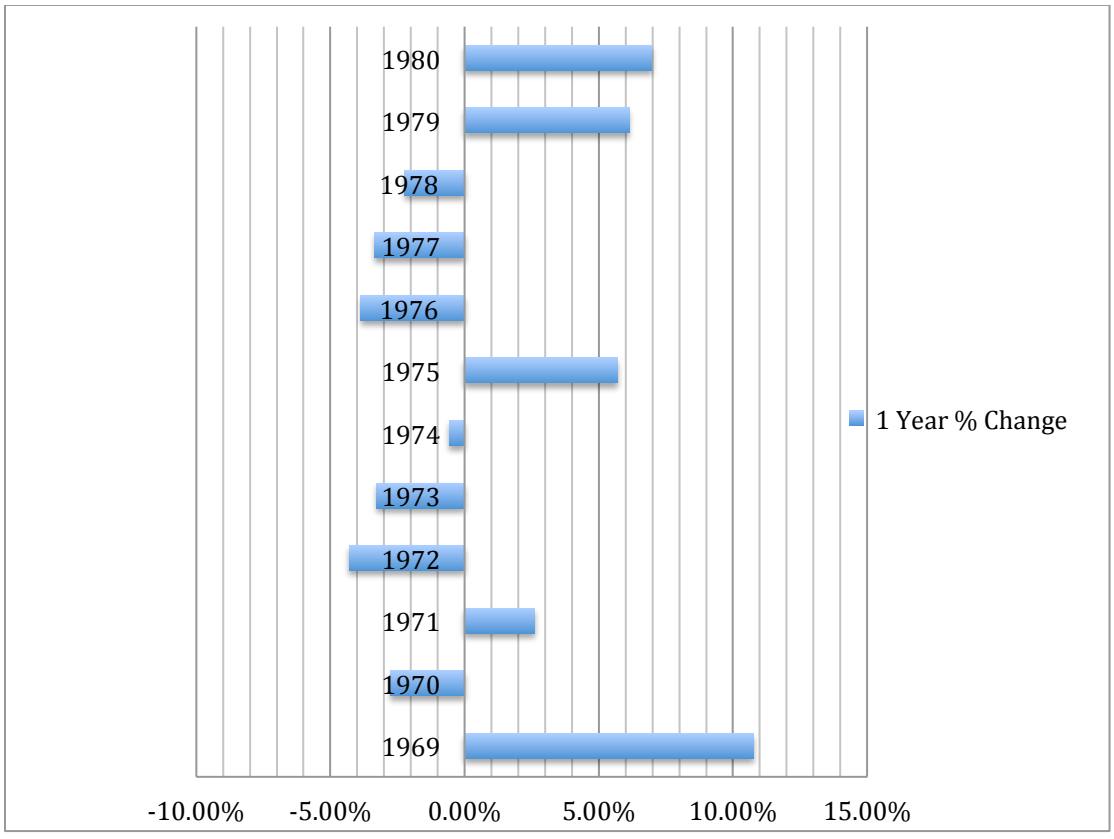

Figure 5: Percentage Change in Overall Criminal Offenses in Oakland, CA 1969-1980

The BPP was a product of the milieu described above. The changing demographic of Oakland, with increases in black population, decreases in overall population, and overall rising poverty—was a major contributing factor. The proximity of the Bay Area counterculture in general and student anti-war movement in the San Francisco Bay Area and Berkeley was another factor. The California and Bay Area educational network (Murch, 2010) and the proximity of Bay Area technology were also factors. As the description of the Panthers below indicates, the claims clearly came from a highly- educated, angry, devoted, and strategic segment of Oakland's black population. It was partly produced out of failed promises of the Westward migration, historical knowledge of the costs of American capitalism for blacks (and other groups), and the ongoing example of West Oakland as evidence of a black colony. Imagery such as Figure 6 acted as a call to the local recruits and linked them with national and international offices.

Figure 6: Source, It's About Time (2004-2012a)

4. The Rise, Shifts, and Demise of the BPP

The Rise. On October 15, 1966, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale formed the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in West Oakland. Seale's *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* (1970) detailed the BPP's beginnings in community control. Seale ended up meeting Newton at Merritt Junior Collect in West Oakland during a demonstration. The influence of Newton made Seale feel like he needed to get involved in what was still a cultural nationalist movement. After Newton broke with cultural nationalists, Seale got a job in the North Oakland Neighborhood Anti-Poverty Center working with the old Civil Rights guard. Shortly after, in November of 1966, Newton and Seale received guns from a Japanese man who had .357 magnums, 22's, and 9 millimeters. Although they did not have any money, they explained to the man what they would be using the guns for, and the Japanese man gave them a M-1 and a 9-millimeter. It has only recently been revealed that the man, Richard Masato Aoki, was an undercover informant for the FBI (Rosenfeld, 2012, pp.418-424) and "played a key role" in the Panthers turn to armed militancy (Austin, 2006, p. 56). The absurdity of a FBI informant equipping the BPP with their initial weapons and arsenal for free is symbolic of the lengths that were taken to entrap the Party leadership. Yet, Newton and Seale did not seem to suspect any deviousness, and Seale (1970) described Akoi as "a Third World brother [they] knew, a Japanese radical cat" armed to the teeth. Since Newton could not carry a handgun because of probation, Seale took the pistol and Newton took the shotgun. Seale then detailed how they were thrown out of an organizational meeting because

they carried their weapons (Seale, 1970). BPP militancy was heavily inspired by other BNM and Black Power positions. In *Black Power: Radical Politics And African American Identity*, Jeffrey O. G. Ogbar (2005, p. 81) has detailed the major inspirations in the establishment of the BPP including the NOI, Civil Rights Movement (CRM), Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM) and "the rise of the rise of revolutionary struggles in Africa, Asia, and Latin America." For Newton and Seale, the BPP was "a result of a careful and deliberate process of politicization and ideological development" and "[b]oth came into political consciousness slowly" (p. 81).

There is direct evidence how three major influences found their way into the consciousness of Newton and Seale: the NOI influence was transported to the Bay Area through speaker Malcolm X; the Panther symbol and organizational name were taken from a third party from Lowndes County, AL and transported by Stokely Carmichael and the work of H. Rap Brown; and Newton and Seale began applying radical and militant Marxism to the urban problems in America by understanding the history of oppression and racism through an Afro-American Association led by Donald Warden at the Merritt College.

In the early-1960s, Malcolm X travelled to Mosques in both Oakland and San Francisco, and in 1965, Newton and Seale attended one of his local speeches. Both were impressed by his transformation from street hustler to his new role as speaker, by his charismatic leadership, and by his truth telling. Yet, Newton and Seale rejected the theological basis as an explanation of the conditions around them and needed to

adopt a position more closely identifiable with the "lumpen" proletariat. According to Ogbar, "Both [Newton and Seale] reveled in their 'lumpen' lifestyle, which included heavy drinking, cursing, and other crude behavior." This also included Seale's role as a "popular barbeque chef and the popularity of 'bitter dog' (vodka and juice) among West Coast Panthers." In addition to these eating and drinking habits, Newton would have to curb his temper to join the NOI. All the above were lifestyle choices, which "carried a particular value…important to revolutionary behavior" and were "incongruent" with the NOI (Ogbar, 2005, p. 81-82). Here, we can see the fascination with some elements of *religious nationalism*, but a clear rejection of the overall framework.

Newton and Seale also adopted the elements of a third party freedom organization in the formation of the Party. A BPP article described how the original panther (animal) symbol was taken from a Lowndes County, AL third party and how the "origins of the crime…where the contradiction started" was located in the deep South (The Black Panther Party, September 18, 1971). H. Rap Brown's *Die N*gg*r Die* (1969) detailed the beginning of this third party:

> At first, we just spent our time going to meetings and getting to know the people, just basic organizing. As it got closer to election time, we found out that the power structure didn't have any intention of putting the Black candidates' names on the ballot. So we began to talk about a "Freedom Election," which would create a parallel government; Black people are 87% [sic] of the country [sic]. We were trying to get people to see that people are the real government. Establish your own government in opposition to this corrupt government and if it calls for a confrontation, be prepared for that. Then let the federal government decide whose government is legitimate. (We talked about the federal government coming into it just to get people to move in the direction of local self- government. I knew, however, which side the federal government would take.) People began to dig the idea. So I drafted a

> letter to Johnson, the Attorney General, the Governor and the Attorney General of Alabama. And I told them that we, the Black Panther Party, were gonna hold freedom elections and boycott the regular election, because our candidates' names would not appear on the ballot (Brown, 1969).

In describing these activities, the truth was either being stretched, warped, or there was an error in the print. When he describes blacks being "87% of the country," it is difficult to know for certain whether it was supposed to be a reference to Lowndes "county" (which would be accurate) or if he was making a statement about the US as a whole. The context does not help and that is the point—the facts were obscured in a way that makes it difficult to even articulate a response. Stokely Carmichael, a member and former chairman of the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), was among the organizers to this Lowndes County party. After Carmichael was replaced by Brown as chairman of SNCC, Carmichael began to speak out against police brutality and became an Honorary Prime Minister for the BPP. Here, we can see the replication of the symbols and organizational name of a *bourgeois reformist* (or *reactionary Black Nationalist*) movement used instead for the impetus of the BPP.

The Shifts. Newton and Seale steadily moved from radical to more militant positions. The radical position (to overthrow or to significantly change political institutional framework) shifted to more a militant position (proposing the use of force to achieve the radical aims). Their initial involvement and subsequent rejection from multiple organizations due to their desire to carry firearms was an indication of this trend. In short, they began to distinguish between intellectuals and community activists. They were "attracted to the culturally affirming language of black nationalism" but "were also sympathetic to direct action self-defense against racist

terrorism" (Ogbar, 2005, p. 85). The racial terrorism in the urban North was markedly different from the racial terrorism in the South; while the later was identified with white terrorist organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan, the former was quickly becoming identified with urban police forces (p. 84). Newton and Seale drafted the BPP's "Ten-Point Program"—largely modeled after the NOI's "What the Muslims Want and What the Muslims Believe" (Muhammad, 1962) —"to outline the goals and objectives of their new organization." After implementing the program and patrols, the BPP began implementing local, social programs (Ogbar, 2005, p. 85). Later, the methods of the movement were detailed in "The Rules of the BPP" (Newton, 1966). By comparing the two founding documents, one can immediately see the duality or multi-faceted nature of the group.

At once, the BPP was a black military organization, a community service organization, and an imagined worldwide socialist organization. So, the shifts of the BPP were really only shifts on focus and emphasis from: (1) defense to service; (2) race to class; (3) local to international; and (4) from radical and militant approaches to electoral campaigns. Their brand of revolution truly involved both community efforts (such as self-defense and survival programs) and a concept of worldwide proletarian revolution.

"The Rules of the BPP" began by discussing membership, organizational structure, and protocol for dealing with violators of the rules. Rules one through three dealt with narcotics, weed, and alcohol. While intravenous narcotic use would result in expulsion from the Party (Rule 2), drinking alcohol and narcotic or weed

possession were prohibited only "while doing party work" (Rules 1 and 3). These three rules demonstrated some evidence of the rejection of the lifestyle transformation required by *religious nationalism*—particularly the NOI. The only use strictly prohibited was "shooting" drugs. Rules five through nine dealt with office work and meetings, firearm use, limitations of joining other army forces (only the Black Liberation Army) (BLA), limitations of being armed "while drunk or loaded off narcotics or weed," outlawing stealing from other party members or black people in general, protocol for arrests, and availability of legal first aid. These rules became a sort of precursor to *revolutionary Black Nationalism* by establishing the groundwork for a black military-type organization (Newton, 1966).

The remaining rules (10-26) detailed the organizational structure of the Party. First, the Party required knowledge and understanding of the "Ten Point Program," and then the BPP described local and national party communications and range of activity. Notable rules included learning operation and service of weapons (Rule 16), political education classes for members and a reading requirement of two hours per day for leaders (Rules 18 and 23), submission of reports to the national headquarters (Rules 15, 20, 22, and 26), and a requirement to contact the national headquarters before accepting "grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency" (Rule 24). Members and chapters were then bound by the "policy and ideology laid down" by the central headquarters (Newton, 1966).

The "8 Points of Attention" attached to the rules further detailed the makings of a military organization built to free the oppressed masses:

1. Speak politely.
2. Pay fairly for what you buy.
3. Return everything you borrow.
4. Pay for anything you damage.
5. Do not hit or swear at people.
6. Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.
7. Do not take liberties with women.
8. If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them (Newton, 1966).

These points were followed by "3 Main Rules of Discipline" which included obeying orders, not stealing, and turning in captured items from attacking enemies (Newton, 1966). This was the creation of a war culture. Yet, this war culture was not based on unprovoked violence. For the Panthers, retaliatory violence was celebrated as a passage into manhood. Steve Estes (2005, p. 155) has described Bobby Hutton's fatal April 4, 1968 shootout with Oakland police as an example. Hutton was "eulogized" a year later, and Estes pointed out: "[Hutton] had earned his manhood when he picked up the gun and aimed it at 'The Man'—the cops and the white power structure."

The "Ten-Point Program" detailed the goals to be achieved by this revolutionary movement. The program outlined visionary and somewhat unrealistic goals in great detail. Points one through three set goals for: freedom and "power to determine the destiny of...black and oppressed communities"; full employment; and an end to capitalist pillaging of "black and oppressed communities." Points four through six set goals for: housing "fit for the shelter of human beings"; education that revealed the "true nature of [the] decadent American society"; and "completely free health care for all black and oppressed people." Point seven addressed the end of police brutality and murder of blacks, "other people of color" and other oppressed populations domestically, and point eight addressed the end of international "wars of

aggression." Point nine called for the release of "all black and oppressed people" in all prisons and jails and future trials by a true jury of peers. Finally, point 10 demanded, "land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice, peace and…community control of modern technology." After each of the 10 points, language explaining the positions was strikingly similar to the US Declaration of Independence (The Black Panther Party, November 23, 1967). Yet, each of the demands was beyond the scope of a republican government and capitalist market. Thus, the collective demands could only be achieved through the use of a military organization (as described above), community action, and appealing to sympathizers worldwide.

Through community action endeavors, the BPP realized the impact of class inequality on the inner-city youth and began to offer a self-serving, comprehensive solution. This started with the BPP's "To Feed Our Children" which described the Free Breakfast for School Children as a national program about nutrition, health, and aid and how it was run through donations of concerned people and business. Yet, businesses were not doing enough as they "leech[ed]" off of the black community." Thanks to the BPP, the children ate while remembering when they went hungry, and the program fostered a great improvement of academic skills as seen in test scores. There was a call for help to make the program national and permanent (The Black Panther Party, March 26, 1969). Another article, "Serving the People," detailed how the BPP was offering a solution to the problems created by colonization. It indicated that the Party was formed to serve people heart and soul and that it exhibited faith through love for people. The article then attempted to heighten awareness for the need

for government "eclipse." To do so, the BPP was to be ridden like "ox" by the people to obtain the people's needs of "land, bread, housing, education, freedom, clothing, justice, and peace." The article described the "pimping of the people" by capitalism and the cultural nationalist organization "US"—the latter by taking money and doing hunger surveys on people (The Black Panther Party, April 6, 1969). This article proposed that BPP was the only real solution for inner-city, impoverished blacks.

According to the "The Black Party Research Project" (1999), the Party headed 65 community programs and services from 1966 through 1982—including a variety of youth programs, health, nutrition, and disease awareness programs, legal aid programs, housing, food pantry, and clothing programs, and even sports programs. Yet, the Party remains remembered mostly for their radical and militant positions. These positions were transformed from a local membership in Oakland to most major American cities in the West Coast, East Coast, and Midwest regions. According to The Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation (2012):

> The Party expanded from a small Oakland based organization to a national organization, as black youth in 48 states formed chapters of the Party. In addition, Black Panther coalition and support groups began to spring up internationally, in Japan, China, France, England, Germany, Sweden, in Mozambique, South Africa, Zimbabwe, Uruguay and elsewhere, including, even, in Israel.

There is evidence the BPP shifted slightly from a local-community based message to a message of international revolution. Newton's "Let Us Hold High the Banner of Intercommunalism…" defined a nation as "economic, independences, cultural determination, control of political institutions, territorial integrity, and survival." The BPP started as a Black Nationalist party to achieve these aims, then turned into

revolutionary nationalist organization (nationalism and socialism), then turned into internationalists, and now were "intercommunalists"—because nations were now seen as the community unit of the world. Newton argued that there was very little difference between North America and Vietnam, the Chinese community in San Francisco and Hong Kong, or the black community in Harlem or Angola, South Africa, or Mozambique. Newton then used the example of author Alex Haley who was searching for his past in Africa but instead found mass media, and Newton explained how this example proved that we could not think of separate nations. In addition, advancements in transportation and the lack of wars (which were now called "police actions") contributed to this inability to identify separate nations. Finally, Newton turned to arguments over the term colony because the black colony was not a nation, but it was a collection of communities in America (Newton, November 18, 1970). This new framework was proposed at a time when the BPP was beginning to lose its members to COINTELPRO infiltration and entrances into electoral politics and educational settings.

The BPP moved into electoral politics to achieve community control. They ran candidates in the East Bay including Oakland and Berkeley. One BPP article described this new involvement in the electoral process to achieve positive gains through collective votes and truly representative and responsive candidates. Since the national "war on poverty" did not work, the BPP ran six local candidates for the Berkeley Board of Directors with community control as their main goal. The Party claimed there was a reactionary response against the BPP candidates and were

ensuing attempts to sabotage their campaigns. However, the members were overwhelmingly successful. Four BPP candidates won, and two BPP candidates "lost"—but to representatives for the "Chicano Community." The overall achievement was that poverty funds would be going back to the people (The Black Panther Party, June 10, 1972). Community leadership was also publicized through alternative schooling in the BPP's "We Want to Set Examples for the Little Children" which described an Oakland Community School graduation with 11 graduates in which they reenacted events from the prior school year. The students had aspirations to become a nurse, doctor, social scientist, mathematician, and professional basketball and football players (The Black Panther, June 18, 1977).

The Demise. The demise of the BPP involved both these entrances into other spheres and the FBI's use of COINTELPRO—which was the latest attempt in a long history of attempting to stem communist threats (Jeffreys-Jones, 2007, pp. 170-171), a half-century long effort to destroy Black Nationalists (Riley, 1999, pp.132-133), and a late-1960s efforts to destroy "Black Hate Groups" (Glick, 1989, pp. 77-79). In the late-1960s this was applied to the BPP (Newton, 1980).

The impetus for the creation of the FBI was rooted in the Justice Department detectives attempt at stopping the post-Civil War rise of White Nationalists and further empowered by the Mann Act in 1910 (O'Reilly, 1989, p. 23; Jeffreys-Jones, 2007, pp. 3-38). Yet, much of the FBI's focus and resource spending during the 20th century was devoted to stemming the threat of communism. According to Jeffreys-Jones (2007, pp. 170-171), the first instance of anti-communist COINTELPRO

intervention lasted from 1956 until 1971, was launched against the Communist Party USA, and consisted of half of the total COINTELPRO operations ("1,388 separate actions out of a total of 2,370" operations). Techniques included "mail interception, electronic surveillance…and forged documents designed to indicate that a target was an FBI informer when he was not." In addition, new techniques such as "tax harassment" via Internal Revenue Service audits were also used. A second anti-communist COINTELPRO operation was launched against the Socialist Workers Party in 1961 (Jeffreys-Jones, 2007, p. 170). While the FBI launched COINTELPRO White-Hate to continue its efforts against White Nationalist terrorism, the FBI was also heavily engaged in the Black-Hate COINTELPRO operations (pp. 170-171).

In fact, the use of the FBI against black organizations began as early as the 1920s, and many of the techniques were developed in campaigns against communism. In the FBI's infancy, President Woodrow Wilson used the organization to take down existing Black Nationalist organizations led by Marcus Garvey. Riley (1999, p. 132) has described Wilson's fear of the "poison of revolt" and his "institutionalized effort" to stop Garvey's smaller black socialist movement rather than the much larger National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). Riley has argued that the growth of the FBI was a tool for the President's domestic war against Garvey, using the Bureau of Investigation to "cripple" Garvey's movement (p. 132). The federal government's campaign against Garvey was an immense abuse of power. As Riley (p. 134) has written:

> Garvey's imprisonment, and his later deportation, testified to the power of a burgeoning surveillance bureaucracy in the United States. That presidents and

> their agents put to political use such domestic intelligence agencies would have come as to no surprise to those present at the creation of the Bureau of Investigation and subjected to its initial foray in to American politics.

Years later**,** President Herbert Hoover investigated NAACP after it derailed Judge John J. Parker's Supreme Court nomination (pp. 132-133). Thus, the use of the FBI by the president to rid the nation of black militant and separatist groups was a reoccurring theme between the 1920s and 1970s—alongside the reoccurring theme of Black Nationalism.

Under late-1960s COINTELPRO surveillance, the government had moved from a "focus on tailing, disrupting, and attempting to discredit the [Civil Rights] movement leadership, namely Martin Luther King, Jr" to expanding their objectives on August 25, 1967 to include the black power movement (Reeves, 2008, pp. 9-11). In particular, COINTELPRO attempted to "prevent the rise of a black messiah' who could unify, and electrify the militant black nationalist movement" (p. 11).

A document obtained under the Freedom of Information Act indicated the circulation between August 25, 1967 and March 4, 1968 of a covert attempt to "neutralize…black nationalist, hate-type organizations." In particular, the document urged that: "No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organization and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups and where possible an effort should be made to capitalize upon existing conflicts between competing black nationalist organizations." The program had five "long-goals"

1. Prevent the COALITION of militant black nationalist groups.

2. Prevent the RISE OF A "MESSIAH" who could unify, and electrify, the militant black nationalist movement.
3. Prevent VIOLENCE on the part of black nationalist groups.
4. Prevent militant black nationalist groups and leaders from gaining RESPECTABILITY, by discrediting them to three separate segments of the community.
5. [P]revent the long-range GROWTH of militant black organization, especially among youth. (Glick, 1989, pp. 77-79, emphasis in original)

The first goal attempted to prevent unity and the potential strength of a "Black revolutionary army" in the US. The second goal tried to identify the potential black messiah but eliminated Malcolm X as a recent martyr, Martin Luther King, Jr. (MLK) due to his "supposed 'obedience' to 'white, liberal doctrines," and Elijah Muhammad due to age. Carmichael, however, had "the necessary charisma to be a real threat." In addition, if MLK moved to "embrace black nationalism," he too would be a major threat to take on this role. The third goal—to prevent violence—was an effort to identify "potential troublemakers" and to "neutralize them before they exercise[d] their potential for violence." The fourth goal attempted to discredit group and leaders to "the responsible Negro community," "the white community," and "in the eyes of Negro radicals." For the last community, the document urged that "publicity about violent tendencies and racial statements merely enhance[d] black nationalists" to this community and added "respectability." Finally, the fifth goal attempted to use "specific tactics" to prevent conversion of "young people" to the militant Black Nationalist organizations (pp. 77-79).

At the end of the document, specific groups—SNCC, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), RAM, and the NOI—and specific leaders (Carmichael and Brown of SNCC, MLK of SCLC, Maxwell Stanford of RAM, and

Muhammad of NOI) were outlined as targets (p. 79). Although the document did not make any specific reference to the BPP, the Party's goals, leadership, ideological position, and techniques clearly fit within the scope of threats. As discussed earlier, the NOI, RAM, and Carmichael were major influences on the establishment of the BPP. Thus, the Party was the perfect target for such COINTELPRO operations.

To Newton, the intervention by authorities was recognized as a war; he stated: "[T]he war against the Black Panther Party was a logical extension of ongoing police intelligence practices intensified by the explosive situation in American cities during the last sixteen years" (Newton, 1980). Since the local police forces were ineffective in destroying the BPP, the FBI began to apply the aforementioned techniques to the fairly recently formed Party. Newton explained:

> Specifically, the FBI engaged in or encouraged a variety of actions intended to cause (and in fact causing) deaths of BPP members, loss of membership and community support, draining of revenues from the Party, false arrests of members and supporters, and defamatory discrediting of constructive Party programs and leaders (Newton, 1980).

In other words, Newton personally witnessed the attempts to "neutralize," discredit, and unlawfully detain party members. He aimed to "illustrate" these attempts. In addition, the efforts to destroy Party programs and financial stability were also mentioned. Yet, Newton's criticism of the COINTELPRO efforts was not limited to his personal and Party experience. He stated that the past sixteen years (1964-1980) were not an anomaly: "Not only are the tactics of infiltration, harassment, and disinformation time-tested, but the tacticians are veterans" (Newton, 1980).

Newton was astute in noting that the use of a national, secret police force (the

FBI) against black organizations by the President was not a new technique. The recent COINTELPRO Black-Hate initiative had been tested on SNCC, SCLC, RAM, and the NOI and was simply intensified and applied to the BPP using proven tactics.

In Oakland, this meant using the following tactics to stop the BPP: discrediting the leadership by "using informers and anonymous or forged letters and phone calls to falsely suggest that certain Panthers were police informers," wiretaps, Panther squads out of the FBI office in San Francisco (and all active local chapters of the BPP with a FBI office), and Attorney General John Mitchell's creation of a "Special Panther Unit" to investigate the Panthers under the Smith Act of 1940 and a Anti-Riot Act of 1967 (Goldstein, 2001, pp. 523-526).

There is evidence that the application of these tactics to non-Oakland chapters was more effective between 1969-1971 than its application in Oakland. In particular, the Los Angeles chapter was raided twice, the Chicago, IL office was raided four times, and the New York City office was charged with conspiracy. In Oakland, the arrest of Newton in 1967 for shooting and killing a police officer is the main evidence of any infiltration prior to 1971 (O'Reilly, 1989, pp. 298-324; Goldstein, 2001, pp. 523-530)—although the threat and suspicion of FBI infiltration constantly loomed.

The tactics above resulted in "forcing the Party to devote much of its resources to legal defense funds and paying tickets, fines, and bail-bond premiums" and were partly responsible for Panther arrests and shootouts with the police (Carpini, 2000, p. 195).

The Oakland headquarters remained officially active until 1980 (although it only had

50 members) and the BPP's Oakland School Project (OCS) remained open until 1982 (p. 195). Oakland was not only the start of the Party, but also was also its end.

A list of factors contributed the Party's fall including: BPP expansion to US cities; the BPP running of Seale's high-profile electoral campaign for Mayor and a full list of candidates for the Oakland City council; growing discontent from remaining radical and militant BPP members; and Newton's well-known drug and alcohol abuse and violent volatility. As Table 7 shows, BPP expansion was a high priority. This expense, along with the electoral campaign expenses (and the result of disillusioned members) proved to be insurmountable strategic mistakes.

Table 7: Partial Listing of US BPP Chapters and Affiliates in addition to the West Oakland Headquarter (Listed Alphabetically by State and City)

CALIFORNIA - Bakersfield, Berkeley, Compton, East Palo Alto, Fresno, Los Angeles, Watts. Marin City, Oakland (East), Richmond, Riverside, Sacramento, San Diego, San Francisco, San Quentin, Santa Ana, Vallejo
COLORADO - Denver
CONNECTICUT - Bridgeport, Harford, New Haven
DELAWARE - Dover
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA - Washington
ILLINOIS – Chicago, East St. Louis, Peoria, Rockford
NEW JERSEY - Atlantic City, Jersey City, New Brunswick, Newark
INDIANA - Indianapolis
IOWA - Des Moines
LOUISIANA - New Orleans
MARYLAND - Baltimore
MASSACHUSETTS - Boston, Cambridge, New Bedford
MICHIGAN- Detroit, Flint
MINNESOTA - Minneapolis
MISSISSIPPI - Cleveland
MISSOURI - Kansas City
NEBRASKA - Omaha
TENNESSEE - Chattanooga, Memphis
NEW YORK - Albany, Buffalo, Mount Vernon, New York City, Bronx, Brooklyn, Corona, Harlem, Jamaica, Washington Heights, Peekskill
NORTH CAROLINA - Wilmington, Winston-Salem
OHIO - Cincinnati, Cleveland, Columbus, Dayton, Toledo
OKLAHOMA - Tulsa
OREGON - Eugene, Portland
PENNSYLVANIA - Harrisburg, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh

TEXAS - Dallas, Houston
WASHINGTON - Seattle, Tacoma
WISCONSIN – Milwaukee
Source: It's About Time (1998-2012c)

5. BPP Use of Key BNM, BPM, and BAM Components

The BPP used Black Power ideology to create a Northwest version known as *revolutionary Black Nationalism* that could not be accommodated by American democracy or capitalism. The BPP's strategic use of both print and multi- media to convey day-to-day messages of oppression further distinguished this group from other BNMs. The BPP newsletters and statements, presented not only a sort of play-by-play description of life in urban America for blacks and oppressed peoples, but also a provided a constant diagnosis of the problem (capitalism) and its symptoms (racism and oppression). Furthermore, the Party used fear tactics in their newsletters and media appearances.

The BPP was related to other Black Nationalist organizations in their effort to eradicate racism, yet the BPP used *revolutionary Black Nationalism* as new and different strategy to deal with the source of racism and oppression—capitalism. In *Black is a Country,* Nikhil Pal Singh (2004, p. 206) has contextualized the Panthers in relationship to the CRM marchers and freedom riders by first noting some key similarities: "[They] were engaged in a war of conscience aimed at transfiguring a historical system of black shame into one of pride and empowerment." However, the BPP began by emphasizing "urban policing and self-defense" and deterring other Black Nationalist options—such as "the mainstream civil rights movement, and the

black separatism and cultural nationalism" due to their relationship with capitalism. Changes in the political environment of the late-1960s revealed signs of racism and fear in the explosion of radical and militant black politics. This Northwest turn of the CRM "stalled" when it confronted different "problems of black urbanity" and "seething ghetto resentment" (p. 5).

The goal of *revolutionary Black Nationalism* rejected *bourgeois reformism* (negatively connoted as *reactionary Black Nationalism*) because political power within a corrupt system would not offer comprehensive change. *Racial solidarity*, *cultural nationalism*, and *religious nationalism,* were rejected because they were seen as ineffective strategies in achieving freedom for blacks and instead offered false hope—the first two in merely connecting blacks around a common custom, costumes, and name changes and the third through religious transformation and discipline. *Emigrationism,* and *Pan Negroism/Pan-Africanism* were largely ignored as comprehensive solutions to achieve true freedom for blacks because worldwide capitalism—or imperialism—would continue to operate.

So, the BPP was based on offering other options to black Americans. The Party understood "internal colonialism" as a means to define the long-lasting effects of colonialism, as a real institutional division, and as an explanation for the condition of blacks in America. However, under the vision of *territorial separatism*, the Party also presented a solution (socialist revolution) as method of dealing with this problem Literature on the use of "internal colonization" clarified how the BPP used the framework to describe their predicament.

Robert Blauner (1969, pp. 395-396) has located the definition, time period, and the similarities between the process of internal colonization and classical colonization. “Internal colonization” was defined in relation to “classical colonialism” because there was a “common *process* of social oppression...in the two contexts” (p. 396). In 1968 and 1969 “a full-blown elaboration of ‘internal colonialism” emerged as Senator McCarthy “habitually refer[red] to Black Americans as a colonized people during his campaign” (p. 395). The two forms of colonization shared quite a few key components—namely, forced, involuntary entry, a strategy of power carried out by the colonizing power, administration by representatives of colonizing power over the colonized population, and racism to exploit, control, and oppress the colonized population (p. 396).

Ramón Gutiérrez (2004, p. 281) has located the historical roots of “internal colonization” in Latin American dependency theory. He defined internal colonization as “an American theory of race from approximately 1950 to the early 1990s.” The theory’s origins, however, could be traced back to Latin America as a piece of “a larger Marxist critique of development ideologies…elaborated by dependency theorists to explain the racial effects of poverty and isolation on indigenous communities.” The theory gained momentum as Black Nationalists and Chicano radicals “embraced, transformed, and further elaborated” the concept to explain their status—specifically “forced enslavement and military occupation.” Gutiérrez also contended that the theory gained its “greatest popularity during the radicalization of the Civil rights movement in the late 1960s and early 1970s.” However, by the 1980s

this theory was "abandoned in favor of more accommodationist politics and ideas." This abandonment also included a rising rich and middle class of blacks as well as the destruction of the BPM through federal, state, and local agencies.

For the BPP, *socialist economic nationalism* would extend their brand of freedom to all oppressed people worldwide. The term applied the Marxist critique of capitalism, the Leninist critique of imperialism, and the Maoist methods of peasant revolution to blacks in America, blacks worldwide, and then to all oppressed people worldwide. Drawing from the history of socialist revolutions, this position also held that the only probable way of achieve this was by using violence as a currency. Here it becomes difficult to solely define the BPP as a black organization—as their campaigns against capitalism and imperialism extended to those oppressed by race, poverty, gender, and even sexual orientation.

Although *revolutionary Black Nationalism, territorial separatism,* and *socialist economic nationalism* become key components of the BPP struggle, the most important distinction between the BPP and other Black Nationalist groups was the BPP's rejection of *capitalist economic nationalism* in favor of *socialist economic nationalism* and the willingness to use violence to achieve their goals. As Marcus Reeves (2008) wrote: "Taking up arms, the BPP organized around the concept of *revolutionary nationalism*, the idea that a community should govern, feed, and protect itself against any threatening force (i.e., the police)" (p. 11, original emphasis). This duality—between guns and butter—was apparent throughout the history of the Party.

The Black Panther newsletter used violent imagery, internal colonization rhetoric, and warfare terminology to attract young, black men and boys to their movement.

6. Recontexualization of the BPM and the BPP

Currently, much of the literature and multimedia attempts to "recontextualize" the BPP, BNM, BPM, and BAM, often linking the amalgamation to rap music. One such example is Swedish director Goran Hugo Olsson's *Black Power Mixtape 1967-75* (2011), which focused on how the movement was perceived from outsiders. The film provided an excellent overview of the time period, but it also combined the BPP, BNM, BPM, and BAM as a largely inseparable entity of Black Power. By focusing heavily on Stokely Carmichael, a leader who arguably encompassed elements of each movement, the film achieved a perception of an aggregate struggle. For instance, the Carmichael clips ranged from a conversation of the 1956 Bus Boycott and his respect for MLK's importance to a discussion of going to jail for the first time in Mississippi. In the case of the latter discussion, he claimed: "I was born in jail" and rapped phrases such as "This is for the FBI." During these scenes, audio commentary from current rappers and musicians, entertainers, and academics provided contemporary contexualization. For example, politically- and socially- conscious rapper Talib Kweli told the following story: he was walking through airport security while listening to a Carmichael speech in his headphones, and the FBI intercepted a "bug" and detained him for questioning about the overthrow of the government. The film's depiction of Carmichael identified him as an advocate of basic rights, a man willing to use

militancy, a poet, and even a comedian (as he continually pressed his own mother to answer why they did not have any money growing up).

The Black Power Mixtape also presented MLK as misunderstood, which again, compressed elements of CRM and BPM strategies. The commentary even made the insinuation that his assassination was a result of him "tampering with the playground of the wealthy" and "exposing the demons of America" by his turn a class-driven and anti-Vietnam War perspective. This ideological shift by MLK (among others) has been discussed as a "liberal disillusionment" by Dawson (2001, pp. 273-319). It should also be noted that the COINTELPRO-Black Hate initiative discussed earlier in this chapter dismissed MLK as a potential "black messiah" due to his alignment with "white, liberal doctrine," but feared that he could move to "embrace black nationalism." The same initiative made it clear that Carmichael was the most realistic candidate to assume the role of "the black messiah" (Glick, 1989, pp. 77-79).

Before *The Black Power Mixtape* (2011) turned to Oakland, it attempted to demonstrate the mood of US inner-cities. Robin D.G. Kelley explained that between 1968 and 1972, there were over 300 urban rebellions, and each of these was caused by police intervention. Yet, the documentary presented the Panthers as mostly focused on class issues (the oppressed people versus the oppressor) instead of the BPP versus the police. The film reinforced this by documenting how California Governor Ronald Reagan and US President Richard Nixon were trying to send Angela Davis to the "death chair" as an example. Towards the end of the

documentary, it suggested that the black community was flooded with drugs to stop the BPM. In one vivid scene, we were presented with a police officer pronouncing that a deceased (black) body was "one less."

In a review of the documentary, journalist David D'Arcy wrote: "Selective and nostalgic, it revisits an era when Black Americans were more likely to be running from police than running for US president…The documentary seems targeted at the audience that can't be expected to remember events and personalities that it never knew" (D'Arcy, January 31, 2011). Indeed, this mixtape format clearly used the prominent vehicle of rap music to revisit and reframe the messages of the BPP. However, as a teaching tool, it merged the more radical elements of the CRM (MLK's "liberal disillusionment") with Black Power. In addition, its focus on largely foreign reception of "the movement" added little to the framework, theoretical underpinnings, and nuances of the BPM's diversity. In place of definitions and complexities of the BPM, the director focused on how the movement was perceived in Sweden. This is akin to the focus on reception led by the "black public spheres" approach (as discussed in the framework section of my Introduction). This foreign reception approach was removed from the 300-plus cities that dealt with police repression, and there was never really a political examination of any of the BPM tenants. Yet, to date, it is one of the most efficient documentaries in reconsidering Black Power.

Examining the relationship between Black Power and popular music is another impetus for recent "recontexualizations." An example of this approach

includes the literature on rap music's foundation in Black Power. A recent connection between Black Power and radical (and thus marginalized music) and activism has been made in Pat Thomas' *Listen Whitey!: the Sights and Sounds of Black Power 1964-1975* (2012). His work brought a series of points to light, including the need to excavate products because they were deemed too militant or radical during their emergence *and* the mischaracterization (even demonization) of Black Power groups—*especially* the BPP and BLA.

Peniel E. Joseph has written extensively about reconsidering the BPM. In one study he stressed that each BPM "organization claimed to be the true heir of Malcolm X" (Joseph, 2006, p. 69). When we consider Malcolm X's appeal to marginalized black youth, his days of hustling nearly every form of narcotic and performing nearly every other hustle, his infamous snapshot while clutching a firearm and staring out of his curtain, his public assassination and resultant martyrdom, his charismatic speeches, and his sound bite expressions such as "By Any Means Necessary," claiming to be the rightful heir would be the ultimate urban positioning for a Black Power organization. In addition, we must also consider that his trip to Mecca, human rights concerns, and religious transformation(s) and commitment(s) would make him appealing to nonviolent Black Power groups. The BPP was just one of the many (and the latest) group vying for the rightful heir claim. Elsewhere Joseph (2010, p. 28) has explained that: "The Oakland-based Panthers traded bravado for experience, substituting showmanship—complete with shotguns, pistols, and bandoliers—in order to publicize an embryonic antiracist agenda that would soon transform

America." The Panthers were one of the few groups to have a Civil Rights/Racial Justice luminary join their cause when Carmichael joined as an "honorary" leader. Yet, Joseph argued that the BPP "ignored critical aspects" learned from Carmichael's Lowndes County expertise, and instead sought to "will [a] world into being." In addition, the diverse composition of the BPP membership included "reformed troublemakers, college students, and ex-cons," and they were willing to carry arms and learn the firearm legal code. The visionary (both positively and negatively connoted) nature of the Panthers set them apart from other groups. Moreover, they were asking for a bodily and intellectual commitment, whereas some BPM groups still dealt with religion.

Another crucial element to the BPP legacy was *The Black Panther*. As Rhodes (2011) has argued, the "radical underground publication" branded the movement with a "snarling blackcat logo and the image of rifle-toting Huey Newton in beret and black leather." Rhodes' "recontexualization" centered on the 1991 resurrection of the newsletter, and she attempted to give an alterative history of the Party so often characterized as "violent street thugs, anti-democratic anarchists, or misguided pseudo-Marxists." While this endeavor (both by the 1991 resurrection of the newsletter and by Rhodes' article) succeeded in treating the Panthers with a fair historical evaluation, the mischaracterization of the Party was certainly appealing to some marginalized black and poor youth. These mischaracterizations could also be the reason why we are still talking about the Panthers today. In other words, their urban appeal and folklore could lie entirely in these portrayals. Similarly, these (BPP

and BLA) portrayals of "armed struggle" could also be a factor towards a trend of underground movements being "ignored by mainstream academia as part of its larger bias against the Black Power Movement" (Faraj, 2007, p. 8).

When we "recontextualize" the Panthers, we are left with a range of actors, political methods, and outcomes, but we are left with one official newsletter. This official Party literature remains as their continued contribution to Black Power discourse.

7. Conclusion

The story of the BPP's emergence, history, and fall is an example of Black Nationalism at an end. The BPP fit neatly under both the COINTELPRO Black-Hate campaigns and the anti-communist campaigns. In addition, the Party's open willingness to use force added the fears of militancy and political insurrection to the list of the FBI's grievances. The use of community programs also created dangers of rapid expansion and recruitment of urban inhabitants. When the BPP message gained visibility, an audience, and subscribers, it was targeted by the FBI and destroyed leaving behind a void to be filled by two major and different trends—early street gangs and early hip-hop culture. While the former is a topic for another project, the later is the focus of this project and the next chapter.

After the targeting and shifts of Black Nationalists groups and leaders: "The end result was the deterioration of vanguard organizations, many of which were constantly mired in turmoil, battling the police, other organizations, their own members, or numerous court cases" (Reeves, 2008, p. 11). Meanwhile, the gains in

politics from the CRM largely meant new "brokers" and "white flight" (p. 12). Within this new urban environment, rap became a "hard-rock vessel carrying the hopes, anger, disappointments, attitude, and history of post-black power America" (p. xii).

My next chapter describes the emergence and development of this "vessel," and the remainder of my study analyzes the differences between the national "vessel" and the local "vessel" in Oakland.

Chapter 2: The Origins and Development of Rap

1. Introduction

This chapter employs a critical literature review of current and canonical rap studies and challenges three commonly held notions about rap music; these key misconceptions have limited the potential gains from an intensive locale study. First, by examining the historical emergence of *gangsta rap* within the context of *quotidian* subgenres, I debunk the notion that it appeared after *socially conscious rap* and that it is responsible for ruining hip-hop culture. *Gangsta rap* emerged as early as 1983 and evolved directly from *reality rap* before the *socially-* and *politically- conscious* forms took shape in the mid- to late- 1980s. Second, by directly connecting *gangsta rap* to Black Nationalism, I address the notion that *gangsta rap* was less political than other forms of rap music. *Gangsta rap* was often filled with subversive messages hidden below militant and objectionable language, and rap scholars should take its content seriously as a critical discourse. Third, by examining the local music scene literature, I question the notion that *gangsta rap's* mainstream incarnation was an accurate reflection of the subgenre and that local artists merely mimicked the mainstream artists by posing as "thugs."

My investigation is divided into five parts specifically focusing on rap music's: (1) historical development from a back alley subculture into two exported forms (*party rap* and *reality rap*); (2) thematic development through the *quotidian* subgenres of *gangsta, politically conscious, socially conscious*, and *alternative rap*; (3) popular and commercial development into a macro, mass-market commodity

despite its once polemic historical and thematic roots; (4) use in local scenes domestically and internationally as illustrations of its appropriation on a micro level; and (5) political, economic, and cultural setting in Oakland during the album (1980-1999) and single (2000-2010) stages.

My analysis of the local setting in this chapter sets up my discussion of the next three empirical chapters. Throughout these chapters, the connection between local rap and the BPP is understood as both an evolution and as a negation. As an evolution, one can look at the trajectories of *reality-based* subgenres which all use *quotidian* narratives as a means of transforming subaltern positions into sources of power. As a negation, the treatment of capitalism by rap artists greatly differed from the BPP use.

Since Oakland was largely devoid of local examples of rap music in the construction era (late-1970s), it was largely devoid of *party rap* in early local development. Thus, a set of very important factors insulated Oakland rap music's early and subsequent development. These included: (1) the legacy of the central BPP headquarters; (2) the emergence during the outset of *gangsta rap* and distance from both New York City (NY) and Los Angeles, CA (LA) rap centers; and (3) the proximity of technological headquarters fostering a culture of creativity and difference. Underground rap music was thus created as a parallel, political (and oftentimes) outlaw discourse and differed functionally from popularized and commercialized rap music. The BPP's legacy is explored in chapter three, the local

emergence is explored in chapter four, and the culture of creativity and difference is explored in chapter five.

2. The Construction (*Party* and *Reality Rap*)

Historically, rap music began as a South Bronx, NY construction of Black Power message and dub style and grew into a popularized and commercialized art form. During this transformation, *party rap* remained a driving force in the transmission of rap music, but new forms of *reality rap* continued to emerge including—*gangsta rap*, *socially conscious rap*, *politically conscious rap*, and *alternative rap*. To examine the thematic connections between rap messages and Black Nationalism, it is perhaps most effective to analyze the development of rap subgenres. Within three years of rap's emergence (around 1982), two versions were already apparent—*party rap* and *reality rap*. *Party rap* was the first type of rap music to be exported and made no substantial social, political, or economic claims. It merely introduced the culture to a new, mass audience by proposing dancing and having fun, and it has done so from rap music's inception until today. While *party rap* has remained a predominate style, its general lack of overt political messages steers us toward a focus on *reality rap* as a potential vehicle of political protest.

There is little dispute that the rap story began at the end of the "grassroots muscle" of Black Power organizations. Many of the organizations were smaller or no longer existed—yet had somehow gone worldwide with their struggles. Figures such as Malcolm X, Huey P. Newton, Stokely Carmichael, Elijah Muhammad, Maulana Karenga, Imamu Amiri Baraka, and H. Rap Brown were "giving voice" to the new

movement, and in many ways, their rhetoric spawned a cultivation of self-worth and pride (Reeves, 2008, p. 9). Rap music grew out of the end of this discourse, and the connection between Black Power and rap music should have been explored during rap's infancy—when "rap and black nationalism were being merged" (p. xi). In addition, rap music's roots in inner-city turmoil also invited connections to Black Nationalism. Rap was born of "urban decay" and a response to "abandonment" and "containment" of the South Bronx, but analysis of rap's connection to Black Power would not come until rap "had hit its commercial apex, solidified "itself as a bankable art," and become the "popular voice of America's black, brown, and white, underclass" (p. ix). Temporally, rap was a direct successor to Black Power message—it appeared as the BPP (and other Black Nationalist groups) were disappearing on the streets. However, thematically, rap was not a direct successor. The music created in rap's infancy was at best *reality rap* and perhaps even just *party rap.* In other words, early rap did not sound like a Black Nationalist successor. This is why we need to look at the evolution of the genre and its subgenres to forge a real connection between rap and Black Power.

Rap's connection to dub style, however, is easier to establish. In fact, the emergence of hip-hop culture would not be possible without the roots movement in Jamaica. Jeff Chang (2005) has argued that much more than music was at stake in these Kingston, Jamaica dancehalls. Similar to many others, he understood reggae as "rap music's elder kin" (p. 23). The "studio producer" and "sound system selectors" were of great importance, and this was illustrated by the emergence of "dub plates" in

1967 as: “Early on, selectors made frequent trips to America to secure obscure exclusives. As the Jamaican music industry expanded during the sixties, sound systems began to record local artist’ songs onto exclusive acetates or ‘dubplates” (p. 30). The “dub plates” were largely an accident of history; when a studio hand forgot to “pan up the vocals” in 1967, the dub sound was created. The dub sound’s development was central to Jamaican electoral politics, especially as a source of political information. Yet, this dub style was further developed by local South Bronx DJs such as Kool Herc, Afrika Bambaataa, and Grandmaster Flash, who often applied elements of the dub style to create “loops” (or repeated sounds) from soul artists such as James Brown and Sly Stone.

Although rap music did not begin as a vehicle of political protest, its emergence towards the end of Black Nationalist groups suggests a historical connection between rap and Black Power message. In addition, the poor socio-economic conditions in the South Bronx were evidence of the themes and issues raised by Black Nationalist groups and leaders. The “long hot summer” of 1968 was a “bad season” for the BPP to begin their NY recruitment, and the Panther’s found themselves in a battle with J. Edgar Hoover’s COINTELPRO initiatives. As the BPP was being destroyed, a new process of colonization was occurring in the South Bronx and: “By the end of the [1960s], half the whites were gone from the South Bronx.” When they left they were “fighting back tears” and “stepping on the gas,” and the economic shifts caused shifts in social conditions (Chang, 2005, pp. 12-13). The resulting environment was characterized by disorder: “Here was the unconstructed

South Bronx, a spectacular set of ruins, a mythical wasteland, an infectious disease...[Most] of New York City north of 110th Street was reimagined as a new kind of 'South' a global south just a subway ride away" (p. 17). These social conditions were ripe for street gangs—as gangs added a delegitimized structure and were able to monetize off the "weak, elderly, drug addicts, store-owners, unaffiliated youths, [and] each other" and in short time, became the "real law on the streets" in the eyes of some residents (p. 49). This was a rapid process as: "In three years, the gangs colonized the borough..." Police and media estimated 11,000 members, "70 percent were Puerto Rican, the rest [were] Black" (p. 50). Reeves (2008, p. 15) described a similar environment "eviscerated by arson scams" and resembling a "war-torn planet."

This left two options for empowerment in this post-industrial space—street power through neighborhood gangs *or* a newly emerging style and music. Turning to gang warfare was one option as "there was the resurgence and growing power of street gangs" (p. 14). The other option was a newly emerging style and music. This evolution started during the BPM, with the *Soul Train* (Don Cornelius Productions, 1971-2006) craze fueled by popular music, dancing, and ethnic pride. It was a "street dance movement" composed of "popping," "locking," and "boogaloo" styles (Reeves, 2008, pp. 7-8). The evolution of these new styles became a cultural revolution with the release of the first mainstream rap products on the radio airwaves, circumventing the disparagement of major labels or "their Negro executives in charge of 'black music' departments (many of whom saw no future in 'ghetto music)" (p. 28). As

Darzin wrote in a review of the first hip-hop film *Wild Style* (Ahearn, 1984), hip-hop had finally "hit the big time" (Darzin, February 1984).

Party Rap. There was a clear future in the new musical form. Tricia Rose (1994) has documented the rising popularity of the underground genre into a mainstream phenomenon. She also explained hip-hop's emergence through post-industrial ruins, but focused on a tension between decay and rising technology. In particular, government greed to "reclaim and rebuild downtown business and tourist zones with municipal and federal subsidies exacerbated the already widening gap between classes and races" (p. 27). The conditions were a stark contrast between technological development and urban decay. In the case of the Bronx, Robert Moses's expressway construction helped the trend of vacancies until the 1977 turmoil that "blacked out New York, and hundreds of stores were looted and vandalized" (p. 33).

Meanwhile, the emerging hip-hop crews grew stronger through competitions, fights, and collaborations (pp. 34-35). These trends of hip-hop crews remain a part of hip-hop to this day. The names of participants were a "form of reinvention and self-definition"—while DJ names "fuse[d] technology with mastery and style," rapper names "suggest[ed] street smarts, coolness, power, and supremacy." According to Rose: "Taking on new names and identities offer[ed] 'prestige from below' in the face of limited access to legitimate forms of status attainment." In addition, the crews began to "claim turf and gain local status by developing new styles" (p. 36).

Two clear distinct styles of rap emerged. While *party rap* served a key function of presenting the new culture to new audiences through dance and

participation, *reality rap* served two key functions—both as an outcry against oppression and as means of escaping or coping with the conditions though song. Sugarhill Gang's "Rapper's Delight" (1979) can be seen as the first successful audio export of hip-hop culture and was *party rap*. Kurtis Blow's "The Breaks" (1980) and Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's "The Message" (1982) can be seen as the first successful audio exports of *reality rap*.

In both message and style, there were some differences between Sugarhill Gang's "Rappers Delight" and Kurtis Blow's "The Breaks." While both clearly drew on the early, local popularity of *party rap* by exporting the culture, the former did not rise above it message-wise and failed to make any politically comprehensible claims. The later, however, began a subgenre trajectory of *reality rap* and slightly shifted the message from non-political to a-political music by vividly (and perhaps even humorously) discussing urban problems. In terms of style, "The Breaks" was heralded as the first rap record with a chorus—an important factor in reaching out to new audiences. A lyrical comparison is warranted. Let us look at the first "verse" of "Rapper's Delight":

> I said a hip hop the hippie the hippie / To the hip hip hop, a you don't stop / The rock it to the bang bang boogie say up jumped the boogie / To the rhythm of the boogie, the beat
>
> Now what you hear is not a test—I'm rappin' to the beat / And me, the groove, and my friends are gonna try to move your feet / See I am Wonder Mike and I like to say "Hello" / To the black, to the white, the red, and the brown, the purple and yellow / But first I gotta bang bang the boogie to the boogie / Say up jump the boogie to the bang bang boogie / Let's rock, you don't stop rock the riddle that will make your body rock / Well so far you've heard my voice but I brought two friends along / And next on the mike is my man Hank / Come on, Hank, sing that song (Sugarhill Gang, 1979).

The coinage of the term "hip-hop" has been widely attributed to this record, but as beginning lyrics display, Wonder Mike used the terms "rock," "rhythm," "boogie," and "sing" to describe what he and Hank were doing. There is evidence that within this 15-minute song, the group was actually actively defining the new genre to outsiders. As Chuck D—later of Public Enemy—said:

> I, for one hand, did not think it was conceivable that there would a such thing as a hip-hop record. I could not see it…I'm like 'record,' f*ck it, how you gonna put hip-hop onto a record? Cause it was a whole gig, you know? I mean how you gonna put three hours—two hours—on a record? (DJ D-Sharp + DJ Icewater, 2005).

Chuck D then described his first time hearing "Rapper's Delight." He was on the microphone at a party while Chic's "Good Times" (1979) (the sample or break used to create "Rapper's Delight") was being played. When he heard "Good Times"—one of the most popular songs at the time, he began to speak over it until he noticed the DJ had cut another song in with words being spoken. Chuck D was speaking and rhyming over the song "Rapper's Delight" without knowing it. The next day, "Rapper's Delight" was played on a local radio station, and the gig was over for Chuck D and on for hip-hop.

Reality Rap. Although "Rapper's Delight" was eventually disregarded as inauthentic by many of the local creators of hip-hop, it was arguably the first recognizable popular and commercial form of the newly emerging culture. The genre was still highly experimental and was only beginning to distinguish itself as a new genre different R&B. One year later, Kurtis Blow's "The Breaks" was released. He had become the first rapper signed to a major label (Mercury Records) and had

released “Christmas Rappin” (1979) the same year as the Sugarhill Gang’s groundbreaking record. However, in the year between the release of “Rapper’s Delight” and “The Breaks” there was an immense development of rap music’s message and style. As mentioned earlier, “The Breaks” was the first rap song with a real chorus, hook, or break, and it delved into a set of problems:

> Brakes on a bus brakes on a car / Breaks to make you a superstar / Breaks to win and breaks to lose / But these here breaks will rock your shoes / And these are the breaks / Break it up break it up break it up!
>
> If your woman steps out with another man / (That’s the breaks that’s the breaks) / And she runs off with him to Japan / And the IRS says they want to chat / And you can’t explain why you claimed your cat / And Ma Bell sends you a whopping bill / With eighteen phone calls to Brazil / And you borrowed money from the mob / And yesterday you lost your job / Well, these are the breaks / Break it up, break it up, break it up (Kurtis Blow, 1980).

The chorus played on the term “break,” as a stopping device on a vehicle, as an entrance to stardom, and as a form of luck or chance, before distinguishing the difference between those “brakes/breaks” and the “breaks” of a hip-hop song’s chorus or hook. It was clear, by the expression “rock your shoes” that these breaks were designed to make the listener(s) dance. Yet, it was a painful dance in urban reality. The first verse listed a set of problems experienced by a single individual such as: a cheating woman leaving for Japan with her new partner; accusations of tax evasion or fraud; the expensive nature of telecommunication (possibly caused by the cheating woman contacting her new partner); and borrowing money from the mob and being fired or downsized from one’s job. Although each of these problems was discussed at an individual level rather than a structural level, the aggregate of these problems told the story of an extremely rough last two days—with some problems (such as poverty)

highly characterizing urban existence. In addition to the use of the chorus (which changed slightly each time) and the new topics, the call-and-response format throughout most of the song also increased its outside appeal through listener/audience participation.

Both "Rapper's Delight" and "The Breaks" established important rap message trajectories. In addition to an assortment of songs from Sugarhill Gang affiliates later republished in *The Sugar Hill Story Old School Rap: To the Beat Y'all* (1994) five-album compilation, other artists began to use the vehicle of *party rap.* One such example was Newcleus' "Jam on It" (1984), which was directed towards a crowd and proposed dancing. Following the success of "The Breaks," Kurtis Blow released eight albums and eight major singles or EPs by 1988—all on Mercury Records. Yet, other artists began making *reality rap*, and Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's "The Message" (1982) became the quintessential work in the field.

Again, there were differences between the lyrics and approaches of "Jam on It" and "The Message." The former's first verse was clearly rooted in getting the audience to dance:

> We got what'll make your body jerk / Make you throw your hands up in the air / Shake your booty and scream, "Oh, yeah" / Cause we are the Jam-On Crew / And jammin' on it is how we do the do / We'll funk you up until you boogie down / So come on people check out the sound (Newcleus, 1984).

The chorus simply repeated the lines "Jam on it" and urged the audience to get on the dance floor. "The Message," however, presented a deeply troubling picture of the inner-city in the first lines of the opening verse:

> A child was born, with no state of mind / Blind to the ways of mankind / God is smiling on you but he's frownin' too / Cause only god knows what you go through / You'll grow in the ghetto, living second rate / And your eyes will sing a song of deep hate / The places you play and where you stay / Looks like one great big alley way…It's like a jungle, sometimes I wonder / How I keep from going under (Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five, 1982).

This portion of the opening verse uncovered the collision between innocence (the child) and post-industrial, ghetto ruins. The chorus presented a urban trap by repeating the lines "Don't push me / Cause I'm close to the edge / I'm try-ing not to lose my head / It's like a jungle sometimes / It makes me wonder / If it's gonna take me under" (Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five, 1982).

However, rap music was still in its infancy in terms of both message and style and was largely considered to be a localized, passing trend. From the mid-1980s through the early-1990s, rap music's initial introduction into popular culture was driven by the subgenre of *party rap*—prior to the arrival of the increasingly predominate subgenres associated with *reality rap*. The significant *party rap* successors included: Whodini's description of hip-hop subculture on "Freaks Come Out at Night" (1984); Fat Boy's comedic, self-deprecating, and self-titled single and album (1984); LL Cool J's edgy introduction to fast-paced lyricism on "Radio" (1985); Doug E. Fresh & The Get Fresh Crew's narrative of a hip-hop concert on "The Show" (1985); Mantronix's use of deep turntablism in a commercial dance music format on "Bassline" (1985); Run DMC's first cross-genre (rock and hip-hop) commercial song and first rap music video on Music Television (MTV) on "Walk this Way" (1986); and certainly the Beastie Boy's definitive song "Brass Monkey" and enormously successful song "(You Gotta) Fight for Your Right (To Party!)" off of the

chart-topping album *Licensed to Ill* (1987). Later, artists such as Vanilla Ice, MC Hammer, and Will Smith further popularized this form of rap music in early-1990s.

Popularization has been used to explain local scenes in general and the Bay Area scene specifically. The transformation of rap music into a mainstream phenomenon and commodity had the potential to undermine the original function of hip-hop as a protest culture. As Douglas Kellner (1995, p. 189) has argued: "[T]he type of rap played on MTV, BET, and other television networks is usually the more watered-down pop version of rap."

However, this popular emergence, has led to a predominately mainstream approach in scholarship. For instance, Chang (2005) has focused on mainstream sounds and traced their background in local-specific contexts to explain their emergence. It was not an effective analysis of street power, and perhaps it was not meant to be. With the exception of the NY/LA cases, he recounted pieces of the mainstream story pointing out that the first rap record label, Def Jam, was a suburban entity created out of "home-owning Queens" and Long Island, NY (2005, pp. 231-232). He connected the New York City suburban (NYCS) scene with White Panther John Sinclair (p. 243) and the LA scene to the BPP (p. 305-305). The BPP's offices, local poetry, the Watts Writers Workshop, and The Watts Prophets' *Rappin' Black in a White World* (1971) were precursors to the LA rap scene (pp. 310-331). Meanwhile, the deadly battle over Black Studies at University of California at Los Angeles between the BPP and the US Organization was ultimately overshadowed by the emergence of the Crips street gang (Chang, 2005, p. 314). The result was a return to

local sounds, as the local youth were "uninterested in white washed hand-me downs" (pp. 320-322). Overall, Chang did locate the LA context well, yet the Oakland/Bay Area scene was nowhere near as comprehensive.

Chang later turned to examining *The Source* rap magazine as the organizing unit for the underground. He claimed that outside of NY, rap music was not yet born in 1988 and was an "unorganized mass of true believers." *The Source* started as a trade magazine focused on giving publicity to artists from "regional scenes" in exchange for grassroots promotion. This, he argued gave the magazine an "insider-intelligence" and a "backbone of legitimacy" (pp. 410-413). In 1992, *The Source* changed its mission to culture and politics instead of the local scene approach.

Chang argued that college campuses became the "hub of the local underground" (p. 422) with grassroots groups such as the Bay Area Hip-hop Coalition consolidating local scenes. He worked to point out the Bay Area's alternative history with book vendors selling Howard Zinn and Ward Churchill. In the mid-1980s, an array of local Bay Area radio stations (KPOO, KZSU, KUSF, and KALX) were transformed because KMEL "desperately needed street credibility" and recruited locally-established DJs around 1988. The media conglomeration through local DJs launched the careers of 2Pac, MC Hammer, Digital Underground, Too $hort, Eazy-E, and became the number two hip-hop market in the country. In 1992, there was a dual between KMEL and an emerging newcomer (KYLD), the later focused on breaking new records on DJ mixshows. According to Chang, there was a "massive growth in the local urban radio audience" (p. 440-441). In 1996, the

Telecom Act provided clear benefits for Clear Channel alongside independent labels outselling major labels. He then compared this to R&B music in the 1950s (p. 440-441).

Yet, Chang's analysis was limited in the following ways. First and foremost, power within the local scene went un-contextualized. Second, the Oakland, East Bay, and San Francisco Bay Area scene were not differentiated. Third, he gave very little credit to the underground rappers' role in transforming the Bay Area sound. As a whole, Chang did not evaluation underground recordings—let alone their political content. Another critical issue is the timing of the shift he discussed. Out of my Oakland/East Bay sound bank (Appendix A-2), 10% of the albums were released in or before 1988, 38% of the albums were released in or before 1992, and 94% of the albums were released in or before 1996. Only 6% of the albums in my sound bank were released after or during 1997. These were just Oakland/East Bay Area sources; I did not consult the San Francisco scene from 1985-1999 in gathering these sources. So, there was: a strong, active local scene prior to the 1988 KMEL push; a well-established local scene prior to the 1992 KYLD; and a fully functioning scene by the 1996 Clear Channel takeover. I defined the percentages above by both the year *of* and the years *prior* to the radio changes. This is where knowledge of the recoding process helps. These albums took months—perhaps close to a year—of planning, funding, and time (production, writing, recording, mixing, editing, and mastering). So, the products above were likely in the works before the radio changes. The irony here is that Chang was both a prominent DJ and founder of the independent Soleside

recording label. Still, his book remains as one of the more comprehensive approaches to the story of hip-hop.

Reeves located the Oakland scene through MC Hammer (2008, p. 112) and located 2Pac in LA around 1993 (p. 155). He tied the latter back to a "genetic, albeit romanticized, link to the 1960s struggle of black nationalism" (p. 157). Reeves also located 2Pac in Marin, CA (and referred to his Interscope label recordings), but the author never placed him back in Oakland. Instead, he put him within the LA "rebellion" (pp. 164-166). Overall, Reeves' text was centered on mainstream rappers by linking the BPM and BNM through a "New Afro-Urban Movement."

Both Chang and Reeves rendered the local as merely a passing trend towards national/international celebrity. Local struggle, and consequently local, political struggle was left unexplained at best. In the worst cases, its omission rendered it meaningless. Yet, the causes of the problems were unique. Chang was sometimes too specific and got lost in case studies. Reeves, on the other hand, was too general. Still, there is plenty to learn from each analysis. Chang's detail has provided us with a wealth of information regarding how artists developed into mainstream products. Reeves' "big picture" connection between rap and the BPP was an impetus for my study.

Party rap's popular appeal in the 1980s threatened to "water down" rap music. Yet, the emergence of new *reality rap*-based styles and messages delayed such a process. Since rap music was still only initially developing as a widespread popularized and commercialized phenomenon, was still considered to be largely a

production of local, inner-city subcultures, and was only beginning to be consumed by other demographics, the *reality rap* subgenres drove a further evolution of marginalized inner-city statements through *quotidian* narratives just before rap was to become popular and commercial. The new style of *reality rap* began crafting a storytelling function out of the *party rap* format to document examples of urban poverty, vulnerability, and turmoil in inner-city locales. Although the earliest instances did not present a systematic critique or offer a comprehensive solution, they birthed a new role for the music and produced new trajectories. Although *party rap* remained a driving force in the transmission of rap music, new forms of *reality rap* continued to emerge including—*gangsta rap*, *socially conscious rap*, *politically conscious rap*, and *alternative rap*.

3. The Evolution of *Quotidian* Subgenres (*Gangsta, Socially Conscious, Politically Conscious*, and *Alternative Rap*)

Evolving from early *reality rap*, the subgenres of *gangsta rap*, *socially conscious rap*, and *politically conscious rap* were produced in close succession to one another and drew heavily on different elements of Black Nationalism. These subgenres were also trajectories of Black Nationalism in their prevalent use of *quotidian* political narratives through day-to-day accounts often revisiting issues, methods, and themes originally raised by late-1960s and early-1970s Black Power groups and leaders.

The subgenre of *gangsta rap* exposed inequalities through an added shock-value in its ability to display violence, tell stories of urban existence, and place the

listener within urban, militarized space. *Socially conscious rap* emerged shortly after and began highlighting the sources of inequalities—by description and by reflections. During *gangsta rap's* zenith, *politically conscious rap* began to deemphasize violence and warfare as solutions and instead began to push the *socially conscious rap* format to propose overt, structural political solutions to inner-city problems. Finally, *alternative rap* has stood as a collection of unorthodox messages and styles throughout rap's history, but began to gain popular attention in the Digital Age.

Gangsta Rap. In the mid-1980s, *gangsta rap* borrowed elements of blues, funk, and early rap to document the militarization of urban space, present a militarized response from local inhabitants, and propose hustling to make money. *Gangsta rap* began to understand violence as a currency, and in so many ways, the subgenre actively functioned in a journalistic way—holding a mirror to the streets and reflecting the pervasive violence, turmoil, and poverty to the inner-city and rest of America—and sought to become profitable while doing so. There is little dispute as to the major innovators of the subgenre; yet, the perhaps unintentional East Coast creators form quite a contrast to the purposeful West Coast successors.

Philadelphia, PA rapper Schoolly D's "Park Side Killers (PSK What Does it Mean?)" (1985) was hailed as the foundational *gangsta rap* song—even though the message contained in the song was ambiguous (if not accidental). He vaguely communicated a mixture of rapping, violence, and a new street code. The song started with a sound selector pan, break beats, deep turntablist scratching of two phrases

("The Official Adventures" and the word "fresh")—both made popular by early DJs such as Grandmaster Flash. The chorus started:

> PSK, we're makin' that green / People always say, "What the hell does that mean?" / P for the people who can't understand / How one homeboy became a man / S for the way we scream and shout / One by one I'm knockin' you out / K for the way my DJ kuttin' / Other MC's, man, they ain't sayin' nothing / Rockin' on to the brink of dawn / I think, Code Money, yo' time is on (Schoolly D, 1985).

Even while defining the term "PSK," the song still only vaguely referenced a transition into manhood, rapping on the microphone, and deep hip-hop roots. However, the verses began a *quotidian* tale deeply rooted in drugs, violence, and street power. The first verse started with the rapper driving a Mercedes while smoking a joint and drinking beer before approaching a woman (and convincing her to get into the car), getting more beer, more weed, and even some cocaine. After this, he took the woman to her house, had intercourse, and paid her ten dollars. In the second verse, the rapper described driving down Clinton Road (a Northeast Philadelphia street) while again smoking weed. He then received a phone call from his friend who told him about a party on the Southside. Before going to the party, the rapper got his pistols. He went to a bar where he obtained some more cocaine and weed. At the party, he described a "sucker-*ss-n*gg*"who was trying to sound like him, and the rapper threatened to "shoot [him] dead." However, the rapper decided to use his "educated mind" to avoid incarceration and instead commenced to rapping—prompting the imitator to leave.

Although the overall message of the song remained unclear, there were a few pioneering elements to this song. First, the prevalence of drugs, sex, and violence was

transformed into a use value. The rapper was not merely noting the presence of these elements but was instead proposing they had specific uses. Second, the mixture of rapping and street life created an inseparable concoction. For example, instead of using violence to deter the imitator at the party, the rapper decided to outwit him by rapping to embarrass him. Finally, obtaining street-power was a key theme.

Upcoming rappers as far as the West Coast heard "PSK." In an interview later published by legendary hip-hop journalist Davey D, Ice-T recounted the order of the emergence of *gangsta rap* music:

> Here's the exact chronological order of what really went down: The first record that came out along those lines was Schooly D's "P.S.K." Then the syncopation of that rap was used by me when I made Six In The Morning. The vocal delivery was the same: "...P.S.K. is makin' that green," "...six in the morning, police at my door." When I heard that record I was like "Oh sh*t!" and call it a bite or what you will but I dug that record. My record didn't sound like P.S.K., but I liked the way he was flowing with it. P.S.K. was talking about Park Side Killers but it was very vague. That was the only difference, when Schooly did it, it was "...one by one, I'm knockin' em out." All he did was represent a gang on his record. I took that and wrote a record about guns, beating people down, and all that with Six In The Morning. At the same time my single came out, Boogie Down Productions hit with Criminal Minded, which was a gangster-based album. It wasn't about messages or "You Must Learn" it was about gangsterism. That was the New York shit. So there's no question that I was before Eazy because if you go back to 1982 with Cold Wind Madness, I was talking about being "the pimp, the player, the woman-layer," but Six In The Morning would be the first "Gangsta Rap," so to speak (Davey D, 2009).

As Ice-T indicated, two years after the release of "PSK," Boogie Down Productions (rapper KRS One and DJ Scott la Rock) released the full gangsta-themed album *Criminal Minded* (1987). Although most of the songs mixed gangsterism with deep hip-hop-rooted sounds, the song "9mm" was perhaps the most explicit—as the vocals

in the chorus imitated the sound of the handgun contextualized behind a roots-styled chant:

> Buck! Buck! / Wa da da dang / Wa da da da dang (Ay!) / Listen to my 9 millimeter go bang / Wa da da dang / Wa da da da dang (Ay!) / This is KRS-One... (Boogie Down Productions, 1987).

Throughout the song, KRS One was both singing in the background (a series of "La la-la la-la la-la la..la..la...la...la") and rapping in the foreground. At times, the singing overpowered the verses and offered a mockery of gun violence on the streets. In the first verse, the rapper told the story of an encounter between him and a crack dealer named Peter. When Peter accused the rapper of stealing his girl and reached for a pistol, the rapper pulled out a 9 millimeter, "filled him full of lead," and started chanting the chorus above. In the second verse, the rapper was smoking weed when he heard a knock at the door. After ruling out the possibility of the knock being a police officer or a drug fiend, the rapper decided it "had to be a trick." After engaging in a shootout, the rapper found one intruder still alive, shot him in "between his eyes," and started his chant again. In the third verse, the rapper gathered money, met up with his DJ (who was in an "all-black BMW), and connected the dots of the story while the two drove away. His DJ was able to guess two things—that his rapper killed all the intruders and that he chanted the chorus while doing so.

It is interesting that *Criminal Minded* and Ice-T's work practically emerged simultaneously. This is an indication of both the influence of "PSK" and the pervasiveness of street violence on both of America's coasts. Ice-T's description of roaming for ladies (similar to Too $hort's early work) over an electro instrumental on

"Cold Wind-Madness" (1983) evolved into new topics within two years. "Killers" (1985) was a necessary transition point between the cool, laid back "Cold Wind-Madness" and the seminal "6 in the Mornin'" (1987). "Killers" started with a different style—an opening sample of the term "killers" initially sped up to an extremely high-pitched tone and then progressively slowed down to a near halt through turntablism. It also ended with this style of sampling and created a frame (or a book cover) for the story contained within. Lyrically, "Killers" (1985) began a dialogue regarding police brutality, hustling out of necessity, the corrupt legal system, and the need for peace. In the final verse, the rapper even overtly discussed politics:

> Politicians plan for power each and every day / We are all just puppets in the games they play / They manipulate the message to attain their goals / And for simple re-election they will sell their souls / Nuclear supremacy is the ultimate thrill / So our tax we pay is paid for overkill / ….Up to the skies / While we all pray to God the missiles never fly (Ice-T, 1985).

Yet, the first-person narrative was not yet being used in the song. Ice-T was merely observing and articulating the types of killers on the streets. "6 in the Mornin'" drastically changed this position by adapting the first-person narrative to describe eluding the police. There was no spoken chorus; instead we found a heavy drumbeat and many turntable scratches. The first verse (in three segmented parts) presented the storyline:

> 6 n' the mornin' police at my door / Fresh Adidas squeak across the bathroom floor / Out my back window I make a escape / Don't even get a chance to grab my old school tape
>
> Mad with no music but happy 'cause I'm free / And the streets to a player is the place to be / Got a knot in my pocket weighin' at least a grand / Gold on my neck my pistols close at hand

> I'm a self-made monster of the city streets / Remotely controlled by hard hip hop beats / But just livin' in the city is a serious task / Didn't know what the cops wanted / Didn't have the time to ask (Ice-T 1987).

All the key elements of gangsta rap were there—the confrontation with the police, the dependence on a mix of music, money, and weapons, and the description of the streets as a horror zone.

Shortly after the albums and singles above, the West Coast began to mix elements of funk, blues, and R&B with the gangsta message. As Ice-T recounted:

> After that, Cube wrote Boyz In Tha Hood which was like a bite of Six In The Morning [with the syncopation]. It's like "Six in the morning, police at my door..." and "The boyz in the hood are always hard..." If you play Boyz In The Hood at the same time as Six In The Morning, you'll hear they even break at the same point. I had my *Rhyme Pays* and *Power* albums before the N.W.A. album came out. But N.W.A. did it louder, more crazy, and better for what it was. They took gangsta rap to a whole other level. So I'll split credits with N.W.A. but it was kinda happening on the east coast too with Schooly and KRS-One. But it was us four groups who really got it going. I also wanna include Too $hort because he was he was doing sh*t so I connect him in with that flavor at the time (Davey D, 2009).

Indeed, Eazy-E's "Boyz-n-the-Hood" (1986) (written by Ice Cube) became the quintessential gangsta sound and narrative of the time. It began by describing a day in the life:

> Woke up quick, at about noon / Jus' thought that I had to be in Compton soon / I gotta get drunk before the day begins / Before my mother starts b*tch*n' about ma friends / About to go and damn near went blind / Young n*gg*z at the path throwin' up gang signs / Ran in the house, and grabbed ma clip / Wit the Mack 10 on the side of ma hip / Bailed outside and pointed ma weapon/ Just as I thought the fools kept steppin' (Eazy-E, 1986).

The story came off as a sardonic critique at times. After waking up in the afternoon while living in his mom's house, he could not even go outside without being

overwhelmed by the flashing of gang signs. As his day went on he detailed: playing his own music on his car stereo, having to kill a former friend turned crack-fiend who was attempting to steal his a Alpine stereo, hooking up at a girl's house after a party and running from her father, crashing his own car around a telephone pole, meeting up with his crew before being pulled over by an undercover officer, members of his crew being thrown in jail, and finally, attempting to bust them out of jail during their court arraignment. By describing an even more explicit version of inner-city life (both through play-by-play description and in graphic nature), the precursor to the group NWA (N*gg*z With Attitude) defined both the *gangsta* subgenre and rap music for the next 20 years.

NWA's debut album *Straight Outta Compton* (1988) featured the album-titled song, "Gangsta Gangsta," and "F*ck tha Police." While the songs were largely banned on radio stations—and the video for "Straight Outta Compton" was unambiguously banned by MTV—the group's pseudo-political song "Express Yourself" was eventually okayed by MTV and helped the group emerge as one of the most popular groups. MTV was even forced by fan demand to retroactively play the video for "Straight Outta Compton."

While other West Coast artists were primarily responsible for further popularizing the gangsta sound and message, East Coast and Southern artists helped commercialize the subgenre. Examples from the West Coast included: Dr. Dre's "Let Me Ride" and "Nuthin but a 'G' Thang (featuring Snoop Doggy Dogg)" off of *The Chronic* (1992); Snoop Doggy Dogg's "What's My Name?," "Gin and Juice," and

"Murder Was the Case" off of *Doggystyle* (1993); and 2Pac's West-Coast gang-life unifying "California Love (featuring Dr. Dre)" and "2 of Amerikaz Most Wanted (featuring Snoop Dogg)" off of the double album *All Eyez on Me* (2Pac, 1996).

On the East Coast, Notorious B.I.G.'s *Ready to Die* (1994) and the double album *Life After Death* (1997) and Jay-Z's *Reasonable Doubt* (1996) and *In My Lifetime, Vol. 1* (1997) also emerged. After the killings of 2Pac and Notorious B.I.G., the South also became a major producer of *gangsta rap*. Although artists and groups such as Scarface and the Geto Boys were around during the early- and mid- 1990s, the South saw a distinguishable upsurge in its influence on the rap world when Master P moved back to New Orleans, LA (from Richmond, CA). He released "Make 'Em Say Uhh!" (1997) and 43 full albums between 1998 and 2000 through No Limit Records and the production team Beats by the Pound. Due to the distinct compact disc (CD) packaging (mostly cardboard materials and drawing from a company known as Pen & Pixel), the abundance of collaborations between both No Limit and other artists, the number of tracks and overall length of albums, and the method of advertising upcoming releases within the CD packaging, it felt as though Master P's company was releasing a new album every week for about five years. The Hot Boyz (a New Orleans super group consisting of rappers Juvenile, B.G., and Lil Wayne and producer Manny Fresh) released albums as a group and as solo artists towards the end of No Limit Studio's reign.

Yet, both the East Coast and West Coast remained heavy producers of *gangsta rap*. With the exception of *party rap*, *gangsta rap* has had the longest, most

influential tenure of any rap subgenre at nearly 20 years (from the mid-1980s until the first decade of the millennium). This was likely due to the historical timing, technological developments, and unique ability to draw on other subgenres. Historically, *gangsta rap* emerged during a surge in popular appeal (alongside groups such as Run DMC) and developed during a new commercial appeal (such as Run DMC's Adidas campaign). While some scholars focus on the 1980s growing fascination with the urban, I advance that this is overemphasized. Technology also played a major role. The turntablist sound and samples integral to *gangsta rap* were enabled by the availability of industry-standard equipment such as the circulation of the Technics SL-1200 direct-drive turntable and the affordable Akai S900 sampler. These sounds also linked *gangsta rap* to *alternative rap* forms, and the *gangsta rapper* could adopt elements of *socially-* and *politically- conscious* subgenres. However, the artists from non-*gangsta rap* subgenres could not as easily adopt elements of *gangsta rap*.

Socially conscious rap. By the late-1980s, *socially conscious rap* began to highlight and expose social issues—yet, fell just short of offering political solutions. *Socially conscious rap* coincided with the rising popularity of rap music in general and *gangsta rap* in particular. This has been illustrated in Rose's (1994) study which started with Public Enemy's "Can't Truss It" (1991) to study the popular emergence of hip-hop. This led her to characterize the current debates centered on rap's role as "confusing." In short, rap music had become a tangle of "some of the most complex social, cultural, and political issues in contemporary American society" (Rose, 1994,

p. 2). Following in the tradition of the borderline *socially conscious rap* song "The Breaks" (1980) and the social commentary in "The Message" (1982), Public Enemy's "Can't Truss It" was a prime example of the evolution of *socially conscious rap*.

The group claimed to be presenting facts and asked the listener to stop pointing to the "joint" and to put the "buddha down." The song proceeded to tell a "hardcore" story about the "costs of the [black] holocaust" by beginning with the interaction between the "King and chief" resulting in the selling of slaves. In the second verse, the group claimed to have been "divided and sold" for "liquor and the gold" and being "mack[ed]" (pimped or exploited) by the "other man." The group continued to tell the story of being "shackled" and terrorized by a man wearing "red, white, and blue." In the third verse, the group turned to the judge who would have "been the [slave] ship's captain" before describing 90 days on the slave ship. However, the group described the ability and strength to survive the slave ship even while being "branded" and "owned." Finally, the group described blacks as "have-nots" and claimed to have shown why it is hard "for the blacks to love the land." The group then repeated the first verse to drive the story home. The song can be defined as *socially conscious rap* because it described and related conditions of slavery to conditions of the contemporary ghettos. It did not make any overt political claims beyond linking pre-slavery black culture to post-slavery black culture. It did not present any comprehensive solutions—other than remaining strong and using their voices as a weapon of protest.

Two years earlier, Slick Rick's "Children's Story" (1989) took a different approach in describing adverse conditions of the inner-city. The artist told the tale of a young boy being "misled" by another boy who prosed "robbin' old folks." As the two boys committed robbery after robbery within the neighborhood, they eventually attempted to rob an undercover detective. When the detective resisted the robbery, one of the boys pulled out a gun before attempting to evade the police force. While running, the boy was confronted with a heroin-fiend shooting up (who provided the boy with a shotgun) before stealing and crashing a Chevrolet Nova, engaging in a shootout with the police force, and grabbing a pregnant lady as a hostage. The end of the story was bleak: "The cops shot the kid / I still hear him scream." In addition to telling the consequences of crime, Slick Rick's narrative hinted at problems such as the availability of drugs and guns and the overzealous nature of police.

The significant *socially conscious rap* successors to "The Message" (Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five, 1982) included: Big Daddy Kane's gospel-sample driven "I'll take You There" (1988); Queen Latifah's so-called feminist anthem "Ladies First" and calls for black solidarity in "U.N.I.T.Y." off of *All Hail the Queen* (1989); Kool G Rap and DJ Polo's brutal tales of survival on "Road to the Riches" (1989); Public Enemy's farcical "911 is a Joke" (1990); Brand Nubian's religious-based advisement on "Slow Down" (1990); Sister Souja's "The Hate that Hate Produced" and "The Final Solution: Slavery's Back in Effect" off of *360 Degrees of Power* (1992) (made famous during President Bill Clinton's 1992 campaign criticism regarding her commentary on race); and Arrested Development's

definitive appeal on the singles "Tennessee," "Mister Wendell," and "People Everyday" off of the highly influential and Afrocentric *3 Years, 5 Months & 2 Days in the Life Of... (1992).* During this time, groups such as A Tribe Called Quest, De La Soul, The Jungle Brothers, and Leaders of the New School further pressed issues and styles associated with this subgenre. Even artists and groups such as Common Sense (later known as Common), The Goodie Mob, OutKast, and Nas could be said to be important artists to this subgenre—while mixing in elements of *gangsta rap* in the process. Yet, within this subgenre violence was presented as a problem rather than a naturalized reality or a method of achieving power.

Politically conscious rap. By the early-1990s, *politically conscious rap* began to present overt political messages. It exposed the limitations of previous subgenres—*party rap's* pop influence, *gangsta rap's* obsession with violence as a currency, and *socially conscious rap's* non-recognition of the structural, political nature of urban problems. *Politically conscious rappers* began to downplay violence as a strategy for change and instead proposed overt action through the political system or radical political activity.

While the group dead Prez's Pan-Africanism often coincided with political message, the group began to use rap music as a persuasive text with "Hip Hop" off of *Let's Get Free* (2000). First, the group began with the emotional impact of music and "white folks" claiming that music "controls your brain." Then, the group turned to army tactics—proposing offense rather than defense—before discrediting rappers who focused on sales, sex, and drugs. Instead, the crew proposed to focus on the "real

world" rather than the glamor of celebrity, obtaining capital, and radio airplay. dead Prez clearly drew on a subgenre influenced by Oakland-based rap group The Coup—who spoke about similar problems within the American political and social arena years earlier within a neo-Marxist framework. Other Bay Area rappers such as Boots Riley (a member of The Coup) and Paris have even acknowledged roles as heirs to the BPP movement. Around the same time as dead Prez's emergence, the group Blackstar and its two artists Mos Def and Talib Kweli began to release similarly themed material. Later, rappers such as Immortal Technique began to advocate radical changes through music.

Alternative rap. Finally, the catchall subgenre of *alternative rap* can be said to have existed since rap's construction but only to have only achieved popularity in the late-1990s. While it was clearly influenced by the other subgenres, it could be turntablist-influenced, instrumental, abstract, and it almost always made an attempt to appeal to some underground, purist community. It can be defined by what it omits—namely party-based messages and styles and violent narratives. Thus, it is a developmental form of rap music and often pushes the boundaries of lyricism, styling, and even the rap genre and hip-hop culture. At times its appeal is less concerned with "marginal identities" such as black and brown inner-city populations and instead concerned with the hip-hop purists (sometimes negatively connoted as "backpackers"). Under this subgenre, we would need to include turntablism, instrumental music, and non-pop, cross-genre styles.

Although a historical list would likely be predominated by early DJs (beginning with Grandmaster Flash and Afrika Bambaataa), future DJs such as Q-Bert, Shadow, Honda, Dan the Automator, RJD2, and Peanut Butter Wolf pushed the style. Even DJ collectives (such as the Beat Junkies and the X-ecutioners) have become a driving force. Since the mid-1990s, labels such as Definitive Jux (Def Jux), Rhymesayers Entertainment, and Anticon (anticon.) have assembled artists—rappers, DJs, and producers—into independent multi-racial collectives. While much of *alternative rap* deemphasizes Black Nationalism in both production (by sometimes predominately white artist lineups) and consumption (by appealing to suburban hip-hop fanatics), the ongoing rejection of the pop-influence in rap music both pushes boundaries beyond that of current market offerings and acts as an receptacle for topics disregarded by other rap subgenres. In addition, with the rise of widespread computer-based file sharing and recording, the independent label structure behind *alternative rap* provides a future vision into the way non-major label music will likely continue to be recorded in local communities. The subgenre also includes locally emerging styles that have yet to make it to mainstream audiences and are too new to have a name, label, or corporate sponsor.

Although the subgenres above allowed for the development of *quotidian* narratives, they did not prevent rap from ascending into a popularized commodity; in fact, there is evidence they actually accelerated the process.

4. Popularization, Commercialization, and Co-optation

From the mid-1990s through the millennium, rap music climbed the Billboard charts, and its influence began to extend beyond music videos into advertising, cross-promotion, and marketing. These waves of popularization and commercialization happened after the inventions of the subgenres defined above. Yet, these waves went beyond a mere marketability and into a domination of the market. This process of wide-ranging appeal of rap music reached key milestones in 1998.

S. Craig Watkins (2005) began by discussing the mainstream success of the Sugarhill Gang being "dismissed" by much of the "up-and-coming world of hip hop." Hip-hop had experienced a new upsurge stemming from the music of Afrika Bambaataa, a Black Spades gang leader turned revolutionary leader, who mixed the styles of "German techno, calypso, as well as disco, rock, and soul" (p. 22). Yet, this ground-level movement and Sugarhill's success was still dismissed as a possible long-term, profitable art. Because of its initial rejection, hip-hop was thought to be a "short-lived fad"—dismissed by record industry and radio stations. But, after a "smidgen of commercial viability was established," the music became dominated by six major labels (Rose, 1994, p. 6). The major labels decided to buy out smaller labels and let them operate on their own (p. 7). Meanwhile, the technological advances in 1980s allowed for bootleg tapes appear in "urban centers" (p. 7).

In addition, cable television programs such as *Yo! MTV Raps*, *Pump It Up*, *Video Music Box*, and the MTV network also publicized the hip-hop movement (p. 8). This newfound video music success seemed to be Rose's core focus as she wrote:

"[R]ap music videos have animated hip hop cultural style and aesthetics and have facilitated a cross-neighborhood, cross-country (transnational?) dialogue in a social environment that is highly segregated by class and race" (p. 9). The videos seemed to offer a real return to the ghetto, brought the ghetto "back into public consciousness," and "fulfilled national fantasies about the violence and danger" (p. 11). By this time, the subgenres of *gangsta rap* and *socially conscious rap* were beginning to emerge. Although the music videos on television were acceptable forms of rap that the media saw fit for airplay, the *gangsta rap* subgenre created a paradox—by using the rising popularity to broadcast the problems of the inner-city and, in the process, documenting violence, crime, and urban turmoil. The paradox was created because as the subgenre's music grew more militant, it achieved more popularity and, later, even commercialization.

Indeed, as Rose (1994) has affirmed, rap music "prioritize[ed] black voices from the margins of urban America" (p. 2), and "like all contemporary voices, the rapper's voice [was] imbedded in powerful and dominant technological, industrial, and ideological institutions" (pp. 2-3). As the storytelling functions of rap evolved shortly before its rise into popular culture (pp. 3-4), it became difficult to explain both its appeal to "marginal identities" and "white suburban boys and girls." Instead, Rose found it more useful to examine the history of hip-hop as a "cultural form" beginning in urban decay and using "digital imagination" and sampling technology to transform post-World War II developments in jazz, blues, and R&B into hip-hop as an "extension of African-American oral, poetic, and protest traditions" (p. 25). This rap

success began drawing "attention to the nation" (pp. 18-19) and acquiring a larger audience: "Rap music and hip hop culture are cultural, political, and commercial forms, and for many young people they are the primary cultural, sonic, and linguistic windows on the world" (p. 19).

Meanwhile, the commercial success could also be seen in advertising for corporations:

> Rap music and hip hop style have become common ad campaign hooks for McDonald's, Burger King, Coke, Pepsi, several athletic shoe companies, clothing chain stores, MTV, anti-drug campaigns, and other global corporate efforts ad nauseam (p. 17).

In addition, the movement spurred changes in fashion as: "[F]ake Gucci and other designer emblems cut up and patch-stitched to jackets, pants, hats, wallets, and sneakers in custom shops, work[ed] as a form of sartorial warfare..." (p. 38). Rose claimed to focus her study on the flow and layering of the music (p. 39) and looked at the elements of hip-hop—graffiti and breakdancing in particular—as the transformation of "commodities" into cultural expression (p. 41). Rose's canonical analysis remains effective in explaining the first wave as one of popularization from hip-hop's origins through the early-1990s.

The process of commercialization occurred next. By December of 1996, Interscope Records had four spots on the Billboard 200 (Watkins, 2005, p. 44). This commercial success was discussed via four major artists—Dr. Dre, Master P, DMX, and Jay-Z. Dr. Dre used the gangster message at its commercial apex, using upbeat funk samples and "homespun" videos. Master P commanded a distribution-only contract—so in many ways, the labels were working for him (p. 64). Meanwhile,

DMX captured the message of the streets, while fashion lines such as FUBU (For Us, By Us) began taking over the streets. One rapper, Jay-Z would combine all four of these endeavors by using the "bad man" image—still pervasive in black popular imagination (p. 75). Jay-Z used this gangster image, obtained a favorable distribution deal, presented the message of the streets, and opened his own clothing line. The Jay-Z phenomenon identified capitalism as "black youth's greatest friend and greatest foe"; Jay-Z, who grew up with three pairs of pants, now owned a clothing line which profited over $200 million dollars a year. As Watkins astutely noted, "capitalism had a hand in both" (p. 77). There was also evidence of commercialization through the radio. During hip-hop's emergence, the music was kept off the airwaves, but the 1990s radio industry experienced many shifts resulting in "greater market segmentation and format fragmentations" (p. 80) and: "Slowly but surely the sonic shifts that were altering the sound of urban- and youth- oriented radio began to measure on the black music charts" (p. 82). The dominance confirmed that hip-hop was slowly moving to becoming the black music of choice, as the rise of Soundscan (album UPC barcodes) reports in 1991 would prove. The hip-hop movement also began to take over R&B (pp. 82-83).

The increased visibility of hip-hop culture also created the potential for cross promotion—or the branching of artists to other sectors of the entertainment industry. Darrell Miller (2003, p. 32), an attorney within the entertainment industry, was showcased and interviewed about this technique by *Billboard* magazine and responded: "A good example [of cross-promoting] is Will Smith. He went from a

rapper to a television star to a motion-picture star who commands over $20 million per picture." Miller's statement (and Will Smith's commercial appeal) verified that hip-hop culture was clearly for sale to the highest bidder. As M. Elizabeth Blair (1993, p. 21) has argued, this relationship can be built from misunderstanding and follow in the tradition of other black music culture fire sales: "Mass media advertisers have recognized the value of using rap to sell their products, even though they do not always have a thorough understanding of the subculture from which it came." In addition, the cause for concern from black artists stemmed from a long history of not reaping "the financial reward from the musical forms that were uniquely theirs" as in the cases of blues, jazz, gospel, soul, and funk music.

To further demonstrate the widespread commercialization of rap, there are three current trends worthy of note. The first is a sampling of recent advertising campaigns using rap music; the second is a trend of rappers—sometimes with very controversial messages—entering other spheres. The third is a list of rap artists and groups appearing on reality television or sitcoms. While the examples below do not exhaust the instances of these trends, they nonetheless demonstrate the current use of rap music in television advertising and media as a strikingly different—and potentially undermining—phenomenon.

The foundational rap song "Rapper's Delight" by the Sugarhill Gang (1979) is currently used in a Radio Shack commercial. Although there are no lyrics in the advertisement, the opening bars and sample of "Good Times" (1979) are both obvious and distinct. A more contemporary and controversial song discussed in

chapter four—"Ridin'" by Chamillionire featuring Krayzie Bone (2006)—is currently used in a Volkswagen campaign. The chorus of the song is used: "They trynna catch me / Ridin' dirty." However, the verses about being pulled over by a police officer while smoking a weed-filled cigar were understandably omitted from the commercial. Also missing were the reactions of the rappers attempting to evade, shoot at, and maim the officer. Between this range of early foundational *party rap* and a late-version of the *gangsta rap* subgenre are countless examples to be analyzed for the future rap scholar. Even Ice Cube, a foundational *gangsta rapper* as a member of NWA (and a foundational *socially* and *politically conscious rapper* through his solo work) has succumbed to marketing products; he is a leading spokesperson for Coors Light beer commercials. Sometimes, the rap music is barely recognizable—as in the case of Boost Mobile's computerized, brief, and faded use of Dr. Dre's "Nuthin' But a 'G' Thang (featuring Snoop Doggy Dogg) off of *The Chronic* (1992).

A second trend could be comprised as a sort of "where are they now" of former *gangsta rappers*—as we find many have entered both acting/reality television and behind-the-scenes television. To briefly demonstrate this trend, I will limit myself to two examples of artists drawn from the *gangsta rap* subgenre. Two of the three foundational figures discussed in the previous section are currently on television in very different (perhaps undermining) roles. Ice-T plays a NY detective on the hit series *Law and Order: Special Victims Unit* (Wolf, 1999-2012) on National Broadcasting Company's network in addition to currently starring alongside his wife on their reality television show *Ice Loves Coco* (Floquet, 2011-2012) on the Bravo

Network. Given the nature of his mid-1980s to early-1990s music about South Central gang life, cop killing, and urban strife, this seems to be a shocking shift. However, if we consider that two of his early film roles included playing a club MC in *Breakin'* (Silberg, 1984) and *Breakin' 2: Electric Boogaloo* (Firstenberg, 1984) and playing an undercover police officer in *New Jack City* (Van Peebles, 1991), Ice-T's current roles seem less strange.

Stranger, however, is another foundational gangsta rapper's role in television. The artist often credited (even by Ice-T) for starting the subgenre, Philadelphia's Schoolly D, created the theme music for the cartoon show *Aqua Teen Hunger Force* (2000-2010)—now called *Aqua Unit Patrol Squad 1* (2011-2012)—on the Adult Swim Network (an afterhours subsidiary of the Cartoon Network) (Crofford & Lazzo, 2000-2012). In addition, Schoolly D was a narrator from 2000-2012. While episodes of the 15-minute show often use rap—especially *gangsta rap*—as a satirical influence on its South (New) Jersey characters, the show is ultimately about the adventures of a box of french fries named Frylock, a milkshake named Master Shake, and a meatball named Meatwad. This seems a far cry from the unintentional creator of the powerful subgenre of *gangsta rap*. Yet, the show's relatively large and devoted fan base has contributed to its success as one of the longest-running cartoons.

Strangest, perhaps, is the list of rappers—sometimes drawn from *gangsta rap* and *socially conscious* subgenres that have starred in their own reality or reality-based television shows. A non-exhaustive short list compiled by the rappers' date of popular emergence includes: Public Enemy's Flava Flav's *Flavor of Love* (Abrego, Cronin, &

Samek, 2006-2008); *The Salt-N-Pepa Show* (Tarver & Drukerman, 2007-2008); Will Smith's tremendously popular sitcom *The Fresh Prince of Bel-Air* (Jones, 1990-1996); *Coolio's Rules* (Cooper, 2008-2012) *Snoop Dogg's Father Hood* (Broadus & Roma, 2007-2009); Xzibit's *Pimp My Ride* (Hochberb, 2004-2007); Puff Daddy's *I Want to Work For Diddy* (Combs, 2008-2010) and *Making the Band* (Pearlman, Murray, & Bunim, 2000-2001; Combs, Murray, & Bunim, 2002-2012) franchises; Three 6 Mafia rappers Juicy J and DJ Paul's *Adventures in HollyHood* (Vaillancourt & Kutcher, 2007); *50 Cent: The Money and the Power* (50 Cent, et al., 2008-2009); *T.I.'s Road to Redemption* (T.I., Hirschorn, Stolper, & Choun, 2009) and *T.I. and Tiny: The Family Hustle* (Harris, et al., 2011-2012); and Soulja Boy's appearance on *My Super Sweet 16* (Starr, Lesser, & Bowles, 2008).

Even children of rappers have appeared on reality television shows. For example, Eazy-E's daughter Erin Wright planned an "All-White Party" on *My Super Sweet 16* (Starr, Lesser, & Bowles, 2007), and Puff Daddy's son Justin Combs planned a bash for the same show in 2010. Other rappers have begun their careers through television work. For example, rapper Drake started on the preteen television show *Degrassi: The Next Generation* (Schuyler, Stohn, & Yorke, 2001-2012).

The list above is a mere indication of the growing trend of cross-platform popularization and commercialization of rap artists. Suffice it to say that a growing number of influential artists have become indicative of these processes.

We need to consider this as a sign of future message cooptation when artists who claimed (or still claim) to be drawing their music based on street authenticity

begin to appear in the same television format as the self-established socialites such as Kardashian Family and the Bravo Network's Real Housewives.

5. Reemergence of the Local Scene Perspective

Rap's ascendance into a commodity forces us to look at subgenres and applications of the subgenres in specific locales as a vehicle of political protest. The reemergence of studies focused on local scenes teach us a few lessons about the connections between *quotidian* discourses and the market including: (1) exploring a symbiotic relationship between the "do-it-yourself" (DIY) industry and the corporate industry, the importance of label ownership, and the importance of appealing to "local allegiances" by rising rappers; (2) troubling the NY/LA axis of mainstream rap and connecting the spreading of rap with other local crews and styles in the US; and (3) documenting the use of rap in Puerto Rico, Cuba, Germany, France, Amsterdam, Japan, Hong Kong, and Tanzania as a mixture of mainstream US rap, international influences, and local development. Throughout each of these examples, the general stages of arrival, adoption, and adaptation help transform mainstream versions of rap into locally important versions. As Andre J. M. Prévos (1996, p. 713) has discussed, there were three periods of local development in the case of French rap music: an arrival period of US music, an adoption period by French artists, and an adaption period to "societal and popular environment." Generally, these stages hold true for the scenes below.

When we begin to look at local applications of *quotidian* discourse, it is first necessary to establish a relationship between market-led music and local music

production. It is difficult to contrast the "corporate music industry with the scene-based DIY industry," because they are admittedly "highly interdependent." The corporate music industry uses the DIY for a steady supply of "new talent" and a constant "veneer of authenticity" while the "DIY industry relies on the technologies created by the corporate industry" (Bennett & Peterson, 2004, p. 12). This local/commercial divide can be established through format as well:

> [T]o a greater extent than most other musics in North America, a great amount of material is circulated in the form of bootlegs, local (i.e., non-commercial-label affiliated) cassettes, homemade mixtapes, and other formats not necessarily represented in surveys and statistics. And, of course, the unofficial formats are more likely to be consumed by less affluent audiences, so that published sales figures almost certainly exaggerate the predominance of moneyed listeners (Krims, 2000, p. 5).

The DIY scene and format changes converged shortly after Krims' study with the widespread availability of computer-based production, recording, and manufacturing software as a growing alternative to more expensive hardware used by the industry. In addition, local DIY artists could then release their products digitally—as more and more of the industry began to release such products.

Label ownership is another factor. Lena (2006) has found an important set of differences between independent products and the corporate industry:

> There is a link between the context of production and the content of rap music singles. This research finds that when independent labels owned most of the charted singles, lyrics emphasized features of the local environment and hostility to corporate music production and values. In contrast, the major-label dominated market featured lyrics blending "street" credibility and commercial success in the "hustler" protagonist. I contribute a new finding to research on market concentration and musical diversity: artists' reactions to the market effects musical content (Lena, 2006).

There is also evidence that appealing to the local scene is a necessity for most rappers but creates trouble for scholars:

> The requirement of maintaining strong local allegiances is a standard practice in hip hop that continues to mystify many critics of the rap genre. It is, therefore, imperative to recognise and understand the processes that are at work and to acknowledge that there are different messages being communicated to listeners who occupy different spaces and places and who identify with space or place according to different values of scale (Forman, 2000, p. 88),

In other words, since rap songs express an obsession with the local: "Struggles and conflicts as well as positive attachments to place are all represented in the special discourses of rap" (p. 88). For example, within the US scene, Krims (2000, p. 124) has found signs of opposition to a NY/LA axis:

> What a non-New York (and non-Los Angeles) MC or group lacks in linkage to hip-hop's origins, it receives in the projections of local authenticity. Even the names of artists and groups can be seen to reflect the absent centrality of New York in rap geography…In other words, it is as if being from New York is an "unmarked" property (in the semiotic sense), while those from other localities show a greater predilection for "marking themselves as such.

In short, Krims argued that NY artists represented their neighborhoods and boroughs, while other artists were expected to represent their cities. He used a host of rap group names with geographical links as evidence.

Forman and Neal's *That's the Joint!: the Hip-hop Studies Reader* (2004) contained a few cases regarding the impact of locales on the spreading of hip-hop. One article has connected the local reproduction of rap with its popularity: "Rap quickly spread from New York to Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, and other cities with substantial black populations. Its popularity was sustained by the ease with which it could be made" (Samuels, 2004, p. 169). The author found early rap music to

be a reflection of funk music and disco and also found that rappers were "unsophisticated about image and presentation" (p. 169). Forman has contended the trend of posse (or crew) formation became a method of achieving success (Forman, 2004a, p. 179), and he later described the "slow process of developing MC and DJ Skills" and that "artists' lyrics and rhythms must achieve success on the home front first" (Forman, 2004b, p. 239). He also effectively highlighted *gangsta rap* as territorial (p. 232)— so much so that Black Entertainment Television (BET) needed to pass a "rule forbidding explicitly gang-related hand signs on its popular video programs" (p. 238).

The evolution and influence of local scenes in the US has also been explored. Cheryl Keyes (2004) has documented the development of the locally-based West Coast and Southern styles of rap music. She found that the radio station KDAY (in LA) was an important transmitter of these styles to larger audiences and in spreading West Coast rap music (p. 99). In developing the West Coast and South, she went through artists in LA, Sacramento, Oakland, and Richmond and then focused on artists in New Orleans, and Orlando and Miami, FL (pp. 111-114). Her analysis documented a movement of West Coast rap music to the South and back to the East Coast.

For example, Master P, a New Orleans native living in Richmond moved back to New Orleans after achieving a modicum of independent success in the Bay Area, CA and started the rap conglomerate No Limit Records. Shortly after, Cash Money Records was highly influential in the New Orleans scene and was headlined by artists

and groups such as Juvenile, the Hot Boys (with Juvenile as a important member), and a very young Lil' Wayne. In short, Keyes found: "The 1990s witnessed a burgeoning of regional rap scenes with sounds idiosyncratic to certain areas" (p. 115). In addition to the rising West Coast sound, the South began to experience its own newfound rap dominance: "Techno sounds a la 'porno' became a fixture with Miami's 2 Live Crew, Trick Daddy, and Trina" (p. 115). Bass sounds became predominate in both Orlando and Miami rap, and the rise of the South also influenced Midwest rappers—as in the case of St. Louis, MO's Nelly (pp. 115-116).

By the end of the 1990s, black and Latino dominance of pop and rap music charts (pp. 116-117) was apparent and influenced by local scenes. However, Keyes' work did not distinguish between local, authentic messages and local, pop sounds. Interesting enough, her discussion of Oakland illustrated this point. She discussed rappers MC Hammer and Too $hort within a similar process of selling albums locally through independent labels—MC Hammer through Bustin Records and Too $hort through 75 Girls (p. 95). Although she noted that Too $hort "evolved his style in the underground rap scene in east Oakland in the early 1980s" by recording three albums in two years on the local 75 Girls label (p. 96), she did not draw a clear distinction between the nature or authenticity of the messages between the two artists. Although they may have used the same techniques, MC Hammer's top-selling singles and albums were clearly an attempt to appeal to mass, commercial audiences while Too $hort's pimp narratives (although eventually commercially successful) appealed to local, marginal identities first and foremost.

In the international scenes, rap music has often been analyzed as a method of raising political and social consciousness around a population with a set of issues or previously unheard concerns. The rap produced in the international locales have often been discussed as a mixture of the influence of US commercial rap and local languages, styles, and cultures. For example, in Puerto Rico, Giovannetti (2003, p. 89) has found that:

> Puerto Rican rap emerged from the marginalized youngsters of the depressed urban areas and housing projects and thereby became a statement of presence and an expression of social discontent for this sector of society. Puerto Rican rap became their voice, much as dancehall and rap music are for their Jamaican and lower-class U.S. youth counterparts.

Therefore, North American rap and underground rap from Puerto Rico shared "similar urban and social origins" as both were "started among and mostly listened to by the socially oppressed peoples in their societies" (p. 90).

Because of its political system, Cuba has also become a popular locale for the study of rap music. Cuban youth began imitating commercialized US rappers in the 1980s and 1990s before being dissuaded by older generations and government officials who were concerned about "the influx of lyrics glorifying thug activity, gangsta lifestyles, crime, and violence and promoting misogyny and materialism," as these did not truly represent the "realities of an extremely economically deprived Cuba suffering from the fall of the Soviet Union" (Garofoli & Price III, 2006, p. 97). Instead of succumbing to "cultural invasion" of the US, Cuban rappers turned to "integrating" hip-hop into traditional Cuban culture through fusion. Given the trade embargo, this integration was largely done without advanced equipment such as

turntables or CD manufacturing, instead "manipulating a dual cassette deck" to add sounds and samples (p. 97). This led to a few differences between the two musical types—such as live instruments as opposed to DJ-produced sounds and the de-emphasis of violence and misogyny rather than transmission of violence and misogyny. Also, Cuban hip-hop avoided "anti-music industry lyrics," even creating a "state-run record label" (p. 98). The influence of both Black Power message (especially that of Malcolm X and the Black Liberation Army) and politically and socially conscious rappers (such as Black Star, Common, dead Prez, and The Roots) have been important in the development of Cuban hip-hop (pp. 98-99).

The mixture of unique sound, positive messages, and transnational creation has even created Havana as a "spiritual home for political hip hoppers from around the world" (Baker, Radano, & Kun, 2011, p. 248). However, the authors also discussed a partial eclipse caused by the rise in worldwide popularity of reggaeton and its "insistence on pleasure" at the expense of transnational hip-hop and an emphasis of connectivity to "other Caribbean nations" (pp. 171-172). Others have noted that the first rap festival locally (the Black August Hip-hop Collective) happened as Cubans were beginning to hear *politically*- and *socially- conscious* rap music (Fernandes, 2006, p. 91). Elsewhere, in Sao Paulo, Brazil, one author estimated there were 200,000 "hip hopers," and although they were not a monolithic group, he argued the overall effort was to turn nothing (marginalized identity) into something (performance) (Pardue, 2008, p. 2). As an ethnographical study, Pardue focused on hip-hop subjectivity and self rather than as an object of consumption.

Studies of European rap have contributed to the discussion of immigration, race, and rap as a social tool. For example, one author has found Turkish and Moroccan rappers in Frankfurt and other German cities to use rap as a "medium for the voicing of issues relating to the problems of racism and citizenship" (Bennett, 1999). While introducing a volume about the French hip-hop scene, another author has noted that academics only began "mapping the cultural force even of American hip-hop" after rap music had already imprinted itself on the society for mare than a decade" (Krims, 2002a, p. vii). In the Francophone world—models of "hybridity, identify formation, liminality, cultural resistance, the deformation and reformation of black (and many other) masculinities" (p. viii) and interest in Quebec rap as a cross between US and French rap (Chamberland, 2002, p. 129) have been the focus of research. Elsewhere, the finding that local styles in Amsterdam and Edmonton "can bear dramatically different meanings and cultural functions" than "American-dominated" rap center forms has led Krims (2000) to ascertain the "poetics of local identity must be understood, if one wants to seriously examine the internationalized working of rap music." As a whole, Krims has established that rap music outside the US "respond[s] to both local forces and global forces" and sought ways in the book to trace both the local and global forces through the formation of "imagined identities in non-American contexts" (p. 5). However, this was explained to be a two-way street with use of the examples of Jamaican music in rap and the DJing revival in Japanese and European hip-hop culture. In his last chapter, he called for a "local delineation" of rap (pp. 201-202). Elsewhere Krims (2002b) "critiques the notion that localized

cultural production and identities should be taken as 'resistance' to a more homogenized and globalized dominant cultural form" as evidenced by rap music in Amsterdam. He argued the representations were actually highly "dependent" on "globalized notions of race, urban life, and music that localized musical forms." Thus, he found it to be "wishful thinking" that a localized scene completely "resist[ed] or complicate[d]" these global trends.

Another noteworthy phenomenon is the influence of Europe on the construction period (and recollection of the construction period) of rap in the US. The formative film *Wild Style* (Ahearn, 1982), compilation of the earliest instances of *party* and *reality rap* singles in Sugarhill Gang's *The Sugar Hill Story Old School Rap: To the Beat Y'all* (1994), and even *The Black Power Mixtape* (Olsson, 2011) were all partly financed by private Western European funds—Germany, the United Kingdom, and Sweden, respectively.

Concerning the Far East, the quintessential work on hip-hop is Ian Condry's *Hip-hop Japan: Rap and the Paths of Cultural Globalization* (2006) in which he has written about the beginning of hip-hop in Japan through the imagery of a "spark" crossing borders and setting "the world alight." He found a small, largely dismissed, underground scene in the 1980s and 1990s and the spreading of hip-hop in the late-1990s. He also discovered that the process of commercialization of Japanese hip-hop "developed alongside a widening and diversifying underground scene" (Condry, 2006, p. 1). His focus throughout the book remained on the club scene as an ethnographical demonstration of two themes: (1) localization can happen alongside

"global sharedness" and (2) the connectivity of "diverse actors" is foundational. Through these two arguments, Condry undermined so-called "dichotomous analytical categories" such as global versus local (p. 2). In Hong Kong, another study documented that artists MC Yan and Yellow Peril birthed conscious rap locally by touching on various issues such as the underclass and colonial rule (Lin, 2009, p. 174)—one of the many cases contained in *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hope Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* (Alim, Ibrahim, & Pennycook, 2009).

In Tanzania, companies and individual travelers imported hip-hop through audio and video cassettes even while foreign music was forbidden under the socialist government. These tapes were important to the youth, "since hip hop music reflected their sense of identity as poor, black, and outcast" and were powerful projections of "successful, eloquent, and popular" artists. This led to local artists adopting English rap styles and adapting rap in Swahili" (Perullo & Fern, 2003, p. 23). In addition, hip-hop became a means for the youth to "bond together" and "distinguish themselves from other members of society" even while some albums were based on the instrumentals and musical styles from very popular songs from the US (pp. 23-25). Eventually, groups began to rap in Swahili in place of English (p. 25). Again, this was merely one of many examples from an edited volume—Berger and Carroll's *Global Pop, Local Language* (2003).

Back in the US, studies of the local have primarily turned to judging the impact of rap music on local communities. Barkari Kitwana (2002) has considered

how a set of new crises in African American culture—unemployment, police brutality, the gender divide, and media portrayals—have shaped both the music itself and the generation "(those born between 1965 and 1984)" (p. xiv). To address these issues, Kitwana presented education, employment and workers' rights, reparations, economic infrastructure in urban communities, youth poverty and disease, anti-youth legislation, and foreign policy as agendas. The problems were visually apparent:

> Black communities like the South Side and West Side of Chicago, North Side of Philadelphia, Harlem and other parts of New York City, and South Central Los Angeles have the appearance of cities recently at war: dilapidated housing, gutted buildings, pothole-filled streets, and little economic activity (p. 180).

The book was generally about how the generation could effectuate change at a time when artists became larger than their own communities. Explicit local examples connecting music and social change included: The Hip-hop Coalition for Political Power; the Rock the Vote campaign; and Conrad Muhammad, a former youth minister for the Nation of Islam who moved to a post in Harlem and inspired the "pro-Black rhetoric of rap groups like Public Enemy, X-Clan, Poor Righteous Teachers, Ice Cube, and others" within the hip-hop nation (p. 167). When exploring the impact domestically, the author provided six specific examples of how rap music both supported and influenced social change. The list included: dealing with "The Haitian Refugee Crisis"; "Rappers and Mumia Abu-Jamal"; support of "The Million Man March"; support of "The Million Youth March"; ending and pacifying the "East Coast/West Coast Conflict"; and funding "Social Programs and Foundations" (pp. 206-210). These were: "Indications of the endless possibilities of [the] unified front

approach" and examples of "rap's demonstrated success in extending its influence beyond popular culture" (p. 206). These were very explicit examples of how mainstream rap used its power in positive, community-benefiting ways.

Although the examples above do not exhaust the list of locale specific studies, they illustrate rap music's growing national/transnational appeal and influence.

6. The Setting(s): Oakland, CA 1980-1999 and 2000-2010

Much of Oakland's history from 1980 to 1999 involved rebuilding after natural disaster and creating a business-friendly environment. Two major natural disasters threatened Oakland's physical environment—an earthquake in 1989 and a wildfire in 1991. Near West Oakland, "the Loma Prieta earthquake [hit] the Bay Area collaps[ed] the Cypress Freeway and [destroyed] over 1,000 housing units," killed 45 people, damaged city hall, and delayed the Bay Area World Series between the San Francisco Giants and Oakland Athletics. Two years later in Northeast Oakland, a wildfire destroyed over 3,500 dwellings and killed 25 people. (City of Oakland, 2002).

In 1995, Oakland City Hall finally reopened after earthquake damage and signaled a rise in prominence in many ways—notably a business-friendly environment. That year, *Fortune Magazine* ranked Oakland, San Francisco, and San Jose as the #1 place to do business, and three years later, *U.S. Money Magazine* ranked Oakland among the top 25 cities to live in the US and 10th best in West. This rising reputation of Oakland was also reinforced when "Jerry Brown, former State of California Governor and three-time Presidential candidate, was inaugurated as

Oakland's 47th mayor" in 1999. The cultural shifts detailed in the previous chapter can be seen in the changing ownership of the town's major media outlet—*The Oakland Tribune*. The newspaper once associated with the "Old Republican Guard" and pro-business interests became "the first major metropolitan newspaper owned by an African American" in 1992 (City of Oakland, 2002).[6]

Yet, "white flight" brought about socio-economic challenges for the black "underclass" in Oakland. Robert Self's *American Babylon* (2003) has explained how geographical changes led to cultural, economic, and political challenges for many of Oakland's black residents. His analysis about the establishment of the "Garden City" has revealed how the Bay Area version of "white flight" destroyed the core of Oakland's inner-city. This was done in three parts: (1) Bay Area pursuit of the Californian version of the American dream; (2) tax redistribution from the mid-1960s to the mid-1960s; and (3) a "suburban revolt" as a reaction to Black Power from the mid-1960s to the late-1970s. Self's work examined this history and the sharp class divisions between "the flatlands," "the foothills," and "the hills." As Self illustrated, the individuals who were able to move out of the inner-city and Eastward to the "foothills" and the "hills" established the suburbs. Yet, the "flatlands" of East Oakland and West Oakland became a major throughway linking the "hills" and "foothills" to San Francisco. Thus, the Oakland inner-city was essential for travel and business/commercial endeavors (see Figure 7). Most of the black population remained in the "flatlands," and the government's "gentrification" process (paving highway systems, building public transportation systems) was at the expense of this

black population. While these systems of transport created easy access to and from Oakland, the systems also made the inner-city conditions worse. Self's historical analysis carved out a geographic area of constant war and conflict located in between Oakland's I-880 and I-580 bypasses, and his study proves to be haunting when comparing the rise in murders in Oakland's "flatlands" after the 1960s to other areas in Alameda County (see Figure 14 further below).

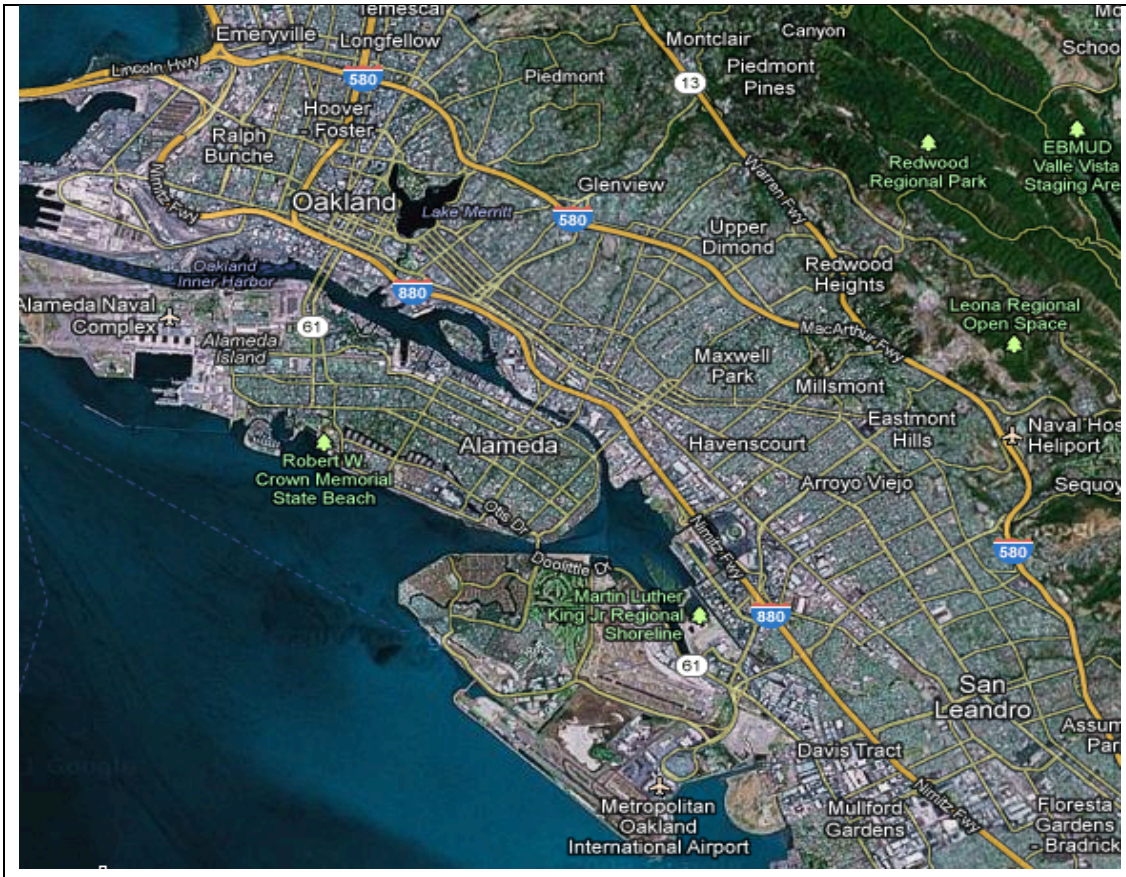

Figure 7: Map of Oakland, CA. Source, TerraMetrics (Imagery) & Google (Map Data) (2012)

The Oakland "flatlands" lie in between the 880 and 580 corridor. West Oakland is above Lake Merritt and West Oakland is below Lake Merritt. The "foothills" and "hills" are on the right of the map.

Politically, there was a clear ongoing shift to candidates running on populist appeals. This could be explained through the rise in concentrated black and minority populations. Mayor Lionel J. Wilson (the first black mayor) was defeated in the 1990 primary by Elihu M. Harris (another black mayor)—who then later left office for a previously held State Assembly seat. In 1999, Jerry Brown (the former California secretary of state, youngest governor in California history, attorney general, three time US presidential candidate and one time Senate hopeful) became mayor of Oakland. Brown carefully balanced the legacy of celebrity and populist appeal—as exemplified in his call-in radio show "We The People" (Oakland Public Library, 2010). The election of the anti-elitist/populist Mayor was another sign that the "Old Republican Guard" was fully removed (and not just because of race or party politics).

Although there is much attention given to Oakland's rebirth in the 1990s, the period for the black urban poor was defined by these longer trends described by Self (2003). Certain demographic changes also occurred alongside these geographical and political changes. The data indicates that this location associated with militant, radical black politics was increasingly losing its black population and increasingly losing the war on poverty. The population was growing quite steadily (over 60,000 new residents in a 20 year period), but the percentage of blacks declined during the same period (as the Hispanic population percentage increased). Meanwhile, "white flight" continued from 1980-1990 but subsided between 1990 and 2000 (see Figure 8). Yet, the most telling trends are related to income—as per capita income actually *fell* from 1980-1990 and the percentage of those living below the poverty level increased in

both 1980-1990 and 1990-2000. For further details on demographic shifts, refer to Appendix C-1.

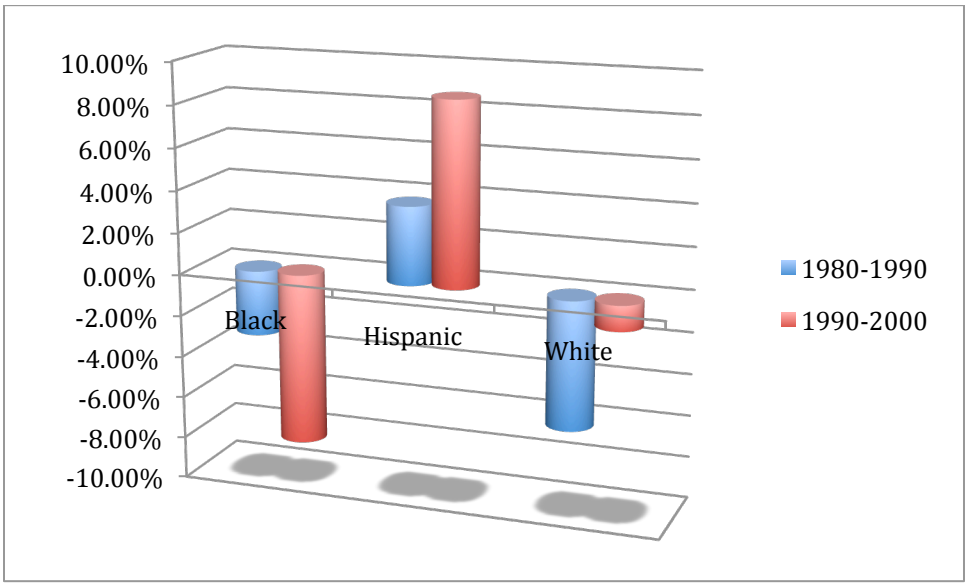

Figure 8: Percentage Changes in Black, Hispanic, and White Populations in Oakland, CA from 1980-2000

The ongoing struggle with crime was also a defining element to Oakland's history. The following trends give some indication as to why *gangsta rap* became a key discourse locally. First and foremost, there was a consistent and extremely high murder rate for most years until a declining rate from 1998-1999—rates that would still be considered high. In addition, from 1989-1995, the murder rate surged greatly. Figure 9 (below) shows the rising murder rate until the late-1990s.

Overall, total offenses fell by around 13,000 during the era, but there were major crime surges between 1986 and 1991. For example, there was a surge in felony assault between 1986 and 1993, a surge in robberies in 1992 and 1993, and a surge in auto thefts from 1989 to 1994. Burglary fell in most years, and it was eventually cut to almost one-third of the 1980 level by 1999. Simply put, there was a rise in serious,

violent crimes between the years of 1989 and 1996. This was paired with less petty crime by the end of the era. When we compare Figure 9 (murders) to Figure 10 (total offenses), there is a picture of a deadlier Oakland with less petty property-related crimes.

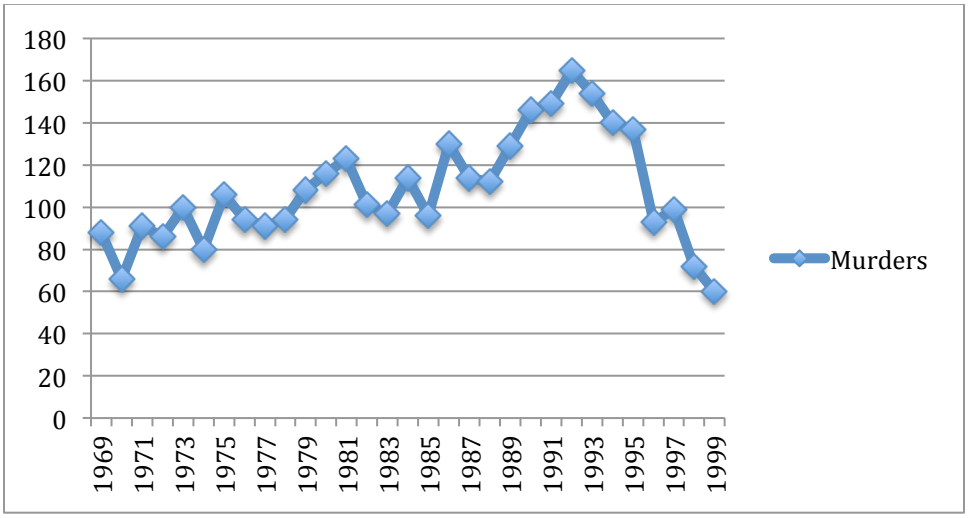

Figure 9: Murders in Oakland, CA from 1969-1999

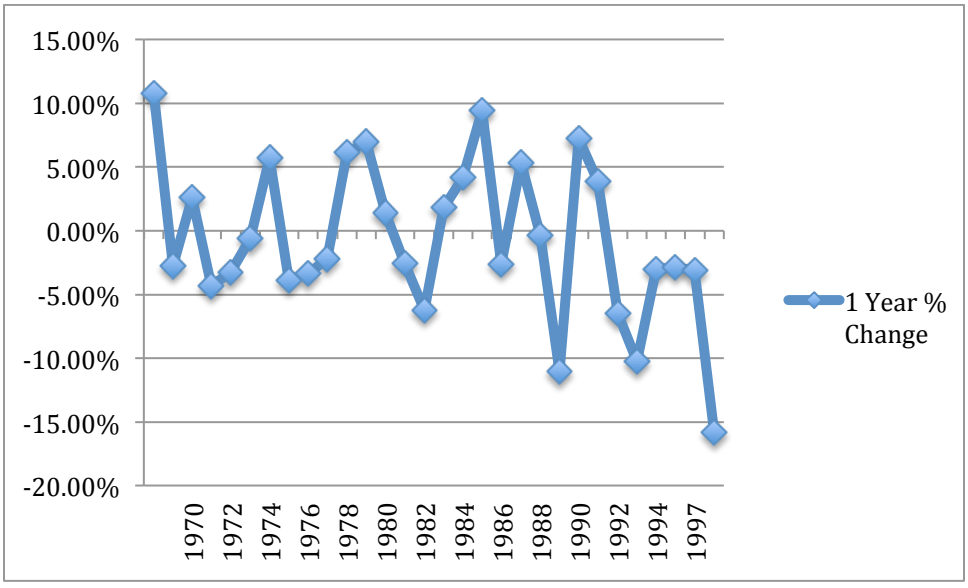

Figure 10: Percentage Change in Overall Offenses in Oakland, CA from 1969-1999

The combination of the geographical and economic shifts paired with high levels of violent crime decimated lower income black communities in Oakland during the 1980s and 1990s. There was a growing frustration and a shift to survival strategies among young black people in East and West Oakland. Rap music rises out of this context as well as a rich cultural history in separatist black politics.

By 1996, there was another movement in Oakland that garnered national attention. On December 18, 1996, the Oakland school board decided to approve use of the Ebony and phonics language ("Ebonics") coined by Robert Williams (1975). Both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Comedian Bill Cosby were outraged (Seymour, Abdulkarim, & Johnson, 1999, p. 68). This was a widespread controversy as Olszewski's article in *The San Francisco Chronicle* entitled "Oakland Schools OK Black English: Ebonics to be Regarded as Different, Not Wrong" (December 19, 1996) set off a national debate, widespread controversy, and academic scholarship (Rickford, 1997, 2006; Fields, 1997; Williams, 1997; Wolfram, 1999; Baugh, 2004; Ongiri, 2009, p. 226).

The local Ebonics controversy was linked to the Black Power Movement (BPM) and Black Arts Movement (BAM) locally and historically. In addition, this language involved attachments to longstanding traditions in culture and deployed social critique through signification and irony (Smitherman, 2005, pp. 52-53). By use of issue-framing techniques (Wolfram, 2004), it even issued rewards for creative, "quick verbal responses" and achievement in rhyming games such as rap songs (Schlesinger, 1998, p. 121). The Ebonics move has been tied to a political history of

the language (Fields, 1997) and has also been explained as a combination of black and speech sounds with origins in "pidgin/Creole" or "African retention" (Williams, 1997). Williams has also has suggested the legitimacy question was first and foremost. Debate centered on legitimacy of the language, but the Ebonics approval was merely an aim to "bridge to teaching new language systems," and this was a "widely used technique in second language acquisition." Others characterized the move by the public school system as a "radical separatist move" which was resolved by way of "conservative assimilationist" means (Barron, 2000). This, once again, brought Oakland back to the forefront of separatist American politics.

Yet, none of the above aptly explains the aftermath of the end of the BPP. After the breakup of this organization, there was a void to be filled. While some hip-hop literature seeks to explain this void with the emergence of music in the South Bronx, my aim is to first explain how this void was filled in the birthplace and headquarters of the BPP through recorded audio. I too understand rap as a "hard-rock vessel carrying the hopes, anger, disappointments, attitude, and history of post-black power America" (Reeves, 2008, p. xii). But the evidence proves that purely looking at local, East Bay sources and deemphasizing a reliance on commercialized products can explore this vessel. The period from the mid-1970s to the early-1980s can be seen as an inter-period or gap in alternative political discourse, but t is not difficult to make the connection between the BPP and the rap music of the subsequent era. The connections are through the other non-political spheres (such as the arts) and through the youth (such as 2Pac)—as I detail in chapter four.

2000-2010. Unfortunately, many of the trends described above continued in the next decade. Oakland became infamous for its high murder and crime rates, and some residents nicknamed it "Baby Iraq." This nickname replaced the affectionate label "The Town" with a pejorative label referencing the US's current war. To those who used the term, Oakland had become a warzone. These diverse nicknames advance a difference between legitimatized and delegitimized understandings of local space. Although this division was surely operational in prior eras, this was fully apparent and widely publicized by 2000.

"The Town" was about an interconnected, largely diverse, educated populace. From 2000-2010, Oakland's population grew to around 400,000 residents and nearly one-third had a college degree—twice the national average and eighth in the US in overall educational achievement. During the same time period, Oakland was ranked "third in the nation for percentage of households with Internet access." Also, the "*Wall Street Journal* rank[ed] Oakland the #1 office market in the U.S. through 2005," and "*Forbes Magazine* rank[ed] Oakland the 10th best city for business in the U.S." In addition, Oakland celebrated its 150th anniversary of incorporation (City of Oakland, 2002). Yet, the underside of Oakland also gained media attention, and one of the nicknames was "Baby Iraq." A two-part documentary chronicled a side of Oakland full of gangs, thugs, and shootouts (The Discovery Channel, 2009). Survival in "Baby Iraq" was presented as a constant question of self-preservation while facing a perpetual state of war. There is not a vast amount of academic literature to

substantiate this type of environment, but rappers, independent filmmakers, and newspaper authors began using the term for a variety of purposes.[7]

Politically, Oakland was moving leftward once again. Mayor Ronald V. Dellums became the third Oakland native to become mayor; he was a hero to liberals, leftists, and Vietnam opponents. More notably, he was the only openly socialist candidate to run for the US House of Representatives (Oakland Public Library, 2010). Both the previous mayor (Jerry Brown) and Dellums campaigned on anti-elitist appeals—Brown as a populist and Dellums even further leftward ideologically. These are clear indications of the impact of "people power" leftover by the legacies of the BPP. Democratic, populist, and socialist leadership could remove Republicans, and black mayors could replace white mayors. Still, by the time of their successful mayoral elections, the underside of "The Town" was already well established and probably not interested in populist or socialist politics. So neither Brown nor Dellums could save Oakland from gaining the reputation of "Baby Iraq." Progressives criticized Brown due to his pro-development, gentrification positions and projects, and because these projects were mostly funded through private investment (Elinson, September 2, 2010). He was also widely criticized for his inability to make Oakland safer (Johnson, November 25, 2002; Lee, July 11, 2006). Brown's critics have claimed that he used Oakland as a springboard back into state-level politics. Dellums was widely criticized for issues related to his governance strategies as well, including a lack of openness in within his administration, infectiveness, and even abandonment

(Johnson, November 2, 2007). Also, during his administration, the issues of public welfare (both safety and services) were two major shortcomings.

There were a few notable demographic changes between 2000 and 2010. They all add up to an increase of a professional class of individuals and a remaining "underclass" of black poor. There was a slightly smaller population, fewer families and a higher per capita income, and a significant increase in white population percentage (for the first time in 20 years). After an initial population swell to slightly over 404,000 residents in 2008, by 2010, total population had decreased. This was the first population decrease since 1980. As the black population continued to decrease at a substantial rate (-7.7%), the Hispanic population percentage continued to rise (although slower than the previous census).[8] The percentage of adults and the median age continued to increase, and the number of families (and those with children) and population per household decreased. These trends did not help diminish the poverty level as it remained at the same level as the period between 1990 and 2000. As Figure 11 shows, the black population was replaced by an increase in white and Hispanic populations. For additional demographic data, refer to Appendix C-1.

In terms of crime, from 2000-2010, there were some troubling trends. This was especially true of the years between 2006 and 2008. Generally, the number of murders remained lower than the previous two decades, but it spiked twice—from 2002-2003 and from 2006-2007—before ultimately falling again (Figure 12).

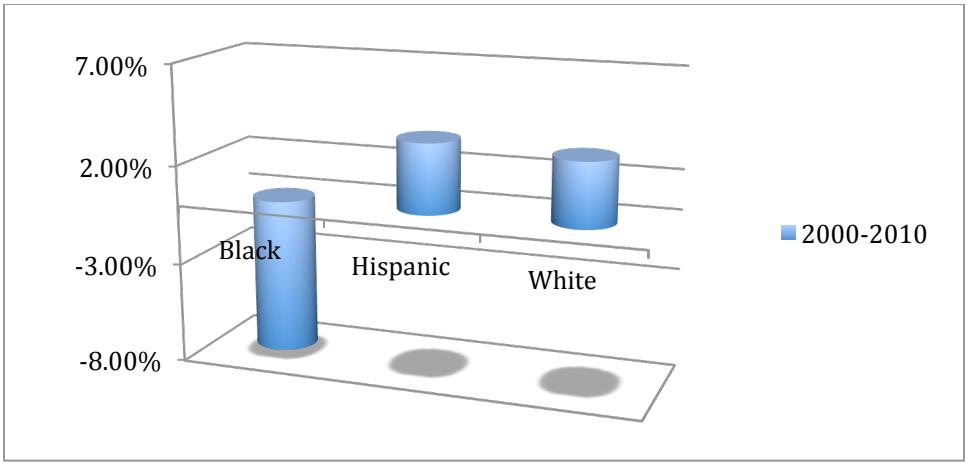

Figure 11: Percentage Changes in Black, Hispanic, and White Populations in Oakland, CA from 2000-2010

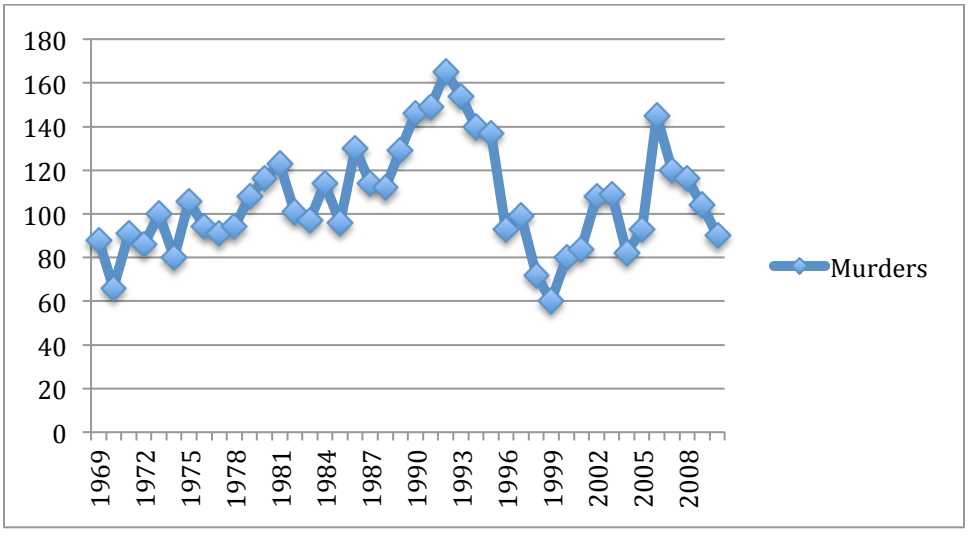

Figure 12: Murders in Oakland, CA from 1969-2010

Generally, robbery, felony assault, burglary, total larceny, and auto theft spiked alongside the number of murders. To put it another way, the years with the highest percentage change in criminal offenses correlated with the years with the highest rise in murders—with the exception of 2000. This was especially true of 2006, when the percentage change in criminal offenses jumped nearly 18%. It was also true between 2000-2001 with increases of over 10% and 8%, respectively

(Figure 13). In addition, the geographical concentration of the murders in Oakland's "flatlands" carved out a deadly territory between highways 880 and 580 (Figure 14). For additional information on the crime summary, please refer to Appendix C-2.

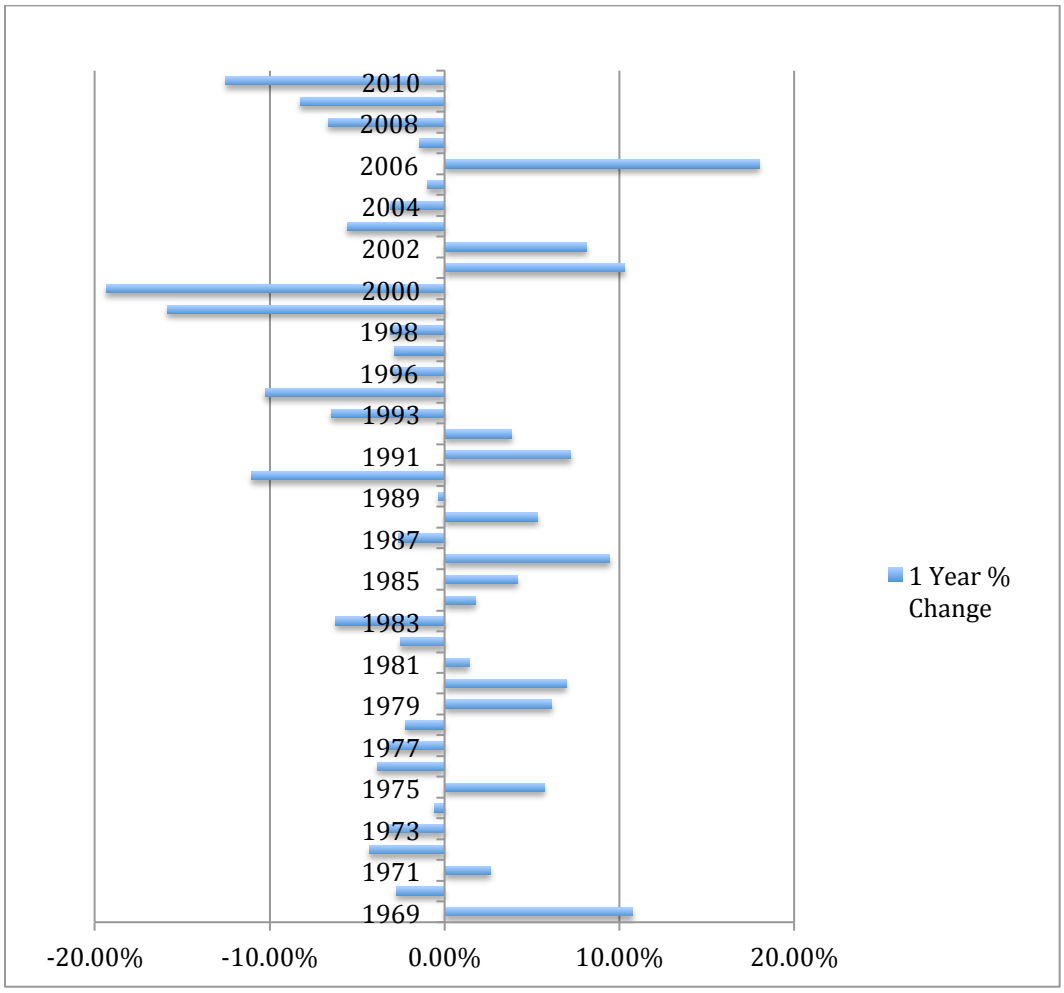

Figure 13: Percentage Change in Overall Offenses in Oakland, CA from 1969-2010

The problem with crime, and particularly violent crime in Oakland was a reoccurring theme. This only worked to reestablish prior claims made by 1980s and 1990s Oakland rappers. Furthermore, artists during the 2000-2010 era continued to link their environment to the local history of black struggle. This trend occurred

despite the rise in popularity and commercial appeal during the "hyphy" era. The setting above contributed to the continuation of a critical anti-state discourse as I argue in chapter five.

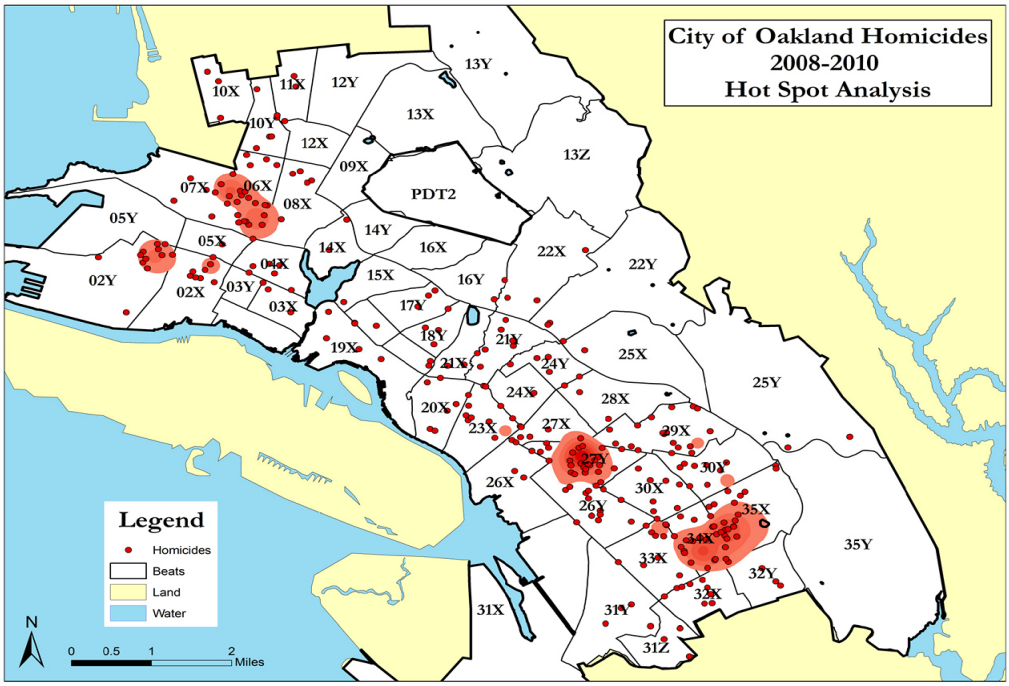

Figure 14: Oakland, CA 2012 Homicide Map. Source, SpotCrime (2012)

This map displays the homicides in 2012 (as of this writing) in Oakland, CA. The murders have mostly occurred within the highway 880 and 580 corridor, and there are four "hotspots"—two in Deep East Oakland and two in West Oakland.

7. Conclusion

Local rap music in the Oakland, East Bay, and San Francisco Bay Area is a vital case due to its historical roots in radical and militant Black Power, initial thematic development during the rise of the *gangsta rap* subgenre, and geographical

positioning North of the digital age capital. The years in between the fall of the BPP movement and the rise of rap music in Oakland were a difficult time for local black youth. Although Chang (2005) has contended that the Oakland scene emerged in the late-1980s/early-1990s, there is much evidence to support an earlier existence and a strong connection with the BPP.

I make the case that that rap music emerged on the underground scene immediately after the fall of the BPP. If we place the end of the BPP movement with entrances into electoral politics, education, and other spheres (around the late-1970s, early-1980s) and local rap's beginnings with the circulation of Too $hort's bootlegs, demos, and unreleased products around 1981, then they actually overlapped historically. However, if we place the end of the BPP movement with the COINTELPRO efforts (around the very early-1970s) and rap with the first official rap releases by Too $hort around 1986, there was a substantial fifteen-plus year gap. In either instance, the empirical data from the following three chapters indicate a heavier BPP influence locally in the Oakland/East Bay scene than elsewhere. The shifting political, economic, and social climate only contributed to the level and detail of the rapper's *quotidian* narratives.

This presents an opportunity to explore a subculture with prerequisite roots for resisting the detrimental impacts of popularization and commercialization. By the mid- to late-1980s, rap was on the scene locally and developed over the next two decades—as explored in chapters four and five. These local *quotidian* subgenres corresponded with BPP functions: exposing the hypocrisy of the American dream by

comparing the militarized conditions of the inner-city to the rest of America (*gangsta rap*); achieving visibility or raising awareness to a social issue or set of related social issues (*socially conscious rap*); calling for political change via the electoral system or by challenging the ability to achieve political change democratically (*politically conscious rap*); and by introducing new messages and styles prohibited by other subgenres (*alternative rap*). Yet, each subgenre was a certain negation of Black Nationalism (especially that of the BPP). *Gangsta rap* emerged as deeply capitalist and only community-oriented in terms of sets, turfs, and small units for the purposes of obtaining capital or remaining authentic. *Socially conscious rap* was divorced from using violence as an effective or necessary strategy for change. *Politically conscious rap* lessened the accounts of violence and social turmoil in an effort to propose change without glorifying ghetto, inner-city stereotypes. *Alternative rap* was not necessarily inner-city based, driven, or created.

The chapters that follow use three important figures to the Oakland scene to provide a structural narrative—Huey P. Newton in chapter three, Tupac Shakur (2Pac) in chapter four, and Andre Hicks (Mac Dre) in chapter five. These figures are hailed as "representative-martyrs" within the local rap community of the Bay Area. Their influence on the scene is immense, complex, and unparalleled.

Chapter 3: The *Quotidian* Discourse of the BPP

1. Introduction

This chapter centers on the transformation of Oakland, CA from a World War II port city with a rising migrant black population into an epicenter of the late-1960s black, militant counterculture. The rise and politics of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense (BPP) established Oakland as the headquarters of a youth-led, separatist campaign and transformed "The Town" and surrounding locations. After the fall of the Party, local rappers began to use the legacy of the BPP as a source of political authenticity. By the mid-1970s, West and North Oakland had become an example of a "countercultural powder keg"—a potent mix of a politically educated, radical leaning, and willingly militant "underclass" of black youths with rising and unmet expectations.

My primary sources are widely available in multiple formats—as discussed in my Introduction. All but two of my primary sources were written on or before 1973. Within the other 98 statements, there were two common trends. First, there was a tremendous emphasis on *revolutionary Black Nationalism* being different from solutions offered by other black organizations. Second, there was a great emphasis on a war culture. Both themes predated the Party leadership's attempt at electoral politics. By the time the BPP shifted its focus to electoral politics, economic redistribution, and other spheres, the discourse released had been pacified in tone, scope, and ultimately street power.[9]

I analyze three major devices used by the BPP (militant and anti-state images, internal colonization language, and warfare language) to describe both their Oakland and national/international struggles. Images were used to attract new members, internal colonization language was used to persuade BPP aspirants and guide the rank-and-file membership, and warfare language was used to document the ongoing battle between the Party and the US. Thus, the use of militant and anti-state images was aimed at achieving visibility of *revolutionary Black Nationalism* and rejecting *bourgeois reformism* (or *reactionary Black Nationalism*).

Second, the use of internal colonization language was aimed at voicing the condition of *territorial separatism* and a rejection of integrationist solutions. There were really seven main stages of internal colonization use:

1. Creating a Base of Black Power, "We are living in a black colony here in America!" (October 29, 1966 through January 4, 1969).

2. Rejection of Capitalist Economic Nationalism, "The black colony is a product of the intensification of US imperialism carried out through fascism domestically and abroad." (February 17, 1969 through May 25, 1969)

3. Proposition of Socialist Economic Nationalism, "Liberation of the black colonies can set the example for liberation worldwide." (May 1969 through November 1969)

4. Community Control and Services, "Community control and services for the people should be primary objectives in liberating the black colony." (November 1969 through January 1970)

5. Fascist Methods, Imperialist Goals, and Late Capitalism, "As the process of fascistization and effects of imperialism increase, the more powerful the resistance will become." (January 31, 1970 through August 15, 1970)

6. Alternative and Revolutionary Framework for Change, “The People must offer an alternative for change!” (August 15, 1970 through November 18, 1970)

7. Ongoing and Future Struggles of the People, “Power to the People!” (December 1970 through June 18, 1977)

The seven stages form a temporal development of this key BPP message throughout a decade of *The Black Panther* and supporting speeches, addresses, interviews, books, and research done by the BPP. The themes, dates, and stages demonstrate the changing focus from late-1966 through mid-1977. For a more detailed breakdown of each stage and its sources, please refer to Appendix D-1.

Third, the use of warfare language was aimed at placing the reader within the context of urban struggles between the Party and the US by reporting how *territorial separatism* led to the development of *revolutionary Black Nationalism*. This was performed in three parts: (1) the definition of repressive, capitalist, and racist forces (February 17, 1969 through 1971); (2) the ineffective local response at dismantling the Party (October 4, 1969 through January 31, 1971; and (3) and the effectiveness of the federal response (June 20, 1970 through June 1980). For further detail on these parts, please refer to Appendix D-1.

Ultimately, the BPP retrenched back to its West Oakland headquarters as the Panthers refocused their energies on entrances into local electoral politics, and this was largely on the basis of community control. They also began to use crisis language to discuss the future of the inner-city. *The Black Panther* set up the groundwork for the radical and militant discourse of Oakland rap albums (as argued in the next chapter).

2. The Story of *The Black Panther*

Through the creation of the BPP and the release of *The Black Panther*, Newton became a "representative-martyr" of Bay Area rap discourse from an era of COINTELPRO infiltration and entrances into electoral politics. Newton helped create the newsletter while conducting a "self-proclaimed" war against the local, state, and federal levels of the American government. Newton (with the help of Bobby Seale) established a political, radical, and militant Party (The Black Panther Party, November 23, 1967; The Black Panther Party, May 13, 1972) and a code of boundaries, discipline, and standards for the BPP members (Newton, 1966). The literature produced by the BPP was a highly combative political discourse about internal colonization. The amount of material produced by these members between the mid-1960s and early-1980s was immense, and Newton's work was only an example.

In addition to writing the founding Party documents and multiple revisions of these founding documents, overseeing the BPP newsletters, and numerous speeches, Newton wrote at least two books, a Ph.D. dissertation, and many of the newsletters. Most of Newton's work was about the nature of government oppression through political, economic, and social institutions and the need for a militant response as he discussed in *To Die for the People* (Newton & Morrison, 1972) and *Revolutionary Suicide* (Newton, 1973). In his Ph.D. dissertation at the University of California at Santa Cruz, he turned to writing about the government's response to the BPP in *War Against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America* (Newton, 1980). Posthumous

collections of his works are also available such as *The Huey P. Newton Reader* (Newton, Hilliard, & Weise, 2002).

Newton (the Minister of Defense) was not alone in forming this critique. Prominent contributors to this first alternative discourse included: Seale (Co-founder and Chairman); H. Rap Brown (Justice Minister); Stokely Carmichael (Honorary Prime Minister "stolen" from SNCC); Eldridge Cleaver (Minister of Information); Kathleen Neal Cleaver (Communications Secretary); Bobby Hutton (Treasurer), Elaine Brown (Chairwoman and Minister of Defense in the mid-1970s); Bunchy Carter (Deputy Minister of Defense of the Southern California chapter); George Jackson (who was killed in California prison); Fred Hampton (Deputy Chairman of the Illinois chapter who was shot to death in police raid by Chicago police and the FBI); David Hilliard (Chief of Staff); Bobby Rush (Deputy Minister of Defense of the Illinois chapter and current Democratic Congressman of the Ist Congressional District representing Chicago, IL); Larry Pinkney (leader of the New Republic of Africa); and Angela Y. Davis.

Party membership peaked in 1969 after Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination and urban riots to 5,000 members (Booker, 1998, p. 341; Johnson III, 1998, pp. 393-410), and some claimed there were as many as 10,000 members (Asante & Mazama, 2005, pp. 135-137). It is difficult to find a non-Panther source for this information. Asante also claimed that the newsletter had a circulation of 250,000 (pp. 135-137). This has not been well documented because we again need to rely on the Party for these numbers. Another common point of disagreement is the percentage

of women in the Party. Seale claimed that 60% of the members were women (Seale, 1978, p. 177; Perkins, 2000, p. 132). Elaine Brown (1992, p. 190) has refuted this claim (Perkins, 2000, p. 132). From these points of contention, we can surmise the following information. Party membership swelled between 1968 and 1970 into the thousands, and Seale likely overstated the percentage of women in the movement. By 1980, the membership was around 50 members (Carpini, 2000, p. 190)—or nearly half of that at around 27 members (Austin, 2006, p. 336). Both estimates of Party membership during the peak and fall indicate a 99% decrease in members from 1968 to 1980.

At the age of 47, Newton was fatally shot in the face three times in West Oakland during a reported failed attempt to buy cocaine or crack-cocaine on August 22, 1989. The details of his murder suggest signs of a new war on the streets of Oakland. This new war was the war on drugs. Yet, Newton lives on through his Party's literature—especially through the statements contained in *The Black Panther* newsletter.

I argue that the Panthers were proposing a literal, alternative state, saw Oakland as their answer to Washington, DC (a political headquarters), and used lessons from Oakland to wage a war ranging from ideas to actions over the West Coast, East Coast, North, and deep South in the US and envisioned extending the war worldwide.

Between 1967 and 1971, the Party mixed "revolutionary black nationalism with potent masculine street bravado to define something like a black territory."

Oakland became "the location of race in both ideological and concrete space" (Self, 2000, pp. 767-768). This was in contrast to the old Civil Rights Movement guard, which "fought the production of racial *space* as vehemently as they fought the production of *race*" (p. 768, emphasis in original). However, after Newton's August 1970 prison release, he moved from West Oakland to Lakeshore Drive (near Lake Merritt and downtown). The Party moved in "three new directions": concentrating on alliances with other black organizations—even Democratic clubs; closing most other locations and focusing on Oakland as a "practical revolutionary demonstration city" and "sole focus"; and moving its leadership (Newton, Seale, and Elaine Brown) to electoral politics (p. 769).

There are three main points before delving into this rich *quotidian* discourse. *First and foremost*, the period from October 1966 through November 1969 (stages one through three), really introduced a key set of issues to be resolved—mostly problems and visionary solutions—while the period between November 1969 through November 1970 (four through six) really began to focus on detailed solutions to the early problems. This calendar year was an important time for BPP extension domestically and internationally using themes and ideas tested in the internal colony for the previous three years.

A *second* and related point is that there is some overlap between a few of the periods, and they could be organized, synthesized, and combined in more simplistic ways thematically. However, to do so would largely undermine the temporal development of political content within the Party discourse. Yes, combining periods

one and four as interlinked (problem and solution) appears effective at first glance, but it ultimately muddles the political circumstances of each part.

Third, and perhaps most important, it is necessary to state my purpose in using the newsletter details below. My aim is not to summarize the individual texts, but to instead summarize the major themes and trajectories created. While this sometimes necessitates substantial summary material, the vast majority of statement summarization can be found in the footnotes. There is a vast amount of illustration, detail, and volume to the statements I seek to analyze, but there is not enough space to do the Panthers' *quotidian* accounts justice. In other words, the reader should understand that I am calculating aggregate information from data. Below you will find the importance, interpretation, and results; for the step-by-step parts of the work, you should refer to the notes. As Figure 15 displays, the Party fully envisioned attracting black youth through their newspapers, slogans, and calls to arms.

Figure 15: Source, It's About Time (2004-2012a)

3. Use of Militant and Anti-State Images

The BPP images tell an important part of their story. Since many—if not most—of the images were directly related to the colonial struggle, Oakland was effectively set up as the headquarters of the American colony. The location was merely an example that highlighted reasons behind the Party, the potential power of the Party, and the types of claims the Party would make in the future. The images were clearly designed to attract young, radical blacks in America's inner-cities to steer them to see the need for militant, organized and purposeful action in redressing institutional racism and oppression.

BPP use of militant and anti-state images was aimed at achieving visibility of *revolutionary Black Nationalism* and rejecting *bourgeois reformism* (or *reactionary Black Nationalism*) by: (1) proposing action through organized, armed militancy; (2) negating agents of repression as delegitimized capitalists; and (3) guaranteeing future outcomes and issuing warnings associated with urban inhabitants as victims. Below, I detail two examples from each BPP aim. Please see Appendix B-1 for the full image bank.

The Gun as the Basic Tool for Liberation. The BPP exhibited that the gun as the basic and necessary tool for liberation of the oppressed colonies. The importance of these images is that they illustrated the development of organized militancy and rebellion to redress oppression. The two examples detailed below are representative of 10 similar instances.

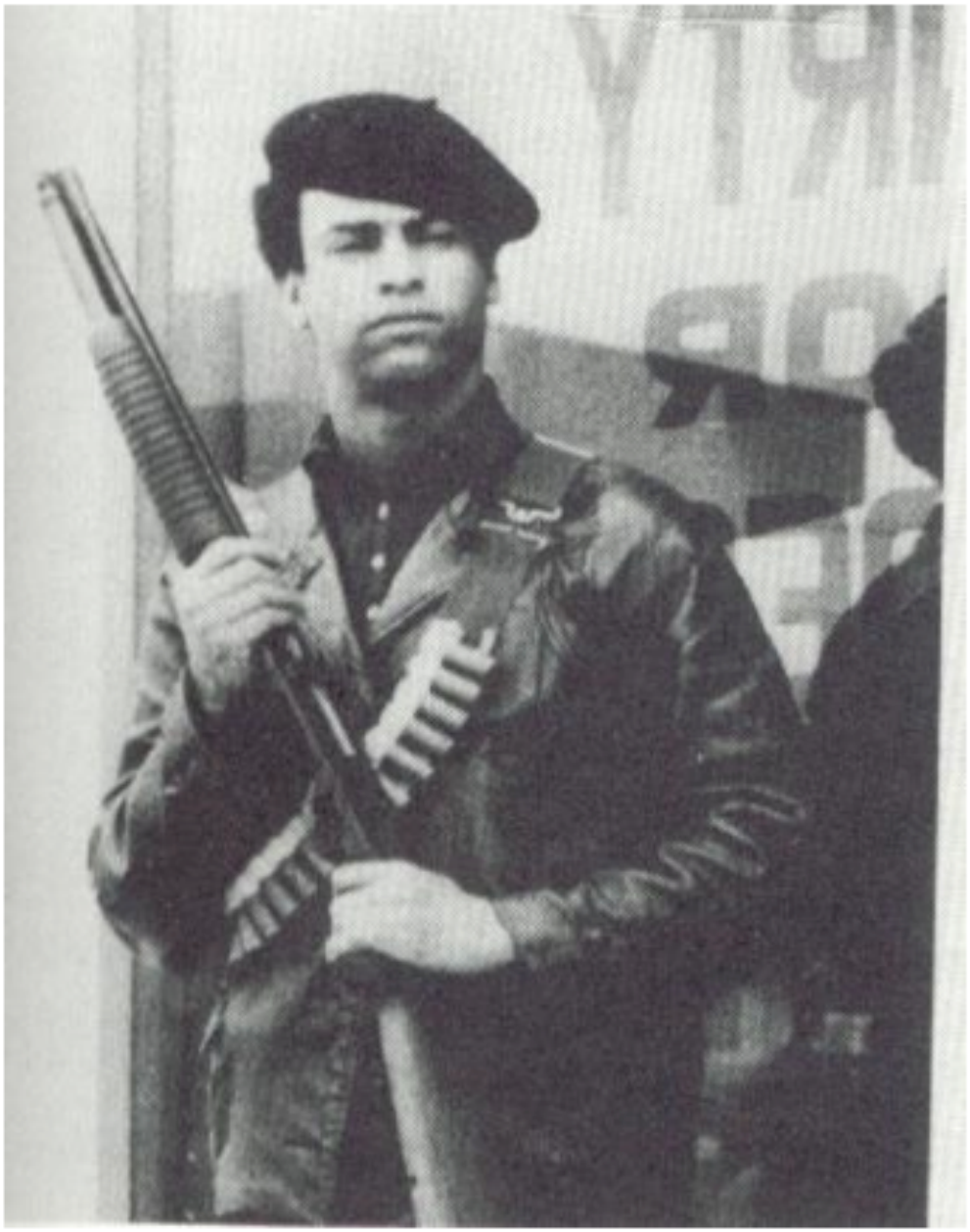

Figure 16: Appendix A-1, Source 107

Newton was dressed and "strapped"—in all black holding a shotgun with 20 or so bullets "strapped" across his chest. Images such as this stamped the movement with a level of coolness while presenting a call to arms.

Figure 17: Appendix A-1, Source 115

Six armed Panthers were in a row of an army with guns at their hips and wearing white gloves. This photograph alluded to there being hundreds (if not thousands of other soldiers) armed and ready to fight.

In the first image above (Figure 16), it is unclear why Newton was "strapped," but we can assume it was for some kind of threat. We found out that this threat was the state and all forces of oppression—signified by the police (or pigs) in other illustrations. These forces were revealed to abuse innocent, colonial citizens and since no location was off limits, guns were necessary to protect colonial subjects from police invading their homes. Yet, these guns were to be used in an organized rebellion—as in the snapshot above of a few rows of soldiers (Figure 17). Newton would provide the leadership for this approach, as displayed with a tattered photograph of him posing with two weapons (one modern and another primordial). Meanwhile, another photograph of the Panthers at the county court house paraded that the leader's followers were willing to do whatever it took to see his release. Further explanation for this approach was revealed in the other graphics, such as a tattered or distorted photograph symbolizing the efforts of the police force to destroy Newton and the Party. Meanwhile, a transcript of an assault plan gave step-by-step details of the conspiracy to destroy both Newton and the Party membership.

Militancy as a Response to Agents of Repression. The BPP also framed the organized, armed response as a necessary result of the threats posed by opposing forces. The importance of the images below is that they begin to explain *why* the BPP stressed the necessity of armed revolution. It was necessary to counter state agents of oppression. The two examples detailed below are representative of 27 similar instances.

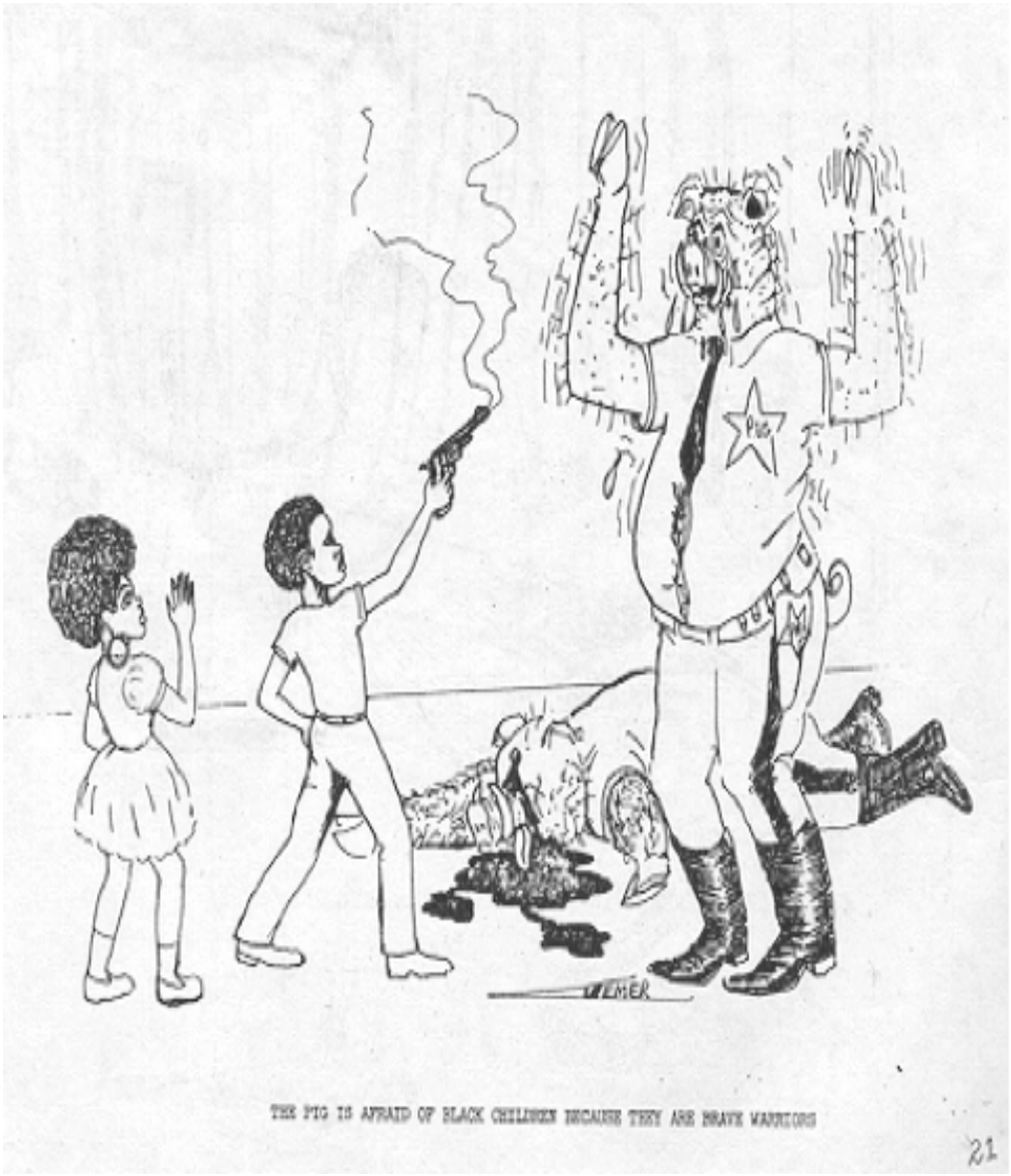

Figure 18: Appendix A-1, Source 168u

This figure was one of 23 vivid, violent illustrations with vivid, violent captions. Most drawings depicted Panthers (or Junior Panthers) attacking pigs, and captions told the story of the black man being stolen from Africa. The coloring book connected history this with contemporary efforts by the police force to destroy blacks in America.

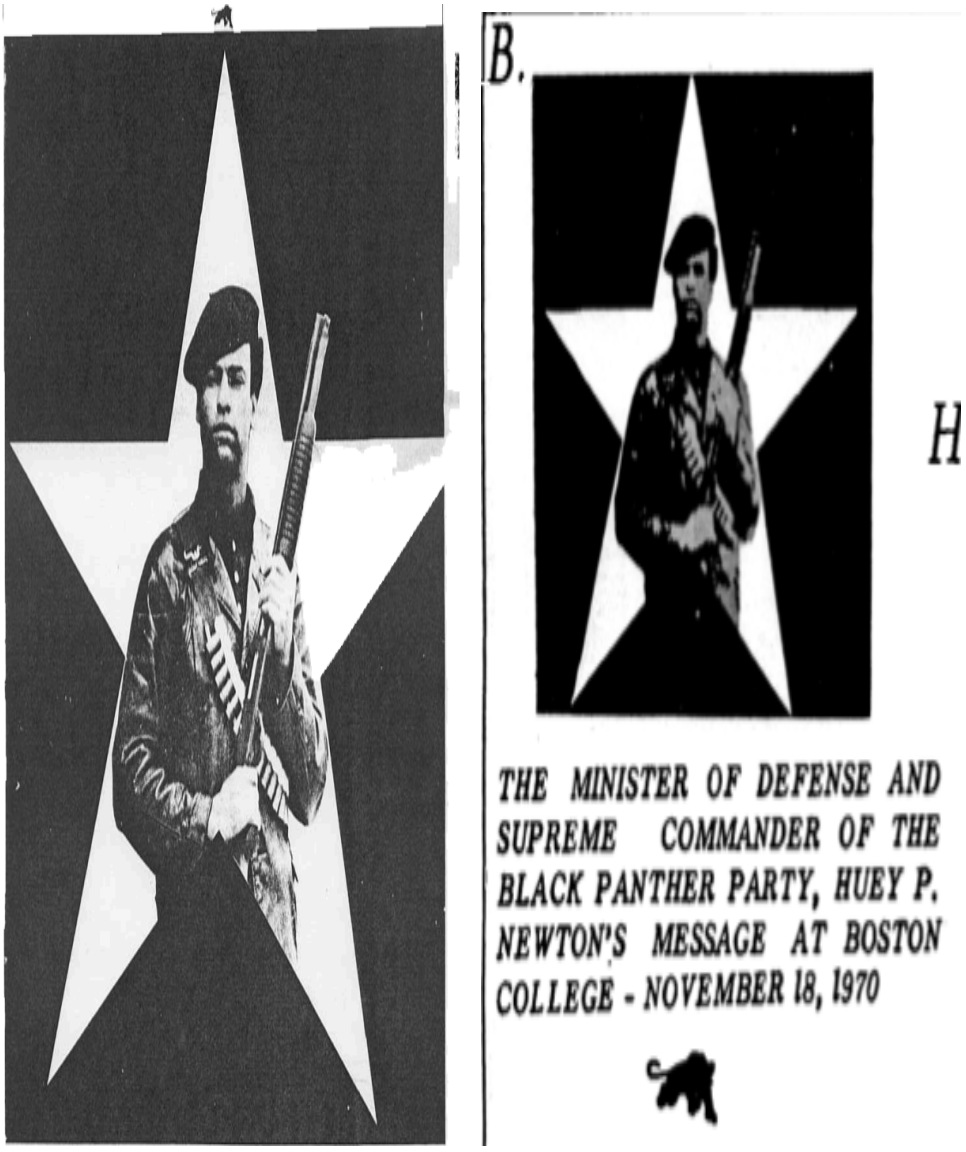

Figure 19: Appendix A-1, Source 187a, 187b

This was a cover photograph of Newton wearing all black holding a shotgun with 20-plus bullets on his chest and a star in the background. The superimposing of his image against a star and the panther (animal) symbol throughout the pages of the article effectively stamped the movement with a logo. In addition, the BPP panther (animal) symbol appeared at both the beginning and end of the document.

The epitome of anti-state display was the *Black Panther Coloring Book* (Figure 18). Designed to be colored in by children receiving the benefits of the "Free Breakfast Program," the book indicated an attempt at counterinsurgency of local and domestic black youth, advising them to resist the police at all costs, to protect their mothers, and to emulate the Panther who "thinks and loves black people." The book was seen as a subversive threat by the government as this was one of the main reasons for calling Panthers and ex-Panthers to testify in Congress.

Other photographs such as an image of bullet holes in a house's window, and a collage of brutally attacked and memorialized Panther-martyrs indicated that since innocent home dwellers in the colony could be attacked at any time, it was wise to get a weapon and join the movement. Members lost to "homicide" at the hands of state agents would be remembered for their devotion. Other images attached a level of coolness associated with being a Panther—as they were depicted as armed, ready, and good-looking colonial soldiers. Yet, the iconic image of Newton holding a shotgun took this coolness to a new level, branding and trademarking the struggle in the process (Figure 19).

The Targets—Agents of State Repression. Finally, the BPP presented the agents of repression to be a variety of institutional forces and made them targets for followers of the BPP. The importance of these images is that they exposed the agents of repression and called for members and potential recruits to resist these agents. The two examples detailed below are representative of 18 similar instances.

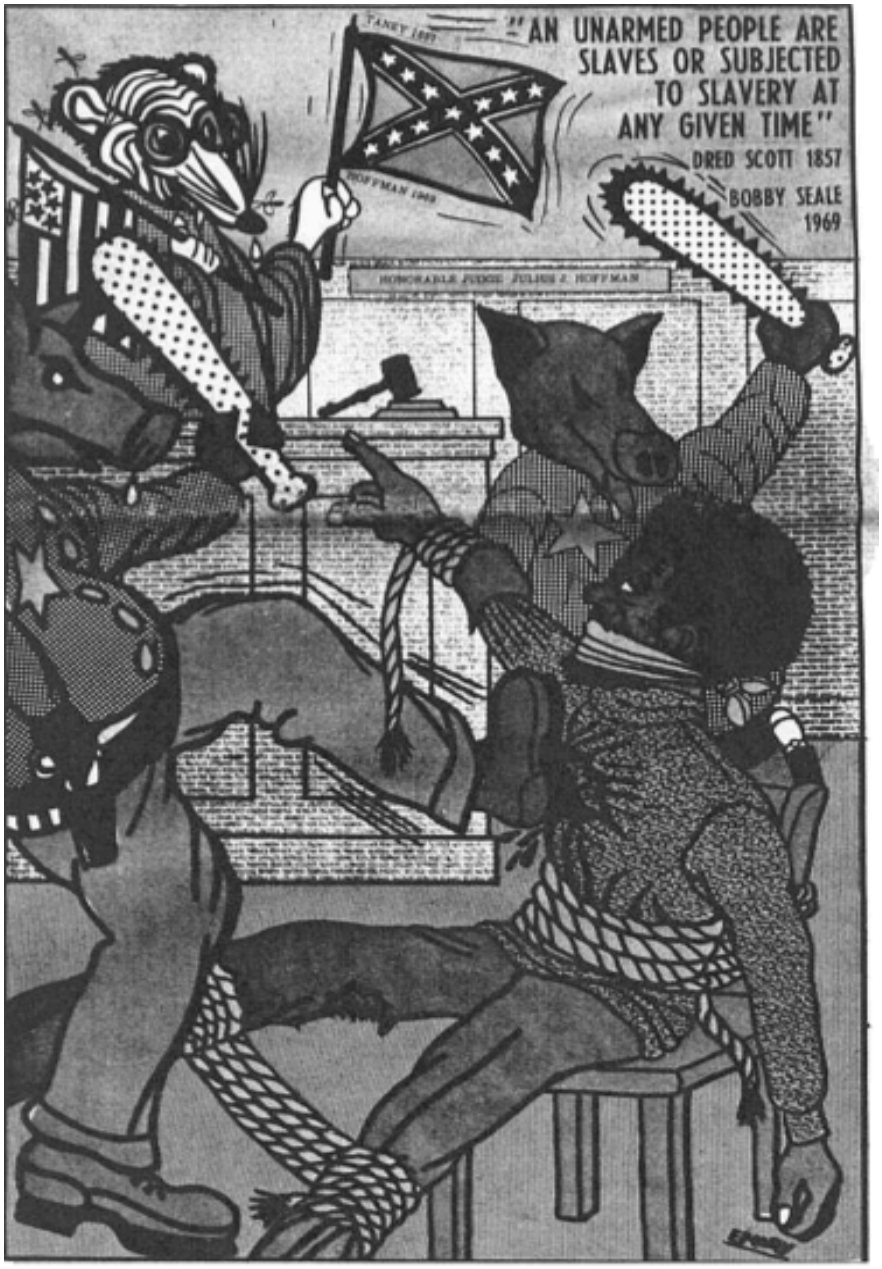

Figure 20: Appendix A-1, Source 161

A black man (presumably Bobby Seale) was being bound and gagged in court, pointing to an American flag, and being kicked in the chest by one pig and held and beaten by another pig behind him.

Figure 21: Appendix A-1, Source 108

This illustration of acid being thrown in the face of a pig as it uttered “oink, oink” suggested a more sinister and aggressive action than most of the other images.

The victimhood of colonial subjects included photographs of abused Panthers, snapshots of murdered Panthers, and distorted images of Newton. The drawing of the courthouse (Figure 20) was one of the more vivid illustrations of abuse and made it clear that America had no place for blacks and would do anything to silence, beat, and torture the black population's leaders through the courts or "legal" apparatuses. The courtroom illustration of the rat holding a Confederate flag in its left hand and an American flag in his right hand was very detailed. It had the names of Judge Taney—who wrote the *Dred Scott v. Sanford* (1857) decision—and Judge Hoffman (who presided over Seale's trial). These names were written on the top and bottom, respectively; the names of Dred Scott and Bobby Seale were written on the wall, all while the black body (apparently Seale) was being beaten.

A drawing of a dismembered pig further illuminated the animosity toward police and courts. The image above (Figure 21) built off of the dismembered pig but instead advocated the act of throwing acid in a pig's face while it oinked. Other images showed the sinister and aggressive nature of the pigs—as in the case of a photograph with a police officer lowering his baton in preparation to strike a colonial subject indiscriminately and actively looking for a target to abuse. Other images hinted that American fascism was hard at work looking for new victims, and an illustration of a gun hinted that a wise colonial subject could use it to avoid such as fate. The BPP also sought to expose politicians as pigs—as in the case of President Richard Nixon.

Yet, even whites fighting for revolutionary change became targets of the state—as the snapshots of "Conspiracy's Victims" with their ages below their pictures revealed. (The names and ages of "Conspiracy's Victims" were: Bobby Seale, 22; Jerry Rubin, 31; Abbie Hoffman, 32; John Froines, 36; David T. Dellinger, 53; Lee Weiner, 30; Tom Hayden, 29; and Rennie David, 29). Other victims were remembered by reminding the readers of the fact that they were murdered or imprisoned by the state. Prison, the result of these apparatuses was also divulged; after being sentenced to prison, the abuse on the part of the state would continue. Meanwhile, images of Panthers using signs to demand the release of Newton and a campaign to free Newton graphic were indications that the people would stop at nothing to see that the leader was freed immediately.

Condemnations of other black organizations, calls for revolutionary conferences, defense funds, and subscriptions to *The Black Panther* were also displayed in the BPP image bank. For instance, one image formed a specific critique of the US Organization (a cultural nationalist organization) and its leader Ron Karenga. In the image, Karenga was drawn as an "egg shaped creature" and was being offered a "pork chop." The term "pork chop nationalism" was a derogatory term used by the BPP to describe such organizations. In the Party's view, blacks were not only being abused by authorities, but they were also being abused by unacceptable black organizations. As an alternative to these other black organizations, calls for revolutionary conferences and donations restated the need for colonial subjects to unite against the targeted agents of state repression. The fact that

subscription to the news service (and all of its militant and anti-state imagery) was directly attached to survival denoted the role that the BPP saw in colonial subjects having access (albeit paid access costing $2.50 for three months, $5.00 for six months, and $7.50 for 12 months) to the discourse the Party was forming.

4. Use of Internal Colonization Language

The visuals above were linked to an explicit critique of the American state. Early on, BPP use of internal colonization language was aimed at voicing the condition of *territorial separatism*, rejecting integrationist solutions, and proposing *socialist economic nationalism*. This three-year use of internal colonization language developed into three corresponding solutions—community control and service, allowing for the decline of fascism and imperialism, and the need for cooperative politics such as "intercommunalism" in solving future problems. Oakland was then used as a local example before being linked to other internal colonies domestically and internationally.

There were seven major periods of development apparent in the statements. First, the BPP referred to the base of black power, rejection of other options, and how the local example was to be used. Then, the BPP clearly shifted toward community control/services, documenting the inevitable collapse of capitalism, the people's role, and future struggles.

Creating a Base of Black Power. Initially, the Party used internal colonization as a framework to define blacks; they were colonial subjects and actors in locales shut off from the rest of American society. In this context, other locations similar to

Oakland could be understood as separate, self-governing entities. By linking them as a nation, blacks would be able to control their own destiny. The Party even declared that the only role for blacks America was as "spare parts for integration." Thus, the argument over control of one's destiny included life and death.

BPP use of internal colonization commenced after Stokely Carmichael called for black power as a national, organized, and militant response to the problems of the black "colonies" en route to a new self-determination and psychological equality in an October 29, 1966 speech given in Berkeley (Appendix A-1, Source 100).[10] During the next year, Newton and Seale began crafting the BPP in Oakland as the solution—the new, national organization for militant black youths. In October of 1967, Newton was pulled over by an Oakland Police Department (OPD) officer, involved in (or a bystander to) the shooting of that officer, and initially charged with 1st degree murder. He was later convicted of voluntary manslaughter of a police officer and sentenced to two to 15 years in prison—a conviction that would be later overturned, see two mistrials, and a dismissal. For the BPP, Newton's case (and his innocence) became a prime example of the failures of the American legal and political system. So, the BPP began organizing "Free Huey" rallies.

During one such rally in Oakland on February 17, 1968, H. Rap Brown and Carmichael used the opportunity to further define the American inner-city colonies—H. Rap Brown domestically (though legal and electoral limits) and Carmichael internationally (by detailing how genocide and racism ultimately undermined the communal way of life from Africa) (Sources 102 and 103).[11] Both speakers stressed

the potential organizational power in numbers, and if their claims were correct, West Oakland would be the local headquarters for the domestic and international "vanguard of the revolutionary struggle." The BPP headquarters were focused on ending continued suffering through exploitation, racism, and the reign of the black bourgeoisie in Oakland and the other black colonies—as Newton discussed in an August 1968 interview (Source 107).[12]

From September 1968 through January 1969, the major resistance to BPP endeavors in the colonies was defined as a racist, exploitative power structure known collectively as white Amerikkka. This quickly and dually-extended the problems claimed to be present in Oakland to other domestic locations and to other populations of oppressed people. An Eldridge Cleaver interview created not only a relationship with other oppressed people, but it also explained how each group of oppressed people could specifically help the BPP cause (all while beginning to extend the problem beyond the headquarters) (Source 110).[13] In October of 1968, Landon Williams' "Imperialism, Economics, and Heart Transplants" presented a clear, morbid, and ruthless message; black people from the colonies would only be useful to whites as spare parts in integration—as illustrated in a South African medical "breakthrough" (Source 112).[14] Three months later (in January of 1969), Evette Pearson's "In White America Today" used a poetic rendition of the Lord's Prayer to tell how white Amerikkka was silencing blacks by committing genocide on the community through (among other things) pigs, punks, and Nixon and then called for the community to respond by building healthy black warriors.[15] The poetic definition

of white Amerikkka as a repressive force and a call to resist this force was the latest in a four-month process of definition. On the same day, Kathleen Cleaver's "From New York Radio Address" argued that the BPP needed to clean its own house and communities before challenging such a system while issuing a warning to those who continued to stand in the BPP's way (Source 113).[16] Also on the same day, the BPP's "Review of Panther Growth and Harassment" provided summary of 28-30 clashes between the movement and law enforcement from October 1966 through September 28, 1968 by detailing specific arrests, charges, imprisonment, attorneys and judges involved, and locations. Of the nearly 30 incidents, all but three took place in Oakland. Even the final incident—the conviction of Newton—was discussed in relation to the headquarters as he was "removed from Oakland within five minutes." Two of the other three locations (Mexico City en route to Cuba and Japan) were discussed as a denial of entry. Chicago, IL was really the only non-Bay Area, CA city to be included in any substantial way (Source 116). This is further evidence of a focus on Oakland at the very beginning and the retrenchment at the end of the Party's history.

Rejection of Capitalist Economic Nationalism. Panther use of internal colonization developed into explaining the root causes of the creation of the black colonies and commenced to envision solutions. They began by exposing immense class inequality (through a caste system, the American bourgeoisie nationally, and American imperialism internationally). The local evidence would be used to highlight an international problem and as a road to propose local to domestic solutions.

In February of 1969, an exclusive interview by Newton described the difference between (white) anarchists and black colonists. Newton labeled America as a class or caste system with blacks of the lowest class having no mobility, and he explained why quests for individual freedom through education (and mind-altering drugs) would not change the military-industrial-complex (Source 117).[17] A month later, in a message taped from prison, Newton contended that this problem was partly rooted in the American bourgeoisie and called for an escalation of the BPP offensive domestically with a "two-revolutionary force" composed of blacks in the ghettoes and alienated white students (Source 121). This began a series of BPP articles critiquing the extension of US imperialism internationally. They labeled the process "fascistication," as the US was engaged in war both overseas and in the prison system at home. Yet, the US leaders attempted to remain respectable behind the veil of so-called "democracy." However, blacks, workers, and students were beginning to recognize the fascist methods—signaling the beginning of its decline and ultimate collapse (Source 123). There were many other examples of similar propaganda from the Party.[18]

The BPP paired these sometimes-philosophical declarations about sharp class divisions and imperialism with self-serving local examples and calls to action. As detailed in chapter three, "To Feed Our Children" (Source 125) and "Serving the People" (Source 127) were combined community service and propaganda efforts by the BPP. This combination would establish the Party as *the* only acceptable solution for impoverished blacks in the US.[19] The Party even attacked the "failed" strategy of

waiting for civil rights; "The Oppressor's Bureaucracy" told the story of a civil service employee (described as a "colonial subject") who had recently filed a lawsuit against the Naval Air Station in Alameda, CA for unlawful demotion and denial of promotion. During the tale, the Party compared the "colonial subject" to the white employee who was less qualified yet received the promotion (Source 136). According to the story, the BPP was the only real solution for inner-city, impoverished blacks—especially on the West Coast—as it dealt with the root of the problem rather than the signs.

In May of 1969, Seale began a speech by illustrating the links between the local, state, and national elements of the Party's separatist campaign by noting Governor Reagan's state building behind them, President Nixon's federal building in front of them, and (San Francisco) Mayor Alioto's building down the street from them. Seale then defended Newton and the Ten Point Program and called for brown and yellow movements to join the oppressed masses (Source 134). Meanwhile "Huey P. Newton Political Prisoner" urged readers to join the efforts to free Newton—who had become a new man formed out of oppression and an armed threat to the "racist dynamic." It also gave two forms of advice—both with local applications. In terms of the police force, it proposed a new concept of mind over matter—"if you do not mind, they do not matter." Yet, it also celebrated Newton's call to the system to "withdraw [their] oppressive forces from the black community" and "cease [their] wanton murder, brutality and torture of blacks, or face the wrath of the armed people" (Source 138). These articles suggested that local efforts could be used in attaining

domestic freedom by seeking the release of the leader for these campaigns. The Party also discussed international issues—as it began to distance itself from the "revisionist" Soviet Union (claiming it had united with the US and moved toward colonialism and capitalism), and the BPP moved toward China as the model for achieving freedom (Source 129). If China failed, imperialism would endure; so, the BPP needed to support the Chinese example**.** This is an indication of the BPP's growing investment with Maoism around 1970.[20]

Proposition of Socialist Economic Nationalism. Between the months of May and November 1969, BPP statements began to use the baseline and examples of local internal colonization to propose that the liberation of the black colonies in America could set the new model for liberation of all oppressed people.

The Party began by linking the history of the horrific abuse of Native Americans and blacks and calling for liberation of both groups. "Rebirth" described 500 years relations between white and Indian nations, detailing how specific nations were close to death and could only be saved through psychological and spiritual revival. The Native American rebirth could be similar to the black struggle and offer dreams or visions to redress "the white sickness" (Source 140). "The Roots of the Party" connected this suffering and noted key historical moments in using militancy to achieve freedom as key moments of black power, pride, and transcendence and called for similar struggles. They contended that there was a Third World colony in American and a need to deal with it totally through black transcendence rather than

solutions offered by other black organizations—often leading the poor with rich leaders (Source 142).[21]

The Party also began to outline a plan of community work. "To the People" indicated how the Seattle, WA branch was in the process of implementing the Free Breakfast Program in a church and claimed that the program was moving to "black colonies" across America. This was in an effort to negate the impact of empty stomachs and negative effects on education (Source 143). The next month, Afeni O. Shakur's "Letters from Jail" established the nature of the political work to be done by the Party. Her letter was a note to inspire paper Panthers to go out and do work—as too many members were unfamiliar with the Panther program. She discussed the need to clean up the image of the Party by reminding readers of the original purpose in uplifting the black colonies through active political work on the streets (Source 148).[22] The next week, the BPP drew on successful international people's campaigns in Latin American and Central American countries (Argentina, Venezuela, Chile, Brazil, Honduras, and Ecuador) as separate events highlighted by student struggles and building occupations that had gained the support of the working class to accentuate the potential power of the people (Source 150). The next month, another article described a conference which offered the first constructive plan to battle fascism worldwide (and that other leftist groups attempted to hinder the effort) (Source 151).[23]

In October and November of 1969, the BPP began describing the limits of military institutions, the mainstream press, and the state in even greater detail. In "To

My GI Brothers" a veteran solider told of the failures of the American system by recollecting his pre-military, military, and post-military life and ultimately decided that the family of America was built on racism (its mother), capitalism (its father), imperialism (its sister), and fascism (its brother) (Source 156).[24] In November of 1969, Eldridge Cleaver's "Statement to All Reactionary Journalists and Pressmen of the United State of America," pronounced the limits of the US press as an institution—a decadent system of information only interested in upholding the power structure—and thus asserted the need for alternative media outlets such as *The Black Panther* (Source 157).[25] The same day, West Cook's "A Short Scope on the Peace Movement," characterized state forces of oppression and, for the first time, explicitly included poor whites within the colonial framework. Cook proposed opening up a war front "right here in Babylon!!!" because Governor Reagan, Strom Thurmond, the FBI ("the Federal Bureau of Intimidation"), and other state forces were ignoring the demands of the people. Cook portrayed how the peace movement needed to be turned into armed resistance. He argued that as long as the "paper god" or dollar ruled, the wars against black, yellow, red, brown, and white colonies would continue (Source 158).

Community Control and Services for the People. Between November of 1969 and January of 1970 the BPP began to emphasize and prioritize community control and services for the people as the means of liberating the black colonies. This, they argued, would solve the issues related to internal colonization. Although community

control was common rhetoric in black politics in the 1960s, the BPP version was more literal and was certainly reinforced by armed revolution.

First, the Panthers exposed black conservative and government attempts to undermine their efforts in the colonies—both by blocking programs and through the introduction of hard drugs. West Cook's "Meeting the Basic Needs of the People" described a Philadelphia, PA case where the police tried to stop the Free Breakfast Program because it was "sponsored and conducted by some 'Militant group" (Source 159).[26] This was a dual effort (by the state and by local churches) to undermine the BPP's determination. Meanwhile, David Hilliard interpreted a 400-year historical experience of black victims in America, denying their constitutional rights and committing genocidal efforts to kill 50 million blacks (Source 160).[27] The lack of constitutional protections and the violations of constitutional principles were seen as the major reasons control of the community was needed. Without access to constitutional rights, the people and all those working in the interest of the people would constantly be harassed and unfairly prosecuted. The Party held that a prime example was the coordinated domestic effort to "kidnap" Seale from Berkeley, CA using a phone warrant from New Haven, CT (Source 161).[28] According to the Party, only the people (coordinated through the BPP) could stem such gross violations by the American state. As the Party was beginning to present comprehensive solutions to urban predicaments (such as poverty, the hunger problem, constitutional inequality, and community control), they argued that the problem of hard drugs was "created" by "illegitimate capitalists." They first identified the differences between hard and soft

drugs, turned to the plot of genocide, turned to the heavy involvement of street hustlers, and finally turned to the cooptation of street hustlers (Source 164).[29]

The Party also began defining roles for women, whites, and "Negro America." "Sisters-Comrades at Arms" depicted women's role in the movement through education. As people slept, fascism was hard at work in the black colonies. One part of the solution was that women should serve the people, stand side by side with the brothers in the movement, and not dwell in male chauvinism (Source 165). Given Seale's misrepresentation of the percentage of women in the BPP and Brown's dismissal of that claim, we cannot take the article above very seriously; the Party was clearly attempting to expand its membership and appeal to women.

They also tried to appeal to radical whites. "White Brother" (written by a self-described "whitie" who wanted to join the BPP and knew many more people like him) detailed how the fascist system was "engulfing" both blacks and whites by stating: "The pigs control everything and no one can do anything about it but you. Too many of my brothers have been brutally attacked by the pigs." The author then contended that whites needed to open their eyes (Source 167). Out of all the statements I examined, this letter was the least sincere. It was likely written by the BPP, or perhaps even the FBI. The BPP could have written this letter of endorsement to draw Berkeley and San Francisco student anti-war radicals. The FBI could have also written the letter to the Party. The COINTELPRO-Black Hate would use any and every opportunity to destroy the Party. Writing a letter of support would turn the public further against the BPP, and the FBI could also use the letter to rationalize and

justify further expenditures and intervention. The role of old "Negro America" was even less clear than the role of women and whites. H. Rap Brown's *Die N*gg*r Die: A Political Autobiography* provided: the different qualities of the struggle in the South, North, West, and East; a harsh criticism of the old black guard as an appeasement effort; the biographical details of genocide through political and psychological processes; and the history of progressive militancy and a constant strand of militancy throughout history (Source 169). Thus, he compared the old black guard to the BPP struggle, but he lacked clarity on the role of the former in the latter's movement.[30]

The goals of the BPP press were better defined than the initiatives above. Landon Williams' "The Black Panther: Mirror of the People" stressed how the *Communal News Service* was not like the bourgeois press because the former was a "living contemporary history" of the people's struggle in the streets from the grassroots level. The service started in 1967 on the basis of self-defense with Newton saying "this is enough" to police brutality and poverty and continued throughout the "wilder" and "wilder" attacks in Chicago and at the Los Angeles office. Williams portrayed the news service as a living, flesh and blood of the people or as a mirror of the people (Source 171). As such, community control and service to the people would be directly tied to the newsletter.

Fascism and Imperialism and Capitalism. The BPP also characterized a self-fulfilling prophesy in internal colonization—that the increases in fascist methods and imperialist goals would produce a more and more powerful resistance. This was

drawn directly from Marx's concept of the fall of capitalism and Lenin's work on imperialism. The Party tied these works together with Maoism's concept of people power.

First, the Party discussed the structure of domestic fascism and provided a local example carried out by the police force. "National Salvation" documented how the BPP was built on basic human self-defense and urged that offense was needed because of "ultra and infra structure of the U.S.A." Because of this secretive, protectionist, and racist order, the primary concern for the black colonies needed to be self-defense (Source 172).[31] A local example of the war waging by the police was the subject of the next article, "Pigs Run Amuck in Richmond, Calif.," which condemned a case occurring at 2:00 a.m. over a minor traffic ticket. This was used as an opportunity to detain a suspect, when the man needed help. In the Party's view, the police were acting in a manner similar to the Gestapo (Source 173).[32] This article was different from the warfare language below because the focus remained on internal colonization. The man who needed help was a victim of being black on the side of the highway.

Next, the BPP presented the case that increases in fascist methods and imperialist goals would produce a more and more powerful resistance. The Party presented itself as a victim of federal probing, and in turn harshly criticized the federal government. "We Must Destroy the Capitalistic System Which Enslaves Us'…" was the first of two congressional hearings into the BPP. This hearing featured an interrogation of Carmichael (by then an active BPP member). The

committee questioned him about his roots and role in the BPM. Carmichael defended his role through the framework of colonization (Source 175).[33] The next BPP statement, Eldridge Cleaver's "On the Pig-Hearted Nixon," reaffirmed the federal government's cause for concern by openly criticizing nearly every element of the federal government. He then mapped out how the people should gain control; the system was sowing the "seeds of [its] own destruction within," and the system had condemned and rejected people in the name of so-called "law and order" (Source 176).[34]

Other BPP authors began to reject the US Constitution as a defunct document. This rhetoric was sometimes filled with anger and impractical ends. Henry Lee's "The Necessity of Rewriting the Constitution" argued that the Constitution looked beautiful on paper but those who applied the Constitution "should be put to death by the people." Lee then advocated rewriting the Constitution and killing judges who applied the Constitution (Source 178).[35] The next statement, James Mott's "The Death of an Ideology of the Constitution of the U.S.A.," proposed "killing off" the Constitution as a symbol of the colonial subjects' 400 years of suffering. Mott then maintained that the people were caught in the American nightmare, and the BPP's Ten-Point Program revised the Constitution and Declaration of Independence to do something about this nightmare (Source 179).[36] Lee and Mott offered contrasting strategies. Lee's seething anger and use of militant rhetoric were not meant to be taken literally. This was merely a rally call to the disgruntled BPP membership. Mott focused on institutional change, and was thus a radical approach.

Around this time, the BPP also began to publicly decry gender and sexual orientation oppression as possibly being among the highest forms of oppression. Newton's well-intended speech "The Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements" instructed BPP members on how to relate to the women's and gay liberation movements by first putting aside personal opinions and insecurities in the name of unification with oppressed people. Newton later requested full participation from gay and women's liberation movements at future public gatherings, and declared that derogatory terms for women and homosexuals should be eliminated from the peoples' vocabulary and should instead be reserved for Nixon and other "enemies of the people" (Source 180). [37] The dialogue in this speech revealed some reservation and difficulty in completely understanding these movements, and he could have been more sensitive. Yet, it was a clear attempt to appear to be progressive in regard to these issues. The influence of the counterculture, gay rights and women's liberation movements' presence in San Francisco and Berkeley has to be considered as a driving force in issuing this statement. In addition, the constant need to expand the Party's membership and affiliates was also a contributing factor to Newton's statement.

Alternative and Revolutionary Framework for Change. The concept of internal colonization also underscored that the people needed to present an alternative and revolutionary framework for change to occur.

Afeni O. Shakur's "We Will Have a New Constitution and Liberty or Revolutionary Suicide and Liberation" began by using Patrick Henry's "liberty or

death" quote then compared the American revolutionary struggle to the black struggle against the "United States Murder, INC." Shakur identified how blacks were jailed, forced to live in unfit homes, starve, taught racism in schools, and faced unemployment. Her solution was to rewrite the Constitution because it was outdated (Source 181).

The abuses of law enforcement were signs that a new framework was needed and signs that the people were willing to fight any forces of repression. Two illustrations of the impact of this outdated document included a Lima, OH case and a Roxbury area of Boston, MA case (Sources 182 and 184).[38] Since the state would not protect black colonial subjects, the people needed to protect their own colonies. In addition, the prison system was attacked as a method of trapping blacks and other minorities, and the process of colonization continued even (or perhaps *especially*) behind bars. Johnny Viera's "Racism and Prison" described the conditions of the prison system from which Newton was released in an institutional manner and then called to free all political prisoners (Source 186).[39]

There was proof the people could be successful in achieving their goals for change, as "To the Black Panther Party and the People" announced Newton's release after 33 months of imprisonment. The Party emphasized that the collective efforts of the Party and oppressed masses made this happen. The article then expressed the need for a transfer of power (a revolution) and not a correction of abuses (a reform). Seale's case and Eldridge Cleaver's exile needed to be resolved by developing the

proper "machinery" to bring them home. This reiterated that power rested in the hands of the people (Source 185).

The new revolutionary framework (as exhibited in Newton's "Let Us Hold High the Banner of Intercommunalism…") defined a nation as "economic, independences, cultural determination, control of political institutions, territorial integrity, and survival." He then revisited how the BPP started as a Black Nationalist party to achieve these aims, then turned into revolutionary nationalist organization (nationalism and socialism), then turned into internationalists, and now were "intercommunalists"—because nations were now seen as community unit of world. Finally, Newton turned to arguments over the term colony because the black colony was not a nation, but it was a collection of communities in America (Source 187).[40] This new framework was proposed at a time when the BPP was beginning to lose its members to COINTELPRO infiltration and entrances into electoral politics.

Ongoing and Future Struggles. The BPP described ongoing and future struggles of the revolutionary people by: recounting the rise of the BPP as a form of people power; defining the new problem created by heroin in the colonies; proposing that incarceration of BPP members could be transcended by Party structure and releasing statements from prison; by revisiting the original crime of slavery and the promises of freedom during emancipation; and by promising the future of leadership in prison leaders, electoral politics, and community school programs.

Seale's *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* detailed the Panther's beginnings in community control (Source 188).[41]

Seale's work drew on the Party history and connected it with the early street gang movement taking place in many American inner-cities. This, to my knowledge, was the only connection of the BPP to street gangs in the literature. This discussion of urban youth was juxtaposed with tales of new types of so-called Panthers. He defined two types of foolish youth who were joining the BPP for the wrong reasons—"renegades" and "jackanapes/agent provocateurs." The renegades posed as Panthers without adopting any of the ideological positions. They were more of a nuisance than a serious issue, as they were either thrown out of the Party or disciplined and reinstated. The other group, the class of "jackanapes" and "agent provocateurs" posed a serious threat. They acted as Party members, but were actually "undercover" officers and informants attempting to set up the BPP by committing ideologically insignificant criminal acts (Seale, 1970; Franklin, 2007, p. 553). In Seale's book, he unknowingly credited one such informant (Richard Masato Aoki) as a revolutionary. *Seize the Time* provided the link between the BPM and urban street gangs, although Seale dismissed "renegades" within the Party. This means that he understood the gangs as a revolutionary (or at least a non-counter-revolutionary) new trend. It should be noted that the streets gangs at the time were also more heavily involved in protection and trivial, petty crimes than modern street gangs. In the next two chapters, I consider Seale's observations in the context of the new version of the American street gang and emerging rap artists.

There is evidence that the problem of hard drugs contributed to the rise of the new American street gang. BPP members studied the new problem of hard drugs,

specifically heroin. Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor's "Capitalism Plus Dope Equals Genocide" began by framing the problem of narcotics within the black colony of Harlem exemplified by a 12-year-old boy and 15-year-old girl recently overdosing and dying because of heroin. Tabor wrote that 900 deaths resulted from the same cause in 1969 and that 710 of the victims were youths from 12 to 19 and were mostly black and Puerto Rican. Tabor concluded that there was a need for revolution as the politicians and businessmen were happy about the problem and purposefully offered ineffective solutions. Thus, he argued, drug addiction was a major problem in the colony for 15 years. Tabor sold the BPP as the only entity capable of ridding the plague (Appendix A-1, Source 189).[42] Since Tabor's work was an academic study with empirical evidence, his details were convincing. Yet, his understanding of the BPP as the *only* group that could solve the problem was not persuasive.

Meanwhile, the Party emphasized that it could move on without its leaders on the streets. George Jackson's "Remembering the Real Dragon…" detailed the function of the prison system as isolation and separation not that different from Third World treatment (Source 191). Jackson explained that the BPP was structured to be able to move on with imprisoned key leaders, and Angela Y. Davis' "Political Prisoners, Prisons, and Black Liberation" added that radical messages could be released to the people from imprisoned Panthers. She drew on the links between Nat Turner and current struggles through using capitalism as a common enemy, and she blamed the employment of racism and fascism in defending this order (Source 192).[43] The message was clear; even while incarcerated, Davis would not be silenced and nor

would the BPP. Leaders could still operate from behind bars, and this was an inspiring message to the Panthers who were incarcerated. "On the Murder of George Jackson: Excerpts from Eulogy" (Source 195) further established this idea, but Jackson's murder while trying to escape from San Quentin prison was a less than inspiring reality about the ability of Panthers to lead from the inside.[44]

The original questions of slavery and emancipation were revisited in "No Acres, One Dead Mule." It scrutinized America as an "inhumane society" in which the right to life was directly connected to work through the example of a black man from South Carolina who was unemployed for six years, found a mule and a cart, and started collecting trash. The mule had recently drowned due to a storm and threatened the man's survival, and in a high-tech society, a man should not need to depend on a mule for survival (Source 193). The land and mule were—of course—infamously promised to blacks as reparations for slavery. The facts that they were never realized and that a black man could die based on his mule's survival were signs that the original problem of slavery had not been resolved. "Black Panther Party Headquarters Moving to Atlanta" announced that the BPP headquarters were moving to Atlanta, GA. This did not happen; they were actually closing chapters at the time of the article. Yet, the Party claimed it needed to be in the South because of its roots in slavery, where the right to life was still being denied, and where there were attacks on churches and homes in Southern black communities. The article also described how the original panther (animal) symbol was taken from a Lowndes County, AL third party and how the "origins of the crime…where the contradiction started" was located

in the deep South (Source 194). The BPP clearly saw the South as a remaining house of horrors with unresolved issues. But given that the Party did not actually relocate its headquarters, this statement could only be explained as a publicity stunt.

The Party was actually moving to electoral politics as detailed in chapter three. “Panthers Sweep Berkeley Elections!...” declared an overall achievement of poverty funds would be going back to the people (Source 196). This, again, was an optimistic generalization by the Party. The end of internal colonization language was really the article “We Want to Set Examples for the Little Children” (Source 198) This Oakland Community School (OCS) graduation was proudly displayed in 1977 (Figure 22). The 1982 end of the Panthers was tied to Newton embezzling funds from the OCS, as well as the federal intervention of the BPP as described below.

Figure 22: Appendix A-1, Source 198

5. Use of Warfare Language

The other major topic within the BPP statements regarded the presence of war within the colonies. The beginning of the BPP in armed struggle is hard to dismiss as pure rhetoric, but it also needs to be understood as a tactical approach. The Party recounted these details in such vivid detail that it was almost glorified.

The use of warfare language was aimed at placing the reader within the context of urban struggles between the Party and the US by outlining how *territorial separatism* led to the development of *revolutionary Black Nationalism* and a response by state agents. Below I outline three stages: (1) the definition of repressive, capitalist, and racist forces (February 17, 1969 through 1971); (2) an ineffective local response at dismantling the Party (October 4, 1969 through January 31, 1971; and (3) and the effective of the federal response (June 20, 1970 through June 1980).

Forces of State Repression. In early 1969, BPP warfare language began with the definition of the forces of state repression. Early techniques included the use of anonymity, exposing recent actions of the police force through examples and timelines, justifying attempts at legal redress by the people, and extending the problem beyond Oakland. The Party basically gave readers the definition of a pig, explained *what* pigs do, detailed *how* pigs do *what* they do, and displayed *where* they do *what* they do.

In May of 1967, a simple statement established the use of anonymity—an important concept given the militant nature of the rhetoric. The BPP's "A Pig" indeed began the warfare language by defining a pig as an imposter and perpetrator of evil

with no respect for law and order (Source 101). This statement—combined with the BPP coloring book (Source 168)—was one of the main reasons members of the organization were called to Congress to testify in 1970 (Source 190). Yet, the Party extended this early definition by criticizing recent attacks by local police. Seale's February 17, 1967 speech at "The Black Panther Party Free Huey Rally" dismissed the understanding of BPP members as thugs and hoodlums in favor of an understanding of the BPP as an organized power structure empowered by force and built on a unity against several opposing forces. These forces included the American power structure, the institution of racism, and the police in the "black ghetto" who were "brutalizing and intimidating" the community (Source 104). The examples of this dynamic were first discussed locally in Oakland.

On May 4, 1968, "Panthers Ambushed—One Murdered" described the attempted assassination of Cleaver by the OPD. The police were over-armed and engaged the Panthers in a 90-minute shootout unloading 500 rounds of ammunition against the Party's five weapons. After the shootout, the surrendering Party members were abused when taken into custody (Source 105). Another article latter provided a comprehensive timeline of attacks—both pressures exerted by the BPP and the response from the political and legal system—while highlighting a local summary of offenses by the government apparatuses and promising to document national abuses in the next issue (Source 115).[45] Although these events did actually happen, we must remember that these were war stories being told by one side in the BPP statements. The Party also had an interest in making the police sound as bad as possible.

The BPP made attempts at seeking legal redress for the attacks described above. “Panther’s Sue City of Oakland” detailed a federal lawsuit filed by the BPP to stop the abuses of the OPD, City of Oakland, and Alameda County. There were four causes of action: harassment and illegal entry; prevention of a fair trial for Newton; unconstitutional jury selection; and use of threats and intimidation. The article also gave accounts of abuse and threats by the OPD during suspect questioning. It delivered the first report of the Party seeking legal remedy, giving the play-by-play details of those arrested, and questioning the constitutionality of actions taken by local police, the state, and the county (Source 106). Meanwhile, the state legal code around gun ownership was changing through the so-called Mulford Act of 1967 designed especially for the Panthers (Austin, 2006, pp. 117-119), and the Party responded to this with “Black People: Keep Your Guns.” It detailed the new federal gun laws, offenses, and changes starting on December 16, 1968. Although the Party defined the new legal code and offered information close to legal council, the BPP made it clear that it was not a substitute for such council (Appendix A-1, Source 108).

Next, the BPP extended the problem of overly aggressive police action to areas outside of Oakland. “Pigs Plotted Murders of L.A. Panthers” insisted a planned Watts, CA attack on the community by an “army of pigs” was a “daily routine”—recounting the first non-Oakland attack on the BPP and asserting slavery was reinforced through the legal code and law enforcement (Source 109).[46] Such language created sworn enemies (“pigs, Uncle Toms, capitalist system, and politicians”) and new friends (such as the hippies) as labeled in “Warning to So-Called Paper

Panthers." The message was to help recognize true threats to the people while also issuing a threat to those who did not comply with the Party (Source 111).[47]

Defenders of Capitalism. After defining the state forces, the BPP began to explain that the police were simply defending a larger American power structure and seeking to go worldwide. The Party attempted to show this by linking capitalism, imperialism, and black capitalism as forms of warfare against the people. In addition, the Party focused on inner-Party strength and recruitment—discussing inner-Party purges as a result of early of COINTELPRO efforts (although not labeled or recognized by this name at the time) and recruitment by rapping to the youth while providing them with basic needs. All of which heightened the stakes and advised readers to "off the pig."

The world power structure was expressed through a series of quotes. "Quotations from Huey" briefly explained: the BPP as a vanguard group; why the political power built must be destructive; the gun as the basic tool for liberation; how blacks were forced to build America and could also tear down America; and how bloodshed could lead to peace (Source 118). In effect, these collected quotes offered a new, militant solution to the black population to fight common threats to the people—threats such as capitalism, imperialism, and black capitalism. These threats were linked in "Washington/Moscow Collaboration Intensified" which asserted that President Nixon taking office and immediately flattering the Kremlin was a form of fraternization and exposure of his true colors. The Party concluded that "the more clearly they will reveal their ferocious features before the people of the world and the

more quickly they will go to their doom" (Source 122).[48] This language was an indication of the BPP's deep roots in Marxist/Leninist ideology and application of Maoism (though their rejection of the Soviet Union-US agreements). Meanwhile, Landon Williams' "Black Capitalism and What it Means" was the first detailed critique of black capitalism and compared the present events to a history of global warlords (Source 124). Calvin Winslow's "Cultural Nationalism Attacked in Emory Douglas Speech" was an explicit criticism of cultural nationalism and its aims and leaders. Winslow even issued a militant warning and mentioned the BPP expansion to 80 branches (Source 126).[49]

A form of self-criticism was pressed in the need to clean up the Party in preparation for war. An interview with David Hilliard indicated that the BPP leaders believed a purge within the Party would strengthen the "internal structure of the Party" to only retain members who were interested in "carry[ing] out the desires and aspirations of the oppressed people." His discussion was cast in militarized language and as preparation for conflict with the federal government (Source 128). The Party began to draw conspiracy theories related to Martin Luther King, Jr.'s (MLK) murder and trial—noting President Johnson's support of the Memphis Police Force and J. Edgar Hoover's "involvement" (Source 130).[50] Although not labeled as such, the BPP was getting wind of early COINTELPRO efforts to dismantle anything resembling a black messiah.

Perhaps the Party fit this black messiah role a little too well. It used the analogy of war in distributing basic food items and mentioned "rapping" to the youth

at breakfast in Ed Buryn's "Suffer Not, Little Children." Buryn compared the process of distributing basic breakfast food items in San Francisco to going to war and described 50 to 100 children served in "brotherliness and communion." During the breakfast, the BPP recorded the names and addresses of children, gave an impromptu lecture, and took pictures. This "war" was not only based on hate and violence, but it was also based on nourishment and "rapping" with the youth. This was the only mention of the term rap within the 100 BPP statements I examined. As Buryn wrote:

> As some kids wait for the meal, they get an impromptu lecture about where it's at for black people today - watch out for the pigs, dig the injustice of capitalist society, see the strength of the Panthers in combatting it...Pictures of brothers Bobby Hutton (murdered by pigs) and Eldridge Cleaver (forced to hide) are passed around and talked about. The kids are noisy with question and scramble for the picture-sheets. And they eat, and feel there is a place for them. The rap they get, by the way, isn't laid on very heavily, and there is no hate in it. What they hear is true, and they get to think about it over breakfast. Can't knock it (Source 131).

This article connected the militant struggle of the BPP with their survival programs and hinted of their influence on the youth in the Bay Area.

Yet, even peaceful, legal activities and assembly became a target of state repression according to the BPP's "Why Pigs Perpetuate Racism." It told the story of an April 13, 1969 rally in Goode Park for the Free Breakfast Program which was ended by police arresting three Panthers for disturbing the peace, noise and profanity, and resisting arrest. The article accused the police of abusing the people they arrested and injuring others. It concluded by announcing that the police and their bosses were afraid of the Party and attempted to keep white and black workers divided by starting a riot (Source 132). Other articles highlighted events in San Francisco and Berkeley.

The San Francisco case highlighted the people's willingness to use force against state agents by killing police officers; the Berkeley case questioned if the anti-war demonstrators were willing to pick up the gun, as power only responded to power, and there were more people than pigs. Also, in Berkeley, the BPP claimed to have deployed counter-insurgent efforts against Reagan's National Guard.[51]

Use of Racism. After defining the forces of state repression and the motives for their action, the BPP turned to explaining that racism was simply a means of carrying this out. The Party conveyed: (1) that there was a system designed to attack and imprison black colonial subjects (revealing them to be ongoing victims of law enforcement, the courts, and system of exploitation) and (2) evidence of courtroom and street-level conspiracies to destroy the Party.

Building on the definition of white Amerikkka established under internal colonization, the BPP also began to establish it through warfare language defining its leaders, public support, and impact on the Party. "Erika's Poem" used pop culture terms ("age of aquarius") to document the rise of BPP through a bloody revolution, names of Panthers and Malcolm X as leaders who were victims, and the ensuing suffering under President Nixon to advocate "COLD BLOODED" warfare and "JUST war" against the system of injustice (Source 137). "Reactionary Paper Tiger" described pigs as paper tigers that would kill, rape, bribe, and stomp the people and who needed to be dealt with by any means necessary. It offered examples such as Mayor Alioto, Governor Reagan, and "Lesbians like Nixon," it pressed the need for class warfare to abolish the paper tigers (Source 139).[52] The use of the term "lesbian"

for President Nixon was designed to be a derogatory designation and applied Newton's philosophy of reserving such terms for enemies of the BPP. Later, "The Middle of the Road Pig" was a heated, angry response to a *San Francisco Chronicle* editorial letter commending police for actions at the "Free Huey Rally." According to the article, there was only one type of pig (Source 141).[53] "Why Huey" drew comparisons between Newton and cops who killed BPP members and gave reasons for Newton being held captive while setting up the legal fund as a solution (Source 145).[54] Victims of the state system of oppression were given guidance amidst the "racist justice system" through the "Letters from Jail" feature within the newsletters (Source 147).[55] Another article created martyrdom in Chicago Chairman Fred Hampton's arrest (accused of stealing 710 ice cream bars from a Good Humor truck) and claimed that he was jailed only because his political beliefs were said to be criminal. Essentially, the Panthers claimed, he was jailed for wanting to feed, nurture, and provide heat for the people, and was harassed, arrested, beaten, shot at, and framed (Source 149).[56]

The conspiracy in the courts and on the streets to destroy the Party was beginning to be a popular topic—as the Party and its affiliates began to feel the impact of COINTELPRO. Lieutenant Eugene Charles' "Conspiracy's Victims: Who Are the Real Conspirators" narrated the conditions and constraints of the "mock" trial, advised law enforcement and politicians to "keep [their] hands off the people" in explicit language, and warned that "the people [were] waiting for the opportune time to hang [them for their] astronomical crimes" (Source 152).[57] "American

Democracy…From the Barrel of a Gun…" detailed a Jamaica, Long Island raid at the home of BPP members with the cops armed to the teeth with .45 caliber guns, M-79 grenade launchers, tear gas, and shotguns. After the police entered the home without a search warrant, they captured the surrendering 17-year-old Panthers—who were beat with the butt of the cops' guns. A similar plan "unsurfaced" in Berkeley. In Oakland, two drunk officers shot-up the national office and were only fined $3,000 bail—while bail for Panthers across the country was regularly set at $100,000. The article linked the three cities and police actions and established that there was not much difference between Long Island, Berkeley, and Oakland (Source 153).[58]

Local attempts at silencing the people continued in courtrooms, according to the Party. "The Pigs Wore Black Robes" reported that a group of San Francisco State University strikers were battling the courts and judges after they were convicted of "disturbing the peace" and "failure to disperse and unlawful assembly." As the students were appealing their cases through constitutional grounds, the appellate judges were trying to dismiss the appeals before they were even presented, the defendants could not get transcripts of the original trial due to costs, and this was evidence that the courts needed to be controlled by the people (Source 166). This declaration did not provide details of what control of the courts by the people would entail. We can surmise that it would have been based on a trial by an all-black jury, as expressed in the Party platform.

There were also increased attempts to incarcerate the people and to question BPP members. "Institution of Racism" described a how a juvenile "delinquent" was

placed in a "concentration camp for boys and girls" in 1964 and was kept in prison like conditions or a "pokey" for resisting—touching on juvenile prisons, interracial marriage, and patterns of recidivism starting at a young age. The author stated: "I ended up in the pokey quite frequently. The pokey was approximately 5 ft. by 5 ft. There were four walls, a toilet, and bright lighting system, which was kept on twenty four hours a day." After being released to his black father (as opposed to his white mother), the author returned to another "correctional" institution (Source 183). Congressional questioning was the topic of the next statement, "The Only Good Pig Is a Dead Pig': A Black Panther Paper Editor Explains a Political Cartoon"—the account of the second of two congressional hearings. The objective was to "develop information on activities and objectives of the national office of the [BPP]" and find out whether statements were just rhetoric or recommendations of revolutionary actions. An ex-Panther from June 1968 through May of 1969 answered all questions about rhetoric and revolution including the statement that the "only good pig is a dead pig." However, the former member mostly defended the BPP. When asked about community control, he stated:

> If you start with the assumption of the belief that the Black Panther Party is in favor of removing policemen from the community who do not conduct themselves properly, then you might see this is a cartoon depicting the removal of a policeman who does not conduct himself in a proper manner…(Source 190).

The questioning highlights the federal government's fear of the rhetoric and revolutionary potential of the BPP. Federal intervention would ensue shortly thereafter.

Ineffective Local Response. According to the Party, a deadly mix of state repression, crime, and drugs existed in the colonies creating a warzone for all inhabitants. The fairly new problem of drugs in the colonies created a new problem of crime, while continued police efforts to infiltrate the Party (and increased efforts to take over the streets) proved ineffective as the BPP focused on new, increasingly electoral forms of community control.

The new problem of drugs in the colonies created a new problem of crime. "Ignorance, Red Devils, and Revolution" began by declaring how the BPP first recognized the hunger problem and accomplished feeding 10,000 children five days a week. This absurd estimate was another instance of propaganda. However, one scholar has claimed that: "During a 1972 community-survival conference [in East Harlem], the Panthers distributed more than 10,000 free bags of groceries during the three-day affair" (Abron, 1998, p. 183). While these estimates seem amplified, there is little doubt that the Party was taking a role in providing some level of service for the urban, black, and poor population in Oakland, East Harlem, and in other "internal colonies."

Now it needed to address the new problem of dope, specifically hard drugs used to "suppress and divide [the] revolutionary spirit" with dealers starting children off with barbiturates as freebies (Appendix A-1, Source 154). The article then called for the people to send information on suspected dealers to the BPP, and if the dealers were caught, they would have to deal with the wrath of the armed people. Beyond identifying drugs as the new problem, the article asserted that the problem was

spreading inland, that the government did not do anything about the problem, and thus proposed the replacement of "local pig department" with the "wrath of the armed people." Hence, the article was one of the first signs of the "War on Drugs" (Source 154).[59]

There were continued efforts to infiltrate the Party's domestic influence. "The Stupid Revolution: Prey for Pigs" identified a "snitch" for the first time, exposed law enforcement's use of BPP members to shed bad light on the Party, and discussed housecleaning in the need to investigate members-in-training's intentions stemming from a Brooklyn, NY case (Source 155).[60] Locally, the BPP underscored increased efforts by the police force to take control of the streets. It discussed a San Francisco police surge, a call for community control, and detailed the murders of innocent citizens (Source 162).[61]

The BPP established the foundation of community control through counterinsurgency. The *Black Panther Coloring Book* designed for children was overt propaganda and a revisionist history told through violence—namely, how exploited African descendants needed to achieve power through the barrel of a gun (Source 168).[62] The concept of community control was further detailed in Fred Hampton's "Power Anywhere Where There's People." He stressed that Newton recognized the community had a problem of control by using the metaphor of a traffic intersection. Without traffic signals, people were being run over, and Newton and Seale (armed with guns) became the stop signs. Hampton then upheld the BPP as the vanguard of the International Proletarian Revolution, but he argued the pigs tricked the people into

saying they liked communism and socialism by having the people admit their approval of the Free Breakfast Program. Hampton then argued that the practices of communism and socialism were not as bad as the labels, and that most people feared the terms because did not know what the "big bad" terms meant (Source 170).

This was happening at a time when the BPP was seeking electoral power to achieve community control. Roland Young's "Interview with Ron Dellums" discussed Dellums' campaign for the 7th Congressional District primary because he saw a "dislink" between idealism of government and real conditions—especially in the area of community control—as a political issue. Dellums argued that police were already in the political arena as instruments used to "bust up" movements. He turned to using "crisis" language when he questioned whether the political system had the "ability and/or the desire to solve basic problems." Thus, he urged the people to vote in 1970 because there were crises between the classes, in cities, and in problems such as pollution (Source 174). This entrance into electoral politics was largely defended on the basis of community control. Meanwhile, crisis language was used to discuss the future of the inner-city.

Effective Federal Response. By mid-1970, BPP use of warfare language contended that a continued battle was being fought over control over the colonies, and the BPP began to document the impact of the war on the streets, necessary responses by the people, attempts to incarcerate and question the people, and framed the struggle as a declared war by both the Party and the American government.

In the pamphlet, "From Resistance to Liberation," the impact of the war on the streets was described: 30 Panthers were killed; during the first year of Nixon's administration, 400 Panthers were arrested, and 19 BPP offices were attacked; all members of the BPP Central Committee were either killed, jailed, or forced into exile; the Justice Department created a special task force; the FBI saw the BPP as the "greatest single threat to national security"; and there were two Congressional committees and several grand juries investigating. In the eyes of the Party, this was not simply a matter of repression but rather the signs of a war. It was also argued:

> The Panthers are the target not of repression but of an undeclared war. Under a state of repression, the heretic at least is accorded bail, trial and appeal. In a state of a war, victims are killed or rounded up without serious regard for legal "niceties." The Panthers held in jails across America today are no different from prisoners held in Santo Domingo, Saigon, or any other center of the American empire (Source 177).

Another part of this "undeclared war" included influencing the American public to be critical of BPP "attacks" on student and women's liberation movements and cultural nationalism. The struggle of colonialism needed solutions such as public pressure to free political prisoners, a nationwide "political education class," action on the streets, the creation of divisions among America's powerful elites, and international campaigns to "brand the U.S. as a criminal and outlaw government." All these efforts would work to create a structure of resistance in an active, extra-legal manner. The article provided a vivid summary of repression, discussed black-white relations, and mentioned practical solutions to the problems through extra-legal structures (Source 177).

Other articles documented this struggle as a declared war by both the BPP and the American government. Assata Shakur's "To My People: Radio Broadcast" declared war on all forces of rape, castration, and poverty and insisted that "Amerika" was trying to lynch her. To her, the *real* criminals were Nixon, two Attorney generals, heads of the FBI and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and half of the White House staff implicated in Watergate Scandal. The *real* murderers were the ones who killed MLK, Emmett Till, Medgar Evers, Malcolm X, George Jackson, Nat Turner, and James Chaney. The *real* kidnappers and thieves were those who stole blacks to work the Native Americans' land. Shakur then apologized for being on the New Jersey turnpike and admitted she "should have known better" because it was a black checkpoint. From this position, she stated that the people had a duty to fight for freedom, to win, and had "nothing to lose" but their "chains" (Source 197). The other side of this war was uncovered in Newton's writing.

His *War Against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America* claimed to be drawing on a wealth of material in order to analyze certain features of BPP (such as incidents, ideology, platform, and implementation) and the ensuing federal government's response. Newton concentrated on Oakland and Los Angeles and used support from two Civil Rights lawsuits—an active suit centered in Washington, DC started in 1976 and the nine-month trial in Chicago against the "Conspiracy Eight." Newton regarded Oakland as the BPP center of "organizational strength" and maintained that class and racial "cleavages" hindered American democracy. He described an overall "distrust held by the American ruling class of any

institutionalized democracy involving the mass population" and asserted this through the response to mass political movements and the growth of federal organizations such as the FBI—a "superagency" making "political criminal[s]." Newton stressed that COINTELPRO efforts were aimed at building splits in the Party with a Newton-Cleaver cleavage by sending a letter to Cleaver (forged by Newton's secretary). Newton also discussed the creation of COINTELPRO's "Rabble Rouser Index" to create a list of "troublemakers" to constantly watch.

However, he realized that these direct links were the major evidence of the government conspiracy. They were available domestically because of leaks, but the international links were more closely guarded. When he turned to discuss the CIA, he argued the direct links were harder to trace as much of their operation was more convert and mostly international. In his conclusion, Newton discussed the lengths taken to crush dissent in the US and that the wars against domestic movements were still going on. The dissertation was vitally important because it was the last statement of this era, outlined the BPP program's brief but extraordinary history, and documented COINTELPRO's effectiveness in creating cleavages in the BPP movement to tear it apart (Source 199). Newton's demise also paralleled the demise of the Party. In 1982, Newton was charged with embezzling $600,000 worth of state funding (Stein & Basheda, August 22, 1989), and the OCS (the last sign of the BPP) was forced to close down due to a lack of funds. Newton's downward spiral paired with COINTELPRO infiltration (as depicted in Figure 23) exacerbated the fall of the Party.

Figure 23: COINTELPRO Illustration. Source, Conducive Chronicle (February 6, 2010)

6. Conclusion

The rise, development, and fall of the BPP through their statements reveals the evolution of an alternative discourse offered locally, domestically, and internationally. In many ways, Oakland was a test area for the Panthers' hopeful (and temporarily quite successful) expansion to chapters across the US and overseas. The images and symbols were employed by the BPP to appeal to radically leaning black youth. In addition, the Party provided benefits such as the Free Breakfast Program as counterinsurgent efforts. During these breakfasts, they "rapped" with the youth about the police and distributed their highly controversial Party propaganda. The Party's

demise in the late-1970s (and certainly by 1983) marked a shift in Oakland underground political resistance.

In the next chapter, I begin with rap music picking up on this discourse locally—starting between 1979 and 1983. The claims by Oakland rappers of a ghetto in isolation began as early as 1981 with Too $hort's pimp narratives. A few years later, rapper Tupac Shakur—a bloodline heir to the BPP—began mixing gangsta rap with politically- and socially- conscious messages, initially hailing from Oakland. Other rappers in the Bay Area added elements of Marxist critique by focusing on class divisions and institutional condemnation of capitalism. The two strands provided Oakland with a robust local sound that rivaled any other domestic location in the US. The musical/cultural movement of Oakland rap emanated out of a worsening local environment for the black "underclass" of Oakland's "flatlands" during a process of gentrification, "white flight" and middle class black flight, falling per capita income, and the beginning of the crack-cocaine epidemic.

Chapter 4: The *Quotidian* Discourse of Oakland, CA Rap Albums

1. Introduction

This chapter reveals how late-1960s Black Nationalist counterculture was transformed into a major influence on West Coast gangsta, politically- and socially-conscious, and alternative rap music in Oakland, CA. Local rappers drew heavily on the BPP's legacies of militant and radical critique, on West Coast hustle culture, and on gangsterism in the media in different ways from each other locally and in different ways than the vast majority of mainstream artists elsewhere. Thus, in the Oakland and East Bay scene, there was a wide gamut of *quotidian* discourse inspired by the work of the BPP, local and emerging rap styles, and the mass media.

To empirically evaluate Oakland's distinctiveness, I analyze the use of militant and anti-state images, internal colonization lyrics, and warfare lyrics by rappers in both the Oakland/East Bay area and on the Billboard Charts from 1985-1999. My primary sources were obtained from emerging local sounds, and I compared these local sounds to the Billboard sources. *In general, the non-Oakland Billboard sounds trended towards high levels of pop and R&B styles of music, and most of the 100 sources sampled did not have any elements of political critique. Below, I detail how the few exceptions differed from the Oakland discourse. I refer to them as "Billboard Exceptions."*

As detailed in the Introduction, only 12 of the primary album sources from Oakland overlapped as Billboard album sources. The two albums from MC Hammer

were classified as Billboard sources and were replaced by two other sources from Oakland. The 10 remaining Oakland/Billboard overlapping sources were from Too $hort (4), Spice 1 (2), 2Pac (3), The Luniz, and The Click, and I selected alternative Billboard samples to compare these 10 sources. As detailed in this chapter, I also found that the local anomalies did not greatly deviate from the local sound—providing evidence of a safeguarding of Oakland rap music.

I use the case of 2Pac's *T.H.U.G. L.I.F.E. Vol. 1* (2Pac & Various Artists, 1994; Appendix A-2, Source 261) to document a set of unique factors that worked to resist the detrimental impacts of popularization and commercialization of the Oakland sound while its local artists achieved recognition. In this section, I also deal with the tendency to trace the birth of Oakland's underground scene through the New York/Los Angeles (NY/LA) axis. One account has claimed:

> The [Oakland] Coliseum Arena is right next door to the stadium, that's where the Warriors play. It's also where they had the Fresh Fest in 1985 with UTFO [Untouchable Force Organization], the Fat Boys and the Real Roxanne. The next year, 1986, Run-DMC played there on the "Raising Hell" tour, that was real big. That bill featured LL Cool J, Whodini, the Beastie Boys, and Timex Social Club, it was like 14,000 people. That's the concert that really broke hip-hop in the Bay Area. In 1987, the Def Jam tour played there with LL Cool J, Whodini, and Roxanne Shante. They put New Choice and Too $hort on that bill too. N.W.A. did a show there too in 1988 with Eric B. & Rakim, UTFO and Whodini that Eazy-E was actually the promoter for…(Arnold, February 23, 1994).

While there is little doubt that NY and LA artists had an impact on local artists, I question the concept of the local scene as a being fundamentally changed by the visit of LL Cool J, Whodini, and Roxanne Shante. For Too $hort and Timex Social Club to be on the concert bill, they were clearly already operating at a high enough level to be

booked for the show. The NY/LA axis may have helped uncover the Oakland scene, but it did not produce it and nor should we need to go through NY/LA to justify or legitimize Oakland rap music.

My argument is that in Oakland, gangsta rap emerged in the mid-1980s and remained the predominate subgenre. Local artists collectively created a robust "brand" of gangsta rap—by drawing on fellow local artists' politically- and socially-conscious rap and alternative rap leanings. In other words, most of the music created locally was gangsta rap, a reaction to gangsta rap (a play on or a negation of), or a nearly indistinguishable mixture of gangsta rap and politically- or socially- relevant elements. The local "brand" was thus heavily rooted in institutional and societal critiques. There are three major lines to this argument.

First, the use of images demonstrates this local branding of gangsta rap differed from other locations by continuing the threats, protectionism, and victimhood associated with BPP revolutionary *Black Nationalism* but veered from the BPP by turning to and highlighting *delegitimized capitalism* as a solution to escape poverty and gain power over one's destiny. By *delegitimized capitalism*, I am referring the dynamic explored by Sudhir Venkatesh in *Off the Books* (2005). His study of this underground web of economic exchange in a neighborhood on the South Side of Chicago, IL has detailed how such a web could quickly entangle all participants. The focus on his study centered on relationship between four groups—leaders of the community, leaders of the church, leaders of a street gang, and the police force—all four groups constantly struggled for political control of the neighborhood's economy.

In the process, the groups developed some interesting relationships in order to achieve common and competing interests. This web of leadership defended, reinforced, and questioned the underground economy of the neighborhood.

Venkatesh's study presented an underground, cash-based system focused on accumulation. But this market was not defended by the state or run by the banking system; often it was defended by gangs and run by loan sharks. As such, this underground economy caused three constant conflicts for control: (1) political conflict between other de-legitimated economic interests (battles over territory); (2) political conflict with the legitimated systems (crime control from government); and (3) economic conflict with between other de-legitimated economic interests (battles over market advantage). All three conflicts have caused deaths, arrests, and poverty in inner-cities. Elsewhere Venkatesh (and economist Steven Levitt) have documented the economics of this environment (Venkatesh & Levitt, 1999; Levitt & Venkatesh, 2000, 2005; Venkatesh, 2008).

Local rappers in Oakland highlighted *delegitimized capitalism* through more vivid, detailed, and frequent use of militant and anti-state imagery while the Billboard Exception rappers used more symbolic, general, and less frequent images. Ultimately, the local brand was aimed at internal and resident visibility while the Billboard Exceptions were aimed at external and national/international. The local brand could be more extreme, relevant, and precise. This is an indication that the politics of the local sound appealed to marginalized, black youth whereas the void of politics in most of the mainstream sound appealed to outsiders. Thus, the political void and

social context, the heavy toll of the drug wars and the militarization of policing generally, and the growth of the prison industrial complex were major reasons why the BPP legacy played out differently than the Party imagined *and* differently than Billboard and Billboard Exceptions. The local images were used to point out the failure of the government to protect inhabitants from violence, poverty, and social turmoil.

Second, I argue the local use of internal colonization lyrics shifted the BPP's use of *territorial separatism* into both a new critique of opportunist capitalism and an opportunist, *delegitimized capitalism*. In other words, local rappers simultaneously recognized capitalism's destructive impact on the inner-city of Oakland while accepting that obtainment of money was necessary for survival. Hustling drugs, pimping women, and a long list of other endeavors were both criticized by rappers but understood as a survival tactic in inner-city Oakland. The local rappers then warned of the outcomes of such hustling to be death and jail. In this context, being poor and black was worse than being dead or in prison. While both the local brand and Billboard Exceptions spoke about the urban experience, local rappers offered a summary for inner-city inhabitants in specific graphic detail, while the Billboard Exceptions offered a description for outsiders—often using allegories. Local rappers described a "trap" or life process of personal experience around hustling including rewards, risks, and temptations creating an area-specific normalcy. The political significance was that hustling became a necessary and common response for survival and required street mobilization for protection. Billboard Exceptions described the

viewpoint of someone from the outside looking in by highlighting the oddities and differences of the urban experience. In terms of outcomes associated with *delegitimized capitalism*, local rappers again offered detailed and vivid personal accounts while Billboard Exceptions offered vivid but still more general accounts. Both local rap and Billboard Exceptions staked claim to urban locations, mentioned certain social problems, and sometimes offered political solutions, but it was the local version that offered new frameworks and developmental sounds. The Billboard Exceptions were mostly devoid of this because they were drawing from local scenes (such as Oakland/East Bay) and were re-appropriating the music for a larger audience. In relationship to the BPP, both local and Billboard Exceptions were operating in a post-Black Power sphere with current wars on drugs, crime and poverty. The following BPP internal colonization stages were transformed into the following:

1. Creating a Base of Black Power (1966-1969)
   The New Ghetto (1986-1992)

2. Rejection of Capitalist Economic Nationalism (1969)
   The New Markets (1992-1994)

3. Proposition of Socialist Economic Nationalism (1969)
   The New Warzone (1994-1998)

A key trend was that there was less of a comprehensive solution in rap music than in the BPP discourse. The seven stages of the BPP model were really "folded" into three. Further details on the common *quotidian* functions of rap can be found in Appendix D-2.

Third, I contend both local rap and Billboard Exceptions used warfare lyrics and built the BPP's use of *territorial separatism* into a battle between the law and outlaws. Warfare lyrics often considered issues such as personal protection, illegal entrepreneurship, legal entrepreneurship through rap, and new modes of surveillance. Here, the *territorial separatism* turned into a capitalist victimhood. It began with community protection being shifted to protection of the individual or small group. While local rappers warned of a willingness to respond and open fire upon law enforcement as the precursor to victimhood, Billboard Exceptions often started with victimhood through police brutality and the process of being detained. The warfare lyrics continued with protection of *delegitimized capital*. While local rappers blamed a lack of opportunities/options leading to hustling and defined the associated rewards and risks, Billboard Exceptions often remained allegorical, humorous, and offered warnings in passing. Finally, the warfare lyrics continued with the threat of surveillance. While local rappers described the surveillance as a result of living in the ghetto, being engaged in illegalities, and efforts of local, state, and federal laws and enforcement, Billboard Exceptions described the surveillance resulting from new stardom and popularity. Similar to the BPP discourse, there were three statements being made by rappers of this era through their use of warfare lyrics:

> 1. "I am living in the aftermath of the war against Black Power and in the wake of the of the wars on drugs and crime when there should be a war on poverty."
> (1988 through 1992)
>
> 2. "Wars on drugs and crime have made them both more profitable."
> (1993 through 1994)

3. “The profitability of drugs and crime has turned the colony into a new warzone.” (1995 through 1999)

The difference was that there were never really stages of comprehensive solution, street activity, or electoral political engagement—the type of activity we saw with the BPP in chapter three. In this context, the rappers could fall under two classifications: “renegades” (Seale, 1970; Franklin, 2007, p. 553) or those who were “seizing the time” (Seale, 1970). While Seale praised early, urban street gangs for “seizing the time,” he criticized the “renegades” within the Party as a nuisance without any ideological underpinnings. He characterized the “renegades” by stating: “Deep down inside he really doesn’t have anything to defend, because he doesn’t know what he’s defending” (Seale, 1970). Thus, if the “elements of anger and rage” in hip-hop (Gladney, 1995, pp. 291-301) are not tied to some overarching framework or model, they are rightfully criticized as merely violence directed back towards the community.

Yet, violence was also connected to street survival, and the threats and willingness to use violence in local rap music were attached to this survival. Additionally, the rappers were also products of their environment, and this environment included exceptionally high murder rates (as detailed in chapter two)—especially for young black males. A haunting example of this was Adrienne Anderson’s (2003, p. 71) interview with Black Dynasty’s Dion Stewart, as it was one of his last interviews. He was soon murdered in 1996 in “an attempted armed robbery of an East Oakland rental trucking company.” In the case of rap music and violence locally, we need to instead explore if it was directed back at the inner-city locale or if it was aimed at a transformation. If elements were connected to a larger goal, we need

to seek to understand the reasons violence was being used as a tool. The same is true of the related emphasis on hustling. Local rap music's dialectic embracement and criticism of capitalism was a strategic response to the failure of electoral and revolutionary politics and the changes wrought by deindustrialization in the Bay Area. In addition to discussing hustling as a necessity, local artists explained the conditions with use of elements of Marxism—such as the unequal division of wealth, creation of classes, and property divisions as institutional problems. Overall, local rappers trended towards gangsta rap mixed with politically- and socially- conscious underpinnings. The introduction of Marxism on the local scene by The Coup and Paris did not become the predominate form and was instead pushed to an underground, alternative rap format. An explanation for this has been provided by Ciccariello-Maher & St. Andrews and by member of Boots Riley, a member of The Coup. Ciccariello-Maher & St. Andrews (2009, p. 277) have argued that Oakland's revolutionary, "Panther-inspired tradition reach[ed] its musical apex" with The Coup. The authors discussed The Coup's complex position with capitalism as such, "growing up an economic wasteland in which people *need* to make money and, one might be tempted to justify any and all attempts to do "but should try to push beyond this to "revolutionary supercession" (p. 277, emphasis in original). However, rapper of The Coup, Boots Riley contended:

> Political groups offered solutions only through listening. They weren't part of a movement, so they died out when the people saw their lives were not changing. On the other hand, gangsta groups and rappers who talk about selling drugs are part of a movement…In order for political rap to be around, there has to be a movement around that will make people's lives better in a material sense (Forman & Neal, 2004, p. 363).

This explains the failure of Marxist messages to take hold in the Bay Area and the turn to gangsta rap music, but there was a blending of these styles over the era.

By the turn of the new millennium, the Oakland/East Bay scene spilled over into the San Francisco and South Bay regions.

2. The Story of *T.H.U.G. L.I.F.E. Vol. 1*

Born as Lesane Parish Crooks, 2Pac became known as many things including Tupac, Pac, and Makaveli and was one of two immensely influential rap artists during rap music's rise to immense popularity and commercialization. When an 18-year-old 2Pac arrived in Marin City, CA (by way of East Harlem, New York City, and Baltimore, MD) in June of 1989, he sparked a musical revolution. He entered a scene with a rich underground rap community, and we can take his subsequent level of importance as an impact of the Oakland scene. He was also biologically linked to the BPP, as contributors with direct connections to him included: Afeni O. Shakur (his mother); Mutulu Shakur (his stepfather); Assata Shakur (his step-aunt); Elmer "Geronimo" Pratt (his godfather and former Deputy Minister of Defense); and Billy Garland (his biological father). Pough (2004, p. 330) has suggested that Afeni O. Shakur was in the middle of a deadly "intra-Panther war" between East and West Coast Panthers (possibly caused by the FBI and one of the possible causes of the fall of the Party). His mother was pregnant with him while she was serving a prison sentence for BPP activity, and his aunt and stepfather were both leaders in the BPP,

writing letters and forming a discourse against the state. So his lineage to the BPP was actually both biological and through the traditions of marriage and godparents.

2Pac is best known for his rap music that emerged in the early- to mid- 1990s and after his death. All but two of his releases were based in Oakland's hybrid politically conscious/gangsta rap style—*All Eyez on Me* (2Pac, 1996; Appendix A-2, Source 291) and *The Don Killuminati: The 7 Day Theory* under the stage name Makaveli (1996). The remainder of his music work was recorded in the early-1990s when he was based in Oakland. His hundreds of posthumous releases were also largely composed from B-sides, freestyles, and remixes from much of his work in "The Town"—although he spent the last two years of his life in LA-based recording studios working on up to three songs a day. However, in Oakland, 2Pac is understood as *its* underground hero killed by Southern Californians in Las Vegas, NV.

Although his music changed over time, it never strayed too far from a political-economic-social criticism of the American system and its impact on blacks and the oppressed. His "Thug Life" movement proposed that since America was founded by thugs, real criminals ran the system, and the so-called "thugs" in the streets could really be a source of power through organization, rules, and redefined roles. As such, he understood this mission as the next wave of Black Power as recounted in an interview in the posthumous documentary *Resurrection* (Lazin, 2003). 2Pac recorded *T.H.U.G. L.I.F.E. Vol. 1* (2Pac & Various Artists, 1994; Appendix A-2, Source 261) ("the hate you give little infants f*cks everybody") while facing threats to his life and freedom and before relocating to LA. The album was his

effort to unite urban America through sound. The album featured many songs designed to be street anthems, but none more than the song "Stay True" in which he rapped about the rules and staying true to one's self on the streets. During the same time, 2Pac wrote a code for street organization at the "Truc [sic] Picnic" in LA to control the fighting between gangs (2Pac, 1994). His code established rules for gang members, gangsters, and outlaws because they were becoming more violent and less strategic in their use of violence. This code was likely developed from observations from the Bay Area. The full code is available in Appendix E-2.

The Oakland/East Bay scene had a profound impact on 2Pac. Before he emerged on the local rap scene, much of the popularized music in Oakland was R&B music. The most renown artists and groups were Chaka Chan, Tower of Power, the Doobie Brothers, Con Funk Shun, Trunk Funk ("We Roll Deep"), Timex Social Club, and later (in the 1990s) Maze, Envogue, and Rafael Saadiq. However, hidden below this predominance of R&B locally, a handful of rap artists were developing a new sound. For 2Pac, Oakland became a training ground for political, radical and militant message and alternative style development.

The local rap music tradition extended to at least 1979, when Frankie J began spinning hip-hop beats on 89.5 KPOO out of San Francisco. As Davey D recounted the early scene was distinct from LA:

> Further up North in the Bay Area, pioneers like **Too Short** and **Freddy B** are to be given their due. They embraced the pioneering spirit of ownership and entrepreneurialism. They used to go around and sell homemade tapes on the back of buses and out the trunk of cars. And like the Hip Hop pioneers in New York, they too went around and performed at neighborhood block parties and community centers. Short also used to make custom made tapes for all the

> local shot callers and big ballers. Short with his record setting eleven albums laid down the blue print for other West Coast artist who went on to own labels. Other pioneers like **MC Hammer** and **E-40** with his original group **MVP** [Most Valuable Players] built upon this model and added some crucial ingredients and ground work to this whole entrepreneurial scene. Other artists who put it down include **Timex Social Club, Silky C,** and **Hollywood, Coughnut of IMP, Hugh E MC, Saleem, Dangerous Dame, MC Ant** and **Chill EB** who went on to do some popular Sega commercials. Guys like **One Take Jake** and the members the group **Basshouse Funk** were among the early white kids putting it down for Hip Hop. Again this is going back to…the early 80s (Davey D, 1989, emphasis in original).

Davey D's account combined the influences of the radio show, the mixtape, and a group known as the Bay Area Hip Hop Coalition. In the case of Franky J's radio program, it is unclear whether "beats" referred to instrumentals or rap sounds from other areas. Yet given the timeframe, there was probably not much available in terms of mainstream sounds in 1979. The mixtape technique was related to instrumentals. Unable to afford original production or the equipment to create their own original productions, rap artists turned to rapping over other, more popular and available instrumentals using their own words. However, the rappers would appropriate the verses for their local community. An example of the use of an existing instrumental for a new local sound was America's Most Wanted's (AMW) "Gangster Sh*t" (Appendix A-2, Source 214) and its use of Furious Five's "Step Off" (1984). AMW turned an instrumental used for a song without swearing and turned it into a cop killing anthem. The radio show and mixtape were related techniques employed by DJs in the Bay Area.

This was paired with original dances originating in San Jose, San Francisco, Oakland, East Palo Alto, Richmond, and Sacramento. In the East Bay, dances such as

"Frankenstein hitting" and snake hitting" were created in Oakland, and "Roboting" and "bopping" were produced Richmond. Overall, these predated "popping' and had their own histories within the West Coast funk movement" (Chang, 2007, p. 24). One East Oakland dancer on Chang's panel "From the Dope Spot to Broadway" (Joseph, Forbes, Barlow, & Reyes, 2007, p. 83) started on the Black Arts Movement discussion as a community-based movement—saying that Boogaloo dance groups such as the Black Resurgents and the Black Messengers "were inspired" by the BPP and the BPM. Elsewhere, in the book, Chang (2007, p. 3-4) held that Oakland's Boogaloo scene was distinct from the NY's B-Boy and Rocking scene. Ultimately, hyphy/turf as a "successor to the indigenous social dances" were deeply steeped in tradition. In the East Bay, Vallejo, CA had emerged as a heavy funk music scene with the local group Sly and the Family Stone and their subsequent influence on George Clinton. Sly and the Family Stone's popular emergence from the Crestside neighborhood of Vallejo predated Mac Dre and E-40, primary subjects of the next chapter.

In addition to a rich underground rap scene, Oakland also had a well-established hustle culture, and this was broadcast in the Blaxploitation film *The Mack* (Campus, 1973). The term "mack" was connected to persuasion and gangsta rap. As Quinn has argued (2000), the "mack," "mack man," and "Mackerel man" were connected to "rap" through a psychological game to convince someone into doing something. Thus, by definition, this culture was political—as it was focused on changing or altering someone's socially significant behavior. Hailing from Oakland,

the film *The Mack* and Too $hort's pimp narratives became an influence on other areas. The film is still widely quoted in both mainstream and underground rap music, and Too $hort had a profound impact on the LA rap scene. The "mack man," a person who could "talk someone into something," became ingrained in Oakland rap music, and its literal use to push underground cassettes locally had a deep impression on the Oakland/East Bay do-it-yourself (DIY) entrepreneurship employed by Too $hort by 1981 and Master P years later.

The hustle culture was also connection to the reclaiming of public space. As Too $hort was selling his tapes, he was also using city funded parking lots to perform an underground hustle. Additionally, parking lots became a major influence on the local scene both in this era and the next era. Oakland has a long history of "sideshows." These informal, somewhat impromptu gatherings in parking lots to show off vehicles, play loud rap music, and perform car tricks became an essential identifier of the Oakland Scene. By 1991, rapper Richie Rich was making songs entirely dedicated to these events. Even politically-conscious rapper Paris paired with the group The Conscious Daughters to make a song about the scene. Also, both FM Blue's *Oakland Styles* in 1993 (Appendix A-2, Source 251) and Too $hort's *$hort Dogg's in the House* in 1990 (Source 212) featured front cover images of active "sideshow" gatherings. Politically, the "sideshow" has been understood as the "black reclamation of public space" (Ciccariello-Maher & St. Andrews, 2009, p. 274), and it is essential to understand it as part of Oakland's social, economic, and political underground. In the next era, the "sideshow" garnered more attention and negative

media coverage, but it was present (at least) before the late-1980s. Other signifiers, such as the Bay Bridge became associated with the local music.

These factors taken alone are not unique, but the combined factors provided the area with its unique sound, development, and popular/commercial appeal—while sacrificing less in terms of message. The music's development during the birth of the gangsta rap music era was also a factor.

2Pac started his music career in Oakland by dancing for the popular group Digital Underground. He began rapping with the group after his verse on "Same Old Song" (Digital Underground, 1991), and he then released five solo albums. In addition to writing the important urban street code, 2Pac recorded hundreds of songs, tens of albums, and both music videos and feature films. Shortly after the release of the "Same Old Song," 2Pac was arrested for jaywalking in Oakland. He continued to meet a number of legal struggles with the Oakland Police Department (OPD), as Josh Nisker has argued in "Only God Can Judge Me": Tupac Shakur, the Legal System, and Lyrical Subversion." Nisker decided that 2Pac's response to the American legal system must be described as "justified criminality," but Nisker also found his lyrics to be a "counterproductive force that engenders a negative survival ethics among Black youths and contributes further to racial disparity" (Nisker, 2007).

As 2Pac began to release his own albums, there was a negative response by politicians, the media, portions of the black community, and some women due to the explicit nature of his music. As he began to attain celebrity status, he would continue to go to local house parties in California even as he realized the people at these parties

viewed him differently, and that his attendance was a risk to his safety (Lazin, 2003). His legal troubles began to take over around this time as well. The infamous 723 Seventh Avenue shooting in NY was so influential that some point to this at the beginning of the "East Coast/West Coast" rap "war." On November 30, 1994, 2Pac was shot in the lobby of the building, and he firmly believed that the shooting was a setup or an attempted robbery by East Coast rappers—likely involving his old friend Notorious B.I.G. and Bad Boy Entertainment mogul Puff Daddy (or P. Diddy). 2Pac went to prison in NY, and later on September 15, 1995, he signed a major record deal with Death Row Records—allegedly backed by money that Death Row Records mogul Suge Knight had "extracted" from pop sensation Vanilla Ice.[63]

The *Resurrection* (Lazin, 2003) documentary presented 2Pac in the recording studio during this time, and the studio seemed to be his psychotherapist. He also knew how to operate much of the equipment. At the 1995 Source Awards, there was an altercation between Death Row Records and Bad Boy Records, and this re-sparked the war between the coasts. 2Pac responded with the "diss" song "Hit Em Up" (2Pac, 1996), which was a flagrant attack on Bad Boy Records and the East Coast in general. Some dispute the level and nature of the coast wars in rap. In the documentary (Lazin, 2003) it was discussed as both a small feud between two rappers overblown by the media and a street (even gang war) with high body counts, risks, and paranoia. During this time, 2Pac began to prophesize about his death and worked on at least three songs a day. During one chilling section of the documentary *Resurrection* (Lazin 2003), he told the producer "we don't have the time or the luxury" to mix,

master, and perfect the song that they were working on; since the producer had his verses and choruses, 2Pac felt as though he should begin working on a new song—the studio hands could perfect the song they were working on later. After his death, the hundreds of unreleased songs were found and released. It is as if every waking hour from 1991-1996, 2Pad had spent in the studio perfecting the craft of rapping and other facets of hip-hop culture. His last recorded song was an introduction for Mike Tyson for his fight with Bruce Seldon on September 7, 1996 in Las Vegas. After the quick knockout by Tyson, there was a fight in the lobby of the MGM Grand involving 2Pac, his crew, and some street gang members. After the fight in the lobby, 2Pac was riding in the passenger seat of a car driven by Death Row Records executive Suge Knight when another vehicle pulled up and opened fire critically wounding 2Pac. At first, he wounds were not expected to be "life threatening," so it was a shock when *MTV News* (September 13, 1996) reported the tragic death days later. At the end of the documentary, the rapper claimed that he wanted to "spark the flame that change the world" (Lazin, 2003).

2Pac lives on through the trend he set in rap music and the arts—especially through the albums and material from Oakland. 2Pac's legacy on Oakland's streets remains enormous. He dominated many spheres of entertainment in the 1990s and was a major player in sparking and fueling the "East Coast/West Coast" "war" in rap music. Both helped the Oakland/East Bay and West Coast rap's messages and styles to be heard. His murder at the age of 25—and the enduring mystery around his death—only increased this appeal.

Throughout the period, a new brand of sound was being developed in the Bay Area. This was the *second alternative discourse*, the amount of material produced by these rap artists was immense, and we can take 2Pac as an example of the impact of the Oakland scene. In the East Bay, prominent rap artists and groups of this new, local sound included those associated with: gangsta rap (2Pac; Too $hort; Spice 1; E-40; The Click; Andre Nickatina; Richie Rich; Mac Dre; Mac Mall; B-Legit; Celly Cel; Luniz; Ant Banks; Dru Down); socially conscious rap (Del the Funky Homosapien; Hieroglyphics; Souls of Mischief; Casual; The Conscious Daughters; Pharcyde); politically conscious rap (such as The Coup and its rapper Boots Riley); alternative rap styles (such as DJ Shadow); and those with wide-ranging appeal (Digital Underground; MC Hammer). Anthony Harrison (2009, p. 176) has observed that other artists and groups were further underground in the Bay Area such as: "Elements of Change, Various Blends, Kemetic Suns, Derelicts, Twisted Mind Kids, Subcontents, Most Desh, Charisma [sic], Cytoplasmz, Mixed Practice, Homeless Derelix, Sacred Hoop, Ninty-ninth Dimension, Third Sight, Insomniac, and Tape Master Steph." A sign of the importance of this local scene occurred when A Tribe Called Quest (ATCQ) a New York hip-hop group, featured Del the Funky Homosapien, Casual, and Pharcyde on their *Midnight Marauders* (A Tribe Called Quest, 1993) cover (Harrison, 2009. p. 176). This was an important sign of the respect for the scene, and ATCQ was the perfect group to broadcast the Oakland scene as they were considered to be more underground themselves—at least in terms of message and audience.

Overall, 2Pac is associated mostly with gangsta rap. Yet, he really represented four post-BPP rap message trajectories—gangsta, politically conscious, socially conscious, and alternative rap subgenres. He was thus indicative of these local artist trends, as gangsta rap became the primary vehicle for Oakland artists. It was strikingly more violent, raw, and localized than its mainstream counterpart (and even its Billboard Exception counterpart), and it really blended elements of the subgenres above through synchronized action. At once it was: a continuation or building of the BPP's use of violence; a negation or rejection of the BPP anti-capitalist stance; and a shift from community-centered protection to protection of micro units, cliques, and turfs.

3. Use of Militant and Anti-State Images

Overall, both local and Billboard Exception images displayed a continuation of *revolutionary Black Nationalism* through threats and protectionism. However, in both Oakland rap and the Billboard Exceptions, there was a shift to an emphasis on victimhood and *delegitimized capitalism* (hustling). An illegal *bourgeois reformism* (or *reactionary Black Nationalism*) of sorts was proposed by this combination.

Yet, an important difference between the East Bay and even the Billboard Exception images can be summed up in a few sentences. While about one-tenth of all mainstream albums featured images reminiscent of the BPP, well over one-third of the East Bay images presented clear signs of themes contained in the BPP images. This significant difference in number of iterations/volume also contributed to a more

robust, diverse, and suggestive use—as East Bay rappers sought to differentiate their work from that of others on the streets and effectively "one-up" other artists.

In the Oakland images, elements of threats, protectionism, and victimhood were more vivid, detailed, and voluminous. This was likely because these rappers needed to make a name for themselves both locally and stand out from the Billboard rappers and even the Billboard Exceptions. Thus, their images could be more raw, experimental, and even have alternate versions. The Billboard Exception images were more symbolic, more general, and occurred less often. This was likely due to the artists needing to market and sell the product to the widest range of persons (usually outside their original locale and usually national/international in scope).

There are some major shifts. In term of threats, both Oakland and Billboard Exception images shifted to using the armed groups or gangs (as a micro unit of the inner-city) as a threat. There was an element of misguided racial solidarity and opposition to the state in this. However, the battle against others in the inner-city and pro-capitalist stance could work to undermine racial solidarity. Yet, Oakland images were markedly more militant, exhibiting active violence on the part of larger numbers of people than the Billboard Exception rap images. In terms of protectionism, both Oakland and Billboard Exception images shifted the BPP (and to a lesser extent the Nation of Islam) emphasis on black militancy to a micro unit of personal ownership of handguns/firearms for survival. Here Oakland images conveyed more action (with guns in use) and attached weapons to a person at all times. The Billboard Exception images featured more poses—even using the gun as an accessory at times.

Finally, in terms of victimhood, the symbols of BPP persecution came into play. Generally, this was shifted to a micro unit of individuals and groups. Instead of radically undermining the market with socialism, all signs pointed to *delegitimized capitalism*—a sort of illegal, *reactionary Black Nationalism*. Local rappers presented similar means through armament but lacked the goals of revolution or institutional change. The Oakland images suggested results such as surveillance ending in incarceration, imprisonment, and views from behind bars. The Billboard Exception images expressed ongoing, active surveillance, and the targeting of activity. This area of victimhood was the only area where the Billboard Exception sources were more "dynamic" than local sources. Below I have organized the evidence into four trajectories.

The first three trajectories concern local Oakland/East Bay evolutions by way of organized militancy, the gun as a basic tool, and the victimhood of black youths. I then compare this local image bank to the Billboard Exception trajectories and iterations. Due to the volume of the Oakland images (as depicted in Figure 24), I have selected two examples for each trajectory and noted the total amount. For the full bank, refer to Appendix B-2 (Oakland albums) and Appendix B-4 (Billboard Exception albums)

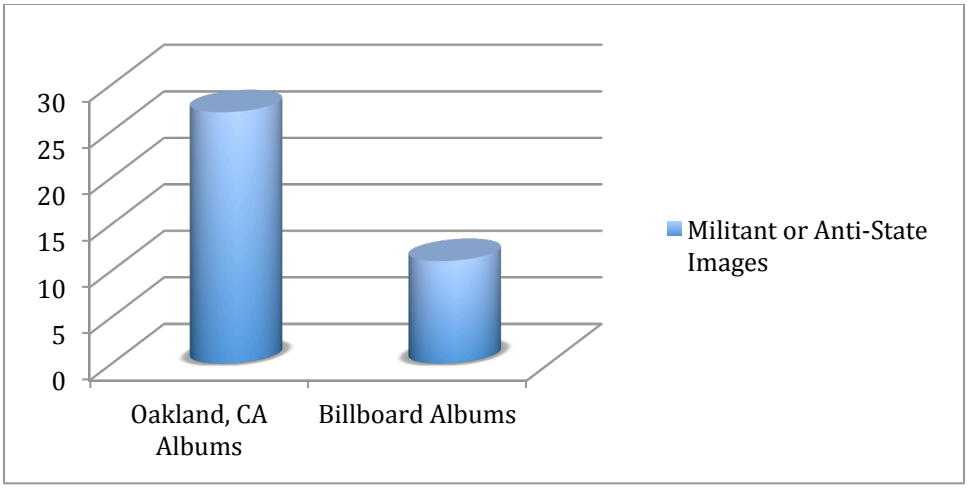

Figure 24: Militant or Anti-State Images in Oakland Rap and Billboard Rap Albums

Oakland, CA Image Trajectory 1: Organized Militancy as a Threat. Oakland images depicted the threat of organized militancy through the display of firearms by groups, but the target was no longer the state. Rather, it was an assumed target—the police, other gangsters, or the viewer. The meaning was to warn the listener that the group was armed, dangerous, and could only be stopped by forceful restraint. This ranged from ambiguous images to purposeful images. The two examples below were drawn from eight others displaying these qualities.

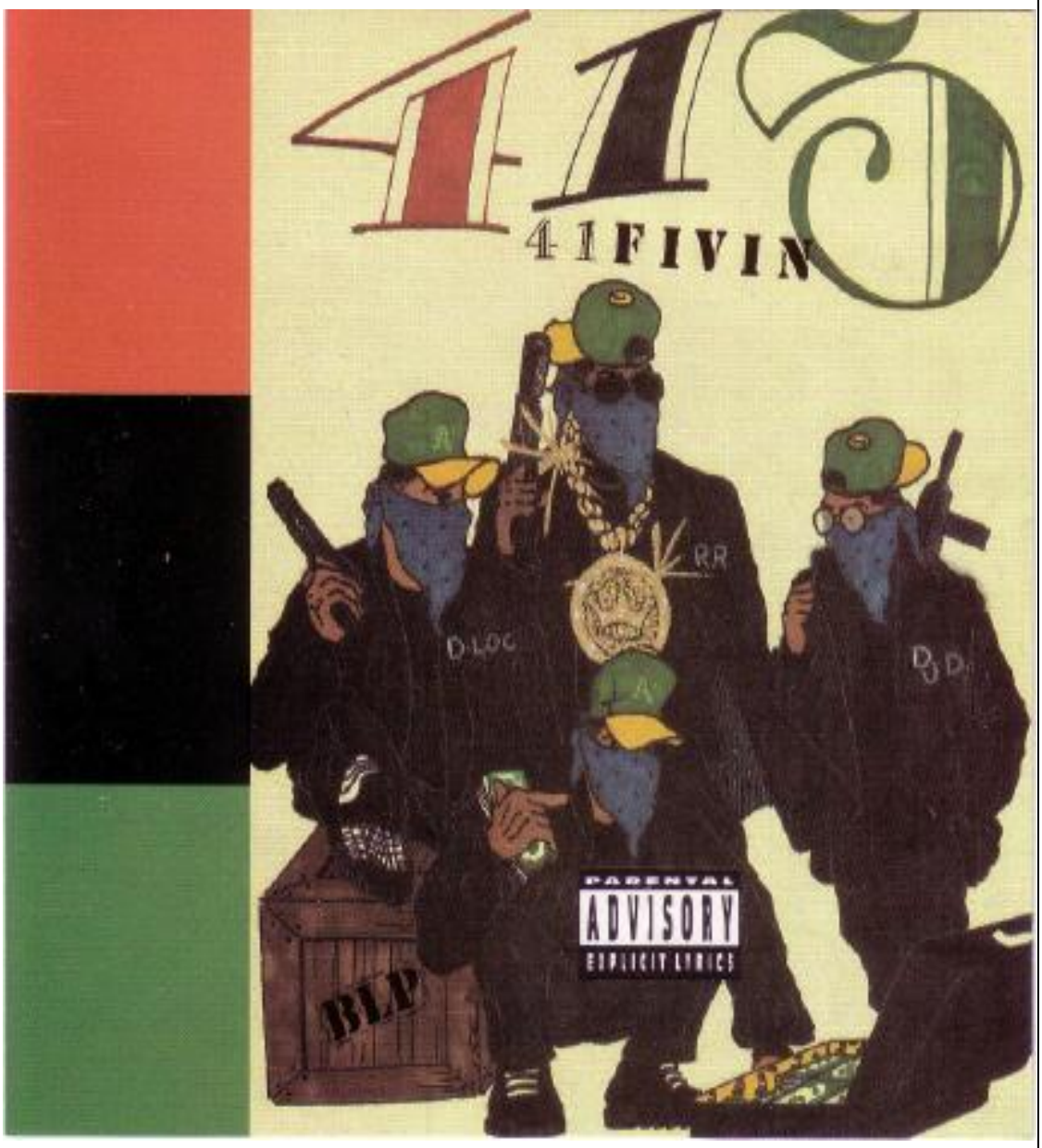

Figure 25: Appendix A-2, Source 206

415's *41Fivin* album cover was a drawing of the four group members dressed in black, three members with firearms and one member with case full of money. The target was not in the picture, it is assumed to be the police, other groups, or anything that got in between them and their case of money.

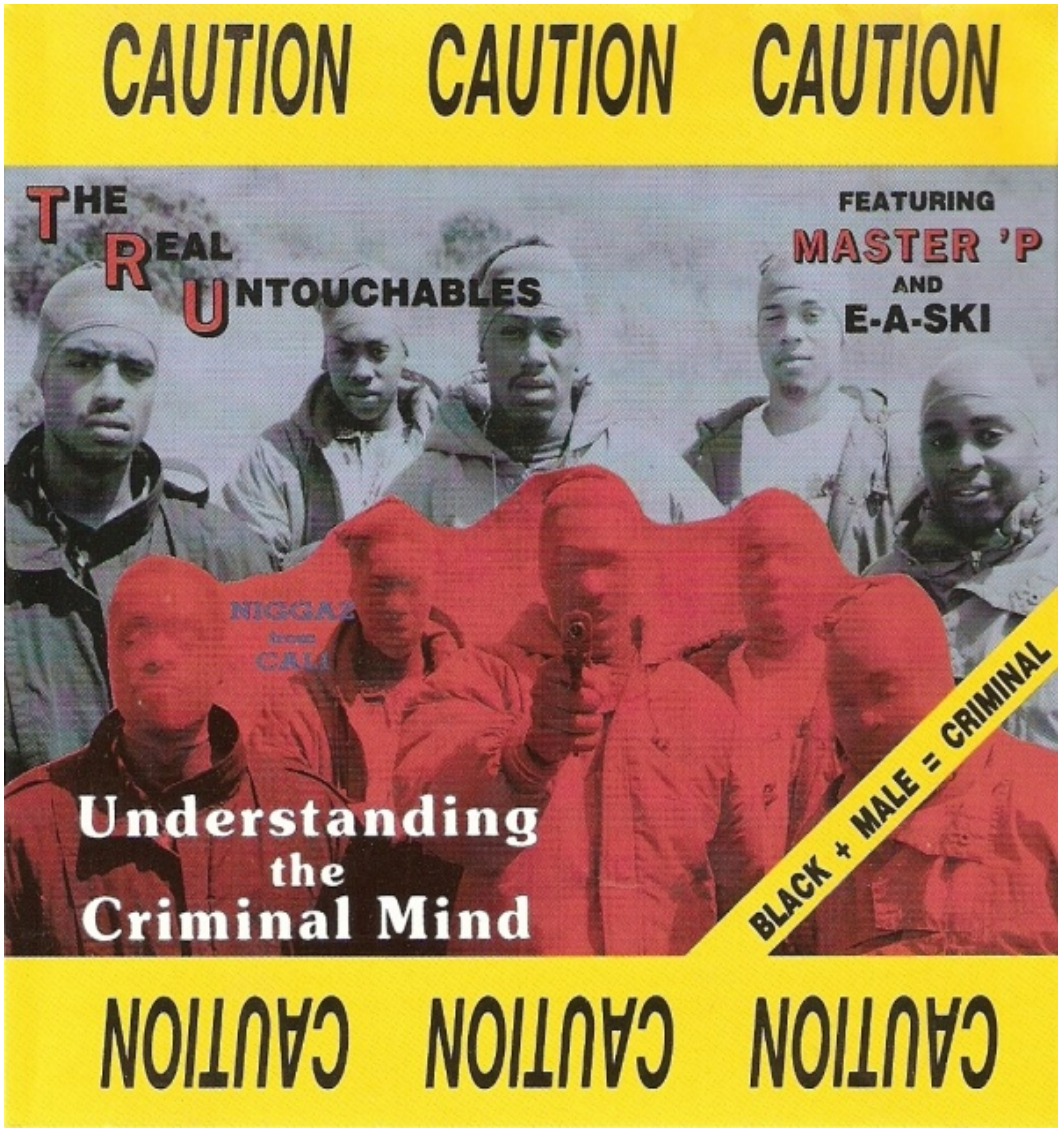

Figure 26: Appendix A-2, Source 238a

TRU's *Understanding the Criminal Mind* featured a front cover image of a group of men standing beside a man with a handgun pointed at the camera and an alternate cover of black hands in handcuffs. In this front cover image, the target was clearly the viewer (or listener), and the reasons behind the gun pointed at you is assumed to be robbery—as the members were dressed in stocking caps.

The attire on *41Fivin* was reminiscent of the BPP illustrations but lacked a formal target (Figure 25). It was assumed to be the police or other gangsters—or as in the case of *Understanding the Criminal Mind*—the target was the viewer (Figure 26).

Obscure displays of organized militancy continued with *Explicit Game*'s front cover image. The message was pretty clear; the viewer was the target of both a rifle with a scope and a waist level handgun. However, the back cover image was perplexing as one of the rappers pointed a handgun at his jaw. The meaning seemed to be that if he was crazy enough to point a gun at himself and was also holding an assault rifle, imagine what he would do to you.

On *Tryin' To Get a Buck*, the target was the liquor store, and the meaning was that organized use of firearms was intended to rob from the ghetto's illegitimate capitalists. Slightly little less ambiguous was *The Real Mobb* artwork. Through the front and back cover images, the group was prepared for all facets of street war—offense through guns, defense through bulletproof vests, and hand-to-hand combat by weightlifting. Again, the target—or enemy—was not defined, but was assumed to be law enforcement or rivals.

Oakland, CA Image Trajectory 2: The Gun as the Basic Tool for Survival.

Next, Oakland rappers revealed that guns were needed to survive on the streets by displaying them in a variety of ways. The two examples below were drawn from 15 others displaying these qualities.

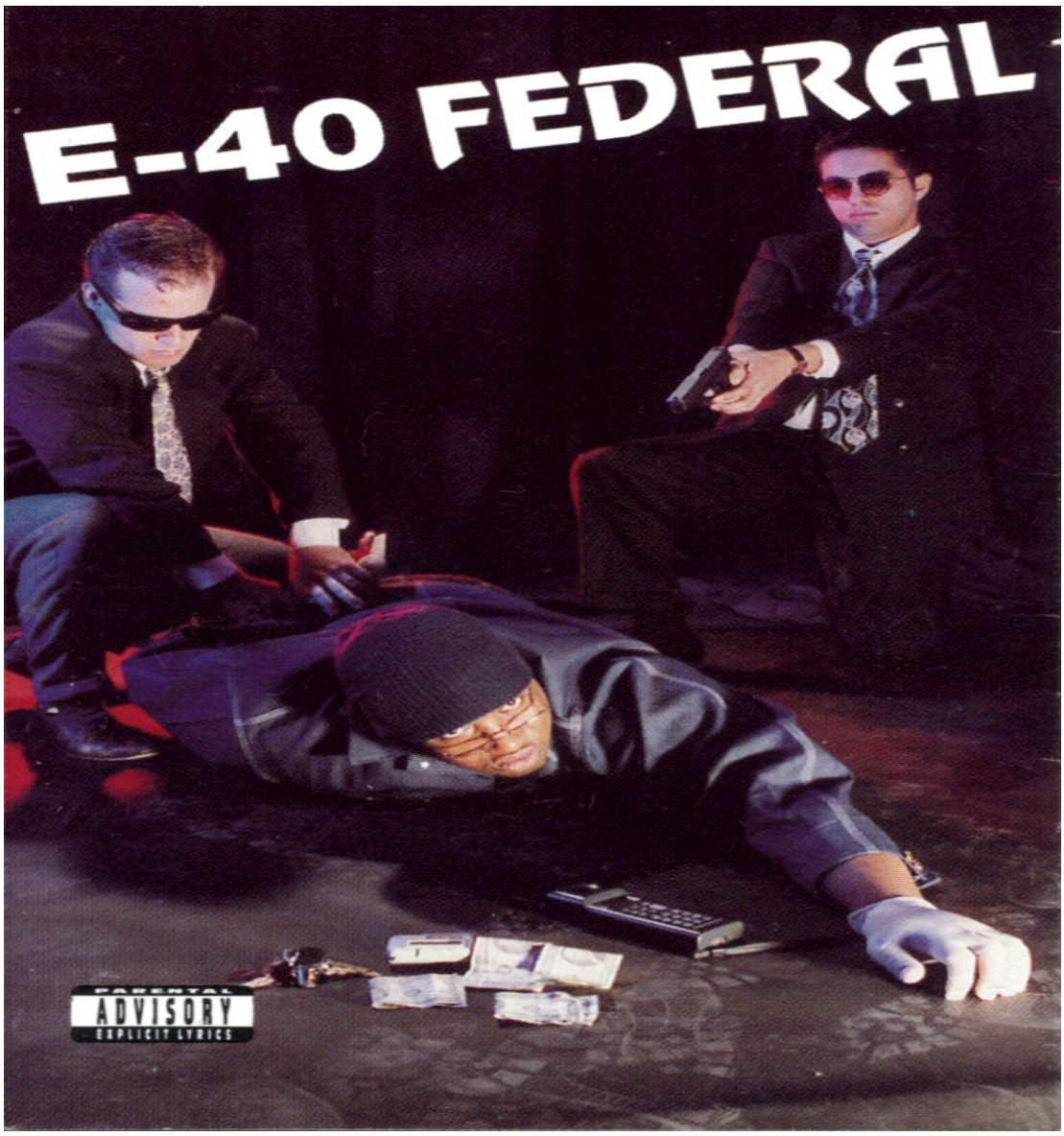

Figure 27: Appendix A-2, Source 230

E-40's *Federal* featured an image of the rapper being pushed to the ground by armed, plain-clothes law enforcement. This image began a display of the gun as a necessary tool for survival; the meaning was clear—his keys, money, and mobile phone lying in front of him would not save him from law enforcement. He needed his gun.

Figure 28: Appendix A-2, Source 241

2Pac's *Strictly 4 My N.*.G.G.*.Z.* featured an image of the rapper standing shirtless amidst what appeared to be an apocalyptic urban wasteland while possibly clenching a gun. This was a gangsta rap, hybrid cover because we could not tell exactly what 2Pac was holding—and given the backdrop of the urban wasteland—it was probably a firearm or weapon of some kind. Also given the backdrop, it was somewhat excused or justified.

Spice 1's *Amerikkka's Nightmare* and Mac Mall's *Illegal Business?* both featured rappers ready for anything by possessing multiple firearms—the former cover by having a gun in *both* hands and the later by having an arsenal of handguns on a table (although some appeared to be dissembled). The warning to always be "strapped" with guns continued on Master P's *99 Ways to Die* which indicated unless you wanted to end up in a hearse and a grave, you should be prepared to go out firing guns in both hands—an image that was also used on the back cover of Dangerous *Dame's Escape from the Mental Ward* (which otherwise featured a rather ambiguous front cover). Spice 1's *1990-Sick* replaced firearms for a bomb as a rapper lighted an explosive in an alleyway. The message was that things had became so militarized in the ghetto that explosives were now necessary.

There were also more ambiguous displays of firearms that require a connection to the artist/group music for analysis. For instance, the politically conscious, Marxist rap group The Coup's *Steal This Album* had one cover which displayed a firearm on the back of a woman carrying a child. Given The Coup's Marxist critique in their music, we can gather that the gun on the black woman was to protect her child and/or to have a role in the revolution. The Click's *Game Related* covers mixed the gangsta style with socially conscious commentary as both covers suggested that a board game of life and death was being played on the streets, and it seemed the winner of the game would be the person holding the smoking gun.

Even albums without a firearm could suggest the need for them and provide a social commentary in the process. TRU's *TRUE* front cover exposed some kind of

blood ritual/initiation taking place, and we could reason that firearms would be needed to protect this organization from outside forces. Yet, one of the most interesting displays of firearms was Master P's *The Ghetto's Tryin to Kill Me* in which the meaning was clear and simple; even while actively engaged in sexual intercourse, the photograph on the wall (which happened to be above his partner's face) reminded the rapper that he should never stray too far from his firearm.

Local rap connection to the BPP and late-Black Nationalism was simple by design. Firearms and other weapons were an everyday, common necessity to avoid capture, defeat, or succumbing to one's enemy. However, for the BPP, the targets were clearly outlined as the state and enemies of the people. Purportedly, these weapons were never supposed to be turned towards blacks, poor people, or otherwise oppressed people. In the local rap covers, there was great uncertainty as to whom these weapons were designed to defend against. While E-40's *Federal* (Figure 27), Spice 1's *Amerikkka's Nightmare*, 2Pac's *Strictly 4 My N.*.G.G.*.Z* (Figure 28), and even The Coup's alternate cover for *Steal this Album* hinted at a greater purpose for the gun, most of the other covers were stanchly ambiguous regarding purpose. Yet, given the context and the settings of the photographs, we were to assume that the purpose was for protection. The gun was taken as a given and literally as a tool for survival.

Oakland, CA Trajectory 3: Black Youths as Targets of State Repression.

Local figures displayed black youths as ongoing targets of state repression through

surveillance, imprisonment, and force. The two examples below are drawn from 15 similar instances.

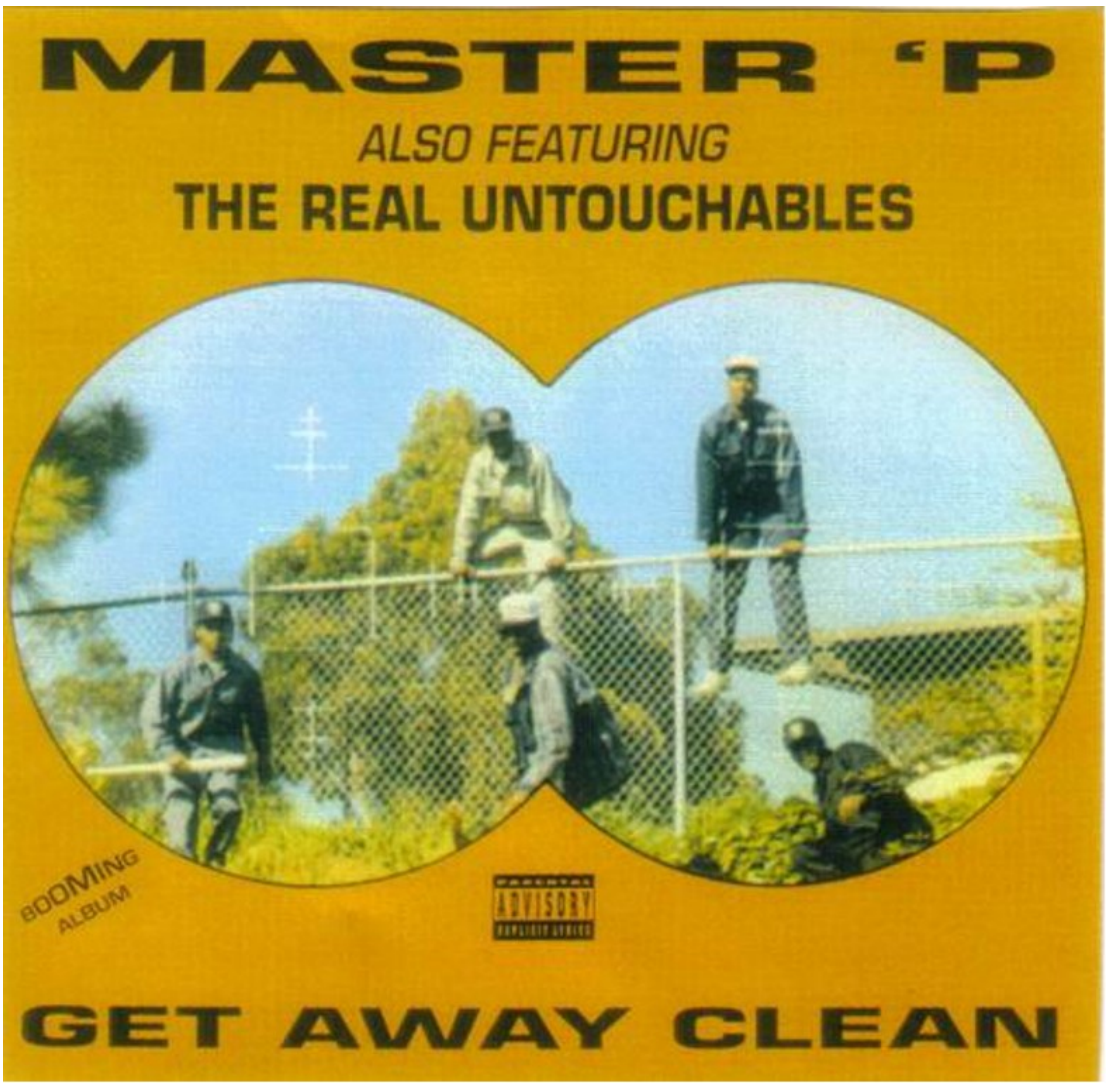

Figure 29: Appendix A-2, Source 216

Master P's *Get Away Clean* featured an image of five men jumping a fence with a baseball bat in one man's hand while the entire group was in the scope of binoculars. The group was clearly running from some threat and (unfortunately for them) toward state surveillance. This was one of the first images to use surveillance as a theme on artwork.

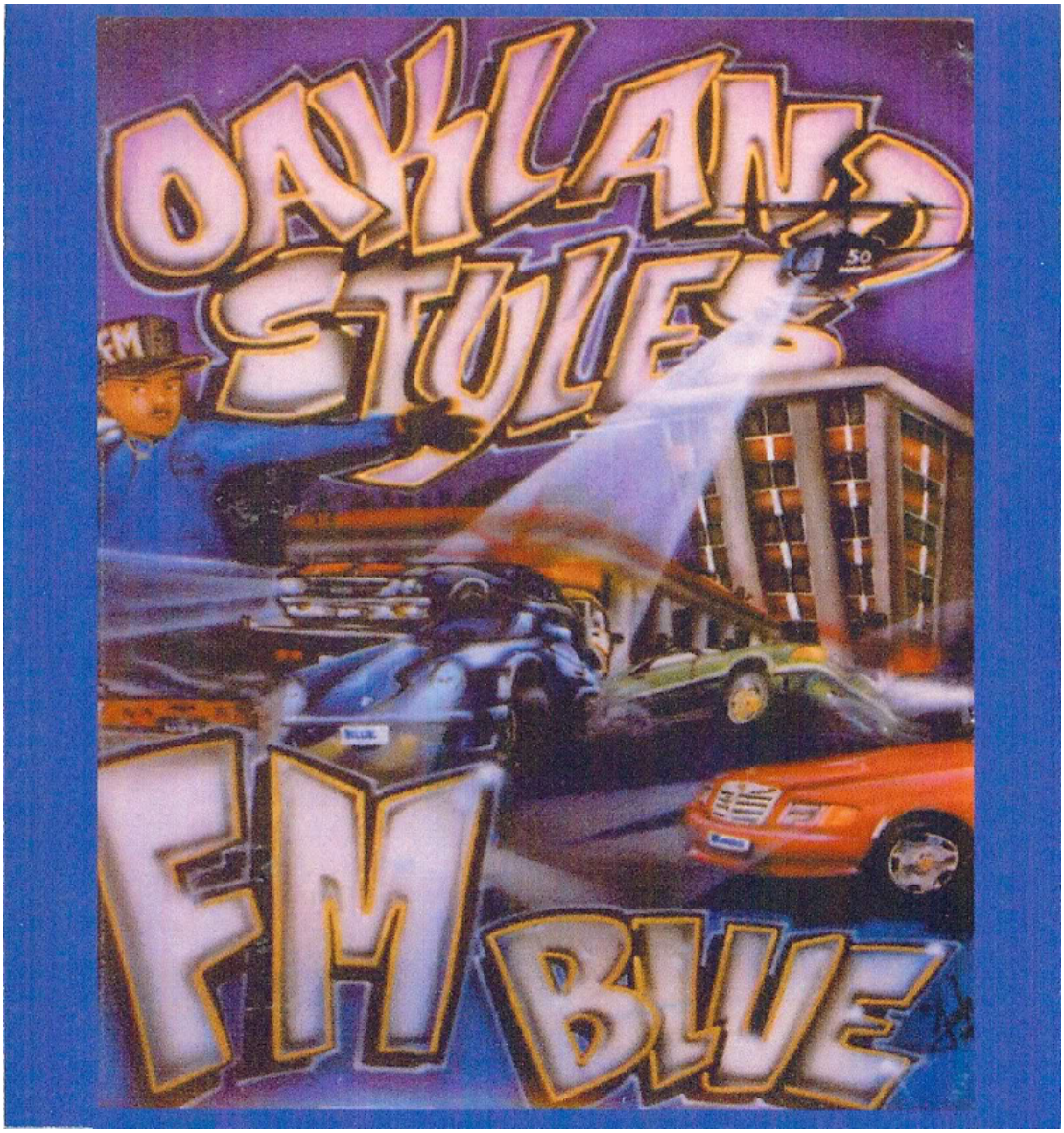

Figure 30: Appendix A-2, Source 251

FM Blue's *Oakland Styles* featured an image of what appeared to be a "sideshow," with a "5-0" helicopter highlighting the scene. This display of sweeping surveillance of the urban population was forming a critique of existing efforts at shutting down (or deterring) the popular "sideshows."

The local display of black youths as targets of state oppression through imprisonment began with America's Most Wanted (AMW). *Criminals* began playing on the victimhood established by the BPP. The group was behind bars, and such cover art prompted the viewer to question why the rap group was imprisoned. Similar to the *Criminals* cover, Rappin' Ron & Ant Diddley Dog's *Bad-N-Fluenz* also prompted the viewer to ponder why the two were behind bars. Yet, the displays above were largely fictitious or cases designed for album artwork. A display of a real case was depicted on Richie Rich's *Half Thang* as a back cover image referred to a real, active campaign to free the Oakland legend 2Pac. As such, this was a sign of efforts by the state authorities to silence and trap one of the leaders of the rap struggle. Similarly, Mac Dre's *Back N' Da Hood* cover (an album actually recorded in a Fresno, CA county jail) and *The Cell Block Compilation* provided a new approach; even while incarcerated by the law, the rapper(s) would not be silenced. The later cover was also strikingly similar to the BPP photographs of "Conspiracy's Victims." However, the major difference between this album art and BPP art was the question of provocation. While the covers above exhibited the results of imprisonment, other rappers indicated provocation of law enforcement—as in the case of the Luniz's *Operation Stackola.* The rappers were arrested because they committed a crime (robbery) as shown on the front cover, but the back cover image presented them to be victims of law enforcement en route to a jail cell.

As indicated in Figure 29 above, the local displays of black youths as targets of surveillance was first depicted in Master P's *Get Away Clean*. The technology of

surveillance was updated on 415's *Nu N*gg*z on the Blockkk*. The group was also clearly being spied on, but instead of merely viewing them, a device was being used to record video evidence that could be used against them. Meanwhile, TRU's *Who's Da Killer?* unveiled a detective's desk with an assortment of information on members of the rap group in an effort to hunt them down. FM Blue's *Oakland Styles* portrayed a militarized, sweeping surveillance with a helicopter (see Figure 30 above). A local display of black youths as the targets of state force was alluded to on *4080 Hip hop Magazine: Volume 1 Mobbin' Thru the Bay!* The image of a group of military or police officers with riot gear was reminiscent of the BPP's method of showing active militarized state authorities seeking a target indiscriminately. The rap cover was almost certainly a play on a BPP image exhibiting a police officer lowing his baton in preparation to strike a colonial subject. Overall, this theme of being unfairly imprisoned, treated, watched, or beaten was most certainly a spinoff of the BPP/Black Nationalist message. However, a major difference was that the BPP attacks held ground because they were said to be unprovoked and underserved, and the local rap images laid stake to no such claim.

Billboard Exception Images, Trajectories and Volume. A number of Billboard Exception images displayed some examples of organized militancy (3), the gun being attached to survival (5), and anti-state symbolism (7). However, compared to the volume, range, and diversity of the Oakland and East Bay album covers, the aftermath of the BPP must be taken as a plausible explanation for the level of difference.

Figure 31: Appendix A-4, Source 416a

EPMD's *Business as Usual* featured a front cover image of police with five shotguns drawn approaching a crowd of black men and a back cover image of a close-up snapshot of the police. Both images documented the militant use of force in active state repression. Reasons for the police clampdown remained unclear, but the viewer must assume the group was engaged in some activity deemed to be illegal or a threatening to law enforcement.

Figure 32: Appendix A-4, Source 452

Eazy-E's *It's On (Dr. Dre 187um) Killa* featured an image of Eazy-E standing on a wall in the inner-city smoking a marijuana blunt with one forty-ounce being poured by him and another next to the wall with a shotgun sitting next to it. Even while drunk, high, and alone, the rapper was prepared with the 12-gauge shotgun he so often rapped about. You should be too.

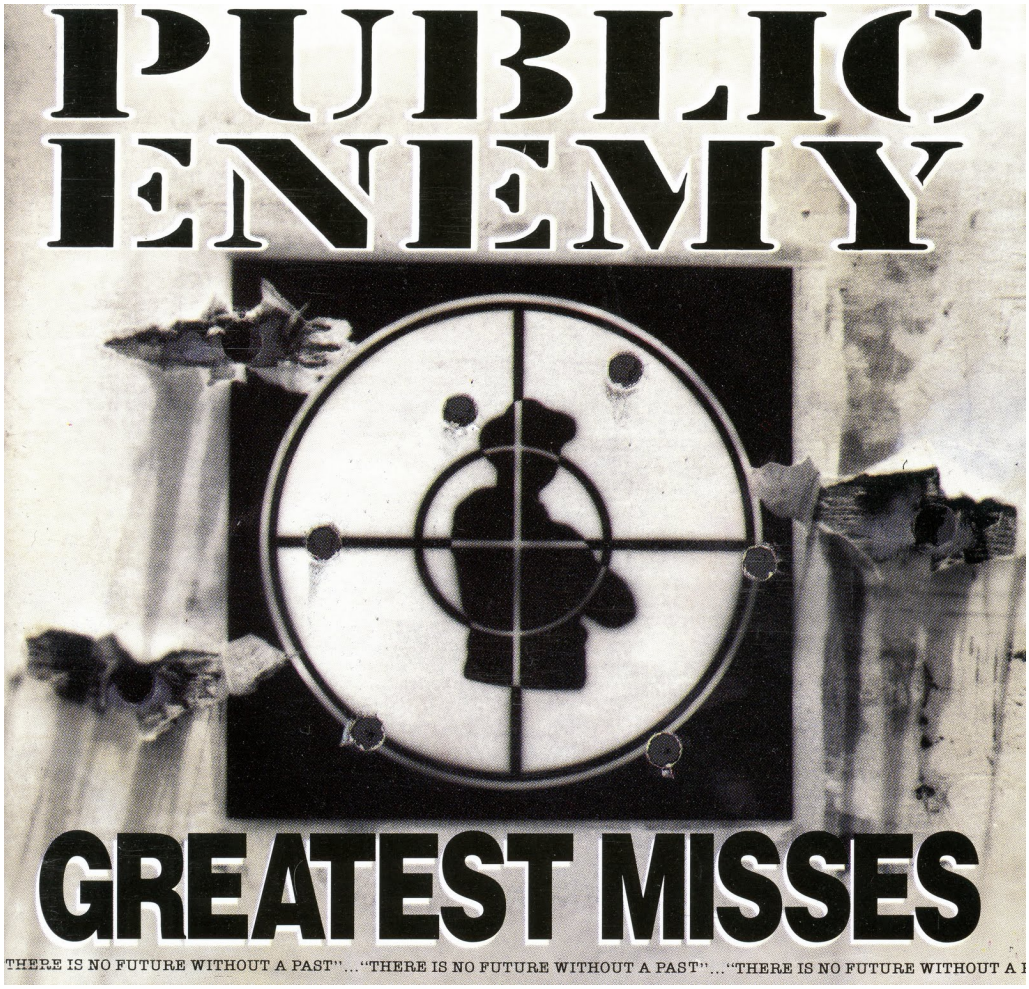

Figure 33: Appendix A-4, Source 435a

Public Enemy's *Greatest Misses* featured a front cover image of a black figure in crosshairs with nine shots unsuccessfully fired and a back cover logo of crosshairs. This was similar to Public Enemy's *Apocalypse 91…The Enemy Strikes Black*, which displayed an image of a figure in crosshairs above a group of seven black men. The latter documented that a target was always on black men, and the former disclosed more detail. In addition to the target always being on black men, the authorities were actively practicing their shooting skill on black images. Yet, the fact that all nine bullets missed the target revealed their inability to successfully kill off the black man. The back cover displayed the crosshair logo—a sort of branding of the image akin to the BPP panther (animal) symbol in later BPP articles. This is one reason it is a "Billboard Exception."

A few Billboard Exceptions also demonstrated the threat of organized militancy through the display of firearms by groups. EPMD's *Business as Usual* (Figure 31) highlighted an ambiguous but heavily armed police clampdown. Years later, the cover of Hot Boys' *Guerrilla Warfare* flaunted a less than ambiguous threat of organized militancy through an exploding cop car—as the rap group would oversee the annihilation of law enforcement.

Billboard Exceptions also depicted that guns were needed to survive on the streets by displaying them in a variety of poses. This exhibition of firearms began with Ice T's *Power*. A woman acted as a primary offensive threat with a gun visible on the front cover, and the men served as defense with their guns only visible on the back cover. The cover image and its attachment to the term "power" suggested control was directly attached to having access to a firearm. Later, Boss' *Born Gangstaz* depicted a female rapper who was crazy, heavily armed, and that you did not want to meet in *her* alleyway without a gun. Similarly, Onyx's *Bacdaf*cup* and DRS's *Gangsta Lean* both suggested that without a weapon of your own, journeying through the inner-city would result in a beating, a gun whipping, or worse, and the later photograph disclosed that you did not want to venture onto their block without the necessary tools to defend yourself. Yet, perhaps the clearest message attaching display of firearms for the purposes of survival was exposed on Eazy-E's *It's On (Dr. Dre 187um) Killa* (Figure 32); even while drunk, high, and alone, the rapper was armed and ready.

Billboard Exceptions also expressed anti-state symbolism through the burning of currency and through black youths as ongoing targets of state repression through surveillance, prosecution, and force. Brand Nubians' *In God We Trust* flaunted the destruction of American currency as a radical anti-state symbol. This action (illegal under Title 18, Section 333 of the United States Code) paired with the album's title rejected the dollar and its use of the same phrase and was thus an anti-state symbol. Black youth as the targets of surveillance and prosecution were united on Junior M.A.F.I.A.'s *Conspiracy* with artwork that clearly exhibited that, even while on trial, the state was still seeking to collect evidence to use against the group. As shown in Figure 33, Public Enemy's *Greatest Misses* and *Apocalypse 91…The Enemy Strikes Black* effectively branded the notion of repression and victimhood. By presenting a black torso in crosshairs and with missed rounds, the group made the statement that America was (unsuccessfully) trying to kill off the black man.

Overall, the use of militant and anti-state imagery became a rule or standard for local Oakland/East Bay rappers and was simply an exception for even Billboard Exception rappers. The explanation is quite clear: the local music could appeal to more extreme tastes, but the mainstream music needed to be able to sell to a wide range of audiences. Much of the music in Oakland was designed to appeal to poor, black youth, and its popularity broadcast messages to a wider constituency. Below, by looking at the use of internal colonization lyrics, I demonstrate how Oakland rap reinforced the differences in imagery with a higher level of engagement with the BPP concept of a black colony in isolation from the rest of America.

4. Use of Internal Colonization Lyrics

Generally, local rappers utilized the BPP claims of *territorial separatism* but ignored the BPP solutions and shifted toward an opportunist, *delegitimized capitalism* as defined by Venkatesh (2005) and Levitt and Venkatesh (2005). The Oakland/East Bay rappers then outlined how this led to certain outcomes both positive (acquired riches, respect, power) and negative (death, incarceration).

As mentioned earlier, there was a key moment when new political solutions and frameworks with elements of Marxism (such as the unequal division of wealth and property) were introduced, but the form did not become predominant. It was instead pushed to an underground, alternative rap format because, as Boots Riley of The Coup contended, "people saw their lives were not changing" (Forman & Neal, 2004, p. 363). The discourse on The Coup's albums was an early and key example of a post-BPP, early politically conscious rap discourse from Oakland, the East Bay, and even the San Francisco areas. Artists such as Paris (a former member of the Nation of Islam, economics major, and BPP-influenced rapper emerging out of San Francisco) and Boots Riley (both a rapper and political activist) began to gain notoriety on both the local and underground (but national scene).

As for the message and style's impact on local Oakland/East Bay rap, it contributed to a more robust product overall—yet did not become the leading type of music locally. Yet, rather than a split between gangsta and early political rappers, I understand them as synthesized in many ways. There were many examples of collaborations between the two subgenres, and artists merely had two different

approaches for highlighting the same thing. One could adapt larger frameworks but continue speaking on the horrors, or one could offer a solution. Gangsta rappers continued speaking on the horrors of the ghetto in vivid detail, the politically conscious rappers added a larger framework, and as a whole, Oakland/East Bay rappers began to explain how they saw hustling as a comprehensive solution. The key is that some of the problems were seen as institutional in nature and offering a systematic critique of the wars on drugs and crime. This was a politics of last resort and lack of options, as some even contended that they were forced to be gangsters due to their environment. This was quite different from the commonly held perception that gangsta rappers *chose* to adopt the messages, styles, and lifestyle.

Both local rap and Billboard Exception rap began with noting inner-city separation by comparing the ghetto experience (urban nightmares) to some other American experience (suburban dreams). However, in the local rap music, there was heavy, specific, and graphic descriptive summary about dwellers living in specific areas. Local rappers pronounced a deep level of entrapment and often rapped about the social, economic, and political impact on their psyche. Meanwhile, the Billboard Exceptions were often allegorical. When we link the local music, we can gather a range of a systemic critique of the American system. When we link the less frequent examples in the Billboard Exceptions, we are left with many claims that are more accessible to outsiders as an audience.

Next, in both local rap and Billboard Exception rap there was a turn to *delegitimized capitalism* as an opportunity for a better life. Yet, the local incarnations

portrayed an active life process and trap—vividly detailing personal experience including rewards, risks, and temptations. There was also a certain normalcy attached to these specific locales. In contrast, the Billboard Exception versions were sometimes presented from the outside looking in by noting the oddities and differences in a generalize ghetto area.

Finally, both forms revealed the outcomes associated with *delegitimized capitalist* endeavors. Still, the local rap music provided more detailed, vivid, and personal accounts—a sort of "had to be there" version, recounting the stories to local inhabitants. Meanwhile, the Billboard Exception rap music did provide vivid accounts, but the accounts often remained general, accessible, and anecdotal for outsiders.

The New Ghetto (1986-1993). Oakland/East Bay rapper use of internal colonization pronounced the condition of being trapped in inner-city locales by describing the territory, explaining it as a form of the American nightmare, and by comparing detailed first-hand reports of experiences to media misrepresentations and other negative outside influences. Locally, we see the emergence of a rich set of subgenres and uses—gangsta rap's descriptive elements, socially conscious rap's recognition of urban problems, politically conscious rap's comparisons to other parts of America, and the construction of new styles.

Gangsta rap was really the start of Oakland rap music as Too $hort's pimp narratives really began the local rap scene. While his version of gangsta rap was milder, less violent, and more laidback than pioneers such as KRS One, Ice-T, and

even Schoolly D, Too $hort's key themes involved creating a sphere of illegal activity, defending this sphere, and profiting on it as well as the rap tales about it. In addition, similar to other gangsta rappers, Too $hort's raps began with a description of the land on *Raw, Uncut, X-Rated*'s "Oakland, California"—a place where you would find "drugs all in yo face," the OPD cruising the streets, a decreasing crime rate and increasing murder rate, M-16 rifles and 357 handguns, and "so much death" (Appendix A-2, Source 202). His critique of the crime/murder rate was an astute critique produced by a local presence. His claim was that the OPD was more concerned with winning the war on petty crime than people being killed. His description of the urban space continued on his next album *Life is...Too $hort*'s title track when he questioned whether his listener wanted to "rap or sell coke" and referred to the town as the "home of the rock" (Source 205).

As Ice-T mentioned in an interview with Davey D (2009), he considered Too $hort's emergence to be essential in the formation of gangsta rap music. His previous albums/extended plays *Don't Stop Rappin* and *Players* were officially on the streets by 1985, but the demo to the former was purported to have been recorded much earlier—as early as 1983. Others claim he was circulating tapes in 1981. This would also make $hort a gangsta rap pioneer, as Ice-T claimed. Although it did take $hort a couple of years to really start use the gangsta rap subgenre in his own way, he became Oakland's first rapper to reach the Billboard charts. As such, this description of "The Town" was later widely circulated locally and domestically—if not internationally.

Socially conscious messages were also emerging alongside $hort's narratives as new underground (and unreleased) sounds began documenting the streets. For example, 2Pac's "Panther Power" started with how the denial of the American dream resulted in the American nightmare for those on the street. His ability to root the problems of the streets in larger institutional framework throughout the album *Beginnings: The Lost Tapes* was likely due to his background as an offspring of BPP members (Appendix A-2, Source 208). Meanwhile, Too $hort's hit single "The Ghetto" off of *$hort Dog's In The House* shifted the pimp narratives to descriptions of a crumbling inner-city environment with bumpy streets, burned out lights, drug addicts dying with crack-cocaine pipes in their mouths, homicide, and inhabitants wondering how they would die (Source 212). This graphic detail forced listeners—insiders and outsiders—alike to confront the problems faced on Oakland's streets, but it also gave some vision of hope and survival in the process.

This effort to raise awareness of the American nightmare continued on Sway and King Tech's title track on *Concrete Jungle*—as they described a place of concrete buildings, police sirens, "many drug dealings," killings in broad daylight, inhabitants with mental health issues, a competition for survival, and the urge to commit rape, perjury, and burglary in what they claimed was a "concrete jungle" (Source 213). The explanation of the denial of the American dream turning into an American nightmare hinted at a territory divided from the rest of America.

The uses of this territorial divide ranged from the gangsta perpetuation to the socially- and politically- astute. Gangsta rappers began to signpost the wars taking

place on Oakland's streets—as in the case of 415's *Nu N*gg*z on Tha Blokkk's* title track's warning of a psycho, ghetto black youth mimicking soldiers from Kuwait and the film *Rambo* (Source 218). Socially conscious artists gave reasons for such action, and 2Pac's first major single release "Trapped" off of *2Pacalypse Now* was the epitome of this effort. On the song, 2Pac referred to a "vicious cycle" of racism, poverty, and police harassment and threatened that if "one more cop harasse[d] [him]" he would "go psycho" and crush in the officer's skull (Source 222). While 2Pac did not make a direct reference to Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (Myrdal & Bok, 1944) and its findings, he was clearly re-appropriating the term to describe a circle of oppression, reactions, and then explanations for further oppression. Myrdal's concept entailed a "self-fulfilling prophesy" in which blacks were oppressed by whites and then blamed for being poor, thus justifying the oppression. 2Pac's lyrics picked up on this trap and said something about it. His rap was about the creation of a warzone reproducing violent actions. Meanwhile, Mhisani's title track from *Call It Like I See It* pushed the political message even further by cautioning people "The Town" to stop killing one another. He also debunked notions of the media calling him racist and political. He asserted that he was freely expressing his views on a system of racism and imprisonment (Appendix A-2, Source 224). 2Pac and Mhisani provided signs of early socially conscious and politically conscious rap messages yet came from two different perspectives—2Pac closer to gangsta rap and Mhisani closer to alternative rap.

Early on, the gangsta rap message won out locally—although most rappers continued to give social reasons before fully launching into the gangsta method. For example, Master P's title track from *Mama's Bad Boy* described a house with five children and a lack of food causing him and his brother to sell cocaine, act crazy, and deal with the ensuing paranoia (Source 225). Another example was Spice 1's smash hit single "Welcome to the Ghetto" off of their self-titled album. The song was reminiscent of $hort's "In the Ghetto," but Spice 1's song had evolved—mixing a heavy bassline with vocal jabs and offering more hope. The rapper began by questioning whether "heaven [had] a ghetto" as his "cousin died last year" and he still could not "let go." As he walked through the streets, he reflected on drug addicts surviving on "can goods," hustlers on the corner, young black men dying at an early age, and the police "flaunt[ing]" drug cases on the popular television show *America's Most Wanted* (Walsh, 1988-2011). However, the rapper explained that he did not sell drugs or participate in gang activity, although his friends from the streets continued to do so. He then advised them to hold it together and "stay mellow." The message was that even in the harsh conditions, survival (and even success) could be achieved through struggle (Source 227).

The Billboard Exception version of aforementioned claims was heavily concentrated in LA—with the exceptions of socially-conscious groups Public Enemy (from Long Island, NY) and Arrested Development (from Atlanta, GA). Billboard Exceptions described the hellish inner-city conditions, the major actors, and drew comparisons to apartheid.

On the Billboard, the modern gangsta message really began to take commercial form and shape after Ice-T's self-titled single off of *Power* and his song "New Jack Hustler" off of the *New Jack City Soundtrack*. On "Power," the rapper claimed, the system was designed to "prey on the lame" and "release those with pull" (Appendix A-4, Source 408).[64] On "New Jack Hustler," the rapper focused on both the American dream and nightmare as evidenced through a journey down his block. He claimed to be describing a "genocidal catastrophe" (Source 417). Yet, by this time Ice-T had starred as an undercover police officer in the film *New Jack City* (Van Peebles, 1991).[65] Ice Cube rapped on soundtracks as well, providing satirical, mocking, and jeering verses to note the differences between South Central neighborhoods and other locations in America (Appendix A-4, Sources 418 and 431).[66] Socially conscious rap groups and artists also appeared on the Billboard charts. Public Enemy (Source 422 and 425), Arrested Development (Source 429), and Da Lench Mob (Source 430) sold records while speaking on urban struggles.[67] Other, more gangsta-style rappers alluded to urban problems as a reason for their illegal actions Bo$$ (Source 444).[68]

The New Markets (1992-1994). Oakland/East Bay artists linked the adverse environment to transformation through the profitably of *delegitimized economic* endeavors. Locally, this was interconnected with individual reasoning (including risks, rewards, temptations), group protection, and the acquisition of "turfs."

Local use of internal colonization lyrics described how the wars on drugs and crime were impacting the street environment and contributing to new criminals at

local and state levels. The Delinquents portrayed an urban wasteland called "the valleys of death" (with machine guns, crack-cocaine merchants, and surveillance through tapped phones) on their title track to *The Alleyway (EP)*. They cautioned listeners to wear a bulletproof vest and to stay alert—or else become a Sunday morning newspaper statistic (Appendix A-2, Source 236). Later, the group's self-titled track off of their *Insane (EP)* correlated the transition into delinquency as a product of their environment (and not by choice) after seeing the 73rd homicide of the year (Source 237). Similarly, Master P-led rap crew TRU's "Understanding the Mind of a Criminal" off of *Understanding the Criminal Mind* designated California as "the state of homicides" with young black men gangbanging and committing drive by shootings, before issuing a fatal threat to those that approached them (Source 238).

When the rap group The Coup's title track off of *Kill My Landlord* extended the problem to the national level, there was an opening for a Marxist framework in the local music. The group began by discussing the financial profit of the "United Snakes" entering a "new phase" but representative of US "slavery days" and that black men were assumed to be "n*gg*rs" (Source 242). Some rapped about an ability to extract profit from the drug and crime wars—as in the case of Mac Mall's "Illegal Business" off of *Young Black Brotha.* He considered the profitability of becoming a player in the drug game while sitting alone thinking about "how much cocaine [was] bought" and the presence of crack-cocaine addicts before deciding to "hit the…strip like a savage" to sell cocaine with his friends" (Source 245). The other option was to enter the *rap* game. Rapper FM Blue did not discuss this as *an* option; it was a logical

necessity because Oakland was the "city of dope" encapsulating everything including music. He compared selling drugs to selling rap music, detailed police harassment even while doing the latter, and explained that it was his "tape" that had the police officer's child "talkin' black" (Source 251). In other words, his entrance into the rap game would have an impact on even the police officer's son rather than an entrance into the drug game only having an impact on the police officer's wallet.

Others reviewed the limited options available to the youth on the streets in new ways—ranging from macro to micro contextualization. Too $hort had evolved into speaking on a larger institutional framework. His title track to *Get in Where You Fit in* articulated the condition of being black, trapped, and "raised as a cruel kid," and he rapped about how he learned more from the streets than the educational system, decided to enter the drug game, and became a "threat to [law] authorit[ies]" (Source 249). The continued temptation of becoming and remaining involved with crime and drugs was another topic in the local music. For instance, Mac Dre's title track on *Young Black Brotha* told the story of an 18-year-old living in the Crestside section of Vallejo full of "mob shots," convertible classic automobiles, crack-cocaine, corrupt police, and young black men hustling (either by selling cocaine, weed, or women) to make money to freshly paint their automobiles (Source 253). Master P's title track on *The Ghettos Tryin to Kill Me* depicted a drug dealer who was beginning to question his future while suffering from insomnia due to paranoia about being "deep in the game." As his mother prayed about him changing his lifestyle and other people warned that he would die in "gunsmoke," he refused to remain poor in the

ghetto, loaded "an extra clip," and paid respects to his brother—who was a victim of a homicide (Source 257).

Generally, the local rap scene turned to further explaining illegal lifestyles, flirted with politically conscious rap (through Marxist leanings) but ultimately remained heavily influenced by a mixture of gangsta styles with socially conscious justification to some of the illegal activity. Thus, *gangsta music predominated locally, but it was far more robust than mainstream.*

Several rap Billboard Exception artists and groups also described how the wars on drugs and crime were impacting individuals on the streets, including MC Eiht (Appendix A-4, Sources 445 and 459), Wu Tang Clan (Source 453), and Scarface (Source 468).[69] Even R&B artists drew on this approach, as DRS's title track from *Gangsta Lean* featured singing about losing a list of young friends and ways they sought to keep their "memory alive"—notably by pouring out forty-ounce malt liquor in their name and dreaming about the day they reconnected in heaven (Source 450).[70] Snoop Doggy Dogg dealt with imprisonment (Source 466), and KRS One compared police to slave masters (Source 454).[71]

The New Warzone (1994-1998). As local Oakland/East Bay artists delved deeper into socially conscious critiques, the emergence of fully articulated political critiques began to develop. In effect, local artists began to understand the role of the rapper as messenger. They would become the voice of the "underclass" by focusing on local struggles with law enforcement, urban violence, and poverty. They also began to use this role to document tongue-in-cheek tales of life in an urban warzone.

The Coup's "Fat Cats, Bigga Fish" off of *Genocide and Juic*e provided a critique of gentrification by identifying a location they called "the valleys of death" caused by a corrupt mayor who attempted to "make some condos out of low income housing" by claiming that gangs were overtaking the street and bringing in police to harass the inhabitants until they looked intoxicated (Appendix A-2, Source 262). Other rappers such as Celly Cel and 2Pac rendered a similar location with "dead bodies on the ground" and "abandoned building[s]," respectively. The later noted that youth would grow up and perpetuate the behavior they saw—again noting aspects of a "vicious cycle" (Sources 262 and 273).[72] Celly Cel and 2Pac proved that even gangsta rappers were beginning to fully recognize the issues of class and environment in "The Town."

The merging of these messages was fully realized in emerging groups such as Black Dynasty. The group was a definitive blending of styles through their classic local album *Deep East Oakland*. On the title track, they described the location as "the killin' fields" with young black men committing robberies, buying shoes, and selling drugs while watching out for both marked and unmarked police automobiles. The rappers then described the location as "Cokeland" where the choices were to "kill or be killed" and "push dope or work a 9 to 5." Then the rappers advised the listener not to be upset when they saw young black women (or their sisters) "in the welfare line" because it happened often in the ghetto. The rappers advised the listener to go to the mall or the basketball courts. However, the rappers explained that it was time to stash the cocaine in the "palm trees" because jealous police officers were going to rob them

and "try to pull a Rodney King." In the end, the rappers wondered why Oakland "treat[ed] them so bad" and warned that if you ever thought about staying in Oakland, you should obtain and keep a machinegun (or a "chopper") (Source 277). In this song, there was really no degree of separation between socially conscious and gangsta message and styles; instead, they were merged, blended, and rendered inseparable.

This would contribute to two local and related trends—both building a sort of "rap representative"—as discussed in chapter two. This concept of urban representation was used to speak for individuals and groups who were characterized as simple "thugs" by the American public. The first trend involved artists tracing their roots to this local urban environment; the second trend involved artists re-appropriating the mainstream fairytale format for more vivid, local street tales. On rapper on The Click's "Wolf Tickets" on *Game Related* maintained that he emerged at the age of 17 "from a broken down hood with no dreams," decided to join a crew in the Hillside section of Vallejo to rap, and warned that he would kill anyone that "step[ped] within his boundary" or caused drama with his family (or crew) (Source 283). Too $hort associated group The Dangerous Crew's title track on *Don't Try This At Home* made a distinction between being from Oakland and Richmond. They contended that the Richmond young black men were "crazy as sh*t" but similar to Oakland residents in their willingness to use automatic weapons and even to shoot police officers in the head (Source 284). In some ways, The Click's and The Dangerous Crew's claims could be merely understood as a way of justifying

authenticity, but the deep level of description and even local distinction went far beyond any surface-level authenticity attempt.

Local versions of the satirical, fairytale, and jeering narrative became more apparent alongside other changes such as the rising importance of artist collaborations (on both albums and singles), singles over albums, and the Oakland/East Bay scene moving to outside markets. The Delinquent's "Gotta Go" off of *Outta Control* featured three guest rappers and made a point to propose taking a break from A.K. rifle "spray on a hot sunny day" to make a video and play loud music (Source 288). Richie Rich's "Ruff Neckin'" off of *Half Thang* told stories of urban lifestyle—namely the lifestyle of selling crack-cocaine—in the form of a fairytale. He described how young black men bought their first "zip" (or zip lock bag of drugs), "cut it up in[to] rocks," and began selling them on the "bright and sunny" streets. However, the story turned when it rained, the police task force arrived, arrested the dealer, and put him in a prison to be raped all because someone "snitched" on the streets (Source 290). The emergence of collaborative albums such as the *4080 Hip Hop Magazine: Volume 1 Mobbin' Thru The Bay!* was also an important change locally. On the album, Mac Mall's "Cuddies" described coming of age in the midst of drug and gang turf wars, getting kicked out of school, turning to "ruthless crime," and explaining away the large sums of income to their mothers all in appreciation for his close friend—or "cuddie" (Source 294).

Finally, the "rap representative" role was overtly expressed by Master P on TRU's "Bout it, Bout" on *TRUE*. He claimed to "represent where…killers hang"

from New Orleans, LA to Richmond, CA—the former the "murder capital of the world." The rapper then warned that some tourists did not make it back home, the killers had no remorse about the tourists' lives, and that the outsiders flashing and showboating would be shot at. One of the more chilling lines of the song occurred when the rapper warned not to mess with the "fools" intoxicated by what he called "water water," "clicker juice," or "formaldehyde"—as some inhabitants had turned to dipping cigarettes in the embalming fluid just to get a high (Source 278).

The local scene indicated signs of movement into singles, collaborations, and a new set of players. These coincided with similar changes in the Billboard/national market. Some artists continued to document the urban wasteland, but now as a product of wars, militarization, and separatism; other artists tried to offer solutions by using socially conscious messages.

In the Billboard Exceptions, the paradigm of the urban wasteland was reinforced on Mobb Deep's "Shook Ones Pt. II" off *The Infamous*. They offered a vivid warning from "official Queensbridge murderers" to outsiders who wanted to "profile and pose." The outsiders would quickly find that they were all alone in the streets, the inner-city dwellers would see the fear on the outsiders' faces, and the outsiders would get "laced up with bullet holes and such" (Appendix A-4, Source 479). In addition, the video to the song opened with a kitchen scene of the production of crack-cocaine and portrayals of gang life. Both the song and the video reinforced the urban paradigm but went further and deeper than previously done on a mainstream level.

Artists such Wu Tang Clan's Genius/GZA expressed a similar sentiment in "Cold Word" on *Liquid Swords* (Source 488).[73] Later, Coolio's hit single "Gangsta's Paradise" interjected a socially conscious (and even biblical) meaning by comparing walking though a LA ghetto to walking "through the valley of the shadow of death" and noted gangster emulation by children (Source 481). Meanwhile, artists from the South further developed contextualization(s) of urban crisis, and examples included OutKast and Goodie Mob (from Atlanta, GA) and—to a lesser extent—Eightball (from Memphis, TN).[74]

All the while, Billboard artists began to mention the hood that they left behind but would never forget. Yet, the final shift proposed that life could go on by offering hope to those in the projects. Examples included Scarface, Nas, and Jay-Z as signs of the commercial turning point. Nas and Lauryn Hill's rendition of Kurtis Blow's "If I Ruled the World" (1985) flipped the lifestyle of running from the police, thug life, and selling drugs into dreaming of a rap millionaire lifestyle.

Signs of the commercial turning point in rap music were fully apparent by the time Jay-Z's "Hard Knock Life (Ghetto Anthem)" off of *Vol. 2…Hard Knock Life* drew a comparison between inner-city poverty and the riches of making it as a celebrity. His flagship song featured a sample from the musical *Annie* (Strouse, 1977) singing "It's the hard knock life for us." On the verses, he rapped about his inspiration for rapping and that he rapped for those smoked out on marijuana and those locked in jail cells (Appendix A-4, Source 498).[75]

5. Use of Warfare Lyrics

Locally, warfare lyrics were combined with the images and internal colonization lyrics to document the impact of militarized space. Oakland/East Bay rap largely shifted BPP use of *territorial separatism* into a battle between the law and outlaws over personal protection, illegal entrepreneurship, and avoiding increasing surveillance. As such, *territorial separatism* was really transformed into a *delegitimized capitalist* victimhood, and the concept of community protection was transformed into individual or small group protections. In addition, the threat of surveillance was presented as a real problem. There were three major topics/stages of warfare language as compared below: (1) local police harassment; (2) militarization of local spaces; and (3) local, state, and federal surveillance.

Oakland rap music was distinct in its artist(s)' willingness to respond by opening fire upon law enforcement and in detailing that they were subsequently victimized. Local artists also detailed how a lack of opportunities led to these illegal endeavors by rapping about the lack of options, taking the wrong path, and the associated rewards and risks. In addition, local artists described surveillance while living in the ghetto, engaged in illegalities, and dealing with local police, state-led "Three Strikes" laws, and federal agents coming in locally.

Another difference between the two forms is the volume—as indicated in my Introduction. The local rap detailed below is the rule, and the Billboard material below is the exception to an even more popularized sound. Even in the exceptions, Billboard rappers often started with victimhood of police brutality and described the

process of being detained. The artists also often presented allegorical (and sometimes humorous) warnings in passing. For the most part, these Billboard Exception artists discussed surveillance as a result of becoming rap stars and their rising popularity. Figure 34 gives an indication of the great disparity between warfare lyrics in Oakland rap and Billboard rap. Oakland rap had nearly three times the number of warfare references. This tells us that the worsening locale and need to appeal to local, black youth produced a more violent, raw, sound in the Oakland/East Bay than elsewhere.

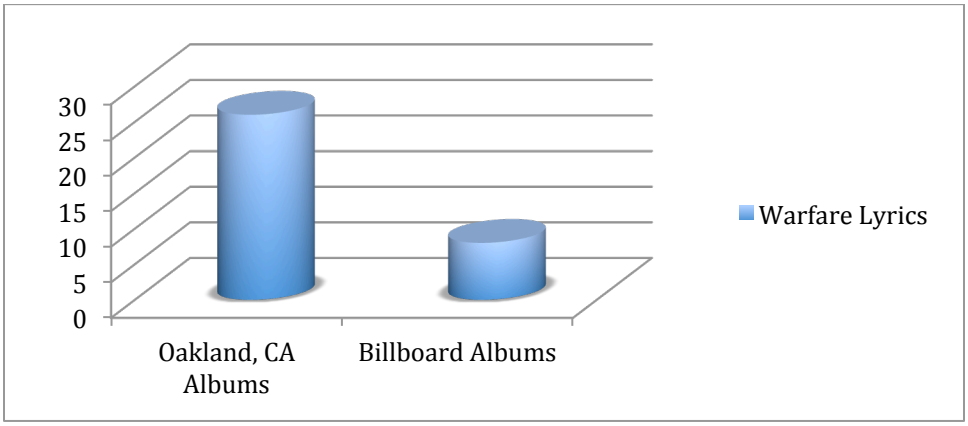

Figure 34: Disparity in Volume Between Warfare Lyrics in the Oakland Rap and Mainstream Exceptions

Local Police Harassment (1988-1992). Local rappers used warfare lyrics to illustrate how the local police harassed the inner-city community; they rapped about battles with law enforcement, efforts at evading the law, the impact of incarceration and horrors of prison, and a general distrust of authorities. This is where the rich history of gangsta rap message in the Oakland/East Bay area pales in comparison to the Billboard counterparts.

The local scene was early, occurred often, and remained tremendously more potent. Rappers really began attacking law enforcement shortly after Too $hort's

early products. Early evidence can be found in the work of rap crew 415 and 2Pac. The former detailed an escape plan to head East when approached by a police car. Instead of surrendering, the group opened fire on the police "just for fun," killed an officer, and remained at large on the Oakland streets on "415in" off of *41Fivin* (Appendix A-2, Source 206). 2Pac's "Runnin' (Dying to Live) (featuring Notorious B.I.G.)" detailed an attempt by the police force to sue him (causing the media to ask questions), but the rapper remained resistant. He then told a story of his friend with two strikes and, upon being arrested for his third strike, his friend went crazy and shot all of his ammunition at the police while screaming "THUG LIFE" because he was tired of running from the police (Source 210). Soon other rappers would pronounce flagrant abuse of law enforcement.

The paradigm for local music for rapping about resistance against law enforcement was really set on America's Most Wanted's (AMW) "Gangster Sh*t" off of *Criminals*. Set to the beat of the Furious Five's mildly confrontational rap battle song "Step Off" (1984), AMW claimed to have "no respect for a punk and even less for the law" while "livin' lethal as hell with no remorse for another life." They then described a struggle over territory ("the beat is my street") and warned undercover police to "think twice" before entering their territory. The group then explained that the police wanted to act "hard" as they rolled by, but in response the group would be holding their penises and calling the police "gay." This reference was reminiscent of BPP use of reserving what they saw as derogatory terms for law enforcement. AMW's ongoing homophobic slur continued as the rappers called the police "sweet

and feminine" as they tried to lock the rap crew in jail. However, the crew was not going to give in easily—as they would respond to drawn weapons by making an example of the police by shooting into the cab of the squad car (Appendix A-2, Source 214). This was about as far as the Oakland sound went in anti-police rhetoric, and it compared to Ice-T's "Cop Killer" (1992) but remained rap in tone and style while Ice-T's song veered on punk rock/thrash metal in both tone and style.

Other local rappers suggested it was more effective to evade authorities. Master P's title track on *Get Away Clean* began with a police radio call to respond to a "211" looking for the suspect Master P—who was "armed and dangerous." The ensuing rap was about running at a fast pace to elude the authorities and even that "100 cops, an army, and dogs" would not be effective in detaining him. He even went so far to claim that he was willing to jump gates, fences, and even bridges "just to lose the law" (Appendix A-2, Source 216). The Click (and its crucial member E-40) often described racist, aggressive, and wild police searches and the need to take the "law in [their] own hands" ("Tired of Being Stepped On" and E-40's "Federal" song and album) (Sources 226 and 230).[76]

Local rappers then turned to the impact, possibilities, and horrors of incarceration. On *Back N' Da Hood*, Mac Dre's title track recalled the actual experience of sitting in a Fresno County, CA jail cell and writing raps wishing to be free. He was dealing with overcrowded cells and drug addicts without common sense, when he needed to be in the Bay Area driving with a marijuana joint in his mouth attempting to outrace the police force (or "burning long rubber on the black and white

ones") (Source 233). On his next album, which was also released from jail, he described the case of a boy named Little Jack Junior who had dreams of becoming a rap star but was constantly harassed by the police before ultimately being arrested and "stuffed" (or raped) by his prison cellmate—now wishing to be free and back home (Source 234). Although Mac Dre was jailed, he would not be silenced and had a message for the youth.[77] More socially conscious rappers maintained a general distrust of authorities. On *Who Can Be Trusted?*, Ray Luv's title track explained that he did not trust anybody and was "strapped" with a gun at a party because more young black men were "broke" than "paid." He then mentioned that recently a young black man was killed over mistaken identity, and sarcastically suggested "maybe we should trust the police" before deciding that they would "sent [you] to the morgue that night." He went so far as to mention that the police would tell you to "shut up," and if you kept talking, they would "take you to jail for jaywalkin'" (Source 235).

Billboard Exception rappers generally observed that the police harassed the inner-city communities through crackdowns. This was again mostly located in South Central LA. On Ice Cube's *Death Certificate*, the song "Steady Mobbin" was introduced by an interaction between a suspect and the police before gunfire broke out. The suspect was ordered to lie down on the ground to be treated like a King. When the suspect asked which King, the police responded Rodney King, Martin Luther King, and all the Kings from Africa (Appendix A-4, Source 423). Cypress Hill (Source 448) and Eazy-E (Source 452) even detailed situations where they found it necessary to shoot police officers and shoot up courtrooms, respectively.[78] Yet, this

level of graphic detail was unique, an anomaly, and confirmed Ice-T's assertion as NWA as one of the first gangsta rap crews. Ex-NWA members Ice Cube and Eazy-E were two major exceptions to the Billboard's use of warfare language.

Militarization of Local Spaces (1993-1994). Local rappers then turned to criticizing the impact of militarized urban space on its population by detailing a crossroads of decision-making, entrances and techniques by those living against the law, and black youths as the products of a warzone. This was where the politically conscious and socially conscious messages began to appear again. They presented the local listener with a crossroads or a decision to be made.

2Pac's "R U Still Down? (Remember Me)" made it clear that it was no longer "the old days" and that he was not willing to work for low wages. Since his vision of the future was "hopeless," he claimed to have "less problems when [he] slung drugs." However, by transitioning to teaching young black males through rap, the authorities wanted to see him "locked in chains" and his name "dirt[ied]" (Appendix A-2, Source 239). His response, or solution to the police attempts to "break" young black men by sending them "upstate" out of "hate" was to assemble a "crew" of crazy, like-minded young black men with no rules. After forming this crew, the rapper claimed "the law [couldn't] f*ck with [him]" (Source 241). This solution became the basis for his albums such as *Strictly 4 My N.*.G.G.*.Z, T.H.U.G. L.I.F.E. Vol. 1* and Spice 1's *AmeriKKKa's Nightmare*. Ultimately, local rappers continued to tell of militant collections of black youths as the products of a warzone (Sources 241, 261, and 266).[79]

Yet, other local rappers employed mixtures of gangsta and conscious messages—through documenting the failures of the traditional educational system, entrances and techniques of living against the law, and the takeover of street education. Seagram's "The Dark Roads" described a young inner-city youth at a crossroads and choosing the "dark road" of joining the street war—without even knowing that he was a "soldier." However, this choice proved to have consequences as he was locked up and "lost in [the] drug scene," with the possibilities of either ending up dead or in jail (Source 240). The entrance into the drug war was further detailed by Dru Down (whose street warrior dropped out of school because he hated "math and stuff" and found himself battling police). Both Mac Mall and E-40 introduced intricate and intelligent techniques to "outsmart the po-pos." TRU was unwilling to cooperate with authorities about a "dead body in the grass" and decided to remain silent because "snitches [did not] live long" in the inner-city" (Sources 245 and 255).[80]

Billboard Exception rappers pointed out that the streets and prisons were becoming highly militarized. The response, however, was allegorical. Snoop Doggy Dogg claimed to be "Mr. 1-8-7" ("Mr. Murder") on a police officer (Appendix A-4, Source 455) and Smif-N-Wessun acted tough by starring down a judge (Source 478).[81]

Local, State, and Federal Surveillance (1995-1999). Local rappers presented themselves to be continued targets of surveillance through: federal, state, and local

efforts to watch them; interactions between the police and at-large suspects; and explaining that even as rappers, the government continued to watch them.

Oakland/East Bay rappers voiced attempts by the federal, state, and local government to arrest inner-city dwellers. Federally, Master P's title track on *99 Ways To Die*, claimed the "government fed dope" to his neighborhood to "make [them] kill again" and that "fake" district attorneys and federal agents were on his case before he was able to post the $50,000 bail and kill the person who "snitched" on him (Appendix A-2, Source 271). State efforts to arrest inner-city dwellers were exposed by mentioning the "Three Strikes" law. For example, Dangerous Dame's "Live Everyday (featuring Holy Quran)" featured a verse about the transition from selling cocaine to "doing right" as he already had "two strikes" against him (Source 272). Other rappers pronounced similar local efforts—such as Seagram's "The Town" directing frustration toward the police precinct by opening fire on the police, calling the officers rednecks, and claiming that "in the ghetto shootin' cops [was] a reflex." After shooting the police officer, the killer buried the weapon. Instead of the police officer taking the killer on a "peace ride" to the jail, the killer took a "decease ride" on a getaway (Source 275). Other rappers exposed similar community efforts. On *Operation Stackola*, The Luniz's smash hit single "I Got 5 On It" mentioned having to take a urine test for narcotics administered by a parole officer and definitely failing it because he "done smoked major weed bro" (Source 276).

Local rappers also spoke about interactions between wanted suspects and authorities. On *1990-Sick*, Spice 1's "1990-Sick (Kill 'Em All) (featuring MC Eiht),"

the rappers told of a chilling interaction with the authorities. As the rapper looked out of his window holding an A.K. rifle, he saw helicopters, squad cars, and Special Weapons and Tactics teams (SWAT) with machine guns. The army of authorities told him to get out, surrender, and face the electric chair. The rapper pondered whether he should "go to war," slit his own throat, or "leave a pipe bomb and a f*ck you note." He then had hallucinations of burning, lynched bodies and all the faces of the army of authorities looking like Mark Fuhrman before their tear gas broke his window (Source 285). On *Bad-N-Fluenz*, Rappin' Ron & Ant Diddley Dog's "I'm a Bad N-Fluenz" mentioned being "rapped up in this ghetto sh*t," responding to the task force by opening fire, and speeding away to a hideout to meet his crew (Source 287). Local rappers also documented continued surveillance even as legitimate citizens. On *All Eyez On Me (Books 1 + 2)*, 2Pac's title track detailed being watched by federal agents who were plotting to get him through false charges, his lawyer profiting off of the charges, and him telling the judge that he was "raised wrong"—ultimately declaring "f*ck the law" (Source 291). E-40's "Big Ballin' With My Homies" described being "billy club[bed]" by the police on suspicion of selling drugs before telling the police that he rapped and lived a lavish lifestyle—although some of his friends still lived illegal lifestyles (Source 299).

Billboard Exception artists claimed to being watched and prosecuted even after turning to legal endeavors. Mack 10 explained that he was in the county jail with a certified gold record on the streets. After his friend—rapper Ice Cube—sent him naked pictures of women, he was caught with the contraband. As he began to take the

stand, he claimed to be a "changed man" and asked to be set free so he could rap (Appendix A-4, Source 486). Such examples were offered in a passing, humorous manner.[82]

6. Conclusion

The empirical data alone proves a heavier BPP influence locally in the Oakland/East Bay Scene than elsewhere. Militant and anti-state imagery, internal colonization lyrics, and warfare lyrics were substantially more voluminous on the local level. When pared with a qualitative analysis comparing the Oakland/East Bay artists to Billboard Exception artists, we find that the local scene used the BPP elements in a significantly different way. Billboard Exception artists rooted their music in urban stereotypes and allegories, and the local artists tied their use of BPP elements to specific political, economic, and social issues. This was because the local rap was tied to a specific set of political and demographic shifts. These included: unresponsive (but black) urban leadership; white and middle-class black flight; the lack of legitimate employment opportunities; and an increasingly visible drug war and the subsequent police militarization; and an exceptionally high murder rate. Local rappers responded to this by re-appropriating the BPP methods in a pursuit to obtain capital. They mostly did so by documenting the violence and urban traps in a unique brand of gangsta rap music.

This brand was highly influenced by politically- and socially- conscious rappers who provided frameworks and explanations in their music. Meanwhile, alternative rap music in the Bay Area pushed the sound to new levels of creativity

with a commitment to turntablism, new ways of sampling, and production elements. By the turn of the new millennium, the Oakland/East Bay scene had spilled over into the San Francisco and South Bay region (as detailed in the next chapter).

Chapter 5: The *Quotidian* Discourse of Oakland, CA Rap Singles

1. Introduction

This last empirical chapter reveals how the "hyphy" style of music evolved from previous local rap styles, which were themselves influenced by the late-1960s black, militant counterculture. The term "hyphy" had beginnings in a reaction to state power. It was coined by a rapper from 3X Krazy—a group named after the California adoption of the "Three Strikes Law" (Greenwood, et al., 1994). The group regularly rapped about the impact of the law, as it prompted those with "Two Strikes" to do anything possible to avoid being arrested and sent to prison. Over the next decade, the term "hyphy" came to define a style of music with up-tempo beats, filled with Bay Area-developed lingo, and messages aimed at subversion of public space.[83]

The argument here is that the "hyphy" brand of music remained strikingly distinct from contemporary waves such as "crunk" music and better retained its political, radical, and militant edge while gaining popularity and commercial appeal. *The argument is not that "hyphy" music remained unadulterated and pure in the face of domestic and international exportation.* Rather, I contend that since the popular exportation of the Bay Area sound happened 15 to 20 years after many other domestic scenes, the Bay Area sound was insulated and nurtured differently. Thus, it remained better representative of radical discourse during another shifting political context than its mainstream counterpart.

To empirically evaluate this, I analyze the use of militant and anti-state images, internal colonization lyrics, and warfare lyrics by rappers in both Oakland/East Bay/San Francisco (Bay Area, CA) and on the Billboard Charts from 2000-2010. *In general, the non-Bay Area sounds trended towards high levels of pop, R&B, and party rap styles of music, and most of the 100 sources sampled did not have any elements of political critique. Below, I detail how the few exceptions differed from the Bay Area discourse. I refer to them as "Billboard Exceptions."*

As a testament to this difference, only one of my primary sources overlapped as a Billboard source. The other 99 primary sources were unique, distinct local Bay Area products. I use the case of Mac Dre's "Thizzle Dance" (Mac Dre, 2005; Appendix A-3, Source 324) to document a set of unique factors that worked to better resist the detrimental impacts of commercialization of the Oakland sound *while* its artists gained popular recognition. As Figure 35 displays, the major difference between local music and Billboard music was in internal colonization and warfare lyrics.

In Figure 36, the use of internal colonization lyrics in local rap during the 2000-2010 era was only slightly less than the use by Billboard artists in the 1980s and 1990s. In terms of warfare, local rap artists between 2000-2010 were more likely to use these lyrics than the Billboard artists in the 1980s and 1990s.

The fact that local music in the singles era contained a similar level of subversive discourse as Billboard material in the album era is telling, and the lyrics only tell part of the story. "Hyphy" music mixed jesting and recklessness with the

major influences of the 1990s local, gangsta rap brand music to voice contemporary concerns.

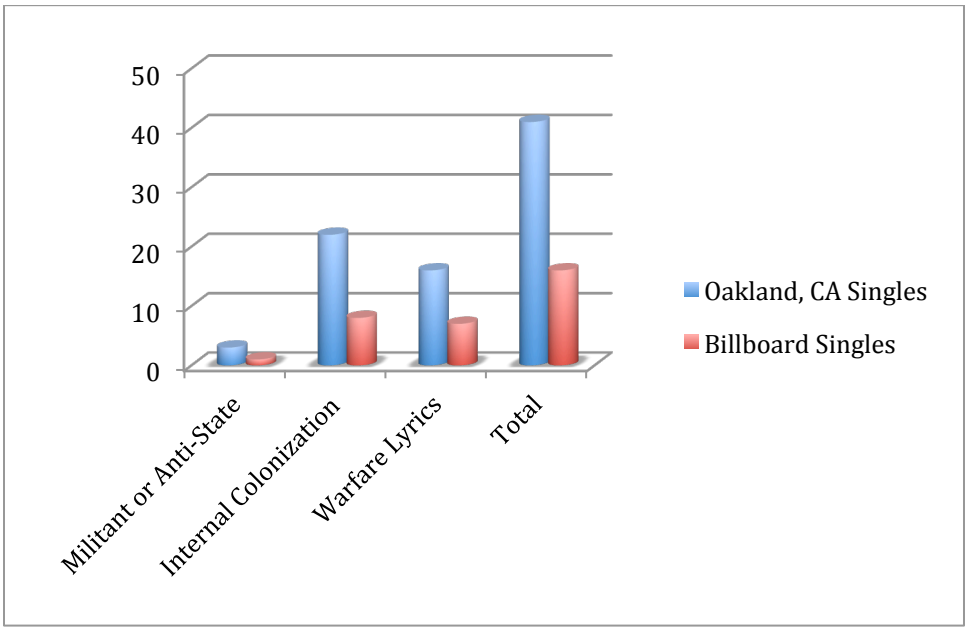

Figure 35: Disparity in Use of Internal Colonization and Warfare Lyrics between Local and Billboard Singles

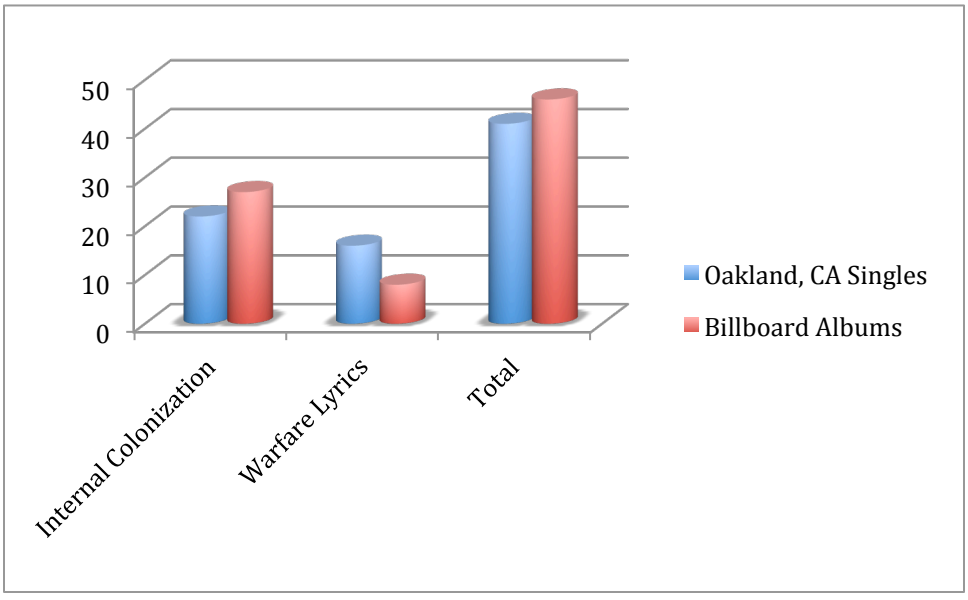

Figure 36: Comparison of Internal Colonization and Warfare Lyrics Between Oakland Rap Singles and Billboard Rap Albums

The political content of "hyphy" was compressed. It was reduced from an album to a single and was focused on the most basic political aims including: (1) reclaiming of public space; (2) local performance and spectacle as politics; and (3) referencing the political legacy of Bay Area radical discourse. Also, much of the sound's politics were contained and layered in samples and coded language. When these politics were spread through a digital media format and model, they became part of a dual trend—splitting a listenership into two categories; a local population who understood the hidden meanings, signifiers, and references and a consumer population that liked the way the music sounded.

My argument is that in the Bay Area, the subgenres developed in the previous chapter (gangsta rap, politically- and socially- conscious rap, and alternative rap) became key factors of the "hyphy" sound, while even the Billboard Exceptions' "crunk" sound reverted largely back to party rap. Both sounds largely ignored or rejected positions promoted by the BPP, but the "hyphy" sound's roots in the robust brand of local rap better continued a critical discourse by using unpredictability, craziness, and satire as a means of reclaiming public space. In short, "hyphy" was designed for the streets and "crunk" was designed for the clubs. There are three major lines to this analysis.

First, we see the reclaiming of public space in the use of images, as a couple of local rappers used anti-state symbols to note the impact of *territorial separatism* during an era of an overall retreating/declining gangsta image in poplar rap music. Second, we hear the use of internal colonization lyrics. Local rappers not only spoke

about newfound riches allowing for complete freedom to act crazy, wild, and uninhibited in the streets, but they also explained how this was a threatening culture bent on undermining the status quo by reclaiming the locale through the use of performance as spectacle. This was in contrast to the Billboard Exception rappers speaking about newfound riches leading to encounters with authorities and (only in passing) threatening to return to some prior urban, illegal activity (such as selling drugs) if pushed to do so. The difference was that local artists did not need to leave the scene and come back. They were heavily rooted in the locale. Another difference was the Billboard Exception artists only mentioned their returns to remain credible. Third, the difference between the local artists and the Billboard Exception artists is felt in the use of warfare lyrics. Both sounds conveyed that the power relationship had shifted and that the streets were owned by gangsters who had won the war around community protection and protection of delegitimized capital (despite threats from inner-city spies or "snitches"). This was clearly a shift from the revolutionary critique of the BPP and even the vision of the gangsta rappers in the 1990s.

However, the local brand continued to remain focused on documenting current struggles and events in vivid detail; this not only remained tied to the locale, but it also made references to the BPP and 1980s/1990s rappers who came before them. This neo-colonialist gangsta vision was distinct from other sounds. The Billboard Exception brand moved to a claim to fame and used the previous existence in the inner-city as a way of showing dangerous roots. This was often generalized, un-contextualized, and even forced at times. While "crunk" music proposed dancing and

acting wild in clubs, "hyphy" music endorsed posing a potential threat by "playing dumb" and acting erratic in the streets.

2. The Story of "Thizzle Dance"

The term "hyphy" was used by Keak da Sneak on *Stackin' Chips* (1997) and as early as 1994. He had put a label on the sound that really did not have an official name. Mac Dre, Keak da Sneak, and others had created an underground sound that took 10-15 years to gain outside recognition. The sound was developed in the album stages era of the 1990s and even the 1980s. As one of the most influential artists, Mac Dre, was the poster-child for this movement and later a martyr—much like Huey Newton and 2Pac of prior eras. An excellent documentary *Ghostride the Whip* explained Mac Dre's life, his release of over 30 albums, and as a centerpiece of the "hyphy" sound following his release from prison (DJ VLAD, 2008).

Mac Dre is perhaps the most touted underground rapper from Oakland. His legacy is both as a founder of Oakland's "hyphy" rap music and as an alleged member of the Bay Area's "Romper Room Gang." Although Mac Dre was born in Oakland, he was mostly based out of Vallejo, CA and started rapping in the late-1980s and early-1990s. After recording three studio albums during this period, he was brought up on charges of conspiracy to commit bank robbery through his record label's connections to the Romper Room Gang. His label was called Romp Productions, and many of the references in his albums/songs told tales of robberies similar to the gang's real robberies of mostly banks and restaurants. Mac Dre was sentenced to five years in prison because he refused to cooperate with law

enforcement. He did not write "The New Code of Thuglife," which was a code establishing a new, open market for new gang members, gangsters, and outlaws. The codes recommended a more (and less strategic) use of violence and virtually no strategy or structure. Yet, his involvement in the new rap and gangster eras was reinforced by elements of this code—specifically his unwillingness to cooperate with law enforcement while facing years in jail (ThugLaws.com, 2010). For the full code, please refer to Appendix E-3.

While in the Fresno County jail, Mac Dre recorded two albums—*Back 'N Da Hood* (1992) and *Young Black Brotha* (1993) by way of telephone. After being released from prison, he gained great influence in the Bay Area rap scene, collaborated with too many artists to list here, and relocated to Sacramento. On November 1, 2004, he was killed in Kansas City, MO while on tour when a car pulled up to his tour van and opened fire. His entire career was mostly relegated to the underground, and he only gained national and worldwide fame posthumously. The release of Mac Dre's song "Thizzle Dance" (2005) signaled a new era in Bay Area underground discourse through rap. Thus, Mac Dre is a digital age "representative-martyr" of Bay Area rap discourse.

The groundwork left by 2Pac and his contemporaries in Oakland influenced a full development of a new local sound in the Bay Area. By 2008, the Bay Area's sound had evolved into a distinct, rapidly popularized phenomenon through a set of key artists. These rap artists produced an immense amount of material. This rise and amount of music was possible due to the shift in media format, emerging

technologies, and new models related to the recording process. In contrast to the late-postmodern and analog products from the rap album stage, both "hyphy" and "crunk" were piecemealed digital age products—marked by a variety of new and diverse creators and listeners, the rise of the 99 cents single, and the internet as a means of spreading music locally, domestically, and internationally. Meanwhile, the relative low cost of computer recording software (as opposed to more expansive hardware) created a set new set producers and rappers locally. The proximity of San Jose (a technological epicenter) also meant that new and used equipment could be obtained more easily than other locations.

"Hyphy" music crammed and coded prior local, political eras into three to five minute songs and provided a new set of politics focused on: (1) reclaiming public space; (2) spectacle as politics; and (3) and references to political, radical, and militant discourse of prior eras. The "sideshow" and "ghostridin'" became the primary modes of recouping public space, but there are other examples. As discussed in chapter four, the Oakland/East Bay had a long history of "sideshow" activity dating back to at least 1991 (Ciccariello-Maher & St. Andrews, 2009, p. 279). This activity included gatherings in parking lots to show off cars, play loud music, and perform automobile stunts. In the new millennium, however, this activity was now highly "organized informally through text messages" (p. 279) and prompted Mayor Brown to issue a crackdown (Zamora, June 8, 2005). Ciccariello-Maher & St. Andrews (2009, p. 279) have argued the "sideshow" became "a new racist code-word" but a only "subtle political challenge." "Ghostridin'" was a practice of putting one's car

into cruise control and hopping out of the window to hang out of the car or even stand atop the car—letting the car drive itself. This practice was seen as a dangerous public nuisance and garnered national headlines (Burke, December 29, 2006). Additionally, ruses such as "whistle tips" (devices attached to mufflers to make an obscenely loud screeching sound while driving) were first used in Oakland. Similar to "sideshows" and "ghostridin'," The Town did not have the proper legal framework in place to outlaw these activities. The expression of public space was simple: "I'm here too, do you see me?"

This was deeply related to the use of spectacle as politics. In "Race in America and Underground Hip hop in the Bay," Anthony Harrison (2005, p. 35) has contended that the conditions for the Bay Area scene included: "cultural agency, creativity, and vision which were linked to changes in technology and the evolution of commercial rap…" In addition, Harrison mentioned "the region's longstanding countercultural ethos" included Berkeley anti-war protests, Oakland's "radical" BPP movement, and the San Francisco hippie movement. Harrison (2005, p. 35) added: "The legacy of this earlier generation has had a profound impact on local knowledge and sensibilities, both of which inform the way that today's young Bay Area resident see themselves." While I disagree with his characterization of the BPP movement as "radical" rather than "militant," the view of the Bay Area creativity, ethos, and technology did work to produce the new "hyphy" sound. Furthermore, the counterculture ethos included movements that reclaimed public spaces through spectacle. Michael Dowdy's "Live Hip hop Collective Agency, and Acting in

Concert" (2007) has found live performances in small shows to be "democratic, political spaces that can create collective agency between the audience and performers." Performers did so by producing a "space of interactive engagement" to "contest dominant cultural values." He demonstrated that when the small show was moved to larger setting there were resultant difficulties. In the Bay Area scene, the ethos from countercultural movements, availability of producer technology and software, and local shows provided a basis for the "hyphy" style.

Artists also referenced the BPP and earlier rap artists. Some made it clear that they were in an area known for militant, radical, and political activity and messages. Others noted that they were in the "backyard" of Huey P. Newton and the place that produced 2Pac. Artists also made references to the rich history of the Oakland/East Bay Area scene—sometimes from artists who were part of both the rap album era and the rap single era. In addition, the "mack," "pimp," and hustle cultures were widely used in "hyphy" music. There was also the concept that an artist could remain authentic while also becoming popular (such as Too $hort, 2Pac, Spice, and E-40), and this played a large role in the "hyphy" movement's sound development. If Too $hort, an "LA-born, Oakland-bred, ATL-transplanted enigma" (Campbell, 2005, pp. 117) could remain authentic to local audiences, maybe popularization was not such a bad thing. The Coup's politically conscious message had also gained an outside audience (Ashlock, August 2004). Yet, the Bay Area sound could not really be pigeon-holed, as documented in the case of Del the Funky Homosapien with: "Too many piercings to be labeled hardcore, too many drug references to fit the conscious

rap gimmick, too much Northern California slang for New York or LA listeners (Keast, March 1, 2000, quoted in Ciccariello-Maher & St. Andrews, 2009, p. 270). In this case, the Oakland native was able to be different while maintaining outside appeal. While gaining more listeners, this notion of local authenticity coincided with a change in media format from physical album to digital single and mixtape (as detailed in the Introduction). The album as the unit of "myriad shapes, flows, and forms" (Ross & Wang, 2003, p. 26) was being replaced by the single and the mixtape locally. These were consistent with global trends in digital music distribution (Neal, 2002), and the use of the digital mixtape (Bell, 2011). Local artists began to see the single and the mixtape as the primary modes of escaping poverty. This was based on previous examples, the emerging technologies, and the trends set by Mac Dre.

As I show in the image analysis further below, Mac Dre presented himself in the role of rap representative. He used satire and comically renamed himself using monikers from the names of US Presidents as albums or mixtapes titles—Pill Clinton (instead of Bill Clinton) and Ronald Dregan (instead of Ronald Reagan). His lyrics also used political ridicule and satire. At the age of 18, on the second verse of his 1993 album and single "Young Black Brotha," he rapped:

> Been in and out of jail sense the day he was ten / The hall, the county, and next is the pen / See really doesn't know what the games about / Get in, stack a bank, and get the f*ck out / Because a D-boy's life is cool at first / But in the end it's the pen or even worse a hearse / Young brotha loves to get keyed / Cause he feels so good when he's hitin' the weed / He's never been ta high school let alone college / Now so much game and to much knowledge / Some call him a sad case but who do that figga / Many wanna be like that young n*gg* / And it's not just him it's a nuther and a nether / Cause many of us live the liiffee of a young black bruutthhaaa (Mac Dre, 1993; Appendix A-2, Source 253).

His message regarding constant jail time, entrance into the drug game as a way out of poverty, and the impact of both on the psyche of black male youth was consistent with the other local artists at the time. Also, his notion that the problem was bigger than one drug dealer or hustler and that there would be others hinted at an institutional problem.

In the rap singles era, Mac Dre turned to rapping about money as a way to protect himself from the police and reclaim public space. On the second verse of "Toyz," he rapped:

> Money burns a hole in me pocket / Everything I see and want I got to cop it / Flip it, whip it, swang it, dip it / Whip's new or old as Mr. Lipid / Candy paint job lookin' syrupy / Canvas top on my Cougar Mercury / In me nut me like to swing eight's / Two more whips is European V8's / I buys Toys / 4.6's, 745's / Excursions, Navigators / Put slump in 'em and wake up the neighbors / Shake up the neighbors every time they see me / I make toys appear like a genie / Any time I see the boys / I dose, get ghost in one of my toys (Mac Dre & Andre Nickatina, 2006; Appendix A-3, Source 355).

The concept of capitalist acquisition was widely apparent in this song. The frivolous spending on both new and classic custom cars and paint jobs stood out. However, hidden below that layer was the attempt to "wake up the neighbors" and perform stunts in the streets, and most importantly, to be able to out run the "boys" (the police, or specifically the OPD). Yet, his impact also included instructional material on exactly how to perform a series of tactics such as "ghostridin'" while still being careful to avoid the police. On verse two of "Thizzle Dance," he rapped:

> First of all / I hope you got you a juice / A thizzle because it's time to pop you a few / Then you gas break start to dip / Bounce wit the core as it starts to shift / Open up the door there goes the whole damn car load / Hop out and follow while you let the car roll / Ghost ride the whip while you ride the strip /

> Here's your chance to do your dance on the side of it / While you at it the passenger and driver switch / Then hurry up and jump back inside this shit / Hangin' out the rooftop / Do not get oo-op by them foo cops / That tryin' to have you got / Other than that you and your boys coon big / You wanna learn coon stay tune to thizz / Hoochie mama freaks get yo man / And show them n*gg*s how to do the thizzle dance (Mac Dre, 2005; Appendix A-3, Source 324).

The instructions were as follows: get a drink; pop a few low-grade ecstasy pills; drive erratically; let the car roll forward while hopping out on "the strip" (likely East 14th Street back then and International Boulevard now); perform dances while the car is rolling forward; and most of all, avoid being arrested by jealous police officers trying to take your property. His phrase "other than that you and your boys coon big" further established the police as a (or *the only*) nuisance that you had to deal with while performing these tricks. Even though his first verse on "Thizzle Dance" started in the club, he was providing step-by-step directions on becoming a public annoyance and taking back public space on the streets.

Taken a step further, Mac Dre's music was the next wave on the "potent masculine street bravado to define something like a black territory" as discussed by Self (2000, p. 768**)** in the context of the BPP. The Bay Area Rapid Transit, highway systems, the lake, flatlands, and surrounding East Bay area was for the taking through public displays such as "sideshows," "ghostridin,'" "stunting," and other non-vehicular activities. It is helpful to recall the story of Bobby Seale's "renegade" character who "doesn't have anything to defend, because he doesn't know what he's'' defending" (Seale, 1970; Franklin, 2007, p. 553). While those who pulled these stunts without any larger purpose in mind may have thought the acts be cool, I argue Mac

Dre and others who originated these acts saw a level of political subversion in the activities. Yet, unlike the BPP discourse, it did not really require an ideological commitment to be effective. If Mac Dre's music could inspire youth in the Bay Area to pull these same tricks and stunts, his subversive message would effective. His purpose was to remain flippant in the face of power. If he could get black kids and young adults to do the same thing, the streets would be a mess. If suburban white kids and young adults did the same thing (which they sometimes did), his music would also be subverting those areas as well. Yet, for poor black and Latino urban youth, this music meant more. It was one of the only things that they could do to remain visible in the face of power.

Similar to the prior rap era, "hyphy" became a brand with a robust set of artists—including former gangsta rappers, independent rappers, politically- and socially- conscious rappers, and even DJs and producers as solo artists. Prominent rap artists and groups of this sound included: Mac Dre; Too $hort; E-40; Mistah F.A.B.; Traxamillion; Keak da Sneak; The Pack; Turf Talk; Yukmouth; San Quinn; Federation; The Team; Messy Marv; Scweez; Mr. Kee; Latyrx; Quannum; Lyrics Born; The Grouch; Murs; Deltron 3030; Zion I; The Jacka; and Kafani. With the exception of Too $hort, E-40, Mac Dre, and Keak da Sneak, most of the rappers above were still engaged in underground and emerging endeavors during the rise of the music from the previous chapter. However, each of the artists and groups above became major players in the Bay Area rap scene from 2000-2010. Other related "hyphy" messages were pioneered by Mac Dre including "going dumb," "retarded,"

and "5-1-5-0." Bell (2011, pp. 141-142) has connected these sentiments to disability and critical race theories in the US and stopped at the "hyphy sound." He claimed it was a "reappropriation of the derisive terms" and transformed "marginalization" to "mainstream" while noting "whistle tips" and "ghostridin'." After highlighting their "intentional transgressive power" by flouting normal behaviors, Bell claimed black people were "challenging their marginalization in a culture that otherwise render[ed] them invisible" (p. 143). Yet, Bell all too quickly connected this to California gang activity and to other non-related versions of "getting retarded" such as The Black Eyed Peas' "Let's Get Retarded" (2004) throughout his book. Although Oakland did have gangs—although depicted in The Discovery Channel's *Gangwars Oakland Parts I and II* (2009)—the underground of Oakland was mostly run by cliques, bosses, hustlers, and pimps. It was precisely *not* having a gang structure or activity that largely produced the "hyphy" sound, and it stood out from LA in this way. Bell's work conflated Southern California gang life with the Oakland street sound. The use of The Black Eyed Peas (BEP) (an underground enigma, turned pop group) and their message to party, act wild, and go crazy in the club after getting off a long day's work also undermined Bell's text.

A few lines of comparison will suffice. On "Let's Get Retarded" (which was changed to "Get It Started" after its release): "Obstacles are inefficient / Follow your intuition / Free your inner soul and break away from tradition" (The Black Eyed Peas, 2004). On J-Diggs' "Ghostride the Whip" (2008): "Look, the streets know what just this is / Ghostride the whip up and down the strip / The ghostbustas, they the police /

Always wanna pull a n*gg* over for his piece / Not me, I get in a scrape / Tire marks on the street lookin' like figure eights." First, I should mention that J-Diggs' record was during the popularization (perhaps commercialization) of "hyphy" music. Nonetheless, it was *completely* different than the BEP song in at least three ways. One took place in the streets, and the other took place in a club. One commented on the harassment from police officers while carrying a gun, and other commented on an "inner soul." One calls out to the streets and then brags about being able to outrun the police, and the other tells its listeners to dance crazily. While they both may have "derisive" meanings, the BEP song was pop music, and the J-Diggs song (one of the most popular examples of "hyphy" music) contained hidden and shared messages about police harassment, armament, and reclaiming of public space.

By this time (2006 through 2008), this Oakland based movement had become quite popular and was, according to the mainstream press, at the cutting edge of hip-hop (Bennett, March 3, 2008). This sound was popularized by E-40's "Tell Me When to Go" (E-40, 2006; Appendix A-3, Source 332) and his collaboration with Lil Jon on "Snap Yo Fingers" (Lil Jon, 2006; Appendix A-3, Source 336). The latter song became the first of this sort of "micro-subgenre" to really make Billboard charts. This attention could have threatened the distinctiveness of Oakland rap music, but its lyrical and visual imagery were coded and contained signifiers that still appealed to local populations. In addition, the artists on the Billboard charts were shifting as well. They were moving to an even more pop and R&B style than ever before. This was a refection of both the moves to digital rap singles and to artist collaborations. Yet, the

Oakland rap scene remained different from the Billboard scene while still gaining recognition.

After 2006, both the sound and culture became topics of national attention. In "Hip-hop to the Nth Degree," *National Public Radio* journalist Tapan Munshi defined the new style by writing: "Hyphy is a rap style out of the suburbs of San Francisco, defined by its fast pace and intricate wordplay. It's now getting national attention, as rapper E-40 has an album in *Billboard's* top 100" (Munshi, April 4, 2006). Two *USA Today* articles documented the emerging popularity of the micro-subgenre. In "Hyphy Pulls a Bay Area Breakout," journalist Steve Jones spoke with E40 and claimed:

> It started out in Oakland and just spread through the Bay Area,' says E-40 (Earl Stevens), whose recently released album, *My Ghetto Report Card*, was produced by crunk king Lil' Jon. The word hyphy itself means energetic or fired up or just doing the fool. It's a stress reliever. The music makes the kids go silly, go bananas, go coconuts, go stupid (Jones, April 13, 2006b).

Jones then discussed the influence of the mirco-subgenre on hip-hop worldwide:

> The region is responsible for much of hip-hop's lingo, though it doesn't always get credit for it. E-40, who is legendary for his use and creation of slang (e.g., "fa sheezy" and "fa shizzle," "collar poppin," "it's all gravy," "what's up pimpin" — see sidebar), is working on E-40's *Dictionary Book of Slang, Vol. 1* to put it all in one place" (Jones, April 13, 2006b).

In another article, Jones provided the definition of seven popular terms—"ghostride the whip," "gas-break dippin'," "hyphy train," "scrapers," "stunna shades," "stunting," and "thizzing" (Jones, April 13, 2006a). "Ghostridin'" soon gained international attention when a journalist from *The Guardian*, Hattie Collins, wrote:

> Known as Hyphy and hailing from Oakland's Bay Area, the synth-led staccato beats represent a culture that encompasses cars, clothing, language, graffiti and dances like "going dumb" and "ghostridin' the whip"... Deriving from hyperactive, Hyphy is over 10 years old and was first coined on record by Bay

> legend Keak Da Sneak. While it may be far from fledgling, it's new to mainstream music ears and thanks to The Pack, Fab and artists like E40 and the now-deceased Mac Dre, it's about the most exciting offshoot seen in rap since crunk (Collins, October 21, 2006).

The subculture gained more national attention when the *Associated Press*' Garance Burke wrote an article about a "ghostridin'" incident that left two people dead and connected the music to the activity: "Hyphy was born in the cities of Oakland, Richmond, and Vallejo in the late 1990s..." (Burke, December 29, 2006). By 2007, there were articles emerging that began to evaluate the quality and significance of the micro-subgenre. As *Slate* journalist Jody Rosen wrote in "Why Hyphy is the Best Hip-hop Right Now": "... the Bay Area's biggest hip-hop genre known as hyphy (pronounced "hi-fee"), in which stewiness, maininess, dumbness are everything: the means and ends, the sun and moon and stars..." (Rosen, February 13, 2007). So, when E-40 (the self-proclaimed ambassador of "hyphy" music) and Lil Jon (the undisputed king of Southern "crunk" music) got together for "Snap Yo Fingers," hyphy had reached it ultimate peak (Reid, February 28, 2006).

From 2008 to 2010, many of the rap artists aimed to ride the coattails of the micro-subgenre, but a number of singles began to rebel from what the artists saw as an over popularized, commercialized, and defunct sound. The "post-hyphy" rebellion is a sign that when rap music becomes widely adapted that some new underground resistance is likely to emerge. Post-hyphy artists (such as Beeda Weeda, the Hoodstarz, and some disillusioned gangsta rappers) reminded the listeners that Oakland was not all about fun, games, and going crazy, but rather still remained mostly a place of poverty and violent crime. This was done using similar

instrumentals but with a different message. Instead of "ghostridin'", Beeda Weeda repeatedly expressed the following in his chorus: "I don't ghostride / (I) Keep a thumper under the seat" (Source 376). This message highlighted the fact that life in parts of Oakland was similar to constantly being at war—hence the name "Baby Iraq."

Government officials began to take notice of this culture and act against it. Mayor Brown's proposal to "allow police to arrest spectators" within 100 feet of a "sideshow" was defeated because it would target minorities (Zamora, June 8, 2005). The Town was interested in debunking the ongoing "perception…as a land of violence and death" as the OPD claimed that there was an ongoing "lack of values all the way around." The department hoped for a "downward trend in city homicides." They based this on a declining number of murders from 2006-2009—from the "11-year height of 148 in 2006" (Harris, March 30, 2010). Yet, one major event threatened to stir up any peace Oakland had achieved. After the "accidental" shooting of Oscar Grant III, a 22 year old unarmed man shot on a subway platform "while lying face down" by a police officer who claimed to be reaching for his taser and not his gun, Mayor Dellums' came out in support of a federal investigation by the Justice Department and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (McKinley, July 9, 2010). The day after the verdict, the police had to dress in riot gear and prepare for an urban uproar after the Grant verdict of "involuntary manslaughter." The "highly choreographed" riot prevention effort took two months to plan, involved 15 local police forces and the entire OPD, and was described as a process of "taking

territories" block by block. They only made 78 arrests that night and considered this an achievement (Walter & Parks, July 10, 2010). A week later, there was trouble again when "failed negotiations over pensions with the police union" led a plan to layoff 80 officers (to bring the force to 696 officers) (Wollan, July 15, 2010).

Even though some of this music began to appeal to outside audiences, to fully understand "hyphy" music, one must understand the social, economic, and political history/context. We must remember both the BPP and the 1980s/1990s rap album discourses to understand the music made in the 2000s. This music spread from Oakland: to the East Bay, San Francisco Bay Area, and the US/world. Yet, it was filled with hidden meanings and signifiers that only Oakland natives and residents could fully understand. Below I detail how the "hyphy" sound appeared, thrived, and developed late opposition.

3. Use of Militant and Anti-State Images

The general trend from 2000-2010 was the lack of militant and anti-state imagery—both locally and domestically. The few local instances turned to using anti-state symbols to display the mocking, satirical impact of *territorial separatism* and how it was subversive to purposefully act crazy. Compared to the BPP use of *revolutionary Black Nationalism* and rap album artist use of *delegitimized capitalism* and victimhood, the rap single covers were much less violent and threatening. Overall, both local and domestic images indicated a retreat, or decline of the gangsta image and a movement into real legitimized capital. Guns, gangs, and thugs were replaced by less threatening images.

As indicated in Figure 37, this decline happened after the album stage in Oakland.

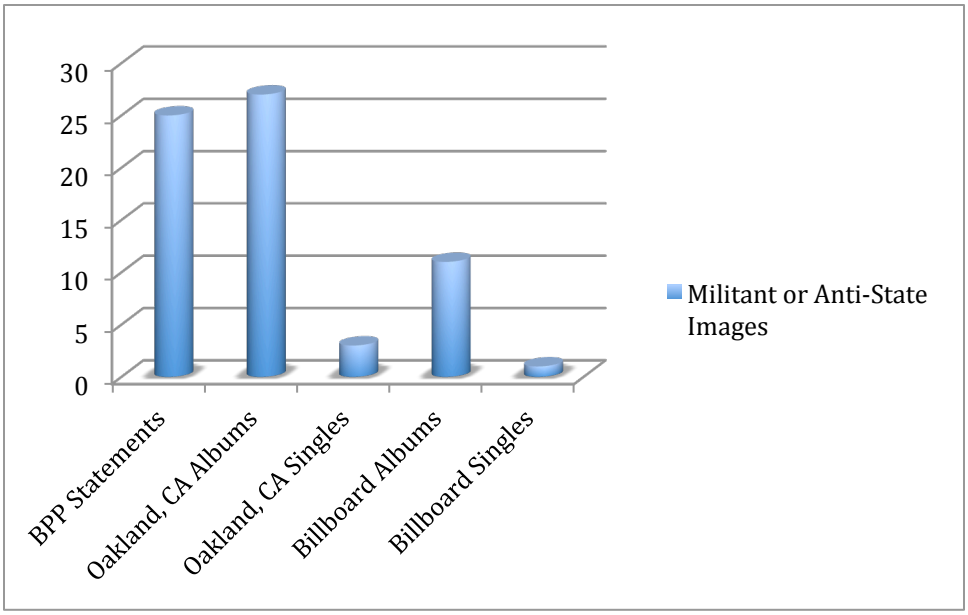

Figure 37: Militant or Anti-State Images from 1966-2010

Yet, the few images demonstrate a slight difference. The local images (all from the East Bay) displayed "sideshow" and "ghostridin'" activities—which were made illegal—or used Presidents in less than flattering ways. An active, local "sideshow" was strutted on E-40's *Ghetto Report Card* (Figure 38), and J-Diggs' "Ghostride the Whip" featured an image of men hopping on top of a car in an apparent attempt to ghostride (Figure 39). Since both activities were discouraged (if not formally illegal) at the time, the images flaunted the actions in the face of authority both within the album artwork *and* upon release of the album. Earlier, Mac Dre's *Ronald Dregan: Dreganomics* warped the conception of one of America's highest-rated Presidents by posing as Ronald Reagan. On the album artwork, Mac

Dre's comical poses mimicked the late President Reagan's use of hand gestures, and the commercially available bobble head only increased this critique. This was clearly an anti-state political display (Figure 40). There were a few others from Mac Dre, and they are contained in Appendix B-3.

The lone Billboard Exception image—OutKast's *Stankonia*—featured the two rappers standing in front of a black and white American flag with their arms pointed towards the camera—a seemingly political, anti-state symbol (Figure 41). Although the meaning was not clear, we can infer by their positioning, the discoloration of the flag, and the first song that they were making a statement about the US.[84] The fact that this was the lone militant or anti-state image from the Billboard chart reflects the shift from albums to digital singles and to aims at achieving a wider audience. Digital rap singles did not require the elaborate liner notes associated with rap albums. In addition, artists were now widely releasing free mixtapes as promotion for their single and albums.

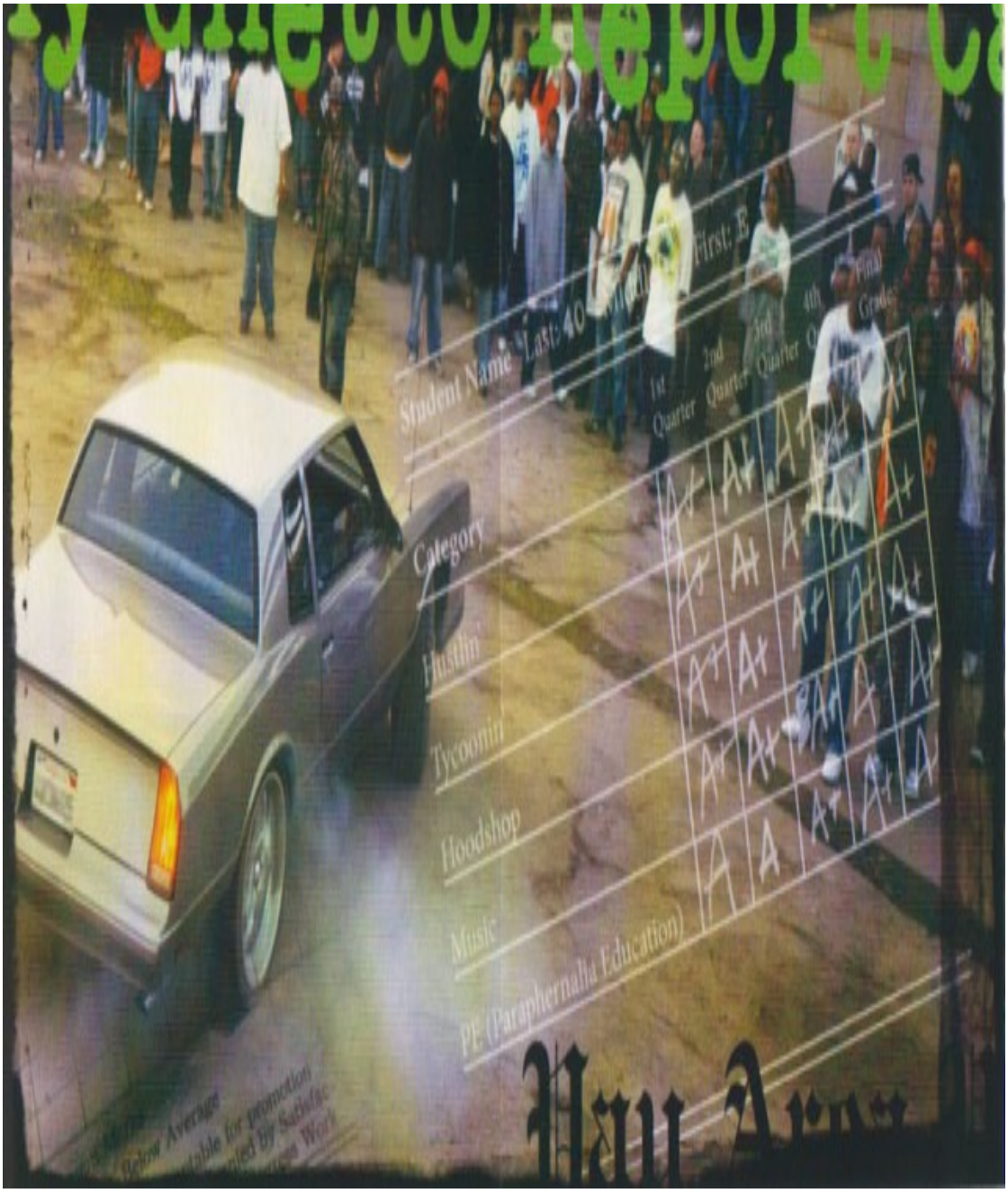

Figure 38: Appendix A-3, Source 332

E-40's *Ghetto Report Card* featured an image of an active, local "sideshow."

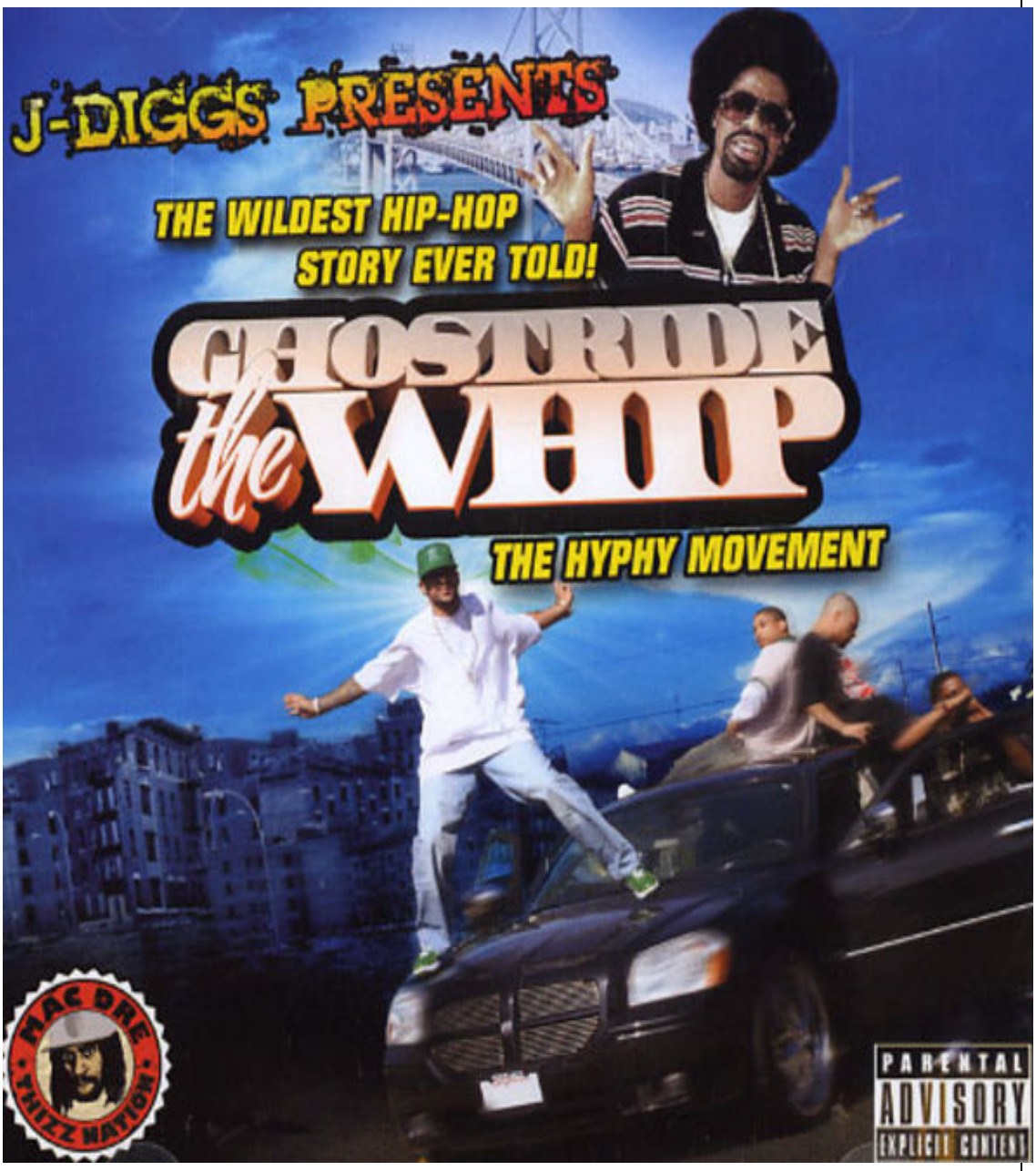

Figure 39: Appendix A-3, Source 377

J-Diggs' "Ghostride the Whip" featured the "ghostridin'" stunts in action amidst an urban backdrop.

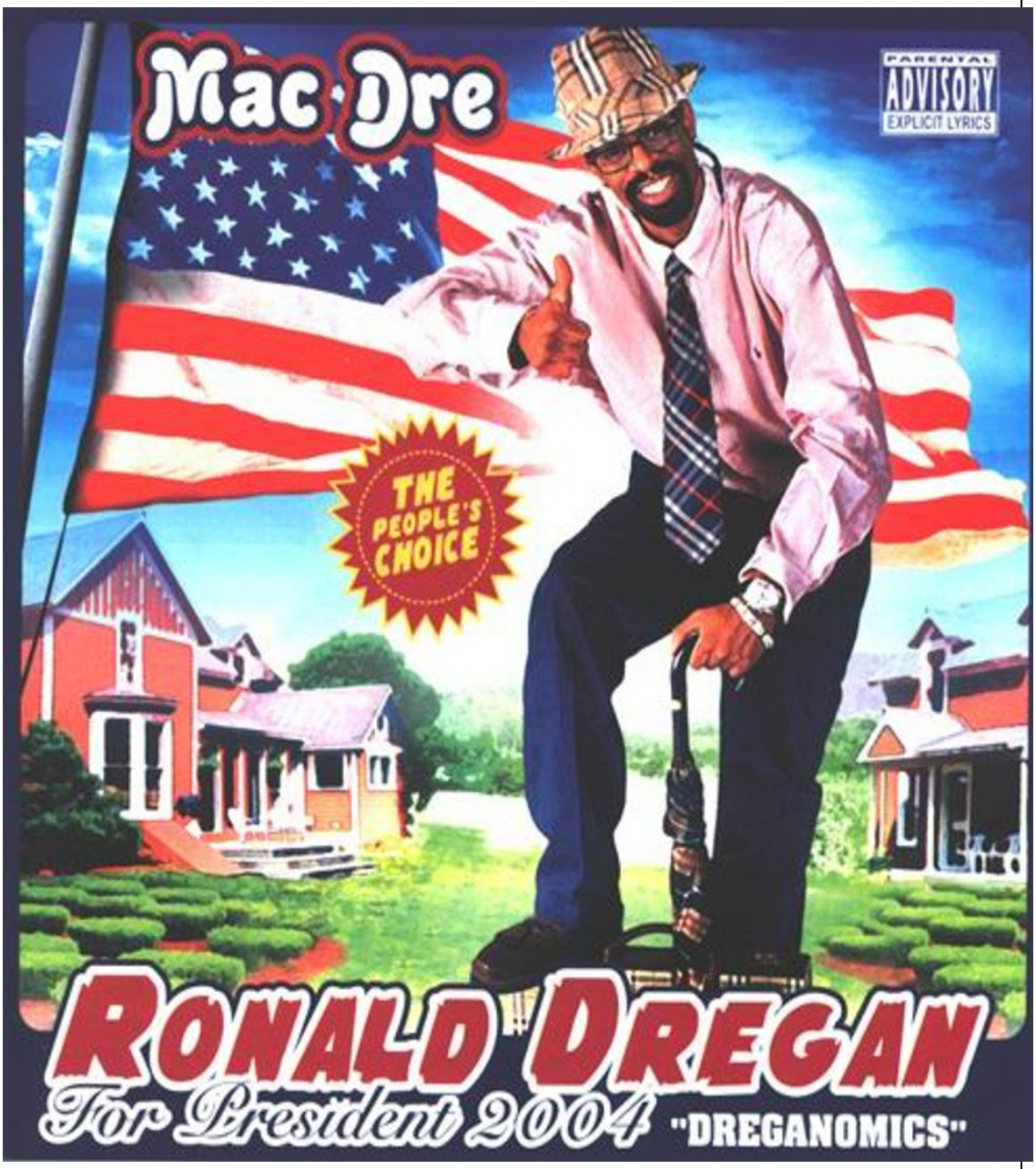

Figure 40: Appendix A-3, Source 318a

Mac Dre' *Ronald Dregan: Dregonomics* featured a set of images (and even a bobblehead doll) of the rapper posing as President Ronald Regan, mimicking his hand gestures.

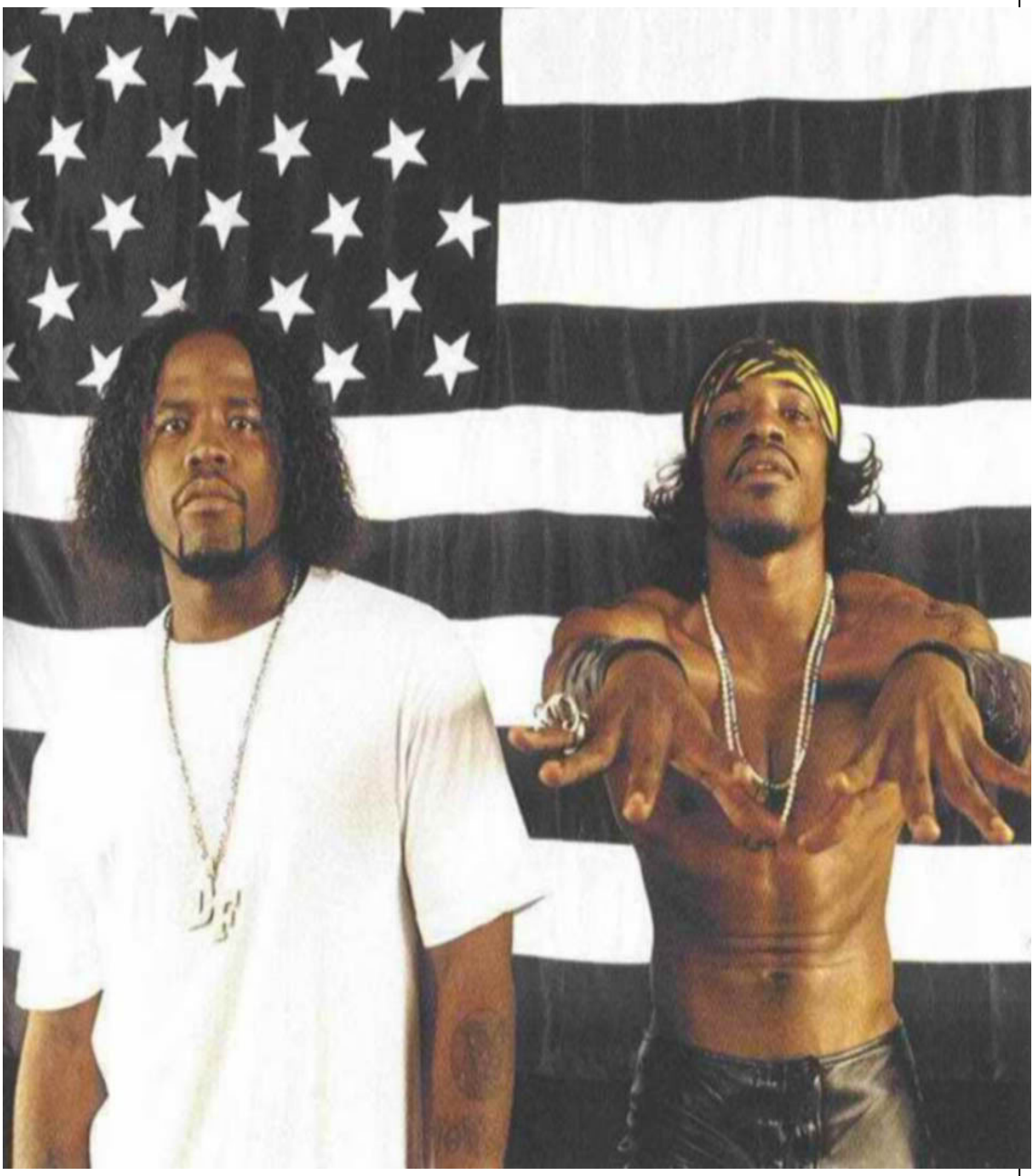

Figure 41: Appendix A-5, Source 506

OutKast's *Stankonia* featured an image of the two rappers standing in front of a black and white American flag with Andre 3000's arms pointed towards the camera.

4. Use of Internal Colonization Lyrics

I found that 22% of the Oakland singles had some element of internal colonization lyrics compared to 8% in Billboard rap singles. In the previous chapter, I detailed how rap album artists shifted the concept of *territorial separatism* into a battle between the law and outlaw over personal protection, illegal entrepreneurship, and issues of surveillance. In this section, I demonstrate how local rap single artists turned this *territorial separatism* into claims of full ownership of the streets by the gangsters and gangsta rappers. According to their singles, they had won the wars of protection (of both the community and delegitimized capital) and had overcome threats from inner-city snitches, snakes, and rats. While the local rappers continued to focus on current struggles and used the present tense, the Billboard Exception rappers turned to a full claim to fame, using the connection and roots in the inner-city as a warning. In local and Billboard Exception messages, the statement was different. Locally, it was "I *am on* the turf," and on the charts it was "I *came from* the turf."

Local Rap: "I *am on* the turf." Bay Area rapper use of internal colonization discourse shifted to presenting that the entire inner-city population was engaged in a turf war. The artists portrayed: new actors on East Bay streets (or turfs), turf wars and causes, the craziness exhibited by its residents, and the rapper's role in the milieu. Thus, we have an active description of fully normalized ghetto warfare in the East Bay (centered in Oakland); in many ways the terms I have tried to keep separate ("internal colonization" and "warfare") collapsed. Still, the "internal colonization" material here was somewhat different than "warfare" material because it promoted

urban contextualization instead of outright resistance to authority via violence. Early on, rising rapper Andre Nickatina's "Fears of a Coke Lord" explained that death could occur "in the blink of an eye" and that he was from the land of the "2-2, 4-4, 4-5" caliber guns. He then told the story of two paths—one path taken by his friend to sell drugs and one path taken by him to rap (Appendix A-3, Source 305). Relatedly, Nickatina's "Jungle" compared the town to a wilderness full of "thunder and lightning"—questioning how he kept "from going under," all while adopting the lyrical pattern (or cadence) of Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's "The Message" (1982) in the song (Appendix A-3, Source 309). Others defined the actors, scenery, and drama. The Luniz's "Oakland Raiders (featuring Mark Curry)" pronounced a land of "playa[s]," "slick talkas," "colla poppas," drugs, drug kingpins, wild dogs, gold teeth, gold rims, killers, and "postal" police (Source 310). Then, Keak da Sneak's "T-Shirt, Blue Jeans & Nikes" explained that there had been 86 murders since the beginning of 2002 and that in Oakland the "bang[ing]" was for "turf" to work and not for gang associations (Source 312). Meanwhile, The Team's "I'm on One" combined the messages from Nickatina, The Luniz, and Keak da Sneak by recounting growing up in the "jungle," making the choice between remaining poor by rapping or selling crack-cocaine, and ultimately choosing to "rap right" (Source 319).

Local rappers called out sides of Oakland, referred to the town as the "Planet of the Apes" (Sources 326 and 327), and others linked the current environment to its fallen legends.[85] Andre Nickatina & Equipto's "4 am – Bay Bridge Music" portrayed an environment where inhabitants played 2Pac's music while holding two glocks,

where “juice” never stop[ped], and where the most drama came from a “coke” block (Source 330). The reference was to both 2Pac’s legacy on the streets of Oakland and to his role as Roland Bishop in the film *Juice* (Dickerson, 1992). There was some indication rappers were beginning to give particulars of their area for local fans (for pride) and to outsiders (for bragging). Champ Bailey’s “U-C-It (featuring J Valentine)” labeled the Bay Area as the “realist unique place” in America, a place where “out of town[ers]” were greeted with middle fingers out of windows similar to what 2Pac had done, and a place where they had mastered the “art” of acting crazy (Appendix A-3, Source 335).

The sound had spilled out into the East Bay and San Francisco areas and was beginning to be recognized domestically. For example, The A’z’s “Yadadamean” casted the environment as a “the murder did you bid” (Oakland) to the “crooked letter” (San Francisco) (Source 338). Too $hort’s “Blow the Whistle” detailed the rising popularity of the rapper’s music in other American cities (alongside “crunk” music) and how comedian Dave Chappelle used the rapper’s expression “I’m rich b*tch” en route to fame on Comedy Central’s *Chappelle Show* (Chappelle & Brennan, 2003-2006) to make $50 million dollars. However, the rapper put out a clear caveat when he warned about his own level of craziness and not to be like him because he came from East Oakland “where the youngstas [got] hyphy” (Appendix A-3, Source 345). Even while living in Atlanta, GA, Too $hort astutely noted the rising appeal of the Bay Area sound, and the distinctiveness was enhanced by the sound’s ability to illustrate methods of opposition by promoting crazy activity in the

streets. The trailblazing underground track in this area was Mac Dre's "Thizzle Dance," which advocated the act of popping ecstasy pills and ghostriding while carefully avoiding "them foo cops" because they were trying to steal your property (Source 324). Yet, other songs widely popularized the sound. The Federations' "Hyphy (featuring E-40)" detailed an environment of being surrounded by "hustlas, hoodlums, and gangstas" while being harassed by "sheriffs and park rangers" simply for drinking alcohol, acting crazy, smoking weed, and resisting arrest (Source 323). Mistah F.A.B.'s "Super Sic Wit It (featuring Turf Talk and E-40)" described an environment full of all kinds of thugs, being "married" to the streets, and keeping a pistol under one's car battery and drugs burning in the air (Source 325). Dem Hoodstarz's "How We Do" even struck a contrast between video gamers playing the *N.B.A. Live* franchise and the rap group playing in the streets and going crazy with the "black and brown" population in Oakland (Source 347).

Other local rappers portrayed the daily life in these turf wars—mostly through casualties of homicide. Zion I & Grouch's "Hit 'Em (featuring Mistah F.A.B.)" proposed using the instrumental (or beat) to "give life to dead souls" through the musical composition. They rapped about how the "crime rate" made them irritate and impatient (Source 348). Sky Balla's "Mobbin' All Day (featuring E-40 and San Quinn)" described the environment as "spooky," a place where you could not trust anyone, a place of constant funeral services for young black males, and a place full of spies (Source 373). Both of these songs aptly explained a period of time with a deplorable murder rate—some of the highest locally since the rise of the crack-

cocaine epidemic. When E-40 fluctuated his voice to sneeringly express the concern of the funeral goer ("Why did he have to die?" and "Why did they take him so young?"), the local listener knew E-40's distain was for the system. The local listener may have been to some of these funerals, and these lyrics would strike personal connections that outside listeners might not understand. I personally recall sitting in funerals in the area while asking those same questions. To be sure, if these messages and this sound remained unconnected to causes (or explanations) and to local political history, "hyphy" could easily be misconstrued.

As the era went on, artists explained some of the causes. Not surprisingly, E-40 was a leader in this approach. His "Turn Up the Music" told of the poverty leading up to the lifestyle of hustling—with "one foot in the grave" and the "other [foot] in the pen[itentiary]"—and how trouble seemed to find him as people called the "police and snitch report[ed]" him to the "federales" (Source 387). Andre Nickatina's "My Name is Money" personified the dollar by looking at those obtaining it illegally (pimps, drug pushers, players), those needing it to obtain the illegal products (junkies), and those playing with it (gamblers) (Source 389). Next, Nickatina's "Ayo for Yayo" intimately portrayed three stories related to cocaine abuse with a fast-paced chorus of "Ayo for yayo / Walk around with yayo, all in my nasal / I must have been crazed yo." He also rapped about President Bush's abuse of the drug (Source 391). Finally, some local rappers claimed the turf as their own and noted their role as representatives. Yukmouth's "My Turf" revealed The Town in three verses—the first about selling drugs on "turf," the second about gangs in the projects, and the third

about ghetto slums. Throughout the entire song, the rapper used pejorative slang terms and attempted to express his views through the eyes of an inner-city dweller (Source 393). His "Welcome to the Bay" made claims to the Bay Area putting crack-cocaine on the map, and that it became a place of dope fiends, real "macks," and dead snitches (Source 399). Earlier Traxamillion's "Getcha *ss Up (featuring Smitty Grands)" featured rapping about representing for individuals "grindin' off the clock," on the "turf," in the hood, and on the block (Source 339). While these expressions were sometimes in passing, they were also on singles that are already massively popular locally and emerging into notoriety elsewhere.

Billboard Rap: "I came from the turf." In contrast to the efforts above, Billboard Exception artists recounted their roots in urban environments. Some indicated a past of divided economics and territory, others mentioned their new treatment as celebrities, and others used the recollections of their rough upbringing as a warning. Product G&B (featured on a Santana song) and Eminem voiced economic difference. The former crooned about stopping looting, shooting, and robbing, the rich "getting richer," and the poor "getting poorer" (Appendix A-5, Source 504). The latter rapped about poverty resulting from not having a "9 to 5 job" (Source 510).[86] Terror Squad rapped about divided territory and youth trauma as a claim to ghetto authenticity (Source 523).[87] Other artists began to display the status and treatment of celebrity.[88] These rappers issued warnings that even as rich superstars they could quickly return to their former ghetto lifestyle. These included emerging rappers such as Young Dro and established artists such as Fat Joe, T.I., Jay-Z, and Snoop Dogg

(Sources 554, 565, 570, 581, and 593). For example, Snoop Dogg rapped about having threats "turf stomped" because he was the "turf punk."[89] Again, these were mostly established rappers were calling on a former persona as a claim to authenticity.

5. Use of Warfare Lyrics

I found that 16% of the "hyphy" songs used warfare lyrics—in contrast to 7% of Billboard singles. Earlier, local rap album artists shifted BPP *territorial separatism* into an opportunist *delegitimized capitalism* and told of the risks (death and jail) and the rewards (freedoms created by money). Here, local rap single artists began to detail how the newfound riches allowed for complete freedom as exhibited by crazy acts in public spaces. They referred to an existence still different and threatening to the American dream. In contrast, Billboard Exception rappers documented encounters with authorities and the ever-present threat of a return to "hood "behavior.

Local rappers revealed that attaining riches allowed for them to beat threats posed by local authorizes in a variety of ways detailing: the freedom created by money; a satire of madness through "ghostridin'," "sideshows," outsmarting and outmuscling authorities; efforts at hustling to accumulate wealth; that money could beat court cases and efforts at surveillance; and a return to former lifestyles as a threat. While certain aspects of this hustle were consistent with aspects of the American dream, the rappers proposed obtaining it in illegal manners and causing problems for those people who stood in their way.

First, local rappers emphasized the freedom created by money. B-Legit's "It's in the Game" described being incarcerated for two to four months while "snitches" were trying to clear their hands of dirt. The case against the rapper was weak because he threw the drugs in the water, and he was let out on house arrest (Appendix A-3, Source 302). His "Where the Gangstas At (featuring Kurupt & Mack 10)" mentioned the ability to use millions of dollars to buy off judges (Source 303). Later, in the same vein, Mac Dre's "Since '84" told the story of police officers attempting to call in his license plate and automobile registration while he peeled out as if he had an A.K. rifle in the car because the police constantly wanted to put him away. However, as the rapper explained, he was in a seven hundred series BMW—with a quiet engine and wood on the dashboard (Source 318).

Next, a satire of madness including "ghostridin'", "sideshows," outsmarting police, and outmuscling police was discussed as a form of street power. E-40's "Gas, Break, Dip (featuring The Federation)" began with an introduction over a police car radio calling hustlers and players to report to their cars to turn on the ignition, open the doors, and begin to play loud music. The chorus of the song advised driving through a "sideshow" and doing "figure eights" in the parking lot. Later in the song, E-40 mentioned that he did not trust anyone, kept a gun on his lap, talked in slang out of the fear of a tapped phone line—acts that made "white folk think that" they were all strange (Source 321). His single "Tell Me When to Go (featuring Keak da Sneak)" featured a line about not only watching out for the police but also watching out for friends (Source 332).

Police, however, remained the primary concern. An early example of this was Little Bruce's "Scraper, Scraper (featuring Turf Talk)" and his chorus about riding in an automobile en route to amassing wealth all while attempting to "duck" "Darth Vader" (the California Highway Patrol) (Source 329). Meanwhile, during Traxamillion's "The Sideshow (featuring Too $hort and Mistah F.A.B.)," the police tried to shut down an active "sideshow" in which the participants would not stop making donut shapes with their automobile tires. The song's second verse detailed participant resistance to the police attempt, and the chorus proposed acting crazy at the sideshow and questioned what the listener was smoking (Source 340). Around the same time, Too $hort's "Burn Rubber Part 2" announced that the after seeing him "swervin" through lanes and performing donuts in the streets, the OPD arrived in time only to see him put "the pedal to the metal" and "burn rubber on them" while yelling "b**tch [*sic*]" (Source 346). Later, the reply to E-40's "Tell Me When to Go," Keak da Sneak's "Tell Me When to Stop (featuring Haji Springer)," described putting ecstasy in a Snapple beverage and looking out for the police because their crew was acting "hella crazy" (Source 357).

Too $hort's "This My One (featuring E-40)" provided one of the more comical tales of interaction with law enforcement. The rappers claimed to be "abusin' the cops" by outsmarting them while dealing drugs in Wal-Mart parking lots and having the ability to "talk a cop out of a ticket in front of the police station" (Source 365). J-Diggs' "Ghost Ride It (featuring Mistah F.A.B. and Dem Hoodstarz)" called on the streets to help define the practice of "ghostridin'" and avoiding the

"ghostbusters" (or police) by peeling out—leaving tire marks in the streets. The catchy chorus featured a call and response about getting a new car and immediately taking it to the streets to practice ghostriding (Source 377). This song became one of the highest levels of "hyphy" music; it was as "hyphy" micro-subgenre as The Bee Gees' "Staying Alive" (1977) was disco. There would be a recorded version of "Disco Demolition Night" by 2008.

Local rappers specified efforts at hustling to accumulate wealth for the purposes of street protection. Traxamillion's "From the Hood (featuring Husalah, Jacka, and San Quinn)" pronounced a "war" which went "back and forth" and "soldier for soldier" with police on high-speed chases, ultimately deciding that every citizen needed protection (Source 343). E-40's "Hustle (featuring Turf Talk and R. City)" portrayed amassing dead presidents (or money) on the street turf while staring in the rear view mirror ultimately declaring that "If getting money is wrong / Arrest me now" (Source 378). The quintessential hustle record, Jay Tee's "Hundred Grand," featured a chorus repeating the line "A hundred grand in rubber bands" eight times between verses about the weed and cocaine "games" and the impact of the word spreading about his high-quality drugs—an impact which forced him to warn the buyer to keep quiet and act like he/she had never met him (Source 381). E-40 was a master at instructing that the money attained above could be used to beat court cases and avoid surveillance. His "Everyday is a Weekend (featuring Tha Jacka)" described police foot patrolling his neighborhood due to it being a "heavy crime" area, using techniques and machinery such as night vision, helicopters, decoys, and marked

money all in an effort to give offenders high "football numbers" as sentences. However, the rapper was prepared with his lawyer, the $300,000 bail money (which he wisely noted as being $30,000), and an unwillingness to crack or "snitch" (Source 384). Later, his "The Server" detailed conducting a conversation in jail—a place where the "walls [had] ears" and where the cellphone's battery could be tapped. He warned of a "snitch" that was subsequently stabbed with a turkey bone. In the next verse, the rapper portrayed an incident in which the authorities knocked down his door to "beam" and "taze" him while his girlfriend was watching television and feeding their newborn baby. After searching his apartment without a search warrant, the authorities came up empty handed, because his cocaine was at another location (Source 388).

At the height of the "hyphy" popularity, rappers began to rebel from the now widely popularized sound. They did so by reminding the listeners (many of them new) that the music may sound pleasant, but it was about Oakland—a place that had real problems and real gangsters. Beeda Weeda's "I Don't Ghostride (featuring Shady Nate and Kaz Kyzah)" responded to the rising street and radio popularity of J-Diggs' "Ghost Ride It" (Source 377) by discrediting the impulse to ghostride in the streets. Instead, Beeda Weeda was coping with the high murder rate by riding with a gun (or "thumper") under the seat of his automobile (Source 376). The rapper could not perform the stunts, tricks, and erratic driving associated with ghostriding because he was carrying a gun in his car to protect himself. If he were to raise suspicion, he would be arrested. Later, Hoodstarz's "Speedin' (featuring San Quinn and Big Seff)"

described “swervin’ in and out of lanes” trying to return to the “trap” (or drug house) during which they continued to ride on the “white bumps” in between lanes, drive drunk, and look out for the “flashy lights” of the police cars (Source 396). Hoodstarz’s “Thang Cocked (featuring Yukmouth)” featured a chorus sampled from R&B megastar Akon which repeated the lines “When my thang cock / When my thang cock / When my thang cock / Disobeyin’ the law” six times. In one verse, the rappers lamented about the overdue prison release of one of their friends, lamented about the fact that two other friends were still being held, and lamented over two friends killed by the streets. They then continued by rapping “F*ck the law / Ridin’ dirty” and by describing their crew and guns within the vehicle (Source 397).

Meanwhile, Billboard Exception rappers described harassment due to wealth, how to beat provoked attacks, warned of a return to former lifestyles, and used anecdotal references about police. Harassment due to wealth was mentioned early on “Mo’ Money, Mo’ Problems,” as Notorious B.I.G.’s posthumous raps featured content about not having information for the Drug Enforcement Agency, how “federal agents” were mad about him being offensive, and how authorities tried to tap both his cell phone and home phone (Appendix A-5, Source 503). Other rappers described how to beat provoked attacks. On “Ridin’,” Chamillionaire and Krayzie Bone rapped about being pulled over and harassed by the police. The chorus was about the police seeing the rappers driving and (out of jealousy) attempting to pull them over. The verses were detailed accounts about dodging the police officer’s efforts with everything from simple tricks to militant retaliation and eventually

turning the tables and harassing the police at their homes. The topic of racial profiling was evident throughout the song, and the whole situation was provoked by weed use (Source 531). Yet, the song and its chorus were clean enough to become a Volkswagen commercial.

Rap celebrity status was spoken of as a method of defense. Even on Shakira's "Hips Don't Lie," Wyclef asked why the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) wanted to watch Columbians and Haitians— especially since they were just making music and owned their own boats (Source 532). Radio-ready raps such as "Kryptonite (I'm On It)" by the Purple Ribbon All-Stars had verses about the police smelling the scent of weed from a vehicle and calling in canine officers. However, the rappers claimed to have a "tough team of attorneys" and a crooked, dirty judge—both likely causing a "not guilty" verdict and thus having no problem of being searched (Source 542). Other rappers issued a threat of a return to former lifestyles and anecdotal references to police. For example, on Jamie Foxx's "DJ Play a Love Song," Twista rapped about no longer running from police and instead making songs with Jamie Foxx. However, Twista issued the threat that he was always a gangsta, came from the streets, and had guns for "whoever [thought] they want[ed] some" (Source 551). Later, Rick Ross' "The Boss," warned his listener about being a "lame lil' homie" working for the police—yet acting as if he personally know him (Source 577). This was interesting, as a popular website later revealed Rick Ross had worked as a prison guard from 1995-1997 (Reid, July 22, 2008). Rick Ross has since struggled with constant attacks on his street credibility even though he was 19 at the outset of his employment and

has emphatically denied the reports. Yet, this is telling. The fact that a rapper's career could be threatened by such allegations illustrates the need for constant street credibility; however, the fact that Rick Ross is still selling records is either a testament to his honesty, a sign the rap game has changed, or a sign that his music was too good for any of his listeners to care. This resistance to law enforcement is so important, that other rappers offered anecdotal references to police in passing—as a form of common sense. A prime example was Young Jeezy's "Lose My Mind"; as a guest, Plies rapped: "F*ck the police, 'cause all of 'em problems" (Appendix A-5, Source 598).

Even in the Billboard Exceptions, the warfare messages were in passing, which was similar to the internal colonization treatment.

6. Conclusion

During the retreating and declining gangsta presence in commercial rap music, the local Bay Area scene remained more heavily grounded in the themes associated with internal colonization and urban warfare. Furthermore, local artists rapped about existing in urban spaces (for example "on the block"), while Billboard Exception artists often referred to the inner-city as their past and a mindset that they were willing to use if pushed far enough. I want to be clear that I *am not* calling these Billboard Exception rappers "fake" or not "from the streets." I *am* suggesting that they became detached from the areas they claimed to be representing.

The local music does reveal an erosion of more politically- and socially-conscious messages, but it is off the scale in the elements of alternative styles. Indeed,

the advanced, creative instrumentals of the “hyphy” sound stand unparalleled when compared to other locales, eras, or sounds. Combined with the autotune verses, choruses, and phrases of the late-”crunk” sound, the “hyphy” sound’s tempo, pace, and synthesizer-driven melodies were undoubtedly major influences on the current electronic dance music (EDM), techno-hop, and pop fusion of hip-hop styles currently prevalent in the mainstream. The clear indication of an anti-”hyphy” sentiment towards the end of the decade serves as evidence that local artists will begin to use the sounds associated with local popularization and appropriate those sounds to message their resistance. As the Conclusion next argues, we can expect more popularization of local sounds and more gritty, local resistance. I only hope that it is not proportional to the level of cooptation.

Conclusion

1. Summary of Findings

This study was centered on an emerging debate about political content and rap. The findings of this study indicate rap served a political function as the successor of Black Power message in Oakland, CA and the surrounding Bay Area. Local rap music was highly resistant to cooptation due to two key factors—the local legacy of the Black Panther Party (BPP) and the timing of its emergence. The first factor was confirmed by East Bay rap album artists drawing on specific elements of BPP discourse at levels nearly double that of mainstream rap artists. The second factor was illustrated through analysis of the robust "hyphy" brand fused by East Bay and Bay Area rap single artists.

Yet, there were other factors in both location and time. Locally, we need to account for the changing political and demographic setting, and domestically, we need to account for the rising commercialization of rap music. Therefore, I do acknowledge that these mitigating factors did have some impact on eventually shaping and exporting Oakland rap products to the rest of the world—especially in the rap single stage. However, by the time these products were going "worldwide," Oakland had already created a strong, unique, and highly combative brand of music. *The key remains that Oakland rap music emerged shortly after the breakup of the BPP, at time when gangsta rap was in its infancy, and it continued to emerge as the other* quotidian *subgenres began to take shape.*

Oakland was largely devoid of local examples of rap music in the construction era (late-1970s) and was thus largely devoid of *party rap* in early local development. However, by the early- to mid-1980s, rap was on the scene locally and developed internally over the next two decades. The locale became a training ground for radical and militant political discourse by black youth. Similar to Huey Newton before them, 2Pac and Mac Dre developed their discourse during their formative years and were killed at early ages. This alone is an indication that the murder experience might be different for black men in America—even though both 2Pac and Mac Dre were killed outside of the Bay Area. The statistics and exceptionally high murder rate within Oakland is a constant reminder that at any time, if you are black, male, between the ages of 10 and 24, and live in certain areas of Oakland, you are at "at least 16 times more likely to die from homicide than [your] white peers" (Johnson, October 10, 2010). This disproportionate toll has been the case for at "a generation or more," and recently has been as deadly as the US engagement in Afghanistan:

> More than 1,000 people have been killed in Oakland in the past nine years. That bleak statistic is important because it closely parallels the toll of American dead from hostile encounters -- 996 -- during Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan, which began nine years ago this month…(Johnson, October 10, 2010).

The impact of this murder rate on the psyche of black youth, especially black men and boys is one of the reasons that rap music in Oakland sounds different than most other places. In black West and East Oakland working class neighborhoods, the possibility of being murdered lurks constantly. Thus, local rap artists in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s began using violence as a rhetoric and tool in their verses because

they perceived themselves as being surrounded by it. The failure of the political system to offer a comprehensive response, economic opportunity, and effective social institutions was the key reason for the types of rap brands created locally.

The connection between local rap and the BPP is understood as both an evolution and as a negation. As an evolution, one can look at the trajectories of Oakland's *reality-based* subgenres that heavily used *quotidian* narratives as a means of transforming subaltern positions into sources of power by using violence as a currency or common language. As a negation, local rap music remained a capitalist product, often spoke about illegal and detrimental capitalist development, some (or much of it) used violence indiscriminately directed back at the local community, and did not overtly seek to unite individuals into a new political framework. Yet, local rap music harnessed the politics of visibility, last resort, and disregard as explained in the next section.

Images and lyrics from 1985-1999 demonstrate that gangsta rap was *the* predominate subgenre during local emergence in Oakland. Overall, local gangsta rap better reproduced many of the concerns of the BPP, but diverged from the BPP by revising the solution from *revolutionary Black Nationalism* to *delegitimized capitalism*. The less prominent local subgenres of *politically conscious*, *socially conscious*, and *alternative rap* better reproduced many of the solutions of the BPP, but diverged from the BPP in graphically detailing the problems of the East Bay underclass.

Lyrics from 2000-2010 confirm that the four local rap subgenres became key components of the "hyphy" sound in Oakland and differed greatly from the "crunk" sound domestically and internationally. Although both sounds largely ignored or rejected positions promoted by the BPP, the "hyphy" sound's roots in the locally developed subgenres better continued a critical discourse by using unpredictability and craziness as a threat of reclaiming public spaces. The local brand continued to document current struggles in vivid detail, while even the Billboard Exceptions moved to a sort of claim to fame and used the previous existence in the inner-city as a way of exhibiting dangerous roots. There is a clear "post-hyphy" music currently being created in Oakland, and it differs from "electro-hop" or rap's fusion with electronic dance music (EDM) that we hear on the radio as of this writing.

In summation, local rap as a subaltern protest discourse created new opportunities to be seen, heard, and felt both within a given community and outside a given community. However, gangsta rap's added shock-value in its ability to display violence, tell vivid stories of urban existence, and place the listener within urban, militarized space was combined with alternative frameworks in Oakland. This created a brand that effectively employed *quotidian* politics and day-to-day accounts—a method used previously by late-1960s and early-1970s Black Nationalist groups and leaders. Here, even the anecdotal became powerful—chockfull of hidden meanings, euphemisms, and *double entendres* available to insider listeners and passed over by outsider listeners.

Hopefully, through my examination of the data (newsletters, albums, and singles), this study has shed light on the issue of political content not being taken seriously.

2. Significance of Findings

What is the political content? In local rap music, there were three interconnected and evolutionary types of politics: (1) the politics of visibility (1980s); (2) the politics of last resort (1990s); and (3) the politics of disregard (2000s). All three types of politics were a response to the failures of the government and the limits of existing modes of expression.

The Politics of Visibility. The BPP really began with the politics of visibility. Their armed, media-driven response to the problems of West Oakland and East Oakland " black colonists" was mostly due to not being seen, heard, or recognized by the government *or* by other black organizations. The BPP co-founders' development toward forming a militant and radical *territorial separatism* was a reaction to both local police harassment and to the limits of existing Civil Rights/Racial Justice organizations. The continued failures of local officials to address crime, poverty, and worsening social conditions led to another situation in the 1980s and 1990s in which black youth felt invisible. Similar to the protagonist in Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1952), the rappers and their problems were not visible to the American public because the public refused to see the problems. Local rappers forced listeners to confront the realities of previously ignored problems of urban existence—such as the soaring murder rate, rising crack-cocaine epidemic, and increasing level of poverty.

The rappers presented these elements of violence, hustling, and social turmoil as urban commonplace rather than as the aberrations experienced in other areas. This discussion created "an upside-down world where the oppressed [were] powerful" (Kelley, 1994, p. 187). With the use of violence, the listener must grapple with the problem or willfully ignore the issue. With the raps about hustling, the listener is prompted to question why this is such a predominant theme, or he or she must choose to ignore the issue entirely. With the encouragement of public displays of defiance, the listener is led to wonder why the rapper(s) are left to resort to these methods, or the listener can pass the acts off as infantile and futile. Yet, dismissing these issues and themes reinforces the politics of invisibility and could lead to more extreme messages from an "underclass."

The Politics of Last Resort. The local rap music was also a politics of last resort. Operating in "an upside-down world," hustling and control of violence became the primary modes of urban power acquisition. By focusing on existing and ultimately illegal markets, the leaders of this rap discourse took it upon themselves to solve their own economic problems. This created a dilemma; the reliance on hustling was produced out of social turmoil yet produced further social turmoil. Local rappers in the 1980s and 1990s recognized this dilemma, but passed the self-created social turmoil as an unfortunate consequence of being pushed to the limit. Many rappers asserted that they would do whatever it took to lift themselves out of poverty—whether it was legal or illegal or whether it was beneficial or detrimental to the community. The idea was that subjects should not have had to resort to living illegal

lifestyles, but given the context of limited opportunity, they needed to turn to hustling for self-preservation.

The Politics of Disregard. I also understand the discourse examined to be a politics of disregard—especially in the 1990s and 2000s. This is related to both the politics of visibility and the politics of last resort. In the late-1990s and throughout the 2000s, overcoming the politics of invisibility through political, economic, and social modes of resistance was widely apparent in the local music. In the 2000s, confrontations with police (both actual and fictional) were more flippant in nature. Prime examples of both actual and fictional treatment were found in Mac Dre's music. His "hyphy" messages disregarded the Oakland and Vallejo police departments as a mere nuisance. This was reminiscent of the BPP simplistic casting of all authorities as "pigs" and a section from one of their newsletters about "mind over matter" ("If you do not mind, the pigs do not matter."). A certain level of disregard was detailed by 1980s and 1990s local rappers, but not in the same flippant fashion. Mac Dre also used recordings to publicly disgrace the officers and detectives working on his case. The "hyphy" lyrics about weed, ecstasy, and street actions ("sideshows," "ghostridin'," "stuntin'") also flaunted this culture in the face of authorities. In the documentary *Ghostride the Whip* (DJ VLAD, 2008), rapper E-40 described the "hyphy" street actions as "campaignin'." Beside video clips of individuals dancing atop rolling cars on the highway and peeling away from local police officers after performing automobile tricks, the concept of a "campaign" is a useful characterization. It was localized in a particular area (neighborhoods), it was

organized, and it was aimed at a particular goal. This goal was the disregard of state authority.

Significance of Findings. As a whole, I find the discourse examined to be an effective rhetoric to ongoing and increasing failures by government leaders to truly protect citizens from deadly forms of violence. Local rappers' use of violence, reliance on hustling, and attempt to undermine social mores forced local residents to confront these realities, and when this discourse leaked out to the outside public, it forced them to do the same. Yet, it is only a form of rhetoric; it did not and will not solve the problems of West and East Oakland. Once the rap discourse adopted the murder crisis and used it as a theme, most rappers could not get beyond this theme to offer comprehensive solutions to the crisis—even while claiming to be urban representatives. Of course, I must attribute a higher level of culpability to elected government leaders than "self-appointed" rap representatives.

These findings add complexities to the "black parallel public" and "black public sphere." I understand my work to fall within these literatures, but I question whether public opinion and attitudes toward rap music are the most pressing concern moving forward. Our concern should be on local rap music's content, if we are truly interested in the ongoings of urban, impoverished black America.

The running discourse thus stands as a cultural sign of political, economic, and social disregard. Prior to this study, these expressions had yet to "enter into formal political discourse" (Hanchard, 2006, p. 50). With the modicum of attention to the local rap scene in the 1990s and the growing attention to the local rap scene after

2006, some of the expressions eventually entered "civic discourse" as "objects of consumption" (p. 50). When judging the cumulative effects of Oakland area rap as a *quotidian* discourse, the macro-micro hypotheses offered by Hanchard can be applied to the Billboard-local distinction within rap music. First, mainstream rap music captured and revolutionized the music market in the 1990s (Rose, 1994) and 2000s (Watkins, 2005) respectively. Yet, local rap largely remained outside of this market domination and instead turned to internally creating unique brands of sound. Also, mainstream rap music's market dominance led to "partial" openings and incomplete resolve for those left behind in locales such as Oakland. Finally, there was a division between the mainstream/local sounds leading to a more voluminous level of *quotidian* critique by local artists. In short, while mainstream artists became empowered, local artists were relegated to an underground, less visible sphere.

In terms of macro-political/local rapper relations, I also see a theme of perceived "increased repression by those in power" (Hanchard, 2006, p. 17) as a plausible explanation for the messages and styles in this study. The post-BPP failures of black and populist leadership and the continued failures of the Oakland Police Department (OPD) could be perceived as "increased repression." In terms of leadership, the rising expectations of a black, a populist, or a black *and* socialist Mayor could be seen as continued repression by official who were *supposed* to be responsive to the people. These promises and subsequent letdowns could be viewed as "increased repression." More telling, the OPD's growing effectiveness in solving the problems of petty, property crime and continuing/continued ineffectiveness in

solving the problems of violent and deadly crime against black males could also be viewed as "increased repression." As a black man or youth in West and East Oakland, one must deal with the combined reality that the police may not necessarily protect your life but will openly harass you while driving, walking, or using public transportation on suspicion of a petty crime. This reality, which I have personally experienced, is an example of "incessant police surveillance and violence" (Hanchard, 2006, p. 17) in the face of deplorable murder rates. Because of this environment, the discourses created by local black youth placed sovereignty and violence as the highest priorities. Instead of it being the "final frontier" (pp. 44-50), violence was the primary theme contained in the messages throughout each era and it was attached to self-preservation, sovereignty, and survival.

In my Introduction, I wrote that Kelley's (1994) work remains vital in locating political content in rap music as a whole (and explaining gangsta rap in particular) and that he was the first to take its political content seriously. After exploring the additional 16-18 years after Kelley's article in a different locale, I am able to articulate a few key differences related to the emergence of rap music in Oakland. Similar Los Angeles (LA) rappers' response to the police department violence, Oakland rappers responded to the OPD violence. Yet, the OPD response was less organized around the problem of gangs and instead organized around the problem of delegitimized economic turfs, tracts, and territories by groups and individuals. This meant that wearing "colors" was less of an indicator in Oakland than in LA and that the OPD would need profile differently. This difference of always being targeted was

apparent early in BPP articles and was heard in the music of 2Pac, Spice 1, E-40, and others. In addition, the basis for Oakland's future rap brands was a mixture of the BPP discourse, *The Mack* (Campus, 1973), and very early gangsta rap. It differed from LA in the use of reality over allegory and in the reliance on underground sounds over Billboard sounds. The OPD targeting and Billboard/local distinction led to two key economic differences in the Oakland discourse; its delegitimized markets were discussed as open and limitless, and its music was part of an underground, less profitable phenomenon. In LA, the gangsta rap transformation was rapid and was quickly adapted to mainstream audiences. In Oakland, the gangsta rap transformation was defined by a longer trend and was only partially adapted to outside audiences.

In my Introduction, I also discussed a fundamental goal of the "black public sphere" approach to judge mainstream rap music's impact on attitudes and actively legitimize rap as a valid form of quantitative research. Ultimately, the underground sources examined in this project are somewhat incompatible with this form of research, because many people outside of Oakland have never heard the music by these artists. Still, the sources would be useful in certain locale-specific research such as Gilliam's (2005) study. When looking at inner-cities (such as Baltimore, MD; New York City; LA and Long Beach, CA; Oakland and Richmond, CA; Chicago, IL; New Orleans, LA; Detroit, MI, Philadelphia, PA; and Atlanta, GA), it would be more effective to use local sources to judge impacts than Clear Channel radio-transmitted sources. The local sources are primary accounts, and the radio-transmitted sources are filtered, removed, and returned reports. Gilliam's study and other studies (Kleinfield,

2000; Lewis, Thompson, Celious, & Brown, 2002, p. 98) failed to differentiate between radio raps and local raps. Thus, they do not tell us enough about local discourses and the impact on local communities. While such scholarship could at best conclude that a New York (NY) or LA artist has a certain impact on a surveyed New Orleans teenager, there are too many mitigating factors to make this type of scholarship's findings empirically sound enough to draw conclusions about local political content and significance.

Overall, the "black public sphere" literature remains obsessed with consumption and impacts of mainstream rap. This will not allow scholars to take the production of local political content seriously. Sometimes, this leads to dismissive approaches between rap and political content as a whole (Spence, 2011, p. 5) and findings centered on "exposure to and consumption of rap" (p. 171). Even more careful approaches between rap and political content have dismissed the politics fundamental to gangsta rap music (Rose, 2008, p. 241). Thus, I turned to a local/commercial distinction in response to the "discredit[ing]" of the production of rap music (Shusterman, 1991, p. 613). I also want to be clear that there may be an overall gap between black middle class mores and urban, black "underclass" music. This is similar to what Ginwright (2004, pp. 119-136) observed with the overall gap between Civil Rights and Black Power advocates and application to education.

Although I see the political content and significance, I can neither fully endorse nor condemn the nature of much of the political discourse in this project. I cannot endorse any message containing elements of misogyny, homophobia, and/or

violence. So, I understand why a segment of the "black public sphere" literature has emphasized and denounced rap music's use of these elements. This is fair. Yet, I cannot condemn local discourse creators and their critique of government officials, police, and American society writ large. In addition, after listening carefully to the local texts, I also understand that political content may be hidden under layers of misogyny, homophobia, and/or violence. Without an intimate knowledge of the terms, locations, and contexts, it is easy to form misunderstandings. The "moral panic" (Cohen, 2010, pp. 73-78; Jeffries, 2011, pp. 196-197) concerning rap music could be partially directed toward the wrong parties. Instead of focusing on a rap "underclass'" limitations, we might want to focus on the reasons why they are using this method to express their messages and what to do about it.

Yet, the majority of recent rap scholarship has continued the path of defining rap by Billboard or popular charts (even with the rising availability of more underground sources from local communities). *To truly understand rap music as a form of authentic artform, why are scholars using filtered, watered-down versions of the raw product?* Would we judge Rock n' Roll as a protest art by looking at Elvis Presley shaking his hips to the craze of millions of adoring fans. Or, would we instead turn to Rodriguez (the so-called "Sugar Man") roaming the streets of Detroit, MI and unknowingly providing the soundtrack for anti-apartheid South Africa? The Elvis figures can help sell books and provide ample research material, notes, and data; the "Sugar Mans" remain barely visible, too controversial to touch, and impoverished. Likewise, the preponderance of studies about rap superstars and celebrities obscure a

realm of a subculture hell-bent on challenging the status quo by using the politics of visibility, last resort, and disregard.

I hold that future scholarship will likely continue the path of defining rap by Billboard or popular charts, even with the rising availability of more underground sources from local communities. However, as popularized and commercialized rap music becomes less representative of the locations associated with its birth and development, it is important to continue to examine the emergence of local resistant styles.

Political/historical parallels can be drawn with the BPP's start as an alternative offering to other black organizations. In terms of message, we need to recognize the level of militancy of the BPP and the reason for their reliance on radical strategy. Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.'s brand of political equality through state institutions and protections no longer worked for many young, black inner-city youths. Speaker Malcolm X began to offer a radical solution of valuing and protecting one's self and community by "any means necessary." The perceived old, failed political strategy and new, emerging radical strategy were both direct influences on the co-founders of the BPP. Similarly, some perceive the strategies offered by black public officials, leaders, and celebrities fail to truly represent the population left behind on the streets. Areas of certain inner-cities continue to look like the internal colonies written about by the BPP. So, it is logical to assume that current mainstream rhetoric and sounds will be replaced by newly emerging underground

messages and styles. Local rap will remain as a soundtrack of this experience and will continue as an underground political art.

In many ways, hip-hop and rap will never be deemed political because many academics continue to look at the few products that make it as object of mass consumption. From this picture, the better scholarship goes back and documents the history of the culture from where the object of mass consumption first came. Yet, as a Political Scientist, my objective is quite different.

3. Speculations for Future Research

It is my obligation to study patterns of power and draw conclusion to predict future power-based trends. To do this about an underclass, my information and sources need come from as close as possible to the street-level. The preponderance of underground rap sources, and my "active-participant" approach employed in this study attempted to achieve this goal. While recent academic literature on rap music questions *if* the content of rap is political, previous literature explained *how* the content of rap was established as a construct of Black Power message and dub style—both heavily engaged in power struggles. If we can get over the basic question (Is the content of rap music political?), we could move onto many important research areas.

Major Questions. The larger questions that this project raises are really twofold. The first question again begins with the COINTELPRO hunt for the "Black Messiah" effectively splitting up and fragmenting Black Nationalist organizations. If the COINTELPRO hunt for the "black messiah" focused on a centralized campaign after one individual/leader of a dangerous group, what happens when we consider rap

as a successor in the aftermath of this hunt? In other words, does rap music work to unify or further fragment inner-city subversive messages?

The second question is related to the field, an ongoing struggle while writing this project. Why have scholars given politically- and socially- conscious rap preference over more predominate forms, and what interests and issues become better served by de-emphasizing gangsta's political content? Why have scholars ignored or largely overlooked the commercialization of politically- and socially- conscious rap forms and overemphasized the commercialization of gangsta rap?

Locations and Technologies. This project also sets up a line of research based on new locations, technologies, and issues. In terms of locations, I consider this project to have explored a beginning of the political discourse of the BPP and how it influenced rap music in Oakland. Investigation of other locales could provide important revelations about the role of the BPP and Nation of Islam chapters, early street gangs, and electoral politics in the creation of rap music. It may be necessary to revisit or compare early locations such as Kingston, Jamaica, the South Bronx, NY and LA. However, I would be far more interested in moving on to lesser-discussed, mid-sized cities (such as Memphis, TN; New Orleans, LA; Saint Louis, MO; Milwaukee, WI; Cleveland, OH; and Camden, NJ)—to name a few and all for different reasons.

The surrounding technology—especially hardware—also fascinates me. There are indications that both the NY construction of hip-hop and LA rise of gangsta rap revolved around the "acquisition" of turntables, mixers, and samplers during

respective power outages and riots. While I am not entirely interested in how these devices were acquired, as a DJ/producer/engineer, I am fascinated by how certain products become "industry standard." For example, the Technics 1200SL mixer created in 1972 has remained the professional standard for 40 years. Overall, the changing media formats (from analog to digital) also have significant consequences for the transmission of rap music message.

Techniques. Speaking of techniques (pun intended), one of the major improvements needed in the field is the approach. We need to be forming careful studies using accounts from underground. While these methods have been explained since at least the mid-1960s, the role, method, and uses are still widely misunderstood.

During the changeover from the Civil Rights to Racial Justice, both *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (X & Haley, 1964) and *Dark Ghetto* contained significant first-hand accounts of Harlem—albeit in different ways and at different times. Malcolm X's account was unwittingly (or even politically unconsciously) recounted and regarded his time as a hustler in post-World War II Harlem and other essential first-hand experiences (Chapter 7). Published around the same time, Clark began his academic work *Dark Ghetto* with an analysis of the urban core by explaining the differences between the role of an "involved observer," a "participant observer," and a cultural anthropologist (Clark, 1965, p. xv). He focused on the role of the "involved observer" by illustrating how the degree of participation led to vulnerability. This difficult role was highly questioned—especially if "his concern

with the problems of the community stem from a desire for personal power or material gain" (Clark, 1965, pp. xvi-xvii). According to Clark, we must remember that this is an environment where "altruism appears to be a ruse, a transparent disguise for the 'hustle" (Clark, 1965, p. xvii). These two methods were essential in writing my findings. But, there are substantive connections as well. Remember, Malcolm X's story was a major influence on the founding members of the BPP. Meanwhile, Clark was astute to note the signs of conflicting ideological struggles—particularly between Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Black Nationalists (Clark, 1965, pp. 217-219). Interestingly, Clark also noted the exception of the "Bay Area of San Francisco, Berkeley, and Oakland, where the Negro residential areas do not stand out from the other middle-class areas; the usual signs of congestion, deterioration, dirt, ugliness are not yet present there" (Clark, 1965, p. 25).

The following section (the Epilogue) details my unintentionally deep level of involvement with the Bay Area underground rap scene. I did not plan or design interview questions. I did not map out a plan of action. I did not find research subjects. I had not even read Clark's book at the time. I am not sure if I entirely understood Malcolm X's "Hustler" chapter at the time. Upon looking back and researching methods of ethnographic research, I now understand that the "involved-participant" role was too costly. It is a role riddled with threats to one's self-preservation of body, mind, and soul. Yet, the information gained from such a technique is needed by the academy to better understand the problems of urban locale. In the future, I hope to focus on a way to employ a mixed approach by

speaking and visiting with underground artists. Yet, the detail of my journey from 2005-2010 is vitally important for a few reasons. First, *my journey* really becomes *our journey*—as there are many people involved in the scene I describe. I felt as if I had to tell this story for all those involved. Second, it should contextualize all of the empirical chapters. It is written during the "hyphy" era, built on the gangsta branding era, and still deals with some of the claims of the BPP. Finally, the "Epilogue" is written in memory of two friends and colleagues—so their contribution will be duly recognized.

Epilogue

December 21, 2006 and August 22, 2009

In forming my study, I recognized I had taken the role of an "involved-participant" as a Bay Area disc-jockey (DJ). In fact, I ended up performing with and for some of the artists examined in chapter five including Turf Talk, Mr. Kee, and Kafani. This role as a participant and political ethnographer greatly helped in my sample selection. I had to consider what singles I used during my actual performances from 2005-2009, what singles I would use if I were performing tonight, what singles were being played by local radio, and what singles were part of "mixes" of other DJs.

I co-ran a label named "ShoTime Entertainment," and we considered ourselves to be political visionaries documenting the messages of urban cores through emerging technologies. Our vision was decimated by two tragic losses. The first loss occurred on December 21, 2006 and was made public. The second loss occurred on August 22, 2009 and was not made public. The first loss was a homicide—the murder of Lord Sidney Kwame Addo a.k.a "Shotime" (11/23/1985-12/21/2006). The second loss was a suicide—the death of Mario Aquas a.k.a. "Skillz" (7/9/1985-8/22/2009). These events were similar in some ways.

Although Shotime and Skillz did not know one another, they were linked through their spirits of entrepreneurship, giftedness, and willingness to help others in need. They also had markedly similar funerals; at both, a few close friends were trying to console the family members, and the family members were trying to console the few close friends. This is where the funeral similarities end. Shotime was a victim

of a war-torn Oakland (a.k.a. “Baby Iraq”) at the beginning of the digital age underground economy. Skillz was a victim of a melancholy Santa Cruz at the outset of an emerging economic crisis. Yet, both figures were representatives of the new age of independent rap—Shotime as rapper and businessman and Skillz as a manager and producer.

As representatives of the future of rap music, both figures were part of transformative processes. I would compare their ongoing journey to two key historical moments—Alexandre Kojève’s seminar in Paris (a reading of Hegel’s texts that produced a circle of leading French and German political theorists) (Kojève & Queneau, 1969) and the “gig that changed the world” in Manchester (a performance by the Sex Pistols that produced the leaders of the new genres of punk rock, new wave, and house music) (Winterbottom, 2002). It felt as if Kojève’s seminar and the Sex Pistols’ performance was happening during every recording session and live performance throughout the last years of both Shotime’s and Skillz’s lives. For these reasons, this chapter and project are dedicated to these figures—so that they can forever live in their music and legacies like the “Underground Man” (Dostoevsky, 2008).

ShoTime Entertainment was established on January 1, 2007—10 days after Shotime’s death. One of his best friends, “CeZ Dejanero” heard the news and wanted to do something about it. Previously both he and I, “DJ Sam Soul,” recorded music with and without Shotime, and we decided to form a new company made up of our respective independent labels. CeZ’s label, M.O.B. Music (based in Philadelphia),

was focused on reporting the messages of urban life in America. My label, Soulmatic Studios (based in San Jose), was focused on the expression of urban messages through new technologies. In addition, "Jay M.F.B.'s" Simply Raw Records (my uncle, based in Chicago, IL) had spent decades developing the "mixtape method" of seamlessly blending exclusive album singles, freestyles, and instrumentals on one tape, one compact disc, and, eventually one iTunes album. Our sole purpose in forming this coalition was to create, sell, and advertise the messages of urban cores through iTunes (digitally) and street teams (locally). This chapter is about the drives and journeys in accomplishing this purpose. In it, I take the position of an "involved-participant"—a sound producer, studio engineer, and most of all, a live, professional DJ. My aims are to show how we lived, communicated, celebrated, and mourned. My account of underground society is directly drawn from my leadership role in two organizations—Soulmatic Studios and ShoTime Entertainment.

The lowest moment of our journey was captured by four print and web media sources: (1) "Two More Deaths Bring the Death Toll to 148" (InsideBayArea.com, December 22, 2006); (2) "Oakland: A Plague of Killing" (Chan, December 31, 2006); (3) "Oakland Homicide Investigations: Not like what you see on TV" (Vincent, March 4, 2007); and (4) "You Will Get Erased" (Rufus, January 30, 2008). These four sources represent different accounts of the same event—the December 21, 2006 murder of my best friend, rapper, and business partner. The first account was a newspaper article documenting the murder, the second account was a web memorial created by a San Francisco newspaper, the third account was a comparison of crime

television and the reality of the murder investigation, and the fourth account was a review of Shotime's lyrics in an effort of relating this work to his murder. Yet, I remember Shotime's life and spirit through his visions, music, and sites such as Myspace.com (Shotime, December 20, 2006a) and Soundclick.com (Shotime, December 20, 2006b).

Hopefully, this story will also explain the transformations to digital age and underground politics, economics, society, and technology in the Bay Area. Hopefully, the larger project will show how this new world is being built on the shoulders of those who came before us and who will come after us. In this tale, I am following a roadmap—one to navigate the internet highway of information and one to remember the actual journeys I made during this study. I remember driving up and down California State Highways 17, 880, 280, 101, 1, and 5—the interstate superhighway. I got there driving 3,000 miles across the US—on interstate 80. Before that I was driving up and down Pennsylvania State Highway 22, and interstate superhighways 476, 276, and 78. Thus, I want to introduce my study through looking at four versions of a technology used by many (if not, most) adult Americans—the automobile. While driving in the four different cars I owned from 2005-2010, I a part of the Bay Area underground rap world.

During the years of driving in my 1994 Lincoln Mark VIII, 1998 Lincoln Mark VIII, 1989 Volvo GL, and 1993 Honda Accord LX, I DJed, engineered, and produced over 40 unique albums and worked with at least as many artists. I could really tell this story by the size of the trunk space for equipment in each automobile,

or the cost of gas associated with carrying over two hundred pounds of equipment in the trunk, or the number of performers each car allowed me to travel with. Instead, I have chosen to simply tell you what I was working on when I had these automobiles and why I ended up selling three of the four cars on Craigslist.org.

My pain-staking, detailed account is done as a direct rejection to the authors who have come before me claiming to be authorities on hip-hop and rap culture by simply reading their own biases into the culture without experiencing any of it while there are others in the underground willing to live for it (and possibly die for it).

2005-2006

From 2005-2006, I was driving a 1994 Lincoln Mark VIII. The trip from Lehigh University in Bethlehem, PA to had to be financed, and I was not making much money. I was busy was studying political philosophy, writing about hip-hop, producing a film, working on a website, and running Division I track and field for Lehigh on a partial athletic scholarship. When I won a $500 award for one of my papers, I went directly to two pawnshops and bought two used Technics 1200s, an entry-level mixer, and turntable cases. I was going to start DJing again.

During one of my first professional jobs as a DJ in Pennsylvania, I stopped mixing current hip-hop, rap, and reggaeton, and started an 80-minute classic R&B set—featuring the music of Sam Cooke and others. This set received rave reviews from many of my audience members and a few started asking for my DJ name, business cards, and copies of the set I was performing. Although I did not have any of these three things readily available, I took out a sheet of paper and had the inquirers

write down their email addresses so I could contact them later. Toward the end of my set, one person in the audience started ranting about "real" soul music and the quality of Sam Cooke's music in particular. After I was done performing the set, I sought out this audience member and began talking with him, and he too asked me my DJ name. I joked that he could just call me "Sam Soul," and instead of laughing it off, he took me seriously and started telling his friends my name. I went back to my turntables and mixer, got on the microphone, and announced my new "temporary" DJ name. When I created the mixtape of my performance, I entitled it *Soul on Display* by DJ Sam Soul and started distributing it via email to the list from the party (Sam Soul, 2003). Within weeks, I was hosting a college radio show (DJ Sam Soul + DJ Anamatic, 2004-2005), club and fraternity parties, and other live shows in the New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania tri-state area. Also, around this time, I began selling other mixtapes because I needed capital beyond shows and parties. One of the most popular mixtapes was a collection of underground hip-hop and mainstream rap classics detailing inner-city struggles called *Visions of the City* (DJ Sam Soul, 2005). By performing shows, selling mixtapes, working at Lehigh's athletic department and as a teaching assistant, I earned the $3,000 I needed to make the 3,000-mile trip to California.

I left for California the day after graduating from my Master's degree program in Political Science. I had so much stuff in my car that I had to make three stops just to get rid of some things—one stop in Bethlehem, one stop in Youngstown, OH, and another at my parents' house in Illinois. The trip was grueling at times, but the thought of living in California, the hour I gained each day because of daylight savings

time, and the "Cali or Bust" signs on other cars on Interstate 80 all kept me going. I completed the trip in four days—stopping in Youngstown, in Illinois, in Cheyenne, WY and in Salt Lake City, UT. When I drove from Salt Lake City to Santa Cruz, CA, I arrived on Memorial Day to find out that there were no vacant hotel rooms. So, I returned up Highway 17 at 4:00 a.m. to San Jose to find a hotel room.

I left the hotel room at 12:00 p.m. the next day to head to Santa Cruz to DJ. I had already secured one DJ gig a week at a restaurant on the Santa Cruz wharf and boardwalk. I needed more gigs as this was going to be my sole source of income until October—when my degree program started. But more importantly, I needed a place to stay, and I moved into a hotel room on Ocean Street in Santa Cruz. Within a week, I had already spent $1,000 in the Santa Cruz Inn while trying to catch wireless internet and an apartment. One day at FedEx on Pacific Avenue, I found an apartment on Craigslist. The next day, I moved out into the "country" on Old Pilkington Road and began searching for DJ gigs throughout the Bay Area. I found an artist development job in Oakland, and started driving there about twice a week to help prepare an R&B artist named Aria for a Juneteenth performance in San Francisco (Aria, June 18, 2005).

During this time, I also began working at Circuit City and The Red Room (a popular bar)—both in Santa Cruz. This was also about the time that I met my new best friend. I suppose I should tell you more about Shotime now. His real name was Lord Sidney Kwame Addo. In addition to becoming my best friend, he became my business partner and my rapper. We met in curious online fashion. I responded to a

Craigslist posting he had up. He sent me a reply email but I forgot to give him my mailing address. I was probably in a rush to get to work at Circuit City or The Red Room—or both. When I got home from the job(s), I had received a few demos in the mail. Not expecting him to have sent me a CD so soon, I tossed them aside for later listening. When I began to open the packages the next day, I almost ran my car off the dirt road I was driving on. I could not believe that Shotime had already sent the demo—especially since I forgot to give him my mailing address. (I later found out that he went on the website I was running, got my mailing address, and mailed it two days earlier). Anyways, I put the seven-song demo CD in my Sony Explode! car stereo and listened to the first track. It was pretty good. When I listened to the second demo track—"All Day Grindin'," I immediately pulled over on the side of the road, searched for a phone number on the package and called him. He answered.

It was 2005 and we were about to get paid. I was going to DJ, and he was going to rap. I remixed "All Day Grindin'" that day and sent it to him. He called me back and asked me where we could find a studio to record. He had just moved out here from the East Coast and was now living with his aunt and uncle in Oakland. I asked a fellow employee from the Red Room where there was a studio. I told him I just moved from the East Coast and needed to record. One of the Red Room regulars, "Rob Rush" told me he had a studio where we could record. I called Shotime from the Red Room. That Sunday we were going to record a mixtape. By Tuesday of the next week, we had finished it; it was called *Shine* (Shotime 2005a). We started selling copies immediately after my cousin sent the artwork. My uncle's label pressed about

a 100 mixtape copies for free. From this point, Shotime and I talked every day, met about four times a week, and sold CDs about two days a week in San Jose mostly up and down on Bascom Avenue.

While in San Jose, I remember thinking how successful we were going to be as long as we both communicated and stayed alive to see it. I remember mentioning to him that one of my favorite rappers was from San Jose. He had never heard of Charizma (and most people still have not) even though he was a phenomenally talented rapper out of San Jose. I mentioned Charizma was killed near one of the locations where we commonly sold CDs. As he headed to his car to go North on 880, and I headed to my car to go South on 880 and 17, I remember saying to him: "Man, don't you die on me." We both laughed and headed our separate ways. (I should also mention that I was now spending quite a bit of time in Deep East Oakland, and given that my car got about 12 miles to the gallon, Shotime and I would often be at nearby gas stations between 2:30 a.m. and 3:30 a.m. after performances. Yet, I do not think we truly grasped the level of the murder epidemic, because we never discussed the issue of safety. We thought of Oakland as a sort an amazing black capital and did not think anything would happen to us, despite hints in 2005 and early 2006 of a rising murder rate.) During this time, the old country road I lived on, the trips to Oakland and San Jose, and the parking police at University of California at Santa Cruz (UCSC) helped my 1994 Mark VIII die slowly. But the sound system was top notch, and I sold the car through Craigslist.

2006-2007

From 2006-2007, I was driving a 1998 Lincoln Mark VIII, and I was going to Oakland about four times a week to Shotime's apartment off of International Boulevard (then East 14th Street). I was also now taking classes at UCSC—learning about postmodern liberal philosophy, black separatism, economic movements, and learning about underground societies in my free time. I did shows (DJ Sam Soul, January 21, 2006), DJ battles, and studio work for the next two years. Shotime and I recorded a few more songs for an album to go with the mixtape and had recorded an extended-play single called *So Fresh (CDS)* (Shotime, 2005b). The full album would be called *All-Star* (Shotime, 2007a). I featured songs from both *All-Star* and *Shine* on a Myspace-coordinated mixtape called *Bay + Beyond* (Sam Soul, 2006). We were going to show up with copies of all our work at a national talent search in Long Beach, CA (Shotime + DJ Sam Soul, March 4, 2006). Major labels were going to be there and so were we. The show was recorded and made into a video (Shotime + DJ Sam Soul, 2006).

I vividly remember Shotime insisting on bring two "hypemen" (or backup rappers) from his block. They were brothers. Since neither of our "hypemen" carried identification, we were forced to stay in the types of hotels that did not want to know who was staying in their rooms. Suffice it to say that the underground economy was in full effect; with the recent black/Latino gang wars spilling out from a prison killing, LA made Deep East Oakland look like the safest place in America. We went to the show in Long Beach, effectively won over the talent show's judges, other

participants, set up a tentative date for a meeting with a subsidiary of a major label in New York, and had an offer to appear on a radio station a few hours after our performance. We went into the hotel room, and began to make plans for the radio appearance. When we got the call, they asked us for "clean" versions of our material. We did not have any, and the radio station could not play our underground messages without censorship. All four of us were disappointed, and as the DJ, I felt wholly responsible. I should have thought of this possibility. We still looked forward to hearing what the subsidiary label had to say.

When we got back to Oakland, Shotime and I started making a backup plan. The CDs were selling (both locally and online), the songs were now on iTunes, and we were doing shows collectively and individually. I secured enough money to move out of the Santa Cruz "country" by February 2006 and to Ocean Street in Santa Cruz. Shotime bought a new car rented a new apartment—this time near North Oakland.

As our music operation grew in scale, our transaction costs skyrocketed, new competition emerged, and the market went crazy. Our costs of doing business included production equipment, manufacturing, gas, communication costs, and shipping costs. The price of gas increased, our monthly cellphone and internet bills were only slightly less than our rent. We did not factor in these rising costs, and we did not adjust our prices or model. Furthermore, the market was inundated by other artists, effectively lowering the market value of our products and services. As the market changed, we had no option but to adjust our prices to the increased number of

artists; this constantly lowered our profit margin, but it also continued to reestablish the lowest market price.

Towards the end of 2006, the market busted; shipping became too expensive, transaction costs were hurting our business domestically, and the market was again flooded with new artists. We tried a lot of alternate measures, including expanding domestically to include other artists. In December of 2006, I went to Illinois to see my family at Christmas. On December 21, 2006, I received a call from Shotime's cellphone that will forever change my life. It was not him on the phone; it was his fiancé, and she told me the tragic news in between tears. My business partner, rapper, and friend had been shot and killed while driving in Northwest Oakland. That night, he was driving with a friend, someone opened fire on his vehicle, and he crashed into the liquor store. His passenger ran to a pay phone and survived, but Shotime did not make it. I still did not believe it even when I was crying in his funeral in Fresno, CA. I still do not believe it as I write these words. I have dreams seeing him in public and him telling me that he went into hiding like the urban legend of 2Pac. Even though I have now coped with the loss, I still will not remove his phone number from my cellphone.

At his funeral, his family began to ask questions about his life and tragic death. As his closest friend, many of his family members asked me what happened. I had no idea. The police did not know. In Oakland, often only the killer knows the answer and motive. He could have been: (1) trying to steal Shotime's new car; (2) trying to steal Shotime's money or jewelry; (3) jealous or angry about Shotime's

music; (4) mistaken about Shotime's identity; or (5) going after our "hype man" in the passenger seat. Of these possibilities, I thought—and still think—the first or second are the most likely causes. However, my inability to rule out the music business as a possible cause of his death has haunted me for years. Whatever the cause, I am pretty sure Shotime drove his car into the liquor store because he did not want the robber to have the car *and* his life.

Although Shotime interacted with hundreds of people in Oakland through music and life, only about 15 of them showed up at his funeral. We began talking, grieving, and telling stories at the funeral. I could no longer see clearly because I had cried so much. After dinner, his friend and I talked further at the gas station, and we decided to notify everyone he knew and start networking for positive change.

For his musical eulogy, I released a special version of the *Shine* album—*Shine (Chopped + Screwed)* (Shotime + DJ Sam Soul, 2007). I also released the freestyle acapellas of many of Shotime's raps to producers, DJs, and fans under the title *The Freestyle Tapes* (Shotime, 2007b). Weeks later, we began our networking plan. Shotime had lived in Toledo, OH, in Harlem, and in Texas before moving to Oakland. He had friends everywhere. One of his friends was originally from Toledo and had recently relocated to Philadelphia. He contacted me on Myspace about a mixtape or trading some tracks. He had worked with Shotime and heard I was Shotime's DJ and best friend in California. Unbeknownst to me, CeZ had produced and recorded a solo album entitled *Stress...A Philadelphia Story* and sold thousands of copies locally (CeZ Dejanero, 2006). We decided to put an organization of record labels together for

the purposes of promotion and quality music in Shotime's name, and we started a website (Sam Soul and CeZ Dejanero, 2007-2012). I spent the next two years driving up and down the California coast, around the Bay Area, and through Highway 17. The car died. I sold it on Craigslist along with all of my DJ equipment to make rent.

2007-2008

From 2007-2008, I was driving a 1989 Volvo GL. We had recorded six albums under our new collection of labels. After Shotime died, I tried my best not to lose any memories of him. I had went home and tried to get a plan to keep everything intact. I would not and have not changed his Myspace profile. We had music everywhere—at radio stations, at studios, and in other cities. I designed a decimal system to keep the multimedia files, text, hypertext, and future-texts about Shotime. "Digicrates" or "Sid's Decimal System" was designed as a new age Dewey Decimal System to sort, organize, store, and copy digital age texts. I also had to cancel meetings we set up with a subsidiary of Virgin Records in New York City. I had no idea what to do about the unfinished music. Although, I released *All-Star*, *Shine (Chopped + Screwed)*, and *The Freestyle Tapes* on iTunes and other digital marketplaces, all our releases were waiting to be physically released once we were "discovered" by a major label or subsidiary. I went into a musical depression amidst the beginning of a world depression (or "recession" as the politicians labeled it) and turned to new wave music. I was convinced rap was dead and began sampling 1980s new wave and electronic music. I created *83* (Sam Soul, 2007a) and *85* (Sam Soul, 2007b).

Between talking with CeZ, doing schoolwork on my new projector, and sampling new wave hits, I started to get all of our network contacts together. I also, once again, re-acquired DJ equipment. We were trying to get into the market as a unit. That year, I practically lived off of the nearby McDonald's and nearby Valero gas station. One day, I walked into the Valero gas station and heard a cashier and his friend talking about rap music. I asked them if they knew anybody that rapped. The cashier turned to me and said, "Everybody raps, buddy!" I knew that he was a good rapper as soon as he said this for two reasons. First, most artists who view their art as a profession do not talk openly about it with strangers. Second, the cynicism displayed (that everyone is *trying* to rap) is often connected to talented artists who feel as though everyone else's rapping limited their own chances of being discovered. The cashier's friend could tell that I was confused and pulled me aside. He told me he had a mixtape in the car that he wanted me to hear. I found out his name was "Big Prophet" and the cashier's name was "Young B."

We went into the car and he played track eight of *Diego 2 Da Bay: Live in the Telly* (Prafeshanals, 2008b). It was a mixtape recorded by Young B, "Relly Rell," and "Lights Out." After hearing Young B's verse, I walked out of Big Prophet's car, went back into the Valero and yelled out at Young B. I think I told him he sounded like a white 2Pac. (At the time, most everyone said he sounded like a reincarnated 2Pac, and he wanted to fight everyone that said it). I asked Young B where he recorded the album, and he told me it was recorded in a hotel bathroom. The next day I showed up to the Valero parking lot, and Relly Rell and Lights Out were there in their cars.

Together, they had a microphone and stand, and I had Pro Tools 7.4 LE. We built a vocal booth in my bathroom and recorded three studio albums in as many months—*4 tha Streetz* (Prafeshanals, 2008a), *Get a Bar Uh That!* (Prafeshanals, 2008c), and *Gassin'* (Prafeshanals, 2008d).

Meanwhile, in Philadelphia, CeZ was recording *Segregated: NuMuzic4DefEarz* (CeZ Dejanero, 2008). In addition to these studio albums, I started making compilations—*ShoTime Entertainment Slappers! Volume 1* (DJ Sam Soul, 2008) *and ShoTime Entertainment Slappers! Volume 2 (Remixed Live)* (DJ CEE.PUNISHER, 2008). In addition to these compilations, I continued releasing albums of samples—in particular *Dubbin is Life* (Sam Soul, 2008a) and *What is Dub?* (Sam Soul, 2008b). I spent a year driving up and down the coast, around the Bay Area, and through Highways 17 and 1. The car died. I sold it on Craigslist along with all of my projection equipment.

2009-2010

From 2009-2010, I was driving a 1993 Honda Accord LX, and we had over 40 releases and projects. We needed to hit the market hard with promotion. During the fall and winter, I started a two-gig-a-month tour of the San Francisco Bay Area including performances in: (1) San Francisco (Prafeshanals + DJ Sam Soul, November 14, 2008; DJ Sam Soul, January 9, 2009; DJ Sam Soul, March 6, 2009); (2) Downtown Mountain View (Prafeshanals + DJ Sam Soul, December 7, 2008); (3) Pacifica (DJ Sam Soul, March 20, 2009); and (4) Tracy (DJ Sam Soul, May 15,

2009). *Although I was offered many opportunities to do shows in Oakland, I was never going back to Oakland again.*

Two Fridays a month, I left home at 6:00 a.m. to teaching assist in Santa Cruz. I then worked on campus until around 6:00 p.m. Then, I would gather my equipment and leave for the Bay Area. Next, I would work the show and the dance party—importing local performing artists' music and taking both underground and mainstream requests on-the-fly during the show. Around 4:00 a.m., the bar owner and promoter would have the payout ready. I would then leave the club and drive home. After getting home, I would stay up because I needed to leave for work on Saturday morning at 8:30 a.m. to proctor S.A.T. exams. After the exam was done, I needed to take the exams to the delivery service. During these 600-mile and 35 hour days, I felt like I was driving a spaceship through the new, digital age galaxy.

Around this time, we were also recording studio albums—many of which were being financed by Skillz. The Prafeshanals recorded *80s BayBez* (Professionals (aka Prafeshanals), 2009), CeZ recorded *The Free Hip-hop Show* (CeZ Dejanero, 2009), and "Mac tha Kat"—a new member of the Prafeshanals recorded *Oh, That's Real!: The Macroism Mixtape* (Mac tha Kat, 2009). I released a mixtape of soul classics paired with Shotime's *The Freestyle Tapes* called *Rappin' Well* (Shotime + DJ Sam Soul, 2009). Much of this new music allowed me to create two new compilations—*ShoTime Entertainment Slappers! Volume 3* (DJ Sam Soul, 2009a) *and ShoTime Entertainment Slappers! Volume 4 Mixed Live at the Rockit Room* (DJ Sam Soul, 2009b).

Also around this time, I joined a DJ coalition or union called Coast 2 Coast Mixtape DJs and began releasing bi-weekly mixtapes culminating in my last mixtape of 2009 called *The Next .wAV* (DJ Sam Soul, 2009c). While I was making these mixtapes, I began producing instrumental beats by the hundreds and made two compilations with instrumental tracks for sale *Beat Collection 001* (Sam Soul, 2010a) and *Beat Collection 002* (Sam Soul, 2010b). My final release in California was an R&B single using one of the beats from the first collection (Sylvia P., 2009). In January of 2010, as we began to plan future releases, I decided to put out a compilation of the last five years of music under our company entitled *Promo* (ShoTime Entertainment, 2010). Since this time, I have focused my attention on focusing on CeZ's recent work. His mixtapes *Until Then* (CeZ Dejanero, 2011b) and *Motivation* (CeZ Dejanero, 2011a) have been downloaded over 100,000 times as of this writing.

I should tell you about ShoTime Entertainment now. It was once an underground rap organization of over 40 underground labels. I hope our story helps you understand the real world of underground rap music. To hear a sample of our work, please refer to Sam Soul *Revolution* (2010). Below, you will find a couple of our images.

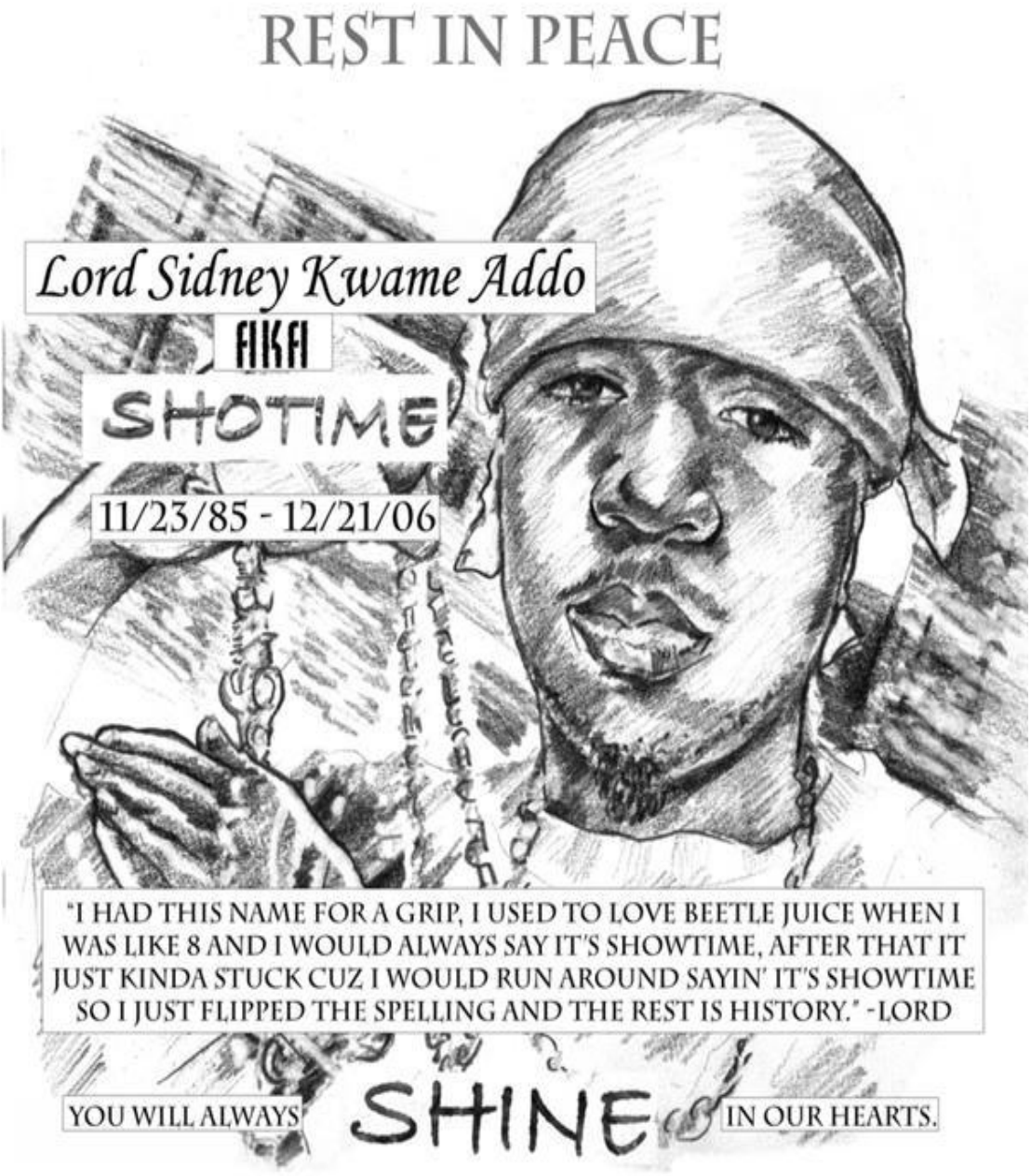

Figure 42: Original Source, Shotime (2005a)

On the Oakland streets, the album artwork for *Shine* was used to mourn the death of Shotime.

Figure 43: Source, Shotime (2005a)

The original Shotime *Shine* cover was done by my cousin, a professional design artist in Chicago.

Figure 44: Source, Shotime + DJ Sam Soul (March 4, 2006)

This photograph was taken in Long Beach, CA at an unsigned artist competition. Shotime is in the center, and he is leaning on his two "hypemen" (brothers "Joe" and "Pizzi"). I am in the background still mixing.

Figure 45: Source, DJ Sam Soul (March 6, 2009)

This photograph of me was taken at a Bay Area show.

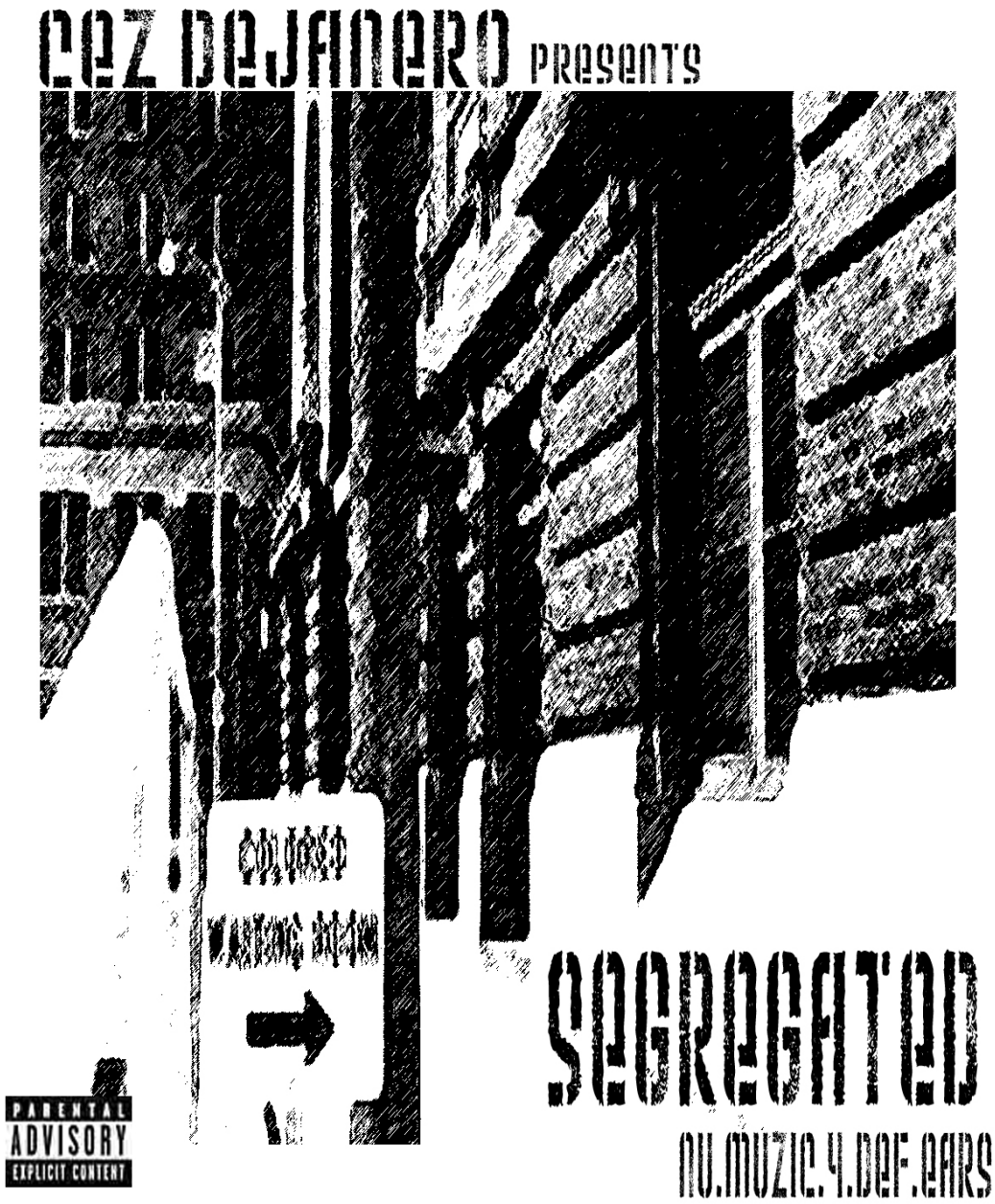

Figure 46: Source, CeZ Dejanero (2008)

CeZ Dejanero's *Segregated* album art symbolized both American segregation and underground/mainstream artist segregation.

Figure 47: Source, CeZ Dejanero (2009)

CeZ's *The Free Hip-hop Album* cover featured a graphic of him on stage.

Figure 48: Source, Prafeshanals + DJ Sam Soul (December 7, 2008)

This sample show flyer lists the Prafeshanals and myself as feature acts.

Figure 49: Source, DJ Sam Soul (January 9, 2009)

This show flyer was from a major event. It featured Mr. Kee and Gorilla Pits.

Figure 50: Source, Sam Soul and CeZ Dejanero (2007-2012).

This logo has branded my work since 2004.

Footnotes

[1] Indeed, much of the local history from 1960 to the 1980s involved building of mass transit, construction projects geared towards industrialization, accommodation of professional sports teams, and symbolic acts to ultimately build Oakland, CA 1st rate, major city. There were quite a few significant events from 1960 to 1983. During this time, transportation was addressed with a new jet runway constructed at the airport, and later, the construction of the Bay Area Rapid Transit began amidst protesters from West Oakland—including a strong resistance from the BPP. In terms of industrialization, the first container ships began arriving in Oakland marking the beginning of dramatic growth of cargo tonnage and the Oakland-Alameda County Coliseum opened. The town would host three new and quickly successful professional sports teams. The Oakland Raiders began playing games in the Coliseum and won two World Championships. The Kansas City Athletics also moved into the

[2] Robert Self's "To Plan our Liberation: Black Power and the Politics of Place in Oakland, California, 1965-1977" (2000) is one of the most comprehensive and impressive stories of this transformation of black Oakland. With its focus on space and economics, it is a very rich source (and innovative outlook) on the BPP. He deemphasized what is so often emphasized—Black Power primarily as a reaction to Civil Rights and Black Power as an ideological slogan (p. 787).

[3] Self (2000) has argued the "now familiar" elements of "urban crisis" were present in Oakland. Similar to other Northern cities, "all-white suburban enclaves industrialized, exercised new power in regional and countywide governing boards, and seemed to siphon both tax revenue and private capital away from older core cities" (p. 760).

[4] Further details on the executive leadership of Oakland begins to reveal reasons for their inability to truly represent militant black youths and even radical inhabitants. Overall, each of the mayors focused on efforts to rebuild and accommodate business. Mayor Houlihan was the son of a San Francisco police offer and attended law school before obtaining a mandate in the 1959 election. His legacy is both as an urban builder and theorist as he oversaw the construction of key buildings, ports, and infrastructural improvement and conducted research through think tanks. However, his legacy also includes being a convicted felon on embezzlement charges before being pardoned Governor Ronald Regan in 1973. Mayor Reading was born in Glendale, AZ and raised in Oakland before World War II. After serving in the war, he inherited Ingram's Food Products of East Oakland before running for mayor. He is famous for bringing the Oakland Athletics baseball team to the city and defeating B.P.P. member Bobby Seale in a 1973 election by a margin of 77,634 to 43,749 votes. Mayor Wilson was born in New Orleans, LA, attended University of California at Berkeley, and pitched for a black professional baseball team before becoming Oakland's first black mayor after defeating his opponent by a margin of 42,961 to 37,060 votes. . Even Mayor Wilson—a black civic leader known for exercising

fairness and justice—could not fully accommodate the wishes of the new revolutionaries (Oakland, CA Public Library, 2010).

[5] Murch (2010) effectively uncovered this remarkable cultural transformation—from pre-World War II a small black population to an increasing migration of blacks from the south seeking work in federal defense industries and the related birth of what she referrers to as one strongest post-war antistatist movements in the US. Murch argues that an "influx of southern migrants" in the 1940s seeking jobs began to challenge the cultural and political order locally. These new migrants

[6] In addition, changes in professional sports and symbolic acts also raised the profile of Oakland. In terms of professional sports, the Raiders left for Los Angeles and returned, and the Athletics won a fourth World Championship (City of Oakland, 2002). These events and changes were significant on a local, state, and national scale. The relocation of the Raiders influenced gang life, gangsta rap music, and media portrayals as the mascot and symbol became associated with Los Angeles thug life in the throughout the 1980s and into the early-1990s. The Athletics swept the San Francisco Giants in the 1989 Bay Area World Series in four games, but the highlight was the Loma Prieta earthquake. Also during this time period, Oakland acquired two additional sister cities.

[7] One of the few examples of literature detailing the violence of Oakland was Gary Rivlin's *Drive-By,* which gave an account of the details leading up to a mid-1990s gang-related, drive-by shooting (Rivlin, 1995).

[8] There is some indication that this was an ongoing trend of slow growth or even decline. Robert Self's (2003, p. 336) use of the "Spanish Surname Population" as a measure indicated declines in Oakland, Berkeley, Alameda, and San Leandro from 1970 to 1980. The increases occurred in Fremont, Hayward, Newark, and Union City

[9] Throughout the early and formative Party history, there were really two lines of rejection of political leadership: both the rejection of electoral politics and officials and the rejection of other black organizations. There is irony to both of these. Around 1972, BPP members began campaigning in electoral politics settings—in Berkeley—and Seale had run for mayor and Elaine Brown for city council of Oakland four years earlier. The rejection of other black organizations happens after many of the Panther themes and ideas were drawn borrowed from these other groups—including black solidarity, use of violence as a currency, and even the Panther symbol.

[10] Stokely Carmichael's "Black Power" speech started with a definition of black colonial subjects, detailed their struggle against racism, and argued that there was a lack of a national organization for militant black youths. He discussed the problems of the "colonies of the United States" including "the black ghettoes within its borders" and stated that these colonies must be liberated by the development of black power through a new self-determination and psychological equality (Source 100).

[11] Carmichael's rally speech explained that there was an attempt to wipe out the black race after slavery was abolished, that the institution of racism attempted to undermine the communal way of life from Africa, and any new movement must avoid appeasement and be an international campaign stressing protection of the community

(Source 103). Meanwhile, H. Rap Brown's rally speech detailed the limits of the American system by describing the lack of progress through electoral politics and legal apparatuses and thus called for organizational power through numbers. He claimed that the BPP "happen[ed] to be the vanguard" of the "revolutionary struggle" because they were the most "dispossessed" (Source 102).

[12] Huey Newton's interview with *The Movement* proposed a new solution. Instead of relying on black capitalism or religious black nationalism to define Black Power, Newton defined black power as control of destiny and explained the BPP needed to be an open (as opposed to underground) movement unless forced underground. He also described the theoretical framework behind the BPP as a socialist endeavor known as revolutionary nationalism and this was distinct from reactionary movements—as they still accepted oppression. He also discussed how white revolutionaries could aid the BPP by turning away from the establishment (Source 107).

[13] Eldridge Cleaver's "Information," argued that there were growing majorities of mad black, brown, red, yellow people against the unethical savagery of America by stating: "We feel that we have black people here who are colonized by the white people. We refer to that as the relationship between the black colony and the white mother country." (Source 110)

[14] Landon Williams's "Imperialism, Economics, and Heart Transplants," contended that blacks living in the colonies were only good for providing whites with spare parts in integration. The logic was simple. Williams began by discussing imperialism as a system concerned with profit. To create this profit, the system had to exploit people. Black people went from assets to deficits immediately after slavery was abolished. To urge people to wake up and see this reality, Williams discussed a heart transplant in South Africa in which a heart was removed from a pregnant black woman into a "cancerous" pig by a Nazi doctor (Source 112).

[15] Evette Pearson's "In White America Today" began by arguing how white Amerikkka claimed to have God on his side and then described a game of killing off the Indians, silencing blacks, and committing genocide on the black community through planned parenthood, birth control, Vietnam, prostitution, venereal diseases, pigs, punks, and Nixon (Source 114).

[16] Kathleen Cleaver's radio address first defined the black bootlicker as a puppet by using the examples of Justice Thurgood Marshall and Tonto in Lone Ranger as bootlickers oppressing their own people. She then stated that the BPP needed to "tighten up internally to protect and strengthen the community" in order to be ready for such bootlickers. Finally, she issued a warning to pigs—as they would pay by way of death (Source 113).

[17] Newton's explanation of self-defense revolved around the problem of a caste system. He explained why a replacement to the caste system was needed as individuals would not be free until the system was changed and argued blacks must be freed as a group first. He attacked the anarchist movement by stating blacks in the

colonies needed organizational discipline instead of mind-altering drugs and that group freedom was a higher degree of freedom than individual freedom (Source 117).

[18] "U.S. Imperialism is Dying" described how US imperialism was intensified through fascism domestically and subjected the public to "terror and bloody suppression" and how the situation was worsening through huge prisons in the US and suppression of many countries but trying to remain respectable at home behind "democracy" Yet, "roaring waves" of black Americans, the worker's movement, and the student movements were beginning to recognize fascism. Meanwhile, use of fascism to control these forces was a sign of decline (even a sign of the collapse of the system)—as outright violence convinced the masses to turn against the system. Finally, the articled even argued that the US's use of fascism was similar to Hitler's use of fascism (Source 123).

[19] "Serving the People" indicated that the Party was formed to serve people heart and soul and displayed faith through love for people. There needed to be a heightened awareness for a government "eclipse." To do so, the BPP was to be ridden like "ox" by the people to obtain the people's needs of "land, bread, housing, education, freedom, clothing, justice, and peace." Both capitalism and the cultural nationalist organization "US" were "pimping…the people"— the latter by taking money and doing hunger surveys on people (Source 127).

[20] Raymond Jennings' "Why We Support China" began the discussion of international campaigns by examining revisionism as the Soviet Union united with the US and moved towards colonialism and capitalism. Jennings then contended the Soviet Union now co-existed with the oppressor and that China was the lone model for international communism. If China failed, the author argued, exploitation would continue worldwide and domestically (Source 129).

[21] "The Roots of the Party" began by describing historical events such as the beginning of slavery in America (1619), Nat Turner's revolt (1831), freedom from forced servitude (1865), the two world wars (1918, 1941) and the soldiers returning to America as moments of black power and pride. Rather than stressing integration, capitalism, and support for American society (like other black organizations), the BPP needed to focus on the failures of integration, ineffective history of black capitalism, and inability for the leaders to deal with reality. Other black organizations stressed integration, capitalism, and support of American society, but were actually troublesome. The Nation of Islam and cultural nationalist leaders were not poor, yet they somehow expected to help black and poor masses. Finally, the article contended that there was a third world colony in America and a need to deal with it totally (Source 142). Another article released on the same day ("To the People") ended by attacking black capitalism as a means of disguising racism (Source 143).

[22] Afeni O. Shakur described how the Panthers were looked at as a "black gang dedicated to destruction" which was not the original purpose of the Party. She announced that she was facing 70 years in prison, yet the goals of land, bread, education, housing, clothing, justice, peace, and solidarity remained (Source 148).

[23] "The P.L.P. vs. the People" detailed why the PLP (People's Liberation Party) was expelled from SDS (Students for a Democratic Society) for working against the people, aligning themselves with pigs, and trying to break up the conference—although their attempts were mostly ignored as pig tactics (Source 151).
[24] "To My GI Brothers" began by detailing a soldier's entrance into the US Marine Corps to make something of himself and went on to describe how he joined for four years and was trained to kill Korean communists for two and a half years. After the war, he was a wounded soldier protesting in Washington, DC when a clerk in a restaurant would not touch money from another black solider. After the war, he could not find a job, and he began to recognize institutional problems in America (Source 156).
[25] Eldridge Cleaver's press statement began by acknowledging that the "court system in the United States [was] part and parcel of the apparatus for oppression under which Black people have lived ever since they were brought to the United States as slaves" and then turned to discussing the mass media system as an instrument of the ruling class, how it was on display during Seale's trial, and why the criticism of pigs must be intensified (Source 157).
[26] West Cook's "Meeting the Basic Needs of the People" documented how a local pastor protested the BPP breakfast program. Cook argued that the BPP was not claiming to be Christian but was feeding the hungry like Christ did and that a line of "demarcation" was being drawn between the church and the Party (Source 159).
[27] David Hilliard's "What You Are Speak So Loud I Hardly Hear Anything You Say," detailed a domestic agenda to limit the constitutional rights of blacks through the example of Seale and Newton sending a delegation of armed BPP members to California state capital to rally against the stripping of constitutional rights; how the constitutions was not meant for blacks; how Seale's 1st, 8th, 6th, 13th, 14th amendment rights were being violated; and how the constitution was theory alone while a genocide of Indians and 50 million blacks occurred over the 400-year time span (Source 160).
[28] "Fewer Pigs More Justice," described how Seale was kidnapped in Berkeley under the "fugitive slave law" as the FBI did not have a warrant and arrested Seale based on a phone warrant from New Haven, CT. This case went back to Dred Scott and a violation of the 4th, 6th, 13th, 14th, and 1st amendments and such unconstitutional action proved how blacks were still slaves as Seale was chained, gagged, beaten. Since the power structure did not take the BPP seriously and displayed indifference to the Party, and the article called to set the Chicago Eight, Newton, and Vietnamese prisoners free (Source 162).
[29] According to the Panthers, illegitimate capitalists created this problem of hard drugs at a time when the BPP was beginning to have success in solving the hunger problem. "Narcotics and the Illegitimate Capitalists" detailed: how narcotics such as heroin were an increasing problem while "reefer" and "hashy" were declining in Jamaica, Long Island; how the pigs put heroin there to step up genocide; how 75% of the hustlers were involved with heroin in some way and those who used to die natural

deaths were now addicts or pushers; and how the hustlers were co-opted by the system they were against (Source 164).

[30] H. Rap Brown's book discussed that both white and black superiority were tied to the lightness of skin. Brown wrote: "Because of the wide color range which exists in Negro America, an internal color colony has been created. Dark Negroes are taught that they are inferior not only to whites but to lighter-skinned negroes. And lighter-skinned Negroes assume a superior attitude." Brown then wrote about racism operating as an "integral part of colonial oppression" and that "all colonized people are victims of racism and exploitation, but that all exploited people are not colonized." Brown proved this through the case of poor whites—who did not "suffer from the racism" that was "forced upon" blacks. He also noted that: "Some of the most racist whites [were] the oppressed whites" (Source 169).

[31] According to "National Salvation," the ultrastructure was the military and all its components, and the infrastructure was made up of groups such as John Birch Society, Minutemen, Ku Klux Klan, National Rifle Association, White Knights, American Nazi Party, and Black Legion. The infrastructure was seen as "detachments and supply bases" of the ultrastructure. Other pro-fascist groups such as the Fraternal Police Organization were euphemisms for warmongers waging war on the colony (Source 172).

[32] In "Pigs Run Amuck in Richmond, Calif.," a Panther brother was driving a U-Haul truck on the highway when it stalled, and the cops began circling him on the side of the road before calling for backup and detaining the brother for an illegal left turn (Source 173).

[33] From Carmichael's congressional testimony, we learn he was born in Trinidad in 1941, naturalized in 1954, and obtained a bachelor of arts from Howard University in philosophy. He pleaded the 5th on questions on independent wealth and membership in SNCC, but he did discuss the purpose and goals of the organization, the struggles of blacks in the North and South, and the need for solidarity in revolution (Source 175).

[34] Eldridge Cleaver's "On the Pig Hearted Nixon," described Nixon as "treacherous, unprincipled, demagogic politician" who was moving backwards domestically as a reactionary and propping up "oppressive and brutal regimes" around the world. Cleaver discussed how imperialism was being executed by fascism with welfare being wiped out, control of the news media, Supreme Court packing, and an undeclared war (Source 176).

[35] Henry Lee's written rejection to the US Constitution as a defunct document which needed to be rejected discussed how black people had been slaves since 1619, even though they were promised freedom in 1862 along with 40 acres and two mules. Lee argued that blacks were not afraid to fight—as they fought US wars—but were bound psychologically by the capitalist system (Source 178).

[36] James Mott described the Constitution as the "ideological foundation of the American way of life," but it did not stand for what it claimed to stand for. Mott contended that it became a symbol of "political oppression, economic exploitation,

and social degradation" of people who had already suffered for 400 years (Source 179).

[37] Newton's statement on the women's liberation and gay liberation movement argued that regardless of personal opinions and insecurities, the people should try to unite with other oppressed people—as the BPP was not a revolutionary value system. He stated: "We must gain security in ourselves and therefore have respect and feeling for all oppressed people. We must not use the racist attitude that the White racists use against our people because they are Black and poor." Newton even stated that the oppression faced by homosexuals could be the highest degree of oppression. At the end of the article, Newton asked for full participation from gay and women's liberation movements at future public gatherings (Source 180).

[38] "Black Woman Murdered by Racist Pig," described a Lima, OH case in which the cops responded to an altercation, and a woman reached for a cop's gun. The cops shot the woman to death without calling for an ambulance, and they claimed to have only shot once. Yet, witnesses claimed the cops shot seven or more times. That night, the Lima Police Department was attacked, six officers were wounded, and three of the wounded officers were in serious condition (Source 182). "The Color Changes the Facts Remain the Same: A Pig, is a Pig, is a Pig," explained why the BPP called black police pigs. Since the police force acted as "armed guard for power structure to protect its property rights," and since blacks had no property, the black pig was defending white interests. The case demonstrated that cops were similar to house slaves, reporting back to a white master. The article then turned to the example of a case in July where a seven-year-old in Roxbury area of Boston, MA was attacked to illustrate that the cops were not responsible for the people (Source 184).

[39] Johnny Viera's "Racism and Prison" described: how the city, county, state, and federal jails were the most racist institutions in America and the highest level of powerlessness as the prisoner could not even control basic decisions; how black men sold themselves in prison, and guards played whites against blacks; how a process of political realization in prison stopped the guards from controlling prisoners; how the white inmates had an advantage because the guards were drawn from the same background and related by first name basis, gave them the best jobs, best food, and better clothes; and how the black guards tried to avoid relating with black inmates because they wanted to work within the system (Source 186).

[40] Newton's vision of "intercommunalism" announced a new direction for the BPP movement. He started by arguing that people power was the reason he was free, and the people needed to achieve the same freedom for Seale, Angela Davis, Erika Huggins, New York 21, and the Soledad Brothers. He then compared the BPP's endeavors to the 1917 Soviet Union revolution in which there was a conflict between two classes and a transformation of both classes and the country. He argued that future technologies would enable the development to automation, "cybernation," and then "technocracy" as evidenced by the research efforts undertaken by the nearby Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Newton also argued that there was very little difference between North America and Vietnam, the Chinese community in San

Francisco and Hong Kong, or the black community in Harlem or Angola, South Africa, or Mozambique. Newton then used the example of Alex Haley who was searching for his past in Africa but instead found mass media and explained how this example illustrated that we could not think of separate nations due to advancements in transportation and lack of wars (which were instead called "police actions") (Source 187).

[41] Bobby Seale's *Seize the Time* went through each event in Party history including early arrests and his trial and resulting imprisonment. Using inspiration from Malcolm X, Seale argued how Newton was "seizing the time" the Young Patriots and Young Lords were "seizing the time." Seale then contended that the "Nixon-Agnew-Mitchell," Reagans, Daleys, Rockefellers, and Banks of America were moving closer and closer to fascism, and how the future of the BPP was directly related to smashing this regime (Source 188).

[42] Michael "Cetewayo" Tabor's "Capitalism Plus Dope Equals Genocide" used research to present a stark picture of addition in the inner-city. Through Tabor's discussion of the problem, we can gather that this issue was seen as one of the key matters concerning the future control of the community. It is fair to assume that the BPP was experiencing a loss of power to urban street gangs (as indicated by Seale's book) and drug dealers (as indicated by Tabor's analysis). Meanwhile, many BPP members were being imprisoned and taken off the streets. Tabor wrote that there was a "conservative estimate" of 25,000 addicted youths in New York City. Thus, drug addiction was a major problem in the colony for 15 years. To Tabor, this was a plague and epidemic with no government attention until recently. In part two, Tabor detailed how the problem of escapism and self-destruction went back to slavery as the addicts were exploited through the offer of escape, and this exploitation was reinforced through street-gang fighting. In part three, Tabor profiled the addict(s) and how he/she began by seeking an escape, quickly built up an immunity to the drug, and then was willing to do anything for the next hit—setting a vicious cycle in motion. In part four, Tabor explained how the hustler was selling for profit, but the politicians and businessmen were also profiting (Source 189).

[43] Angela Y. Davis' "Political Prisoners, Prisons, and Black Liberation" began by detailing the examples of Nat Turner and John Brown who were hanged to terrorize proponents of the anti-slavery movement but only intensified the anti-slavery crusade. She then described: how prisoners were starting to recognize they were political prisoners of a political-economic order; how victimization, frame-ups, and a vicious cycle of "poverty, police courts, and prison" were part of a ghetto experience; how Nixon, Attorney General John N. Mitchell, and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover were trying to convince the population that dissidents should be punished for belonging to revolutionary groups; and how the greatest menaces were racism and fascism (Source 192).

[44] Prison leadership was displayed in Newton's "On the Murder of George Jackson: Excerpts from Eulogy" which was a description of a 1967 meeting with George Jackson through his ideas. Newton indicated how Jackson was a legendary prison

figure/spirit and set a standard for political prisoners and the people by demonstrating how to act though love for people. Newton also documented how Jackson lived on through his ideas, standards, and actions (Source 195). Earlier, Jackson described the concept of revolution as a dilemma between the oppressor and the oppressed masses and documented how the excesses of the oppressor built the resistance from the oppressed (Source 191).

[45] "1969: Year of the Panther" provided a summary and timeline of BPP political pressure and state repression from October 1968 through January 1969 including Governor Ronald Reagan's targeting of Eldridge Cleaver, Bobby Seale, David Hilliard and a promise to cover nationwide harassment in next issue (Source 115).

[46] "Pigs Plotted Murders of L.A. Panthers" argued that the mistreatment of blacks could be traced back to slavery and was simply instituted through law and order. At the end, the article mentioned that there were 120,000 black Vietnam vets as a sort of threat (Source 109).

[47] "Warning to So-Called 'Paper Panthers" discussed how the hippies were not the enemies of the BPP The real enemies were the pigs, Uncle Toms, capitalist system, and politicians. Since there was no quarrel between the BPP and hippies, the Party issued a threat that they would deal with violators of the policy (Source 111).

[48] "Washington/Moscow Collaboration Intensified" described the US, Soviet Union, Britain, and France targeting the "middle east problem" and redividing the war amongst themselves. It was the first criticism of the Soviet Union's relations with the West and the first mention of the "middle east problem" (Source 122). Calvin Winslow's "Cultural Nationalism Attacked in Emory Douglas Speech" held that these international trends were "also a confession of [the US's] difficulties and dire plight both at home and abroad" and a exposed a close bond between the Soviet Union's "revisionism" and the US's imperialism (Source 126).

[49] Landon William's "Black Capitalism and What it Means" also described terrors in Africa, Asia, Eurasia, Latin America, and at home as an the instigation of war by "warlords" as a product of exploitation (Source 124). Winslow's article above (Source 126) discussed Douglas' accusation that the "US" organization led by cultural nationalist Ron Karenga was accepting federal money and promoting black capitalism and that the BPP's 80 branches nationwide were a threat of opposition. Winslow also detailed the circumstances surrounding the BPP members who were assassinated in the Westwood area of Los Angeles—also the site of the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) and used it to assert that poor people needed power not cultural nationalism or dashikis (Source 126).

[50] There was early evidence of COINTELPRO as discussed in "Imperialism, White Chauvinism and PL." It described: the farcical trial surrounding Martin Luther King, Jr.'s murder and how it proved that any black man can be murdered; the conspiracy around King's murder as he was surrounded by the Memphis Police Department and FBI when he was shot and killed; how the *New York Times* made an inquiry into President Lyndon Johnson's and J. Edgar Hoover's involvement and later apologized for the trial; and another event surrounding the lynching of a black man in South

Boston and the ensuing mistrial. The article compared an infamous black leader to the average black man and criticized President Johnson's support of the "white-supremacist, Klan-ridden Memphis police force" (Source 130).

[51] The BPP advised the people to "off the pig" at all costs. Jose Rios, Mario Martinez, and Nelson Rodrigues' "Revolutionary Heroes" detailed San Francisco Mayor Alioto's intensified fight against the Panthers and the brown population by detailing a case in which one police officer was killed and another was wounded in the name of justice. The authors then pointed out the fact that the spirit of the people was greater than technology of the government apparatus and the fact that the demonstrators were attacked with dogs, mace, tanks, and helicopters (Source 133). The BPP's "Open Warfare in Berkeley" detailed: Governor Reagan's declared war on the anti-war movement; how Berkeley was under martial law with the National Guard and the California Highway Patrol fighting to secure a plot of unused land; and how people were shot, maced, beaten, and arrested. The article questioned whether the anti-war demonstrators were willing to pick up the gun as power only responded to power and also argued that there were more people than pigs. Finally, it outlined Reagan's war within the state of California through implementation of martial law (Source 135). Later, a form of counterinsurgency was exhibited on Governor Reagan's troops. Andrew Austin's "Open Letter to Ronald Reagan" announced that the National Guard had turned on the Governor, as there was a Red Book class with National Guards and troops reading BPP newspapers. It was the first mention of counter-insurgency efforts by the Party, the account of the troops turning, and the power of education on instruments of oppression (Source 146).

[52] "Reactionary Paper tiger" advocated class struggle through war because similar to Mao the BPP did not want war but recognized the aforementioned structures could only be abolished through war—describing the tactics of police, how to deal with such forces, and the importance of class struggle (Source 139).

[53] "The Middle of the Road Pig" critiqued public support for police and reiterated that there was only one type of police officer. It criticized a writer of a newspaper letter supporting the police force as a "pig fool," and argued that middle of the road pig was still a pig because there were only bad pigs (Source 141).

[54] "Why Huey" detailed: the fact that Newton was jailed while the killer cops were free; that Newton remained behind bars to separate him from the people; the day-to-day conditions of prison; how Newton was a captive of the State of California and its most hated enemy; the unfair trial with no bail set; and a call for financial assistance for the defense fund (Source 145).

[55] Richard Moore's "Letters from Jail" gave guidance to those in the BPP struggle by recognizing "programed" and "computerized" "slavery" and advised turning to defending their people and themselves against such "exploitation and misery" as evidenced by recent attacks by the "racist justice" system (Source 147).

[56] "Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton Taken Political Prisoner" discussed the differences between the real charges versus political charges. It described: Illinois Chapter Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton's arrest for stealing 710 ice cream bars

from a Good Humor truck; why he was jailed because of his political beliefs were said to be criminal; how it was "criminal" to feed, nurture, and provide heat the people; how after Hampton made the claim of being a revolutionary, he was harassed, arrested, beaten, shot at, and framed; and how the revolution could not be jailed (Source 149).

[57] Lieutenant Eugene Charles's article described the unfair trial of the Conspiracy Eight through jury selection (of all registered voters) to the denial of all defense motions. The jury was in contradiction to the political morale of the defendant, and the trial was seen as a legal lynching. This letter was addressed to "Pig' Nixon and Hoover" that the Party had uncovered their conspiracy and their "kangaroo court" (Source 152)

[58] "Theory and Practice" was written by a white subscriber who was very glad for the existence of the BPP and their newspaper. The author explained his progressive politicization for five years through the evolution of theory into action and how he was attracted to the Panthers because they were filled with truth and backed by action. The author then noted how the pigs used their power to silence truth and stop black manhood, how this action discouraged him, and how he was filled with hope over the work the BPP was doing. This indicated white support (even in the cases of radical and militant politics) and the transformation of theory into practice (Source 163).

[59] "Ignorance, Red Devils, and Revolution" documented how the drug was began on the West and East coasts but had started to move inland as exemplified through an incident in Denver, CO at a Shopping Center with black brothers high off barbiturates. Dope was recognized as the new genocidal method similar to birth control (for addicts) and concentration camps through prison (for dealers). The pigs did not stop the suppliers because government figures such as Nixon and Hoover were really criminals themselves—polluting the air and water and harassing innocent civilians (Source 154)

[60] "The Stupid Revolution: Prey for Pigs" described how a rogue member-in-training from the Brooklyn, NY branch of the BPP was terminated because he got together with other rogue members-in-training and was arrested for robbery and weapons position. The rogue members-in-training were out walking the streets the same day despite $50,000 bails. This was a case of entrapment by the local and thus a stupid revolution because it was connected to the local cops (Source 155).

[61] "Fewer Pigs More Justice" described: how 500 more officers were being hired in San Francisco with 450 officers in black communities to further terrorize blacks; how blacks needed an identification card to go out to the store and could be assassinated as proven by a recent example; and a petition for community control of the police force under the 1st aim of the Ten Point program which called for freedom to determine destiny (Source 162).

[62] The *Black Panther Coloring Book* documented: how blacks started in Africa with a high level of civilization; how blacks were moved by force into slavery with their families constantly torn apart as family members were sold to the white man; how

blacks fought back using the example of Nat Turner; how to define a police officer as a pig; how Newton used armed protection for the community and children; how a junior Panther defended his mother; how the only good pig was a dead pig; and how to achieve power through the barrel of a gun (Source 168).

[63] Further details on 2Pac's life immediately following the shooting in the NY lobby illustrate the reasoning behind his growing distrust for virtually all persons. After the shooting, 2Pac decided he could not trust East Coast rappers or the law. After he was treated for his wounds, he found out that he could not leave or go home and was being transported to Clinton Correctional Facility in NY. While in jail, he did not write songs but fortunately had recorded *Me Against the World* (2Pac, 1995) before the lobby incident and jail. While in jail, he developed his "trust nobody" philosophy while dreaming about Cristal champagne and fast food.

[64] Ice-T's "Power" began by discussing his hate for the courts, judges, and district attorneys and highlighted the disparity in the legal system—if you had money, you would be set free, but if you did not have money, you would be writing from the jail cell. He then explained that he had been in jail more times than most people had been in school and had been shot at, hit by bullets, and seen his friends killed. This environment, the rapper claimed, was the foundation that his raps were built on (Source 408).

[65] Ice-T's "New Jack Hustler" detailed having armored locations to sell drugs and not worrying about police before rapping about the dislike for his lifestyle as a hustler. As the rapper explained, this was both the American dream and nightmare and to journey down his block was like a walk through hell due to "pregnant teens" and "children's screams." The solution, the rapper claimed, was not to lock him up in jail, because he was describing a "genocidal catastrophe." There would be others who followed on his warpath (Source 417).

[66] Ice Cube's "How to Survive in South Central" off of the seminal film and soundtrack to *Boyz N the Hood* turned to describing a set of rules to live by as an actor in the inner-city. Of course, rule number one was to get a 9-millimeter handgun to keep in your glove compartment because unlike whites that could trust the police, blacks were simply treated like "beasts" (Source 418). Later, Ice Cube's "It Was a Good Day" off the highly influential *The Predator* album explained that that it was a positive day because he did not get shot at—unlike yesterday when they tried to "blast" him. In addition, he drove by the police without them even looking in his direction. Also, he did not have to use his A.K. rifle. All of which made the day positive in contrast to past days (Source 431).

[67] Public Enemy's "Can't Trust It" off of *Apocalypse 91…The Enemy Strikes Black* focused on the division between the haves and "have-nots" and it became difficult for blacks to "love the land" (Source 422), and Arrested Development's smash hit single "Tennessee" off of *3 Years, 5 Months & 2 Days in the Life of...* discussed being stressed out while trying to remain black and proud in one's neighborhood leading to black outlook and the appearance of ghosts of lost souls (such as a grandmother and a brother" (Source 429). Later, Public Enemy's claims would be further developed on

the song "Tie Goes to the Runner" off of their *Greatest Misses* album by using the evidence of the recent Los Angeles riots as "predicted" but not "self-inflicted" by rap out of the inner-city. As the group explained, others lived the "fly" life, and they were living "low across the tracks" (Source 435).

[68] This socially conscious style also influenced other rappers. Da Lench Mob, a group associated with Cube released *Guerillas In Tha Mist*, and the title track discussed coming "from the dark side" and how the present day was a "new apartheid" in South Central (Source 430)—clearly connecting the gang lifestyle with a great institutional division. This led to rappers often needing to connect their illegal lifestyle with some form of reasoning—such as Bo$$'s "Deeper" off of *Born Gangstaz*—who rapped about not wanting to have feelings and instead smoking marijuana and going on a killing spree "just to deal with the ills" of the inner-city as rapping cannot pay her bills (Source 444).

[69] On an individual level, MC Eiht's "Streiht Up Menace" off of the *Menace II Society Soundtrack* dealt with a topic similar to Ice Cube's "How to Survive in South Central" and "Today Was a Good Day," but was less satirical and jeering. Instead, MC Eiht explained his present predicament as a result of an "f*cked up childhood" and how he became a "victim of the ghetto" by killing a man. His father was selling drugs and his mother was on drugs, and his father was killed by another man. Without role models, his caretakers putting "brew" in his "baby bottle," his mother going crazy, he grew up to be a menace. In the next verse, the rapper discussed his life after coming of age and making money off of drug addicts and welfare checks. In the final verse, the rapper explained that he had just killed a man, could not sleep, and was worried about the police coming after him. In the chorus of the song, he spoke about the inner-city taking him under (Source 445). MC Eiht's "All for the Money (featuring Compton's Most Wanted)" off of *We Come Strapped* explained a similar tale—this time of a boy kicked out at the age of 13 who loaded a gun, formulated a plan, and chose a victim (Source 459). A similar sentiment was expressed on songs by the Wu Tang Clan and by Scarface around the same time. On the Wu Tang Clan's "C.R.E.A.M." ("cash rules everything around me") off of *Enter the Wu-Tang (36 Chambers)* the rap crew spoke about growing up on the "crime side" of New York city and being forced into selling drugs, pulling out guns, and committing armed robberies on basketball courts. However, after "figuring out" they "went the wrong route" the group turned to rapping to survive (Source 453). A similar sentiment was also expressed on Scarface's "I Seen a Man Die" off of *The Diary*; this time it was a tale about an ex-convict being released from prison trying to make a change in his life. However, the ex-convict was black—a strike already against him—and while trying to stay clean, he found out his friends are still living illegal lifestyles (Source 468).

[70] The R&B-led chorus of Bone Thugs-N-Harmony's "Thuggish Ruggish Bone" off of *Creeping On Ah Come Up (EP)* was proceeded by an introduction in the form of a speech in which the speaker claimed to not be against rap or rappers but against

"those thugs" and followed by breakneck speed raps and rhythms of thug life on the streets of Cleveland (Source 460).

[71] Snoop Doggy Dogg's "Murder Was the Case" from the soundtrack with the same name dealt with imprisonment in a way that had not been done in the mainstream. Instead of smoking weed and drinking gin and juice, the prisoner was on his way to Chino Correctional Facility and was "shackled from head to toe." Once the prisoner entered the facility, he was recognized by rival gang members, stared at in common spaces, and sent to a higher-level security. When the prisoner tried to sleep at night, he heard "toothbrushes scrapin' on the floor" as prisoners were getting their "shanks" ready "just in case the war pop[ed] off" (Source 466). KRS One's "Sound of the Police" off of *Return of the Boom Bap* made an overt comparison between police officers and slave masters and explained that the real criminals were the police—including black police officers—and that four generations of his family had to deal with the police force. The rapper explained in the first verse how the police harassed him on suspicion of selling crack-cocaine and how the police need to show respect, change their attitude, and change their plan. The second verse explained the similarity between "officer" and "overseer" claiming that the officer patrol[led] all the nation and the overseer "rode around the plantation." To defeat the officer, the rapper claimed to have a bigger gun. The chorus of the song featured police sirens and the expression "that's the sound of the police" (Source 454).

[72] On *Heat 4 Yo *zz*, Celly Cel's title track detailed an environment with "dead bodies on the ground" from crazy killers, liquor store and bank robberies, and even robberies of drug dealers. While driving through the streets looking for someone to murder, the rapper claimed that you could not survive "without a gun" and that even with a bulletproof vest, you could be shot by two bullets in the head (Source 264). 2Pac's title track on *Me Against The World*, described the causes of "stress in the city" due to police harassment, projects full of bullet holes, dead bodies "droppin'" in "abandoned building[s]" being relocated to cemeteries, and youth growing up to continue the behavior (Source 273).

[73] On *Liquid Swords*, Genius/GZA's "Cold World" painted a chilling picture of the ghetto by discussing crying babies, men dying and being arrested, and running from police while shooting back at them as a "cold, cold world" in the chorus of the song. In the first verse, the rapper told the story a New Year's Eve full of constant gunfire and late arriving, unwitting, and harassing police officers as a ghetto warzone (Source 488). Later, Coolio's hit single "Gangsta's Paradise" off of the *Dangerous Minds Soundtrack* compared walking through the Los Angeles ghetto to walking "through the valley of the shadow of death," how he was so far gone that even his mother thought he was crazy, how outsiders needed to watch how they talked and walked, and how young children wanted to be like him (Source 481).

[74] On *ATLiens*, OutKast's "Elevators (Me + You)" discussed changes in the inner-city by rapping about "rats" being in the "hood" and the transformation of a woman wanting to sing to turning to prostitution "tricks" to giving felacio for money (Source 483). On *On Top of the World*, Eightball's title track discussed never forgetting the

Orange Mound streets he came from—including "the drugs, the violence, not one day of silence" and "the robbing, the shooting, and mothas prostitutin'" (Source 485). On *Soul Food*, Goodie Mob's "Cell Therapy" discussed moving into a project building with a gated serial code, ongoing drug and gang activity, and a curfew as the "traces of a new world order." The group pondered whether the "gate was put up to keep crime out" or to keep them in. The chorus explained that people were looking in their window ("Who's that peeking in my window") before being fired upon ("POW nobody now") (Source 489).

[75] On *The Untouchable*, Scarface's "Smile (featuring 2Pac)" featured an introduction from the deceased rapper 2Pac explaining that there would be some things in the future that would make it hard to smile, but by keeping a sense of humor, one could keep their "head up." 2Pac's verse discussed the lifestyles of inner-city black males as being "stranded" in a "land of hell, jail, and crack sales" in an attempt to "hustle" into material wealth. The rapper also reminisced about his childhood of burying his friends in the cemetery and living poor in the projects before urging his listeners to follow his lead and smile (Source 495).

[76] The Click's "Tired of Being Stepped On" described being pulled over by the police and having the whole car searched while they asked for the location of crack-cocaine and handguns. The crew warned the police to "go on with all the old racism" before they took the "law in [their] own hands" (Source 226). On *Federal*, E-40's title track mentioned going "federal" because "justice" was not a miracle and described taking the law into his own hands (Source 230).

[77] *What's Really Going On* was also recorded from jail. Mac Dre's title track described a case of a boy named Little Jack Junior who had dreams of becoming a rap star but was constantly harassed by the police before ultimately being arrested and "stuffed" by his prison cellmate—now wishing to be free and back home (Source 234).

[78] On Cypress Hill's self-titled album, the song "How I Could Just Kill a Man" featured rapper B-Real explaining that the police tried to enter his house and take his gun, and the rapper responded by shooting and unnecessarily killing the rookie officer (Source 425). On their *Black Sunday* album, the smash hit "Insane in the Brain" featured the group rapping about the effect of police harassment by explaining the police tried to "blow my house down," and how he headed to another town and continued to hide from their "red light beam" (Source 448). On Eazy-E's *It's On (Dr. Dre 187um) Killa* the song "Boyz N tha Hood (G-Mix)," the rap crew was confronted by an unmarked police car after making a u-turn. After one member of the crew was beaten for "resisting arrest," he decided to hit the police officer in the head for tearing his designer Guess clothing. After this retaliation, the police decided to throw chains on the "boy" so he could serve some time. During the ensuing court hearing, however, the crew shot up the courtroom (Source 452).

[79] On *T.H.U.G. L.I.F.E. Vol. 1*, the group rapped about the inner-city as a "war zone," having no home or friends, and "marr[ying]" a nine-millimeter handgun. This tale continued into reckless, ruthless, and lethal use of handguns before explaining that

someone killed him ("peeled [his] cap") and "put [him] in the grave" (Source 261). Spice 1's "Strap On the Side" on *AmeriKKKa's Nightmare* described a young black man with bags of marijuana and plenty of crack-cocaine with the police on his back before he decided to "blow" them "off the map" by murdering them "for the f*ck of it" (Source 266). Vitamin C's "B.F.O. (Brother From Oakland)" mentioned the possibility of being too high off of marijuana to ride past the police and the police obtaining a photograph—but not being worried because the "crew" is only rapping about "dopeness" (Source 269).

[80] On *Fools from the Streets*, Dru Down's title track described selling crack-cocaine with disregard to the police after dropping out of school because he hated "math and stuff," and then issued a warning for the police to step back. On *Illegal Business?*, Mac Mall's title track described avoiding the police by using a white driver as a "decoy" as five other fully armed men sat in the car while driving 60 miles per hour on cruise control in an effort to "outsmart the po-pos"—an expression made famous by E-40 on *Federal* (Source 245). On *Who's Da Killer?*, TRU's title track described being questioned and harassed by the police about a "dead body in the grass" but deciding to remain silent because "snitches [did not] live long" in the inner-city" (Source 255).

[81] On Snoop Doggy Dogg's *Doggy Style*, the smash hit song "Who Am I (What's My Name)?" featured a unsettling line about his relationship to the police force with the rapper claiming to be Mr. Murder on a police officer (Source 455). On Smif-N-Wessun's *Dah Shinin*, the song "Bucktown" explained some differences between the police and urban population by warning the listener to watch out for police because they had "glocks" and tried to come to the neighborhoods acting as if they were bigger than those on the streets. After being arrested, the rappers claimed to continue to act tough by staring down the judge (Source 478).

[82] On Mack 10's self-titled album, the chorus to the song "Foe Life" contained claims that the rapper was in the game for life and to was coming "through the hood with stripes" (Source 478). Others rapped about legal troubles even after turning to lawful activity. On Junior M.A.F.I.A.'s hit song "Get Money" featured a posthumous rap verse from Notorious B.I.G. about an altercation with a woman causing police intervention. As things got troublesome, the woman decided to send federal agents to his home in order to take him to court and steal his money. However, the rapper was able to post his own bail and "commence to *ss kickin'" (Source 486).

[83] I find little a coincidence that eight years "hyphy" development happened alongside President George H.W. Bush's administration—whose critics claimed he played on the intelligence angle for political advantage. I also find little coincidence that Oakland gained the nickname "Baby Iraq" at the time. This connection between the administration and the war in Iraq was actually best put by a local Bay Area artist before a show: "He go dumb and ghostride da war machine hella fast" (Prafeshanals + DJ Sam Soul, November 14, 2008). In other words, the President used ignorance to quickly put the "war machine" into cruise control and then hopped out of office. Other local (and even Billboard Exception) artists rapped commonly about strands of

weed named after the President because it made them "go dumb." Another rapper even used Bush as an example of the ill effects of cocaine abuse (Source 391). Bush's focus on the war in Iraq was seen as form of wasteful engagement while drugs, crime, and murder were plaguing Oakland's streets. This connection may be a stretch to some readers, and I am not suggesting rappers saw Bush's model as an effective mode of protest. I am, however, contending that Bush's neglect and self-presentation a certain disillusionment on the part of Oakland rappers. "Hyphy" artists used this cynicism to the fullest extent.

[84] OutKast's *Stankonia* (2000) sold listeners through radio-friendly songs such as "Ms. Jackson" and "So Fresh, So Clean." Yet, this seemed to be a real trick as their first video was actually "B.O.B. (Bombs Over Baghdad)" and featured a fast-paced lyrical expression about a war culture in America. This song was the 11th song on the album of 24 tracks total. Even more telling, however, was the first song after the introduction on the *Stankonia* album—"Gasoline Dreams." As the first real song the listener heard, it started with another fast-paced tempo and lyrics about "burn, baby, burn American dream." So, in many ways, OutKast's cover (and leading singles) was misleading to the listener. None of this would be known by looking at the cover.

[85] Mistah F.A.B.'s "New Oakland (featuring G-Stack and Bavgate)" called out North, East, and West Oakland as locations where outsiders could get "beat up" (Source 326). Nump's "I Gott Grapes (featuring E-40 and The Federation)" made a simple reference to the Bay area as the "Planet of the Apes" (Source 327).

[86] Santana's "Maria Maria" featured Product G&B singing about stopping looting, shooting, and robbing and explaining that "the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer" (Source 504). Around the same time, Eminem's "Lose Yourself," contained rapping about his inability to work a "9 to 5" job, provide for his family, and use food stamps to buy diapers before deciding that he had to "formulate a plot" or "end up in jail or shot" (Source 510).

[87] Terror Squad's "Lean Back," contained rapping about being from Bronx, New York—an area where children love to shoot guns—and the fact that half the people in their rap group have a "scar on their face" (Source 523).

[88] Yung Joc's "It's Goin' Down" included an introduction about being from "Ghettoville U.S.A." and "College Park" before raps about being approached by fans in the streets asking where he lived. The rapper then designated the setting as a place where they "cut up" stolen cars and detailed his celebrity in the area. As he explained, everybody loved him because he was "so fly," and the people who saw him passing flashed peace signs ("deuces") as he rode by. Yet, the federal government was also on his trail on the suspicion of him selling drugs (Source 549).

[89] Young Dro rapped about his roots in Bankhead and that he stayed by his grandmother, slept next to banana clips, and that a bunch of drug addicts stayed with him mother (Source 554). On "Make It Rain," Fat Joe rapped about his nickname "Crack," how rough the area was due to drug pushers, and that he would send you an invitation because you needed a pass due to the street code (Source 565). On "Live Your Life," T.I. rapped about the ghetto as "an area that's shaded grey," how he

prayed for patience but how others made him want to "melt their face away" (Source 570). On "Empire State of Mind," Jay-Z rapped about New York as a melting pot of crack dealers on street corners and hip-hop roots through Afrika Bambaataa and as a place where foreigners "for[get] how to act" (Source 581). On "I Wanna Rock," Snoop Dogg rapped about getting "turf stomped" by messing with the "turf punk" (Source 593).

Appendices

Appendix A: Primary Source Bank

Appendix A-1: BPP Speeches and Statements, 1966-1980
100 - Carmichael, Stokely - "Black Power" - Delivered Saturday, October 29, 1966, Berkley, CA
101 - The Black Panther Party - "A Pig" - *The Black Panther* - May 1967
102 - Brown, H. Rap, "The Black Panther Party Free Huey Rally" - Saturday, February 17, 1968
103 - Carmichael, Stokley, "The Black Panther Party Free Huey Rally" - Saturday, February 17, 1968
104 - Seale, Bobby, "The Black Panther Party Free Huey Rally" - Saturday, February 17, 1968
105 - The Black Panther Party - "Panthers Ambushed—One Murdered" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, May 4, 1968 - Vol 2 No 1 1968, page 4
106 - The Black Panther Party - "Panthers Sue City of Oakland" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, May 4, 1968, Vol 2 No 1 1968, page 8
107 - Newton, Huey - "Interview with Huey P. Newton" - *The Movement* - August 1968
108 - The Black Panther Party - "Black People: Keep Your Guns" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, September 7, 1968 - Vol 2 No 5 1968, page 7
109 - The Black Panther Party - "Pigs Plotted Murders of L.A. Panthers" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, September 7, 1968 - Vol 2 No 5 1968, page 6
110 - Cleaver, Eldridge - "Information" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, September 28, 1968, pages 6, 14
111 - The Black Panther Party - "Warning to So-Called 'Paper Panthers" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, September 28, 1968
112 - Williams, Landon - "Imperialism, Economics, and Heart Transplants" - *The Black Panther* - October 5, 1968
113 - Cleaver, Kathleen - "From New York Radio Address" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, January 4, 1969 - Vol 2 No 19, page 4
114 - Pearson, Evette - "In White America Today" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, January 4, 1969 - Vol 2 No 19, page 6
115 - The Black Panther Party - "1969: Year of the Panther" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, January 4, 1969 - Vol 2 No 19, page 5
116 - The Black Panther Party - "Review of Panther Growth and Harassment" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, January 4, 1969 - Vol 2 No 19, page 4

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117 - Newton, Huey - "In Defense of Self Defense: Exclusive by Huey Newton" - *The Black Panther* - Monday, February 17, 1969 - Vol 2 No 23, page 3
118 - Newton, Huey - "Quotations from Huey" - *The Black Panther* - Monday, February 17, 1969 - Vol 2 No 23, page 4
119 - Reverend Gus Taylor, Jr. - "Priest Visits Huey" - *The Black Panther* - Monday, February 17, 1969 -Vol 2 No 23, page 12
120 - The Black Panther Party - "Pig Commits Murder—Panther Blamed" - *The Black Panther* - Monday, February 17, 1969 - Vol 2 No 23, page 10
121 - Newton, Huey P. - "Message from Huey-Taped in Prison" - *The Black Panther* - Monday, March 3, 1969, page 2
122 - The Black Panther Party - "Washington/Moscow Collaboration Intensified" - *The Black Panther* - Monday, March 3, 1969, page 8
123 - The Black Panther Party - "U.S. Imperialism is Dying" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, March 16, 1969, page 15
124 - Williams, Landon - "Black Capitalism and What it Means" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, March 23, 1969, pages 2-3
125 - The Black Panther Party - "To Feed Our Children" - *The Black Panther* - March 26, 1969
126 - Winslow, Calvin - "Cultural Nationalism Attacked in Emory Douglas Speech" - *The Black Panther* - March 1969
127 - The Black Panther Party - "Serving the People" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, April 6, 1969, page 14
128 - Hilliard, David - "Excerpts of an 'Interview with the Chief of Staff David Hilliard" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, April 20, 1969, page 18
129 - Jennings, Raymond - "Why We Support China" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, April 20, 1969, page 20
130 - The Black Panther Party - "Imperialism, White Chauvinism and PL" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, April 20, 1969, page 7
131 - Buryn, Ed - "Suffer Not, Little Children" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, April 27, 1969 - Vol 2I No1, page 5
132 - The Black Panther Party - "Why Pigs Perpetuate Racism" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, April 27, 1969 - Vol 3 No 2, page 5
133 - Rios, Jose, Mario Martinez, and Nelson Rodrigues - "Revolutionary Heroes" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 11, 1969, page 17
134 - Seale, Bobby, "The Black Panther Party Free Huey Rally" Delivered Saturday, May 11, 1969
135 - The Black Panther Party - "Open Warfare in Berkeley" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 6
136 - The Black Panther Party - "The Oppressor's Bureaucracy"- *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 5

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137 - The Black Panther Party - "Ericka's Poem" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 3
138 - The Black Panther Party - "Huey P. Newton Political Prisoner" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 2
139 - The Black Panther Party - "Reactionary Paper Tiger" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 4
140 - The Black Panther Party - "Rebirth" - The *Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 9
141 - The Black Panther Party - "The Middle of the Road Pig" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 4
142 - The Black Panther Party - "The Roots of the Party" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 4
143 - The Black Panther Party - "To the People" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 8
144 - The Black Panther Party - "Unity vs Racism" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 7
145 - The Black Panther Party - "Why Huey" - *The Black Panther* - Sunday, May 25, 1969 - Vol 3 No 5, page 2
146 - Austin, Andrew - "Open Letter to Ronald Reagan" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, May 31, 1969, page 15
147 - Moore, Richard - "Letters from Jail" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, June 7, 1969 - Vol 21 No 7 1969, page 11
148 - Shakur, Afeni O. - "Letters from Jail" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, June 7, 1969 - Vol 2I No7 1969, page 10
149 - The Black Panther Party - "Deputy Chairman Fred Hampton Taken Political Prisoner" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, June 7, 1969 - Vol 2I No 7 1969, page 6
150 - The Black Panther Party - "Universities Belong to the People" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, June 14, 1969, page 17
151 - The Black Panther Party - "The PLP vs. the People" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, August 2, 1969, page 9
152 - Lieutenant Eugene Charles - "Conspiracy's Victims: Who are the Real Conspirators" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, October 4, 1969 - Vol 3 No 24, page 3
153 - The Black Panther Party - "American Democracy…From the Barrel of a Gun…" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, October 4, 1969, Vol 3 No 24, page 8
154 - The Black Panther Party - "Ignorance, Red Devils, and Revolution" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, October 4, 1969 - Vol 3 No 24, page 6
155 - The Black Panther Party - "The Stupid Revolution: Prey for Pigs" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, October 4, 1969 - Vol 3 No 24, page 5
156 - The Black Panther Party - "To My GI Brothers"- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, October 4, 1969 - Vol 3 No 24, page 4

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157 - Cleaver, Eldridge - "Statement to All Reactionary Journalists and Pressmen of the United States of America" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 2
158 - Cook, West - "A Short Scope on the Peace Movement" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 4
159 - Cook, West - "Meeting the Basic Needs of the People" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 10
160 - Hilliard, David - "What You Are Speak So Loud I Hardly Hear Anything You Say" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 6
161 - The Black Panther Party - "Bobby Kidnapped, Under the Fugitive Slave Law" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 4
162 - The Black Panther Party - "Fewer Pigs More Justice" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 6
163 - The Black Panther Party - "Theory and Practice" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 6
164 - The Black Panther Party - "Narcotics and the Illegitimate Capitalists"- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 9
165 - The Black Panther Party - "Sisters-Comrades at Arms"- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 4
166 - The Black Panther Party - "The Pigs Wore Black Robes"- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969-Vol 3 No 29, page 7
167 - The Black Panther Party - "White Brother" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, November 8, 1969 - Vol 3 No 29, page 11
168 - *Black Panther Coloring Book* - The Black Panther Party - No 4161
169 - Brown, H. Rap - *Die Nigger Die: A Political Autobiography* - New York: Dial
170 - Hampton, Fred - "Power Anywhere Where There's People" - Speech Delivered at Olivet Church, Chicago" - December 1969
171 - Williams, Landon - "The Black Panther: Mirror of the People" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, January 17, 1970
172 - The Black Panther Party - "National Salvation"- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, January 31, 1970 - Vol 4 No 8, page 5
173 - The Black Panther Party - "Pigs Run Amuck in Richmond, Calif."- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, January 31, 1970 - Vol 4 No 8, page 7
174 - Young, Roland - "Interview with Ron Dellums"- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, January 31, 1970 - Vol 4 No 8, page 6
175 - Carmichael, Stokely, "We Must Destroy the Capitalistic System Which Enslaves Us': Stokely Carmichael Advocates Black Revolution," *Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Testimony of Stokely Carmichael., United States Senate, 91st Congress, 2d Session, Monday, March 25, 1970* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1970)

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176 - Cleaver, Eldridge - "On the Pig-Hearted Nixon" - *The Black Panther* - Tuesday, May 19, 1970, Vol 4 No 25, page 2
177 - "From Resistance to Liberation," *The Black Panther: Black Community News Service* - Saturday, June 20, 1970, pages 17–18
178 - Lee, Henry - "The Necessity of Rewriting the Constitution"- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, August 15, 1970 - Vo l 5 No 7, page 12
179 - Mott, James - "The Death of an Ideology of the Constitution of the U.S.A." - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, August 15, 1970 - Vol 5 No 7, page 10
180 - Newton, Huey, "The Women's Liberation and Gay Liberation Movements" - Speech Given Saturday, August 15, 1970
181 - Shakur, Afeni - "We Will Have a New Constitution and Liberty or Revolutionary Suicide and Liberation" - *The Black Panther* - August 15, 1970 - Vol 5 No 7, page 11
182 - The Black Panther Party - "Black Woman Murdered by Racist Pig" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, August 15, 1970 - Vol 5 No 7, page 10
183 - The Black Panther Party - "Institution of Racism"- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, August 15, 1970 - Vol 5 No 7, page 6
184 - The Black Panther Party - "The Color Changes the Facts Remain the Same: A Pig, is a Pig, is a Pig" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, August 15, 1970 - Vol 5 No 7, page 10
185 - The Black Panther Party - "To the Black Panther Party and the People"- *The Black Panther* - Saturday, August 15, 1970 - Vol 5 No 7, page 12
186 - Viera, Johnny - "Racism and Prison"- T*he Black Panther* - Saturday, August 15, 1970 - Vol 5 No 7, page 6
187 - Newton, Huey - "Let Us Hold High the Banner of Intercommunalism and the Invincible Thoughts of Huey P. Newton, Minister of Defense and Supreme Commander of the Black Panther Party" - Sunday, November 18, 1970 - Message at Boston College, Stronghold Consolidated Productions, Inc., pages A-F
188 - Seale, Bobby - *Seize the Time: The Story of the Black Panther Party and Huey P. Newton* - New York: Random House
189 - Tabor, Michael "Cetewayo" - "Capitalism Plus Dope Equals Genocide" - Courtesy of the Michigan State University Library, Special Collections Division, Ann Harbor
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191 - Jackson, George, " Remembering the Real Dragon- An Interview with George Jackson May 16 and June 29, 1971," Interview by Karen Wald and published in *Cages of Steel: The Politics Of Imprisonment In The United States* (Edited by Ward Churchill and J.J. Vander Wall)

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192 - Davis, Angela Y., "Political Prisoners, Prisons, and Black Liberation" - May 1971 - Marin County Jail
193 - The Black Panther Party - "No Acres, One Dead Mule"- *The Black Panther* - Monday, August 9, 1971 - Vol 6 No 28, page 5
194 - The Black Panther Party - "Black Panther Party Headquarters Moving to Atlanta" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, September 18, 1971 - Vol 7 No 4, page 15
195 - Newton, Huey - "On the Murder of George Jackson: Excerpts from Eulogy" - Saturday, August 28, 1971
196 - The Black Panther Party - "Panthers Sweep Berkeley Elections!: Members of the Black Panther Party Win Four Seats in Berkeley Community Development Council Board of Directors Elections" - *The Black Panther* - Saturday, June 10, 1972 - Vol 8 No 12, pages 2, 12-13
197 - Shakur, Assata - "To My People: Radio Broadcast" - Wednesday, July 4, 1973
198 - The Black Panther - "We Want to Set Examples for the Little Children" - *The Black Panther: OCS Project* - Saturday, June 18, 1977, page 14
199 - Newton, Huey P. - *War Against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America (Dissertation)* - June 1980 - University of California: Santa Cruz, CA

Appendix A-2: Oakland, CA Rap Albums, 1985-1999
200 - Too $hort – "Don't Stop Rappin'" - *Don't Stop Rappin'* - 75 Girls Records and Tapes - Released in 1985, 40:24
201 - Too $hort – "Players" - *Players* - 75 Girls - Released in 1985, 44:23
202 - Too $hort – "Oakland, California" - *Raw, Uncut, X-Rated* - 75 Girls Present - Released in 1986, 40:22
203 - Too $hort – "Freaky Tales" - *Born to Mac* - Dangerous Music - Released in 1987, 51:22
204 - D-Loc – "Get Loc'd Out" - *Split Personality* - Big League Records, Inc. - Released in 1987, 46:04
205 - Too $hort – "Life Is…Too Short" - *Life is...Too $hort* - Jive - Released Sunday, January 31, 1988, 54:22
206 - 415 – "415in" - *41Fivin* - Big League Records, Inc. - Released in 1988, 55:44
207 - The Dangerous Crew – "Jail Bait (featuring Danger Zone)" - *Dangerous Crew* - Dangerous Music - Released in 1988, 35:04
208 - Tupac Shakur – "Panther Power" - *Beginnings: The Lost Tapes* - KOCH - Recorded 1988-1996 – Released Tuesday, June 12, 2007, 42:52
209 - Mac Dre – "Cold Cappa" - *Cold Cold Capper (Demo Tape)* - Released in 1989, 37:03
210 - Tupac Shakur – "Runnin' (Dying to Live) (featuring Notorious B.I.G.) - *Resurrection* - Amaru – Recorded 1989-1996 - Released Tuesday, November 11, 2003, 54:59

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211 - Digital Underground – "The Humpty Dance" - *Sex Packets* - Tommy Boy - Released Monday, March 26, 1990, 65:26
212 - Too $hort – "The Ghetto" - *$hort Dog's In The House* - Jive Records - Released Wednesday, August 1, 1990, 70:36
213 - Sway and King Tech – "Concrete Jungle (Album Version) - *Concrete Jungle* - Giant/Warner Bros. Records - Released in 1990, 66:54
214 - America's Most Wanted – "Gangster Shit" - *Criminals* - Triad Records - Released in 1990, 43:24
215 - Richie Rich – "Don't Do It" - *Don't Do It* - Big League Records, Inc. - Released in 1990, 48:03
216 - Master P – "Get Away Clean" - *Get Away Clean* - In-A-Minute - Released Sunday, March 10, 1991, 51:25
217 - Digital Underground – "Same Song (featuring Tupac Shakur)" - *This Is An E.P. Release* - Tommy Boy - Released Monday, July 1, 1991, 33:09
218 - 415 – "Nu Niggaz on the Blockkk" - *Nu Niggaz on Tha Blokkk* - Priority Records - Released Thursday, October 3, 1991, 46:08
219 - Digital Underground – "Kiss You Back" - *Sons Of The P* - Tommy Boy - Released Tuesday, October 15, 1991, 64:40
220 - Del tha Funky Homosapien – "Ahonetwo, Ahonetwo" - *I Wish My Brother George Was Here* - Elektra Records - Released Tuesday, October 22, 1991, 48:27
221 - Raw Fusion – "Hip hop/Stylee Expression" - *Live From The Styleetron* - Hollywood Records - Released Tuesday, November 12, 1991, 71:11
222 - Tupac Shakur – "Trapped" - *2Pacalypse Now* - Jive/ Interscope/ Priority - Released Tuesday, November 12, 1991, 55:00
223 - Mac Dre – "California Livin'" - *California Livin' EP (Demo EP)* - Released in 1991, 23:44
224 - Mhisani – "Call It Like I See It" - *Call It Like I See It* - Timbktu Creations - Released in 1991, 64:02
225 - Master P – "Mama's Bad Boy" - *Mama's Bad Boy* - In-A-Minute - Released Thursday, April 30, 1992, 50:18
226 - The Click – "Tired of Being Stepped On" - *Down and Dirty* - Sick Wid It - Released Thursday, May 7, 1992, 65:04
227 - Spice 1 – "Welcome to the Ghetto" - *Spice 1* - Jive - Released Tuesday, May 12, 1992, 56:38
228 - N2Deep – "Back to the Hotel" - *Back to the Hotel* - Profile Records - Released Monday, June 1, 1992, 55:55
229 - Too $hort – "In the Trunk" - *$horty the Pimp* - Jive Records - Released Tuesday, July 14, 1992, 65:15
230 - E-40 – "Federal" - *Federal* - Sick Wid It/ Jive - Released Wednesday, November 4, 1992 - Reissued Tuesday, June 28, 1994, 46:07

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231 - Dangerous Dame – "Same Ole Dame" - *Same Ole Dame* - T-Cap Records - Released in 1992, 44:26
232 - E-A-Ski – "One Step Ahead of Y'all" - *1 Step Ahead Of Y'all* - In-A-Minute - Released in 1992, 36:30
233 - Mac Dre – "Back N Da Hood" - *Back N' Da Hood* - Thizz – Released in, 31:28
234 - Mac Dre – "What's Really Going On?" - *What's Really Going On* - Strictly Business - Released in 1992, 31:55
235 - Ray Luv – "Who Can Be Trusted" - *Who Can Be Trusted?* - Strictly Business Records - Released in 1992, 29:29
236 - The Delinquents – "The Alleyway" - *Alleyway (EP)* - Dank or Die Records - Released Thursday, December 31, 1992, 22:53
237 - The Delinquents – "Delinquents" - *Insane (EP)* - Dank or Die Records - Released in 1992, 36:40
238 - TRU – "Understanding the Mind of a Criminal" - *Understanding the Criminal Mind* - In-A-Minute Records/ No Limit Records - Released in 1992, 40:23
239 - Tupac Shakur – "R U Still Down? (Remember Me)" - *R U Still Down (Discs 1 + 2)* - Amaru/ BMG/ Jive Records – Recorded 1992-1996 - Released Tuesday, November 25, 1997, 102:47
240 - Seagram – "The Dark Roads" - *The Dark Roads* - Rap-A-Lot/ Priority - Released Tuesday, January 19, 1993, 57:31
241 - Tupac Shakur – "Strictly 4 My Niggaz" - *Strictly 4 My N.I.G.G.A.Z.* - Atlantic/ Interscope Records - Released Tuesday, February 16, 1993, 63:55
242 - The Coup – "Kill My Landlord" - *Kill My Landlord* - Wild Pitch/ EMI Records - Released Tuesday, May 4, 1993, 61:02
243 - D-Shot – "Punk Ass Nigga" - *The Shot Calla* - Sick Wid It/ Jive - Released Monday, June 7, 1993, 48:41
244 - Dru Down – "Fools From the Street" - *Fools from the Streets* - C-Note Records - Released Tuesday, June 15, 1993, 58:42
245 - Mac Mall – "Illegal Business" - *Illegal Business?* - Young Black Brotha - Released Monday, July 12, 1993, 74:45
246 - B-Legit – "Tryin' To Get a Buck" - *Tryin' to Get a Buck* - Sick Wid It Records - Released Monday, July 12, 1993, 53:21
247 - Souls of Mischief – "93 'Til Infinity" - *93 'til Infinity* - Jive Records - Released Tuesday, September 28, 1993, 54:38
248 - Digital Underground – "The Return of the Crazy One" - *The Body Hat Syndrome* - Tommy Boy - Released Tuesday, October 5, 1993, 74:47
249 - Too $hort – "Get In Where You Fit In" - *Get in Where You Fit in* - Jive Records - Released Tuesday, October 23, 1993, 72:18
250 - Del the Funkee Homosapien – "No Need for Alarm" - *No Need for Alarm* - Elektra Records - Released Tuesday, November 23, 1993, 53:51

Appendix A-2: Oakland, CA Rap Albums, 1985-1999
251 - FM Blue – "Oakland Styles" - *Oakland Styles* - Cell Block Records - Released Monday, November 29, 1993, 40:37
252 - The Conscious Daughters – "Somethin' to Ride to (Fonky Expedition)" - *Ear to the Street* - Scarface Records/ Priority Records - Released Tuesday, November 30, 1993, 39:14
253 - Mac Dre – "Young Black Brotha" - *Young Black Brotha* - Strictly Business Records - Released in 1993, 74:24
254 - Raw Fusion – "Hoochiefied Funk" - *Hoochiefied Funk* - Hollywood Records - Released in 1993, 57:55
255 - TRU – "Who's Da Killa" - *Who's Da Killer?* - Me & Mine Records/ No Limit Records - Released in 1993, 44:57
256 - Casual – "Chained Minds" - *Fear Itself* - Jive - Released Tuesday, February 1, 1994, 49:21
257 - Master P – "The Ghettos Tryin to Kill Me!" - *The Ghettos Tryin to Kill Me* - No Limit - Released Thursday, March 31, 1994, 64:58
258 - Ant Banks – "The Big Badass" - *The Big Badass* - Jive - Released Tuesday, May 10, 1994, 54:56
259 - N2Deep – "24-7-365" - *24-7-365* - Bust It - Released Monday, June 1, 1994, 68:24
260 - Dru Down – "Pimp of the Year" - *Explicit Game* - Relativity Records - Released Tuesday, September 6, 1994, 71:01
261 - Tupac Shakur – "Cradle to the Grave" – *T.H.U.G. L.I.F.E. Vol. 1* - Interscope/ Atlantic Records - Released Monday, September 26, 1994, 42:28
262 - The Coup – "Fat Cats, Bigga Fish" - *Genocide and Juice* - Wild Pitch/ EMI Records - Released Thursday, October 13, 1994, 51:34
263 - Saafir - "Battle Drill" - *Boxcar Sessions* – Qwest/ Reprise/ Warner Bros. Records - Released Tuesday, October 24, 1994, 58:38
264 - Celly Cel – "Heat 4 Yo Azz" - *Heat 4 Yo Azz* - Sick Wid It Records - Released Tuesday, October 24, 1994, 57:50
265 - Goldy – "In the Land of Funk" - *In the Land of Funk* - Jive - Released Tuesday, October 24, 1994, 63:22
266 - Spice 1 – "Strap On the Side" - *AmeriKKKa's Nightmare* - Jive - Released Tuesday, November 22, 1994, 66:02
267 - Blackalicious – "Swan Lake" - *Melodica* - Nu Gruv/ Solesides - Released Saturday, December 31, 1994, 57:36
268 - Mystik Journeymen – "Body and Mind" - *4001: The Stolen Legacy* - Meanstreet - Released in 1994, 34:46
269 - Vitamin C – "B.F.O. (Brother From Oakland)" - *A Shot In The Dark* - Fos-Glo - Released in 1994, 61:15
270 - Too $hort – "Cocktales" - *Cocktails* - Jive - Released Tuesday, January 24, 1995, 67:35

Appendix A-2: Oakland, CA Rap Albums, 1985-1999
271 - Master P – "99 Ways to Die" - *99 Ways To Die* - No Limit, Priority - Released Tuesday, February 7, 1995, 51:51
272 - Dangerous Dame – "Live Everyday (featuring Holy Quran)" - *Escape From The Mental Ward* - No Limit/ Priority - Released Tuesday, February 28, 1995, 28:08
273 - Tupac Shakur – "Me Against the World (featuring Dramacydal)" - *Me Against The World* - Amaru/ Jive/ Interscope/ Atlantic/ Warner Bros. Records - Released Tuesday, March 14, 1995, 65:57
274 - D-Shot – "I Puts it Down (featuring Havok and Prodigy)" - *Presents Boss Ballin': Best in the Business* - Shot Records - Released Tuesday, April 4, 1995, 61:53
275 - Seagram – "The Town" - *Reality Check* - Rap-A-Lot/ Priority - Released Monday, April 24, 1995, 60:23
276 - Luniz – "I Got 5 On It" - *Operation Stackola* - Virgin/ Noo Trybe - Released Sunday, June 4, 1995, 66:34
277 - Black Dynasty – "Deep East Oakland (95 Style)" - *Deep East Oakland* - Another Hit Records - Released Tuesday, June 6, 1995, 42:12
278 - TRU – "I'm 'Bout it, 'Bout it" - *TRUE* - No Limit Records/ Priority Records - Released Tuesday, July 25, 1995, 73:49
279 - Ray Luv – "Forever Hustlin'" - *Forever Hustlin'* - Atlantic - Released Tuesday, August 1, 1995, 72:55
280 - 3x Krazy – "Sick-O (featuring Seagram and Gangsta P)" - *Sick-O* - Str8 Game Records - Released Tuesday, September 5, 1995, 36:17
281 - Souls of Mischief – "No Man's Land" - *No Man's Land* - Jive Records - Released Tuesday, October 10, 1995, 58:18
282 - Ant Banks – "Do Or Die" - *Do Or Die* - Jive - Released Tuesday, October 24, 1995, 46:03
283 - The Click –"Wolf Tickets" - *Game Related* - Sick Wid It - Released Tuesday, November 7, 1995, 63:06
284 - The Dangerous Crew – "Don't Try This At Home" - *Don't Try This At Home* - Dangerous - Released Tuesday, November 21, 1995, 72:20
285 - Spice 1 – "1990-Sick (Kill 'Em All) (featuring MC Eiht)" - *1990-Sick* - Jive - Released Tuesday, December 5, 1995, 66:38
286 - America's Most Wanted – "Oakland Niggaz Ride (featuring YGB)" - *The Real Mobb* - Shot Records - Released in 1995, 70:28
287 - Rappin' Ron & Ant Diddley Dog – "I'm a Bad N-Fluenz" - *Bad-N-Fluenz* - Action Music - Released in 1995, 74:50
288 - The Delinquents – "Gotta Go (featuring G-Stack, V-White, and Askari X)" - *Outta Control* - Dank or Die Records - Released in 1995, 35:13
289 - The Harvest – "The Harvest" - *Closed Caption* - Ice Chamber Records – Released in1995, 42:02
290 - Richie Rich – "Ruff Neckin" - *Half Thang* - Shot Records - Released Wednesday, January 31, 1996, 39:02

Appendix A-2: Oakland, CA Rap Albums, 1985-1999
291 - Tupac Shakur – "All Eyez On Me" - *All Eyez On Me (Books 1 + 2)* - Death Row Records - Released Tuesday, February 13, 1996, 132:04
292 - Various Artists – "Expect the Unexpected (featuring Mr. Ill, FM Blue, Bad-n-Fluenz)" - *Cell Block Compilation* - Cell Block Records/ Priority Record – Released Tuesday, March 26, 1996, 68:46
293 - Dru Down – "Can You Feel Me" - *Can You Feel Me* - C-Note/ Epic/ Relativity Records/ Sony Music Entertainment, Inc. - Released Tuesday, September 3, 1996, 73:32
294 - 4080 Hip-hop Magazine - "Cuddies (featuring Mac Mall)" - *4080 Hip Hop Magazine: Volume 1 Mobbin' Thru The Bay! (2002 Reissue)* - 4080 Hip-hop Magazine - Released in 1996, 60:48
295 - 3x Krazy – "Stackin Chips" - *Stackin' Chips* - Virgin - Released Tuesday, April 8, 1997, 75:52
296 - Luniz – "Highest Niggaz In the Industry (featuring E-40 and B-Legit)" - *Lunitik Musik* - Noo Tribe - Released Tuesday, January 20, 1998, 74:01
297 - The Coup – "Me and Jesus The Pimp in a '79 Granada Last Night" - *Steal This Album* - Dogday Records - Released Tuesday, November 10, 1998, 59:08
298 - 3x Krazy – "Immortalize (featuring Mobbfigaz)" - *Immortalized* - Big Block Records - Released Tuesday, June 22, 1999, 73:49
299 - E-40 – "Big Ballin' With My Homies" - *Charlie Hustle: The Blueprint of a Self-Made Millionaire* - Sick Wid It/ Jive - Released Wednesday, August 18, 1999, 74:07

Appendix A-3: Oakland, CA Rap Singles, 2000-2010
300 - B-Legit - *Hempin' Ain't Easy* - 04 - "Destiny" - Koch Records - Released Tuesday, November 9, 1999, 4:27
301 - B-Legit - *Hempin' Ain't Easy* - 06 - "The Game Is Cold (featuring Snoop Doggy Dogg)" - Koch Records - Released Tuesday, November 9, 1999, 4:09
302 - B-Legit - *Hempin' Ain't Easy* - 07 - "It's in the Game" - Koch Records - Released Tuesday, November 9, 1999, 4:52
303 - B-Legit - *Hempin' Ain't Easy* - 12 - "Where the Gangstas At (featuring Kurupt & Mack 10)" - Koch Records - Released Tuesday, November 9, 1999, 3:03
304 - Lucy Peal - *Lucy Pearl* - 14 - "You (featuring Q-Tip and Snoop Dogg)" - Virgin, EMI Europe Generic - Released Monday, May 22, 2000, 4:26
305 - Andre Nickatina - *The Daiquiri Factory (Cocaine Raps Vol. 2)* - 12 - "Fears of a Coke Lord" - I-Khan Distribution - Released Tuesday, June 6, 2000, 2:13
306 - Jay Tee - *So Cold* - 04 - "So Cold" - 40 Ounce Ent. - Released Thursday, June 14, 2001, 4:04
307 - Living Legends - *Almost Famous* - 02 - "Night Prowler (featuring Slug)" - Legendary Music - Released Wednesday, October 10, 2001, 3:59

Appendix A-3: Oakland, CA Rap Singles, 2000-2010
308 - Andre Nickatina & Nick Peace - *Present Hell's Kitchen* - 09 - "State to State" - Million Dollar Dream - Released Tuesday, January 15, 2002, 3:30
309 - Andre Nickatina - *Midnight Machine Gun Rhymes and Adlibs* - 02 - "Jungle" - I-Khan Distribution - Released Friday, March 22, 2002, 4:45
310 - Luniz - *Silver & Black* - 04 - "Oakland Raiders (featuring Mark Curry)" - Rap-A-Lot Records - Released Tuesday, August 13, 2002, 4:55
311 - Del - *One Big Trip (OST)* - 11 - "One Big Trip" - Hieroglyphics - Released Tuesday, August 27, 2002, 3:12
312 - Keak da Sneak - *Copium* - 02 - "T-Shirt, Blue Jeans, & Nikes (featuring E-40)" - Digital Rights Agency - Released Tuesday, September 23, 2003, 3:24
313 - Keak da Sneak - *Copium* - 03 - "Hi-Volume" - Digital Rights Agency - Released Tuesday, September 23, 2003, 3:58
314 - Keak da Sneak - *Copium* - 11 - "I Don't Wanna Go" - Digital Rights Agency - Released Tuesday, September 23, 2003, 3:43
315 - Keak da Sneak - *Copium* - 13 - "Love Da Kids" - Digital Rights Agency - Released Tuesday, September 23, 2003, 3:53
316 - Baby Bash - *The Smokin' Nephew* - 01 - "Suga Suga" - Umvd Labels - Released Tuesday, September 23, 2003, 4:01
317 - Hieroglyphics - *Full Circle* - 05 - "Shift Shape" - Hieroglyphics Imperium - Released Tuesday, October 7, 2003, 5:23
318 - Mac Dre - *Ronald Dregan: Dreganomics* - 07 - "Since '84" - Sumo/Thizz Entertainment - Released Tuesday, July 20, 2004, 4:10
319 - The Team - *The Negro League* - 03 - "All For Team" - Moe Doe Entertainment - Released Tuesday, August 24, 2004, 3:14
320 - The Team - *The Negro League* - 09 - "I'm On One" - Moe Doe Entertainment - Released Tuesday, August 24, 2004, 4:51
321 - E-40 - *The Best of E-40: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* - 12 - "Gas, Break, Dip (featuring The Federation)" - Jive - Released Tuesday, August 24, 2004, 5:05
322 - E-40 - *The Best of E-40: Yesterday, Today, and Tomorrow* - 14 - "Thick & Thin (featuring Lil' Mo)" - Jive - Released Tuesday, August 24, 2004, 4:23
323 - Federation - *Federation The Album* - 03 - "Hyphy (featuring E-40)" - Virgin - Released Tuesday, October 5, 2004, 4:47
324 - Mac Dre - *Don't Hate the Player, Hate the Game #2* - 08 - "Thizzle Dance" - Thizz Nation - Released Tuesday, May 17, 2005, 4:04
325 - Mistah F.A.B. - *Son of a Pimp* - 11 - "Super Sic Wit It (featuring Turf Talk and E-40)" - Faeva Afta - Released Tuesday, May 17, 2005, 3:30
326 - Mistah F.A.B. - *Son of a Pimp* - 15 - "New Oakland (featuring G-Stack and Bavgate)" - Faeva Afta - Released Tuesday, May 17, 2005, 3:47
327 - Nump - *The Nump Yard* - 07 - "I Gott Grapes (featuring E-40 and The Federation)" - Bay Luv Records - Released Saturday, August 27, 2005, 3:39

Appendix A-3: Oakland, CA Rap Singles, 2000-2010
328 - Keak da Sneak - *That's My Word* - 10 - "Super Hyphie (Remix) (featuring Mistah F.A.B., G-Stack, Rydah J. Klyde, Dubee, P.S.D.)" - Sumday Entertainment - Released Tuesday, September 13, 2005, 3:44
329 - Little Bruce - *Thizz Nation Vol. 4 Disc 1* - 06 - "Scraper, Scraper (featuring Turf Talk)" - Sumo/Thizz Nation - Released Tuesday, October 18, 2005, 3:37
330 - Andre Nickatina & Equipto - *Gun-Mouth 4 hire Horns and Halos #2* - 12 - "4 am - Bay Bridge Music" - Fillmoe Coleman Records - Released Tuesday, November 15, 2005, 3:39
331 - Clyde Carson - *Messy Marv Presents West Coast Gangsta V. 16 2CD Pack* - Disk 2 - 08 - "Hyphy Juice" - Siccness.net - Released in 2005, 3:20
332 - E-40 - *My Ghetto Report Card* - 02 - "Tell Me When to Go (featuring Keak da Sneak)" - Reprise - Released Tuesday, March 14, 2006, 3:57
333 - E-40 - *My Ghetto Report Card* - 13 - "U and Dat (featuring T-Pain and Kandi Girl)" - Reprise - Released Tuesday, March 14, 2006, 3:22
334 - The Team - *World Premiere* - 08 - "Good Girl (featuring Angelina)" - Rex Recording - Released Thursday, April 6, 2006, 3:38
335 - Champ Bailey - *Bailey* - 06 - "U-C-It (featuring J Valentine)" - City Boyz Muzik - Released Tuesday, April 18, 2006, 3:18
336 - Lil Jon & The Eastside Boyz - *Snap Yo Fingers (Single)* - 01 - "Snap Yo Fingers (featuring E-40 and Sean Paul of Youngbloodz)" - TVT Records - Released Tuesday, May 2, 2006, 4:36
337 - Scweez - *The Stupid, Dumb, Hyphy, Stack Music CD* - 12 - "Stupid,dumb,hyphy (featuring Mistah F.A.B.)" - Stack Up Ent - Released Tuesday, May 16, 2006, 3:13
338 - The A'z - *Yadadamean (Single)* - 01 - "Yadadamean" - The Orchard - Released Tuesday, September 22, 2006, 3:46
339 - Traxamillion - *The Slapp Addict* - 01 - "Getcha Ass Up (featuring Smitty Grands)" - Slapp Addict Productions LLC - Released Tuesday, August 22, 2006, 2:58
340 - Traxamillion - *The Slapp Addict - 04* - "The Sideshow (featuring Too $hort and Mistah F.A.B.)" - Slapp Addict Productions LLC - Released Tuesday, August 22, 2006, 2:08
341 - Traxamillion - *The Slapp Addict* - 05 - "Bring it Back" - Slapp Addict Productions LLC - Released Tuesday, September 22, 2006, 3:28
342 - Traxamillion - *The Slapp Addict* - 06 - "Grown Man (Remix) (featuring Dem Hoodstarz, Mistah F.A.B., Turf Talk, San Quinn, and Clyde Carson)" - Slapp Addict Productions LLC - Released Tuesday, August 22, 2006, 3:05
343 - Traxamillion - *The Slapp Addict* - 08 - "From the Hood (featuring Husalah, Jacka, and San Quinn)" - Slapp Addict Productions LLC - Released Tuesday, August 22, 2006, 4:07
344 - Traxamillion - *The Slapp Addict* - 14 - "Skrape" - Slapp Addict Productions LLC - Released Tuesday, August 22, 2006, 3:33

Appendix A-3: Oakland, CA Rap Singles, 2000-2010
345 - Too $hort - *Blow the Whistle* - 03 - "Blow the Whistle" - Jive - Released Tuesday, August 29, 2006, 2:46
346 - Too $hort - *Blow the Whistle* - 03 - "Burn Rubber Part 2" - Jive - Released Tuesday, August 29, 2006, 3:08
347 - Dem Hoodstarz - *Band-Aide & Scoot* - 04 - "How We Do" - MB Recordings - Released Tuesday, September 12, 2006, 3:14
348 - Zion I & Grouch - *Heroes in the City of Dope* - 02 - "Hit 'Em (featuring Mistah F.A.B.)" - Om Records - Released Tuesday, October 10, 2006, 3:39
349 - Scweez - *Da Dummy Retarded Mexican* - 17 - "Da Yellow Bus (featuring Mistah F.A.B.)" - Stack Up Records - Released Tuesday, October 17, 2006, 3:48
350 - Brooke Hogan - *Undiscovered* - 01 "About Us (featuring E-40, Paul Wall, and Traxamillion)" - SoBe Entertainment - Released Tuesday, October 24, 2006, 4:07
351 - Keak da Sneak - *Thizz Iz Allndadoe* - 02 - "Stunna Shadez On" - Thizz Ent.- Released Tuesday, November 7, 2006, 3:22
352 - Messy Marv - *What You Know Bout Me? Part 2* - 02 - "Playing Wit My Nose" - Scalen - Released Tuesday, December 5, 2006, 2:43
353 - The Pack - *Skateboards 2 Scrapers Ep* - 04 - "Dum Didi Dum (featuring Too $hort)" - Up All Night Music - Released Tuesday, December 5, 2006, 2:42
354 - The Pack - *Skateboards 2 Scrapers Ep* - 08 - "Vans Remix (featuring Too $hort and Mistah F.A.B.)" - Up All Night Music - Released Tuesday, December 5, 2006, 3:12
355 - Mac Dre & Andre Nickatina - *Tale of II Andres* - 05 - "Toyz (Unreleased)" - Thizz Entertainment - Released in 2006, 2:04
356 - Kaz Kyzah - *The Go-Fessiona*l - 11 - "I Need A Beat (featuring Clyde Carson)" - Mogal Media group/Rapbay/Urban Life Music - Released Monday, January 1, 2007 - 2:50
357 - Keak da Sneak - *Hyphy Beats Vol. 2* - "Tell Me When to Stop (featuring Haji Springer)" - Fairfax Music group - Released Tuesday, June 5, 2007, 3:31
358 - Too $hort - *I Love the Bay* - 12 - "Yes Sir (featuring The Pack)" - UAN Music - Released Tuesday, July 10, 2007, 3:21
359 - Federation - *It's Whateva* - 03 - "18 Dummy" - Warner Brothers - Released Tuesday, July 17, 2007, 3:31
360 - Federation - *It's Whateva* - 04 - "Get Naked You Beezy" - Warner Brothers - Released Tuesday, July 17, 2007, 3:49
361 - Traxamillion - *The Slapp Addict - Producers Cut Ep - 02* - "Do It" - Slapp Addict Productions LLC - Released Tuesday, August 28, 2007, 2:51
362 - Clyde Carson - *Doin' That* - 01 - "Doin' That (featuring Sean Kingston)" - Capitol Records - Released Tuesday, September 4, 2007, 3:55
363 - Kafani - *Money's My Motivation* - 03 - "Fast (like A Nascar)" - KOCH Records - Released Tuesday, September 11, 2007, 3:58

Appendix A-3: Oakland, CA Rap Singles, 2000-2010
364 - Keak da Sneak - *Greatest Hits* - 02 - "Super Hyphy" - Alln Da Doe, LLC - Released Tuesday, September 18, 2007, 3:05
365 - Too $hort - *Get off the Stage* - 03 - "This My One (featuring E-40)" - Jive - Released Tuesday, December 4, 2007, 3:46
366 - Hoozstarz - *The Remix vs. The Original* - 18 - "Grown Man (featuring Mistah F.A.B., Lil Scrappy, Yukmouth, Game, San Quinn, Trillvillie, Various Artists)" - The Assembly Line - Released Thursday, January 17, 2008, 3:54
367 - Luniz - *The Remix vs. The Original* - 01 - "I Got 5 On It (Remix) (featuring Dru Down, Numskull, Richie Rich, Mike Marshall, E-40, Shock G, and Spice 1)" - The Assembly Line - Released Thursday, January 17, 2008, 4:12
368 - Keak da Sneak - *Deified* - 04 - "That Go (Remix) (featuring Prodigy and Alchemist)" - KOCH Records - Released Tuesday, February 19, 2008, 3:41
369 - Keak da Sneak - *Deified* - 10 - "Noting Without You (featuring Messy Marv and Matt Blaque)" - KOCH Records - Released Tuesday, February 19, 2008, 3:39
370 - Keak da Sneak - *Deified* - 14 - "N Fronta Ya Mama House" - KOCH Records - Released Tuesday, February 19, 2008, 3:33
371 - Snoop Dogg - *Ego Trippin'* - 07 - "Life of Da Party (featuring Too $hort and Mistah F.A.B.)" - Geffen - Released Tuesday, March 11, 2008, 4:24
372 - Izz Thizz - *Hundreds on Top Ep (Presented by Official Entertainment & Bounce House)* - 06 - "Gas Skrape" - Low Self Discipline - Released Saturday, March 29, 2008, 2:40
373 - Sky Balla - *Tycoon Status* - 17 - "Mobbin' All Day (featuring E-40 and San Quinn)" - Tycoon Status Entertainment - Released Tuesday, April 1, 2008, 4:32
374 - The Jacka - *Welcome to da Slap House* - 13 - "All Over Me (featuring Matt Blaque)" - Cd One.net - Released Friday, August 1, 2008, 3:31
375 - Rydah J. Klyde - *Slaphouse Vol. 2 - 09* - "San Francisco Anthem (featuring San Quinn, Big Rich, and Bod Banga)" - Capital King Ent. - Released Wednesday, August 20, 2008, 5:01
376 - Beeda Weeda - *Da Thizzness* - 13 - "I Don't Ghostride (featuring Shady Nate and Kaz Kyzah)" - SMC Recordings/Town Thizzness - Released Tuesday, August 26, 2008, 4:06
377 - J-Diggs - *Ghostride the Whip* - 01 - "Ghost Ride It (featuring Mistah F.A.B. and Dem Hoodstarz)" - Thizz Ent. - Released Tuesday, September 23, 2008, 3:50
378 - E-40 - *The Ball Street Journal* - 08 - "Hustle (featuring Turf Talk and R. City)" - Reprise - Released Monday, November 10, 2008, 4:17
379 - San Quinn - *From a Boy to a Man* - 18 - "Do Ya Thizzle" - SMC Recordings, Released Monday, November 24, 2008, 3:34
380 - Federation - *I Wear My Stunna Glasses at Night (CDS)* - 01 - "I Wear My Stunna Glasses at Night (featuring E-40)" - Federation - Released Thursday, May 14, 2009, 4:15

Appendix A-3: Oakland, CA Rap Singles, 2000-2010
381 - Jay Tee - *Money in the Streets* - 04 - "Hundred Grand" - 40 Ounce Records - Released Tuesday, February 16, 2010, 3:57
382 - Erk Tha Jerk - *Right Here Tha ep.* - 03 - "Right Here" - Red Planet Music group - Released Tuesday, February 23, 2010, 4:54
383 - E-40 - *Revenue Retrievin'- Day Shift* - 08 - "Fuck You Right (featuring J. Valentine)" - Heavy on the Grind Ent. - Released Tuesday, March 30, 2010, 3:58
384 - E-40 - Revenue Retrievin'- Day Shift - 13 - "Everyday is a Weekend (featuring Tha Jacka)" - Heavy on the Grind Ent. - Released Tuesday, March 30, 2010, 2:35
385 - E-40 - *Revenue Retrievin'- Day Shift* - 14 - "Got It" - Heavy on the Grind Ent. - Released Tuesday, March 30, 2010, 3:06
386 - E-40 - *Revenue Retrievin' - Night Shift* - 03 - "Can't Stop the Boss (featuring Jazze Pha, Snoop Dogg, Too $hort)" - Heavy on the Grind Ent. - Released Tuesday, March 30, 2010, 3:14
387 - E-40 - *Revenue Retrievin' - Night Shift* - 14 - "Turn Up the Music" - Heavy on the Grind Ent. - Released Tuesday, March 30, 2010, 3:27
388 - E-40 - *Revenue Retrievin' - Night Shift* - 18 - "The Server" - Heavy on the Grind Ent. - Released Tuesday, March 30, 2010, 3:10
389 - Andre Nickatina - *Khan! - The Me Generation* - 05 - "My Name is Money" - Fillmoe Coleman Records - Released Tuesday, April 20, 2010, 3:43
390 - Andre Nickatina - *Khan! - The Me Generation* - 07 - "Tony Montana" - Fillmoe Coleman Records - Released Tuesday, April 20, 2010, 3:28
391 - Andre Nickatina - *Yukmouth Presents - 420* - 05 - "Ayo for Yayo" - U.M.A. - Released Tuesday, April 20, 2010, 3:27
392 - Yukmouth - *Million Dollar Mouthpiece* - 04 - "Hey Boy (featuring Matt Blaque)" - Rap-A-Lot - Released Wednesday, July 14, 2010, 3:24
393 - Yukmouth - *Million Dollar Mouthpiece* - 05 - "My Turf" - Rap-A-Lot - Released Wednesday, July 14, 2010, 4:09
394 - Yukmouth - *Million Dollar Mouthpiece* - 07 - "Hate Me (featuring Matt Blaque)" - Rap-A-Lot - Released Wednesday, July 14, 2010, 4:14
395 - Hoodstarz - *The Tonight Show With the HoodStarz* - 03 - "Saggy Jean Era" - Fresh In the Flesh Music/Filmz - Released Friday, July 16, 2010, 3:36
396 - Hoodstarz - *The Tonight Show With the HoodStarz* - 09 - "Speedin' (featuring San Quinn and Big Seff)" - Fresh In the Flesh Music/Filmz - Released Friday, July 16, 2010, 3:41
397 - Hoodstarz - *The Tonight Show With the HoodStarz* - 13 - "Thang Cocked (featuring Yukmouth)" - Fresh In the Flesh Music/Filmz - Released Friday, July 16, 2010, 3:55
398 - Big Omeezy - *The Great Communicator* - 02 - "Parked (featuring E-40)" - O.L.H. Entertainment - Released Tuesday, July 27, 2010, 2:56
399 - Yukmouth - *United Ghettos of America* - 03 - "Welcome to the Bay" - Rap-A-Lot - Released Wednesday, September 22, 2010, 4:34

Appendix A-4: Billboard Rap Albums, 1985-1999
400 – New Edition – "Cool It Now" – *All for Love* – MCA Records – Released Friday, November 8, 1985, 45:14
401 – Ready for the World – "Oh Shelia" – *Ready for the World* – MCA Records – Released in 1985, 43:05
402 – Beastie Boys – "(You Gotta) Fight for Your Right (To Party!)" – *Licensed to Ill* – Def Jam/Columbia – Released Friday, November 15, 1986, 44:33
403 – Cameo – "Candy" – *Word Up* – Casablanca Records – Released in 1986, 34:46
404 – Eric B. – "Paid in Full" – *Paid in Full* – 4th & B'way/Island – Released Tuesday, July 7, 1987, 45:08
405 – Salt-N-Pepa – "Push It (Remix)" – *Hot, Cool, and Vicious* – Next Plateau Records – Released Monday, December 8, 1986
406 – Rob Base & D.J. E-Z Rock – "It Takes Two" – *It Takes Two* - Profile – Released Tuesday, August 9, 1988, 41:11
407 – Bobby Brown – "Don't Be Cruel" – *Don't Be Cruel* – MCA Records – Released Tuesday, June 20, 1988, 47:08
408 – Ice-T – "Power" – *Power* – Sire/Warner Bros. Records – Released Saturday, September 13, 1988, 47:53
409 – MC Lyte – "Cha Cha Cha" – *Eyes on This* – First Priority Music/Atlantic Records – Released Tuesday, September 12, 1989
410 – The D.O.C. – "It's Funky Enough" – *No One Can Do It Better* – Ruthless Records/Atlantic Recording Corporation – Released Friday, June 16, 1989, 47:59
411 – 3rd Bass – "The Gas Face" – *The Cactus Album* – Def Jam/Columbia/CBS Records – Released Monday, October 23, 1989, 65:46
412 – M.C. Hammer – "U Can't Touch This" – *Please Hammer Don't Hurt Em* – Capitol/EMI Records – Released Tuesday, February 20, 1990, 59:04
413 – LL Cool J – "Mama Said Knock You Out" - *Mama Said Knock You Out* - Def Jam/Columbia/CBS Records – Released Monday, August 27, 1990, 61:36
414 – Big Daddy Kane – "Cause I Can Do It Right" – *Taste of Chocolate* – Cold Chillin'/Reprise/Warner Bros. Records – Released Tuesday, October 30, 1990, 53:25
415 – Vanilla Ice – "Ice Ice Baby" – *To the Extreme* – SBK – Released Saturday, August 28, 1990, 57:22
416 – EPMD – "Gold Digger" – *Business as Usual* – Def Jam/RAL/Columbia – Released Saturday, December 15, 1990, 51:18
417 – Ice-T – "New Jack Hustler" – *New Jack City Soundtrack* – Giant/Reprise/Warner Bros. Records – Released Tuesday, March 5, 1991, 48:42
418 – Ice Cube – "How to Survive in South Central" – *Boyz N the Hood Soundtrack* – Qwest/Epic Soundtrax/Columbia Records – Released Tuesday, July 9, 1991, 59:32
419 – Heavy D – "Now That We Found Love" – *Peaceful Journey* – Uptown Records – Released Tuesday, July 2, 1991, 66:13

Appendix A-4: Billboard Rap Albums, 1985-1999
420 – Geto Boys – "Mind Playing Tricks on Me" – *We Can't Be Stopped* – Rap-A-Lot Records – Released Monday, July 1, 1991, 51:45
421 – Shabba Ranks – "Housecall (featuring Maxi Priest)" – *As Raw as Ever* – Epic – Released Tuesday, May 21, 1991, 44:35
422 – Public Enemy – "Can't Truss It" – *Apocalypse 91…The Enemy Strike Black* – Def Jam/Columbia – Released Thursday, October 3, 1991, 51:54
423 – Ice Cube – "Steady Mobbin" – *Death Certificate* – Priority/EMI Records – Released Tuesday, October 29, 1991, 61:08
424 – M.C. Hammer – "Too Legit to Quit" - *Too Legit to Quit* – Capitol/EMI Records – Released Tuesday, October 29, 1991, 89:00
425 – Cypress Hill – "How I Could Just Kill a Man" – *Cypress Hill* – Ruffhouse/Columbia/SME Records – Released Tuesday, August 13, 1991, 46:54
426 – Kris Kross – "Jump" – *Totally Krossed Out* – Ruffhouse Records – Released Tuesday, March 31, 1992, 39:33
427 – TLC – "Aint 2 Proud 2 Beg" – *Ooooooohhh…On the TLC Tip* – LaFace/Arista – Released Tuesday, February 25, 1992, 55:21
428 – Das EFX – "Mic Checka" – *Dead Serious* – East West – Released Tuesday, April 7, 1992, 38:43
429 – Arrested Development – "Tennessee" – *3 Years, 5 Months & 2 Days in the Life of…* - Chrysalis/EMI Records – Released Tuesday, March 24, 1992, 61:08
430 – Da Lench Mob – "Guerillas In Tha Mist" - *Guerillas In Tha Mist* – Street Knowledge – Released Tuesday, September 22, 1992, 41:24
431 – Ice Cube – "It Was a Good Day" – *The Predator* – Priority/EMI Records – Released Tuesday, November 17, 1992, 56:27
432 – Wreckx-N-Effect – "Rump Shaker" – *Hard or Smooth* – MCA Records – Released Tuesday, November 24, 1992, 46:04
433 – Dr. Dre – "Nothin' But a 'G' Thang" – *The Chronic* – Death Row/Interscope/Priority – Released Tuesday, December 15, 1992, 62:52
434 – Redman – "Blow Your Mind" – *Whut? Thee Album* – Def Jam – Released Tuesday, September 22, 1992, 51:42
435 – Public Enemy – "Tie Goes to the Runner" – *Greatest Misses* – Def Jam/Columbia/SME Records – Released Tuesday, September 15, 1992, 50:56
436 - EPMD – "Crossover" – *Business Never Personal* – Def Jam/Columbia – Released Tuesday, July 28, 1992, 38:58
437 – Mary J. Blige – "What's the 411?" - *What's the 411?* – Uptown/MCA Records – Released Tuesday, July 28, 1992, 51:59
438 – R. Kelly – "Honey Love" – *Born into the 90's* – Jive – Released Tuesday, January 14, 1992, 46:52
439 – MC Lyte – "Ice Cream Dream" – *Mo Money Soundtrack* – Perspective Records – Released Tuesday, June 23, 1992, 72:38

Appendix A-4: Billboard Rap Albums, 1985-1999
440 - Heavy D – "Who's the Man?" – *Blue Funk* – Uptown Records – Released Tuesday, January 12, 1993, 58:04
441 – Brand Nubian – "Punks Jump Up to Get Beat Down" – *In God We Trust* – Elektra – Released Tuesday, February 2, 1993, 55:32
442 – LL Cool J – "How I'm Comin" – *14 Shots to the Dome* – Def Jam/Columbia/Sony – Released Tuesday, June 1, 1993, 64:46
443 – Onyx – "Slam" – *Bacdafucup* – Jam Master Jay Records/Rush Associated Labels – Released Tuesday, March 30, 1993, 47:27
444 – Bo$$ - "Deeper" – *Born Gangstaz* – DJ West/Chaos/Columbia/SME Records – Released Monday, July 26, 1993, 44:29
445 – MC Eiht – "Streiht Up Menace" – *Menace II Society Soundtrack* – Jive – Released Wednesday, May 26, 1993, 66:28
446 – Tony Toni Tone – "If I Had No Loot" – *Sons of Soul* – Wing/Mercury – Released Tuesday, June 22, 1993, 68:54
447 – Scarface – "Let Me Roll" – *The World is Yours* – Rap-A-Lot Records – Released Tuesday, August 17, 1993, 69:48
448 – Cypress Hill – "Insane in the Brain" – *Black Sunday* – Ruffhouse/Columbia – Released Tuesday, July 20, 1993, 43:38
449 – Kris Kross – "Da Bomb" – *Da Bomb* – Ruffhouse/Columbia/SME Records – Released Tuesday, August 3, 1993, 36:33
450 – DRS – "Gangsta Lean" – *Gangsta Lean* – Capitol Records – Released Monday, October 25, 1993, 52:19
451 – A Tribe Called Quest – "Award Tour" – *Midnight Marauders* – Jive/BMG Records – Released Tuesday, November 9, 1993, 51:12
452 – Eazy-E – "Boyz N tha Hood (G-Mix) (featuring Gangsta Dresta) – *It's On (Dr. Dre 187um) Killa* – Ruthless/Relativity/Epic – Released Monday, October 25, 1993, 37:29
453 – Wu Tang Clan – "C.R.E.A.M." – *Enter the Wu-Tang (36 Chambers)* – Loud – Released Tuesday, November 9, 1993, 61:31
454 – KRS One – "Sound of Da Police" – *Return of the Boom Bap* – Jive Records – Released Tuesday, September 28, 1993, 55:47
455 – Snoop Doggy Dogg – "Who Am I (What's My Name)? – *Doggy Style* – Death Row/Interscope – Released Tuesday, November 23, 1993, 53:24
456 – Ice Cube – "Bop Gun (One Nation)" – *Lethal Injection* – Priority – Released Tuesday, December 7, 1993, 56:21
457 – Gang Starr – "Mass Appeal" – *Hard to Earn* – Chrysalis/EMI Records – Released Tuesday, March 8, 1994, 58:57
458 – Warren G and Nate Dogg – "Regulate" – *Above the Rim Soundtrack* – Death Row/Interscope Records – Released Tuesday, March 22, 1994, 77:47
459 – MC Eiht (featuring CMW) – "All for the Money" – *We Come Strapped* – Epic Street – Released Tuesday, July 19, 1994, 58:00

Appendix A-4: Billboard Rap Albums, 1985-1999
460 – Bone Thugs-N-Harmony – "Thuggish Ruggish Bone" – *Creepin On Ah Come Up (EP)* – Ruthless/Epic – Released Tuesday, June 21, 1994, 29:50
461 – The Notorious B.I.G. – "Juicy" – *Ready to Die* – Bad Boy – Released Tuesday, September 13, 1994, 68:58
462 – Craig Mack – "Flava In Ya Ear" – *Project: Funk Da World* – Bad Boy – Released Tuesday, September 20, 1994, 49:04
463 – Keith Murray – "The Most Beautifullest Thing in This World" - *The Most Beautifullest Thing in This World* – Jive – Released Tuesday, November 8, 1994, 46:47
464 – Redman – "Rockafella" – *Dare Iz a Darkside* – Def Jam – Released Tuesday, November 22, 1994, 64:03
465 – Salt-N-Pepa – "Shoop" – *Very Necessary* – Next Plateau Records London – Released Wednesday, October 12, 1993, 58:44
466 – Snoop Doggy Dogg – "Murder Was the Case" - *Murder Was the Case Soundtrack* - Death Row/Interscope – Released Saturday, October 15, 1994
467 – Ice Cube – "Check Yo Self" (Remix) – *Bootlegs & B-Sides* – Priority Records – Released Tuesday, November 22, 1994, 57:20
468 – Scarface – "I Seen a Man Die" – *The Diary* – Rap-A-Lot Records – Released Tuesday, October 18, 1994, 43:18
469 – Mista Grimm – "Situation: Grim" – *Higher Learning Soundtrack* – Epic Soundtrax – Released Tuesday, January 3, 1995, 59:56
470 – Smif-N-Wessun – "Bucktown" – *Dah Shinin* – Wreck Records – Released Tuesday, January 10, 1995, 67:35
471 – Naughty By Nature – "Feel Me Flow" – *Poverty's Paradise* – Tommy Boy – Released Tuesday, May 2, 1995, 62:41
472 – Method Man – "I'll Be There for You (You're All I Need to Get By" (featuring Mary J. Blige) – *Tical* – Def Jam – Released Tuesday, November 15, 1994, 43:49
473 – DJ Quik – "Safe + Sound" - *Safe + Sound* – Profile Records – Released Tuesday, February 21, 1995, 67:40
474 – Grand Puba – "I Like It (I Wanna Be Where You Are)" – *2000* – Elektra – Released Tuesday, June 20, 1995, 48:07
475 – Ol Dirty Bastard – "Shimmy Shimmy Ya" – *Return to the 36 Chambers* – Elektra – Released Tuesday, March 28, 1995, 66:05
476 – Dr. Dre – "Keep Their Heads Ringin'" – *Friday Soundtrack* – Priority – Released Tuesday, April 11, 1995, 64:08
477 – Domino – "Tales from the Hood (featuring Chill)" – *Tales from the Hood Soundtrack* – 40 Acres and a Mule Musicworks/MCA Soundtracks – Released Tuesday, May 9, 1995, 52:58
478 – Mack 10 – "Foe Life (featuring Ice Cube)" – *Mack 10* – Priority – Released Tuesday, June 20, 1995, 67:23

Appendix A-4: Billboard Rap Albums, 1985-1999
479 – Mobb Deep – "Shook Ones Pt. II" – *The Infamous* – Loud/RCA/BMG Records – Released Tuesday, April 25, 1995, 66:51
480 – Method Man and Redman – "How High" – *The Show Soundtrack* – Def Jam – Released Tuesday, August 15, 1995, 74:30
481 – Coolio – "Gangsta's Paradise" – *Dangerous Minds Soundtrack* – MCA – Released Thursday, August 10, 1995, 53:53
482 – Bone Thugs-N-Harmony – "Tha Crossroads" – *E. 1999 Eternal* – Ruthless/Relativity – Released Tuesday, July 25, 1995, 68:06
483 – OutKast – "Elevators (Me + You)" – *ATLiens* – LaFace/Arista – Released Tuesday, August 27, 1996, 58:31
484 – Cypress Hill – "Stoned Raiders" – *Cypress Hill III (Temple of Boom)* – Ruffhouse/Columbia/SME – Released Tuesday, October 31, 1995, 55:54
485 – Eightball – "On Top of the World" - *On Top of the World* – Suave House Records/Relativity Records – Released Wednesday, November 1, 1995, 70:51
486 – Junior M.A.F.I.A. – "Get Money" – *Conspiracy* – Undeas/Big Beat Records – Released Tuesday, August 29, 1995, 50:37
487 – LL Cool J – "Hey Lover" – *Mr. Smith* – Def Jam Recordings – Released Tuesday, November 21, 1995, 58:25
488 – Genius/GZA – "Cold World" – *Liquid Swords* – Geffen/MCA Records – Released Tuesday, November 7, 1995, 55:17
489 – Goodie Mob – "Cell Therapy" – *Soul Food* – LaFace – November 7, 1995, 61:02
490 – The Dogg Pound – "New York, New York" – *Dogg Food* – Death Row/Interscope – Released Tuesday, October 31, 1995, 71:25
491 – Kris Kross – "Tonite's tha Nite" – *Young, Rich and Dangerous* – Ruffhouse/Columbia/So So Def – Released Tuesday, January 9, 1996, 36:33
492 – Fugees – "Killing Me Softly" – *The Score* – Ruffhouse/Columbia – Released Tuesday, February 13, 1996, 73:32
493 – Nas – "If I Ruled the World (featuring Lauryn Hill)" – *It Was Written* – Columbia – Released Tuesday, July 2, 1996, 58:35
494 – Redman – "Whateva Man" – *Muddy Waters* – Def Jam – Released Tuesday, December 10, 1996, 67:30
495 – Scarface – "Smile" – *The Untouchable* - Rap-A-Lot Records – Released Tuesday, March 11, 1997, 55:19
496 – Mase – "Feel So Good" – *Harlem World* – Bad Boy Records – Released Tuesday, October 28, 1997, 66:04
497 – Jay-Z – "Hard Knock Life (Ghetto Anthem)" – *Vol. 2…Hard Knock Life* – Roc-A-Fella/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, September 29, 1998, 61:43
498 – Ja Rule – "Holla Holla" – *Venni Vetti Vecci* – Murder Inc./Def Jam – Released Tuesday, June 1, 1999, 76:17

Appendix A-4: Billboard Rap Albums, 1985-1999
499 - Hot Boys – "We on Fire" – *Guerrilla Warfare* – Cash Money/Universal – Released Tuesday, July 27, 1999, 70:30

Appendix A-5: Billboard Rap Singles, 2000-2010
500 – Will Smith – *Big Willie Style* - 03 - "Getting Jiggy With It" – Columbia – Released Tuesday, November 25, 1997, 3:48
501 – Lauren Hill – *The Miseducation of Lauryn Hill* – 05 – "Doo Wop (That Thing) (Single Edit)" - Ruffhouse/Columbia – Released Tuesday, August 25, 1998, 3:51
502 – Will Smith – *Wild Wild West Soundtrack* - 01 - "Wild Wild West" - Interscope – Released Tuesday, June 15, 1999, 4:08
503 – The Notorious B.I.G. – *Life After Death* – CD1 – 10 - "Mo' Money, Mo' Problems" – Bad Boy – Released Tuesday, March 25, 1997, 4:17
504 – Santana – *Maria Maria (CD Single)* – Side B – 03 - "Maria Maria (featuring Wyclef)" –Arista – Released Tuesday, November 23, 1999, 4:23
505 – Aaliyah – *Romeo Must Die Soundtrack* – 01 - "Try Again" –Blackground Records – Released Tuesday, March 28, 2000, 4:44
506 – OutKast – *Stankonia* – 05 - "Ms. Jackson" –LaFace/Arista – Released Tuesday, October 31, 2000, 4:30
507 – Shaggy – *Hot Shot* – 10 - "It Wasn't Me (featuring Ricardo "Rik Rok" Ducent)" – MCA Records – Released Tuesday, August 8, 2000, 3:47
508 – Ja Rule – *Pain Is Love* – 05 - "Always on Time (featuring Ashanti)" – Murder Inc./Def Jam – Released Tuesday, October 2, 2001, 4:05
509 – Nelly – *Nellyville* – 03 - "Hot in Herre" –Universal/Fo' Reel – Released Tuesday, June 25, 2002, 3:48
510 – Eminem – *8 Mile* Soundtrack – 01 - "Lose Yourself" - Shady/Interscope – Released Tuesday, October 29, 2002, 5:26
511 – Jenifer Lopez – *Ain't It Funny (CD Single)* – 01 - "Ain't It Funny (Murder Remix) (featuring Ja Rule and Caddillac Tah)" – Epic – Released Tuesday, July 3, 2001, 3:49
512 – B2K – *Pandemonium!* – 02 - "Bump, Bump, Bump (featuring P. Diddy)" – Epic – Released Tuesday, December 10, 2002, 4:47
513 – 50 Cent – *Get Rich or Die Tryin'* - 05 - "In Da Club" – Aftermath/Shady/Interscope – Released Tuesday, February 4, 2003, 3:14
514 – 50 Cent – *Get Rich or Die Tryin'* - 14 - "21 Questions (featuring Nate Dogg)" - Aftermath/Shady/Interscope – Released Tuesday, February 4, 2003, 3:44
515 – Beyonce – *Dangerously in Love* – 01 - "Crazy in Love (featuring Jay-Z)" – Columbia – Released Sunday, June 22, 2003, 3:56
516 – Nelly – *Bad Boys II Soundtrack* - 04 - "Shake YA Tailfeather (featuring P. Diddy and Murphy Lee)" - Bay Boy/Universal - Released Tuesday, July 15, 2003, 4:53

Appendix A-5: Billboard Rap Singles, 2000-2010
517 – Ludacris – *Chicken-n-Beer* – 03 - "Stand Up (featuring Shawnna)" – DTP/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, October, 7, 2003, 3:33
518 – OutKast – *Speakerboxx/The Love Below* – CD2 – 09 - "Hey Ya!" – LaFace/Arista – Released Tuesday, September 23, 2003, 3:55
519 – OutKast – *Speakerboxx/The Love Below* – CD1 – 05 - "The Way you Move (featuring Sleepy Brown)" - LaFace/Arista – Released Tuesday, September 23, 2003, 3:54
520 – Twista – *Kamikaze* – 04 - "Slow Jamz (featuring Kanye West)" – Atlantic – Released Tuesday, January 27, 2004, 3:32
521 – Usher - *Confessions* – 02 - "Yeah! (featuring Lil Jon and Ludacris)" – LaFace/Arista – Released Tuesday, March 23, 2004, 4:10
522 – Juvenile – *Juve the Great* – 17 - "Slow Motion (featuring Soulja Slim)" – Cash Money Records/UTP Records – Released Tuesday, December 23, 2003, 4:08
523 – Terror Squad – *True Story* – 04 - "Lean Back (featuring Fabolous)" – Terror Squad/SRC/Universal – Released Tuesday, July 27, 2004, 4:07
524 – Ciara – *Goodies* – 01 - "Goodies (featuring Petey Pablo)" – LaFace – Released Tuesday, September 28, 2004, 3:43
525 – Snoop Dogg – *R&G (Rhythm & Gangsta): The Masterpiece* – 03 - "Drop It Like It's Hot (featuring Pharrell)" – Star Trak/Geffen – Released Tuesday, November 16, 2004, 4:30
526 – 50 Cent – *The Massacre* – 07 - "Candy Shop (featuring Olivia)" – Aftermath/Interscope/Shady – Released Tuesday, August 30, 2005, 3:29
527 – Kanye West – *Late Registration* – 04 - "Gold Digger (featuring Jamie Foxx)" – Roc-A-Fella/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, August 30, 2005, 3:28
528 – D4L – *Down for Life* - 02 - "Laffy Taffy" – Ice Age Entertainment – Released Tuesday, November 8, 2005, 4:30
529 – Nelly – *Sweatsuit* – 15 - "Grillz (featuring Paul Wall, Ali & Gipp, and Brandi Williams)" – Derrty Ent./Universal – Released Tuesday, November 22, 2005, 4:30
530 – Beyonce – *#1's* – 05 - "Check on It (featuring Slim Thug)" – Columbia – Released Tuesday, October 25, 2005, 3:30
531 – Chamillionaire – *The Sound of Revenge* – 04 - "Ridin' (featuring Krayzie Bone)" – Chamillitary/Universal Records – Released Tuesday, November 22, 2005, 5:03
532 – Shakira – *Oral Fixation Vol. 2* – 03 - "Hips Don't Lie (featuring Wyclef Jean)" – Epic – Released Monday, November 28, 2005, 3:38
533 – Nelly Furtado – *Loose* - 03 - "Promiscuous (featuring Timbaland)" – Geffen/Mosley – Released Wednesday, June 7, 2006, 4:02
534 – Fergie – *The Dutchess* – 04 - "London Bridge" – A&M/will.i.am – Released Tuesday, September 19, 2006, 4:01
535 – Justin Timberlake – *Futuresex/Love Sounds* - 02 - "Sexyback (featuring Timbaland)" – Jive – Released Tuesday, September 12, 2006, 4:02

Appendix A-5: Billboard Rap Singles, 2000-2010
536 – Ludacris – *Release Therapy* - 03 - "Money Maker (featuring Pharrell)" – Disturbing tha Peace/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, September 26, 2006, 3:54
537 – Justin Timberlake – *Futuresex/Love Sounds* - 04 - "My Love (featuring T.I.)" - Jive – Released Tuesday, September 12, 2006, 4:36
538 – Akon – *Konvicted* – 04 - "I Wanna Love You (featuring Snoop Dogg)" – Konvict Muzik/Upfront/SRC/Universal Motown – Released Tuesday, November 14, 2006, 4:07
539 – Dem Franchize Boyz – *On Top of Our Game* – 02 - "I Think They Like Me (So So Def Remix) (featuring Jermaine Dupri, Da Brat, and Bow Wow)" – So So Def Recordings/Virgin – Released Tuesday, February 7, 2006, 4:49
540 – Juelz Santana – *What the Game's Been Missing!* – 19 - "There It Go! (The Whistle Song)" – Diplomat/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, November 22, 2005, 3:04
541 – Jamie Foxx – *Unpredictable* - 01 - "Unpredictable (featuring Ludacris)" – J – Released Monday, April 10, 2006, 3:39
542 – Purple Ribbon All-Stars – *Got Purp? Vol 2* – 04 - "Kryptonite (I'm On It) (featuring Big Boi)" – Purple Ribbon/Virgin – Released Tuesday, November 22, 2005, 4:32
543 – Busta Rhymes – *The Big Bang* - 02 - "Touch It" – Flipmode/Aftermath/Interscope – Released Tuesday, June 13, 2006, 3:34
544 – Dem Franchize Boyz – *On Top of Our Game* – 06 - "Lean Wit It, Rock Wit It (featuring Lil Peanut and Charlay)" – So So Def Recordings/Virgin – Released Tuesday, February 7, 2006, 3:51
545 – T-Pain – *Rappa Ternt Sanga* – 03 - "I'm N Luv (Wit A Stripper) (featuring Mike Jones)" – Konvict/Jive/Zomba – Released Tuesday, December 6, 2005, 4:25
546 – T.I. – *King* - 03 - "What You Know" – *King* – Grand Hustle/Atlantic – Released Tuesday, March 28, 2006, 4:34
547 – Three 6 Mafia – *Most Known Unknown* – 07 - "Poppin' My Collar" – Sony BMG – Released Tuesday, September 27, 2005, 2:56
548 – Bubba Sparxxx – *The Charm* – 10 – "Ms. New Booty (featuring Ying Yang Twins and Mr. ColliPark) – Purple Ribbon/Virgin – Released Tuesday, April 4, 2006, 4:40
549 – Yung Joc – *New Joc City* - 02 - "It's Goin' Down" – Bad Bad South/Block Entertainment/Atlantic Records – Released Tuesday, June 6, 2006, 4:01
550 – Chris Brown – *Chris Brown* - 17 - "Gimme That (Remix) (featuring Lil' Wayne)" – Jive/Zomba/Sony BMG – Released Tuesday, November 29, 2005, 3:56
551 – Jamie Foxx – 02 - "DJ Play A Love Song (featuring Twista)" – *Unpredictable* - J – Released Monday, April 10, 2006, 4:18
552 – Field Mob – *Light Poles and Pine Trees* – 03 – "So What (featuring Ciara)" – Disturbing tha Peace/Geffen – Released Tuesday, June 20, 2006, 3:43
553 – T.I. – 02 - "Why You Wanna" – *King* - Grand Hustle/Atlantic – Released Tuesday, March 28, 2006, 4:34

Appendix A-5: Billboard Rap Singles, 2000-2010
554 – Young Dro – *Best Thang Smokin'* – 04 – "Shoulder Lean (featuring T.I.)" – Grand Hustle Records/Atlantic Records/Warner Bros. Records – Released Tuesday, August 29, 2006, 4:20
555 – Beyonce – *B-Day* – 01 – Déjà Vu (featuring Jay-Z)" – Columbia/Music World – Released Monday, September 4, 2006, 4:00
556 – Timbaland – *Shock Value* – 02 - "Give It to Me (featuring Nelly Furtado and Justin Timberlake)" – Mosley Music/Blackground – Released Tuesday, April 3, 2007, 3:58
557 – Fergie – *The Dutchess* – 07 – "Glamorous (featuring Ludacris)" – A&M/will.i.am – Released Tuesday, September 19, 2006, 4:06
558 – T-Pain – *Epiphany* – 12 – "Buy U A Drank (Shawty Snappin') (featuring Young Joc)" – Nappy Boy/Konvict/Jive/Zomba – Released Tuesday, June 5, 2007, 3:48
559 – Rihanna – *Good Girl Gone Bad* – 01 – "Umbrella (featuring Jay-Z)" – Def Jam – Released Wednesday, May 30, 2007, 4:35
560 – Soulja Boy – *souljaboytellem.com* – 02 – "Crank That (Soulja Boy)" – SOD/Collipark/Interscope – Released Tuesday, October 2, 2007, 3:42
561 – Kanye West – *Graduation* – 03 – "Stronger" – Roc-A-Fella/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, September 11, 2007, 5:12
562 – Bow Wow – *The Price of Fame* – 06 – "Shortie Like Mine (featuring Chris Brown and Johntá Austin)" – LBW Entertainment/Sony BMG/Columbia – Released Tuesday, December 19, 2006, 4:28
563 – Jim Jones – *Hustler's P.O.M.E. (Product of My Environment)* – 09 – "We Fly High" – Diplomat/Koch – Released Tuesday, November 7, 2006, 3:56
564 – Unk – *Beat'n Down Yo Block* – 03 – "Walk It Out" – Big Oomp Records/Koch Records – Released Tuesday, October 3, 2006, 2:53
565 - Fat Joe – *Me, Myself, and I* – 07 – "Make It Rain (featuring Lil Wayne)" – Imperial/Terror Squad – Released Tuesday, November 14, 2006, 4:11
566 – Flo rida – *Mall on Sunday* – 05 –"Low (featuring T-Pain)" – Atlantic/Poe Boy – Released Tuesday, March 18, 2008, 3:50
567 – Usher – *Here I Stand* – 02 – "Love in this Club (featuring Young Jeezy)" – LaFace – Released Tuesday, May 13, 2008, 4:19
568 – Lil Wayne – *The Carter III* – 12 – "Lollipop (featuring Static Major)" – Cash Money/Universal Motown – Released Tuesday, June 10, 2008, 4:59
569 – T.I. – *Paper Trail* – 06 – "Whatever You Like" – Grand Hustle/Atlantic – Released Friday, September 26, 2008, 4:09
570 – T.I. – *Paper Trail* – 05 – "Live Your Life (featuring Rihanna)" – Grand Hustle/Atlantic – Released Friday, September 26, 2008, 5:38
571 – Kanye West – *Graduation* – 05 – "The Good Life (featuring T-Pain)" – Roc-A-Fella/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, September 11, 2007, 3:57

Appendix A-5: Billboard Rap Singles, 2000-2010
572 – Playaz Circle – *Supply & Demand* – 03 – "Duffle Bag Boy (featuring Lil Wayne)" – Disturbing tha Peace/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, October 30, 2007, 4:37
573 – Snoop Dogg – *Ego Trippin'* – 06 – "Sexual Eruption (Album Version)/Sensual Seduction (Single Version)" – Geffen – Released Friday, March 7, 2008, 4:07
574 – Webbie, Lil' Phat & Lil' Boosie – *Savage Life 2* – 03 – "Independent" – Trill Asylum/Atlantic – Released Tuesday, February 26, 2008, 4:12
575 – Shawty Lo – *Units in the City* – 02 – "Dey Know" – D4L/Asylum – Released Tuesday, February 26, 2008, 3:15
576 – Lupe Fiasco – *Lupe Fiasco's The Cool* – 05 – "Superstar (featuring Matthew Santos)" – 1st & 15th/Atlantic – Released Tuesday, December 18, 2007, 4:49
577 – Rick Ross – *Trilla* – 03 – "The Boss (featuring T-Pain)" – Slip-n-Slide/Def Jam/Poe Boy – Released Tuesday, March 11, 2008, 3:45
578 – Plies – *Definition of Real* – 11 – "Bust It Baby (Part 2) (featuring Ne-Yo)" – Big Gates/Slip-n-Slide/Atlantic – Released Tuesday, June 10, 2008, 4:00
579 – 2 Pistols – *Death Before Dishonor* – 03 – "She Got It (featuring T-Pain and Tay Dizm)" – Universal Republic – Released Tuesday, June 17, 2008, 4:34
580 – Eminem – *Relapse* – 18 – "Crack a Bottle (featuring Dr. Dre and 50 Cent)" – Aftermath/Interscope – Released Friday, May 15, 2009, 4:57
581 – Jay-Z – *The Blueprint 3* – 05 – "Empire State of Mind (featuring Alicia Keys)" – Roc Nation/Atlantic – Released Tuesday, September 8, 2009, 4:37
582 – The Black Eyed Peas – *The E.N.D.* – 04 – "Imma Be" – Interscope/will.i.am – Released Wednesday, June 3, 2009, 4:16
583 – B.o.B. – *B.o.B. Presents: The Adventures of Bobby Ray* – 02 –"Nothin' on You (featuring Bruno Mars)" – Grand Hustle/Rebel Rock/Atlantic – Released Tuesday, April, 27, 2010, 4:29
584 – Usher – *Raymond v. Raymond* – 06 – "OMG (featuring will.i.am)" – LaFace/Jive – Released Friday, March 26, 2010, 4:29
585 – Eminem – *Recovery* – 07 – "Not Afraid" – Shady Aftermath/Interscope – Released Tuesday, June 22, 2010, 4:08
586 – Katy Perry – *Teenage Dream* – 03 – "California Gurls (featuring Snoop Dogg)" – Capitol – Released Tuesday, August 24, 2010, 3:56
587 – Eminem – *Recovery* – 15 – "Love The Way You Lie (featuring Rihanna)" – Shady Aftermath/Interscope – Released Tuesday, June 22, 2010, 4:23
588 – Far East Movement – *Free Wired* – 02 – "Like a G6 (featuring The Cataracs and Dev)" – Cherrytree – Released Tuesday, October 12, 2010, 3:38
589 – Birdman – *Priceless* – 03 – "Money to Blow (featuring Lil Wayne and Drake)" – Cash Money/Universal Motown – Released Monday, November 23, 2009, 4:22
590 – 50 Cent – *Before I Self-Destruct* - 13 – "Baby By Me (featuring Ne-Yo)" – Aftermath/Interscope/Shady – Released Monday, November 9, 2009, 3:35

Appendix A-5: Billboard Rap Singles, 2000-2010
591 – Young Money – *We Are Young Money* – 09 – "Bedrock (featuring Lloyd)" – Young Money – Released Monday, December 21, 2009, 4:48
592 – Ludacris – *Battle of the Sexes* - 02 – "How Low" – DTP/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, March 9, 2010, 3:21
593 – Snoop Dogg – *Malice N Wonderland* – 02 – "I Wanna Rock" – Doggy Style/Priority – Released Tuesday, December 8, 2009, 3:56
594 – Nicki Minaj – *Pink Friday* – 04 – "Right Thru Me" – Young Money/Cash Money/Universal Motown – Released Friday, November 19, 2010, 3:55
595 – Timbaland – *Shock Value II* – 05 – "Say Something (featuring Drake)" – Mosley Music/Blackground – Released Friday, December 4, 2009, 4:00
596 – Jay-z – *The Blueprint 3* – 07 – "On to the Next One (featuring Swizz Beats)" – Roc Nation/Atlantic – Released Tuesday, September 8, 2009, 4:37
597 – Ludacris – *Battle of the Sexes* – 03 – "My Chick Bad (featuring Nicki Minaj)" – DTP/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, March 9, 2010, 3:36
598 – Young Jeezy – *Lose My Mind (CD Single)* – "Lose My Mind (featuring Plies)" – Corporate Thugz/Def Jam – Released Tuesday, May 4, 2010, 4:02
599 – Drake – *Thank Me Later* – 04 – "Over" – Young Money/Cash Money/Universal Motown – Released Tuesday, June 15, 2010, 3:53

Appendix B: Image Bank

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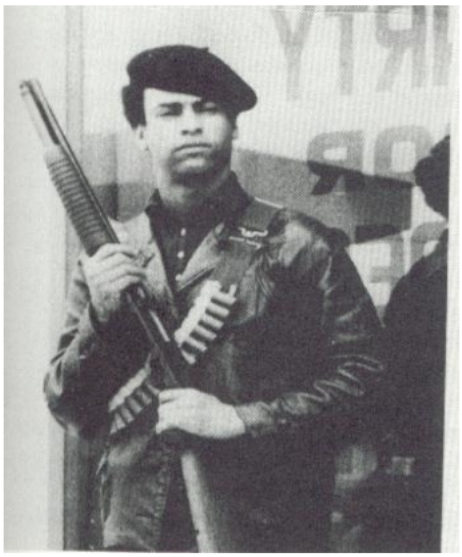

Figure 51: Source 107

Figure 52: Source 113a

Figure 53: Source 113b

Figure 54: Source 114a

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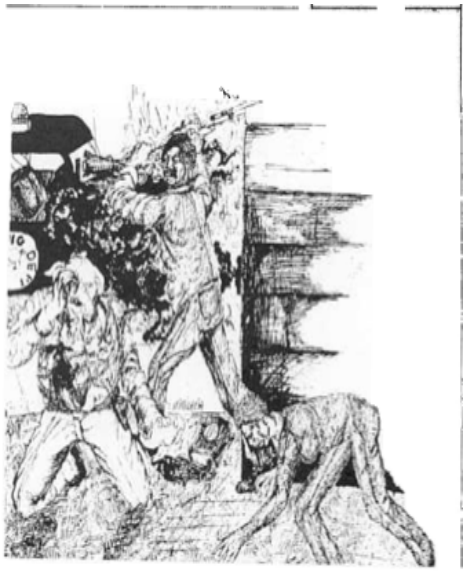

Figure 55: Source 114b

Figure 56: Source 115

Figure 57: Source 117a

Figure 58: Source 117b

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Figure 59: Source 153a

TRANSCRIPT OF ASSAULT PLAN

Figure 60: Source 153b

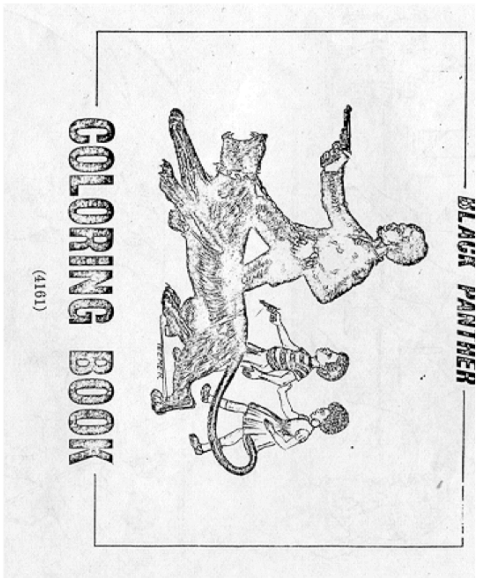


Figure 61: Source 168a

Figure 62: Source 168b

Appendix B-1: BPP Image Bank

Figure 63: Source 168c

Figure 64: Source 168d

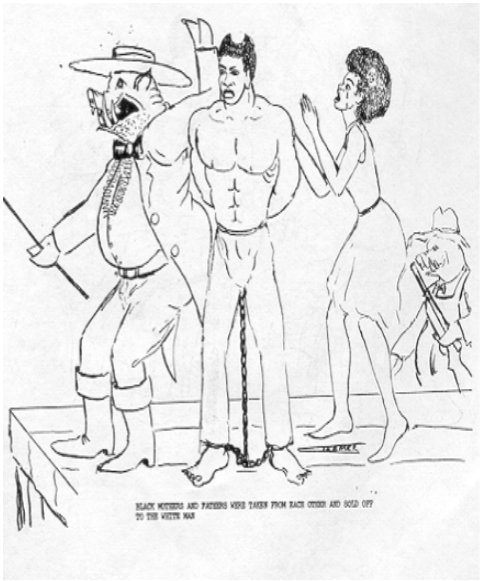


Figure 65: Source 168e

Figure 66: Source 168f

Appendix B-1: BPP Image Bank

Figure 67: Source 168g

Figure 68: Source 168h

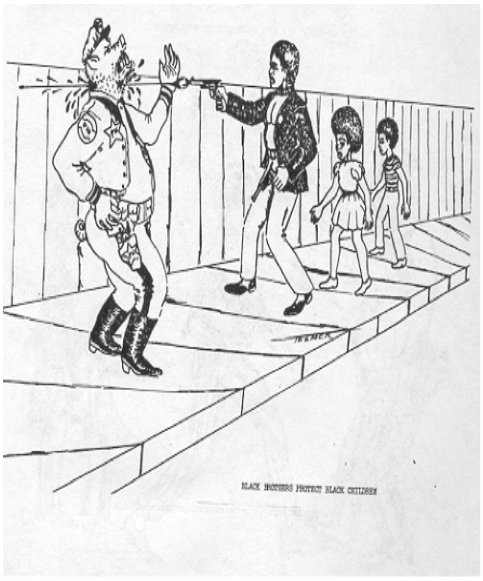
Figure 69: Source 168i

Figure 70: Source 168j

Appendix B-1: BPP Image Bank

Figure 71: Source 168k

Figure 72: Source 168l



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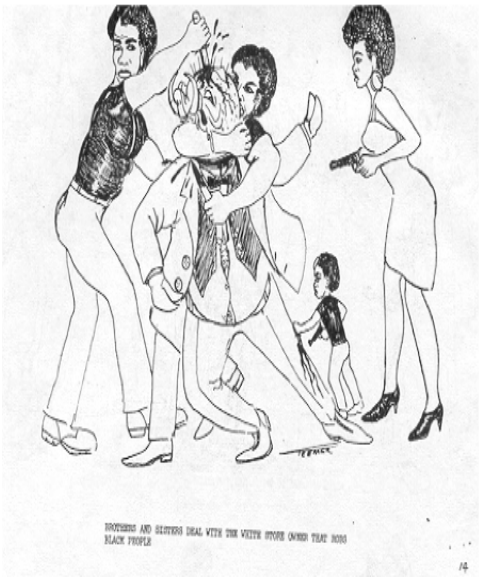

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Appendix B-1: BPP Image Bank

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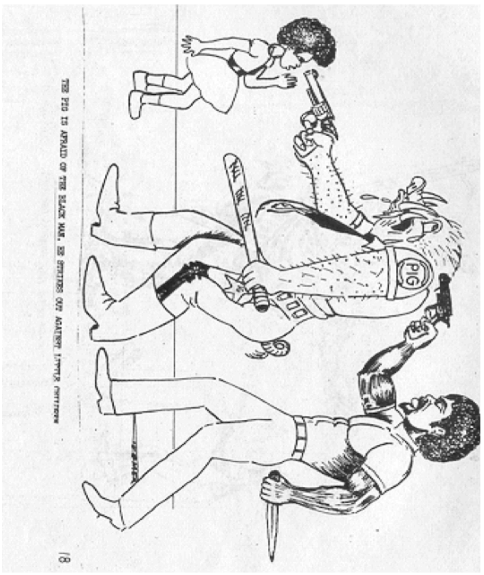
Figure 76: Source 168p

Figure 77: Source 168q



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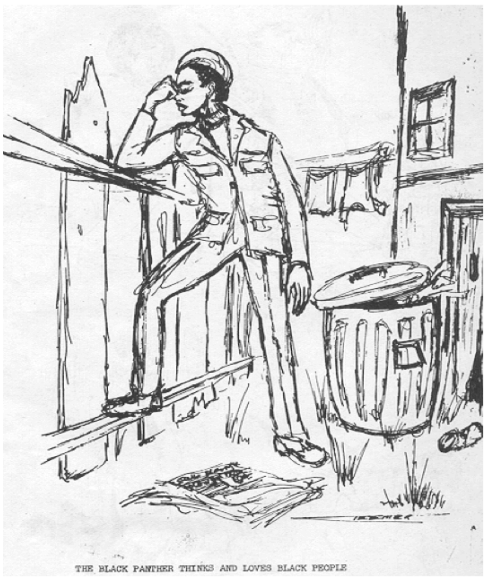

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Figure 80: Source 168t

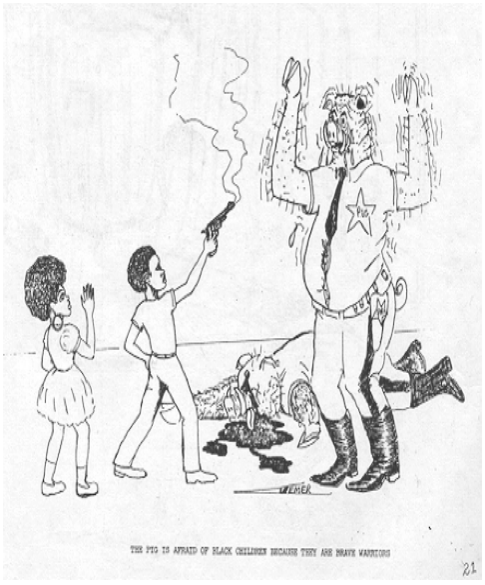

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Figure 82: Source 168v

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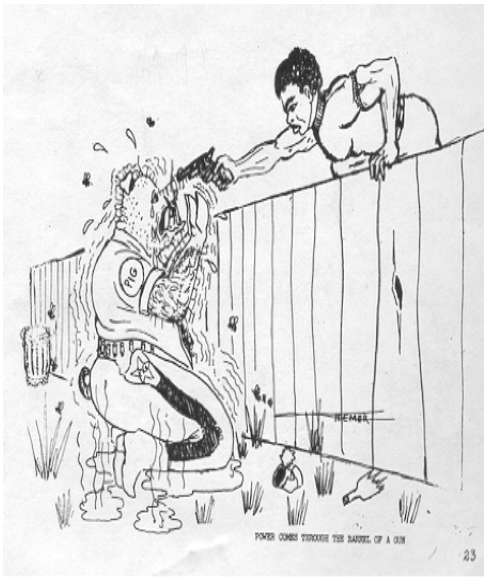

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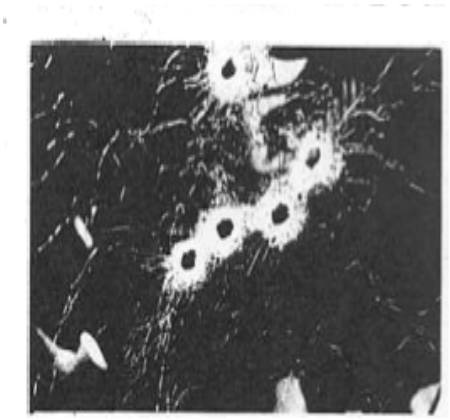

POLICE MURDERED A MAN, IMPRISONED A MAN, JAILED SEVEN OTHERS, RUINED THIS HOUSE AT 1218 - 28th ST, OAKLAND, AND SHOWED THE COUNTRY AND THE WORLD THE EXACT NATURE OF THE RACIST OPPRESION IN THE U.S.

Figure 84: Source 105

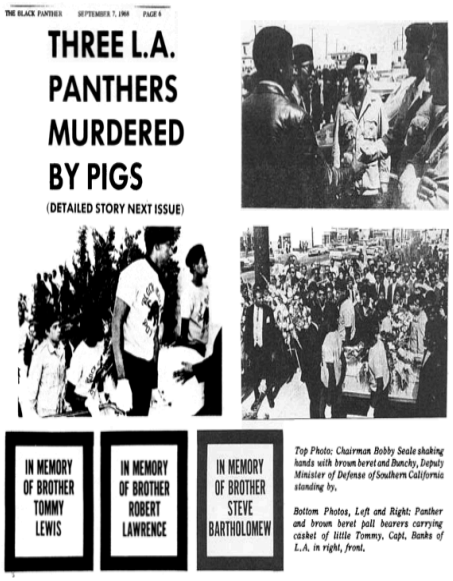

Figure 85: Source 109

Figure 86: Sources 139, 141, 142

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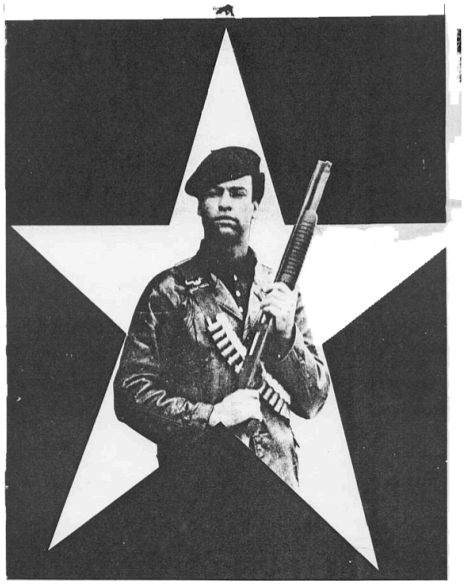

Figure 87: Source 187a

Figure 88: Source 187b

Figure 89: Source 161

Figure 90: Sources 183a, 186a

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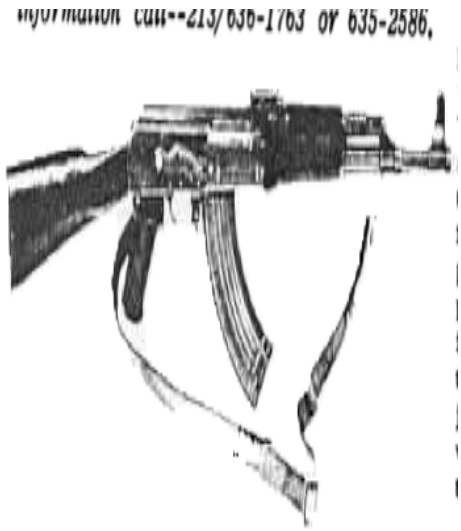

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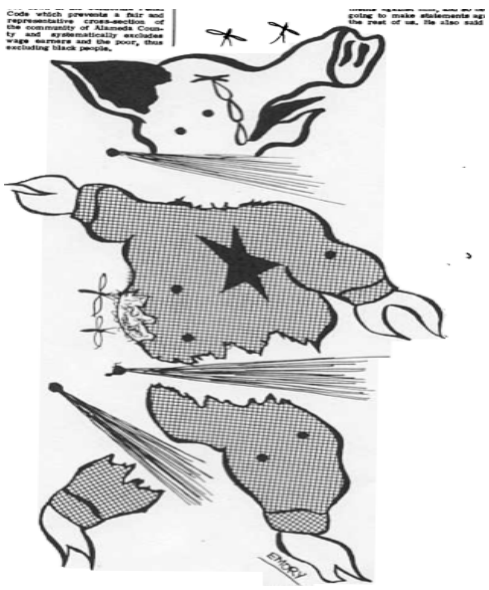

Figure 92: Source 106a

Figure 93: Source 106b

Figure 94: Source 108

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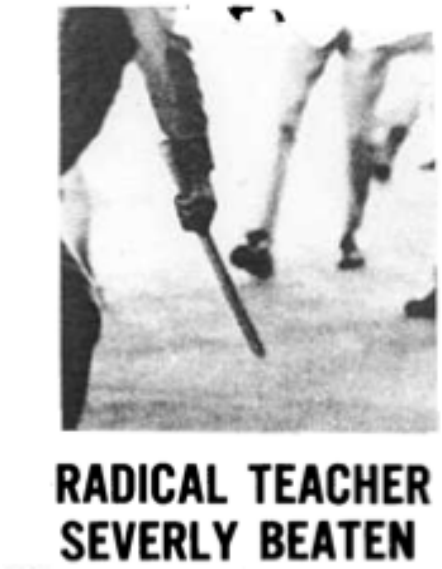

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Figure 96: Source 147

Figure 97: Source 152

Figure 98: Source 167

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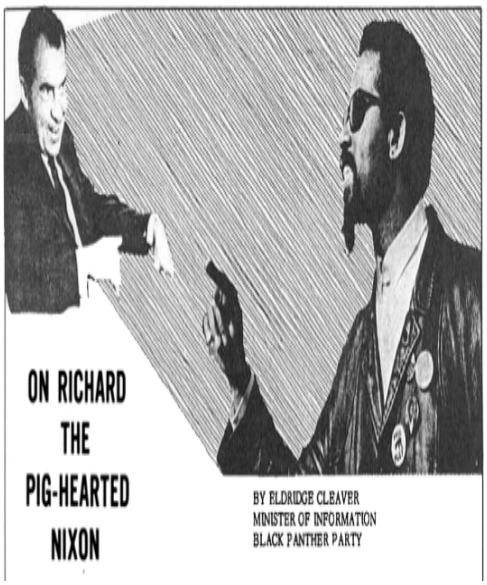

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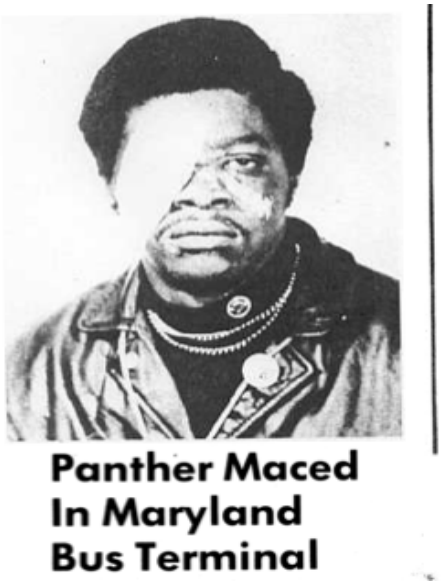

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Figure 101: Source 120b

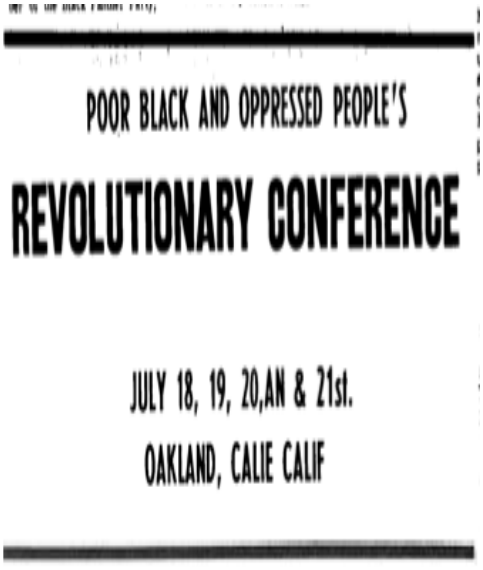

Figure 102: Source 136a

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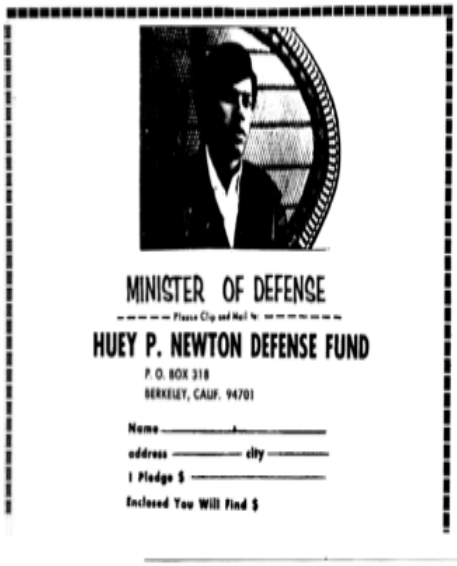

Figure 103: Source 136b

Figure 104: Source 116a

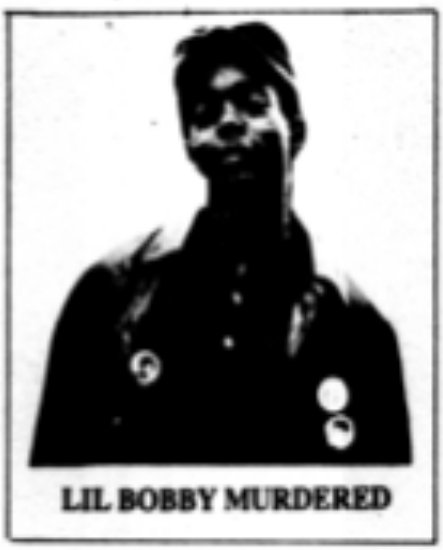

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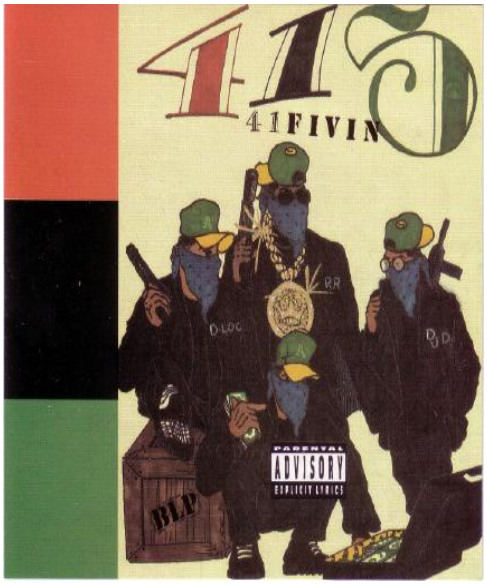
Figure 106: Source 194

Appendix B-2: Oakland, CA Rap Album Image Bank



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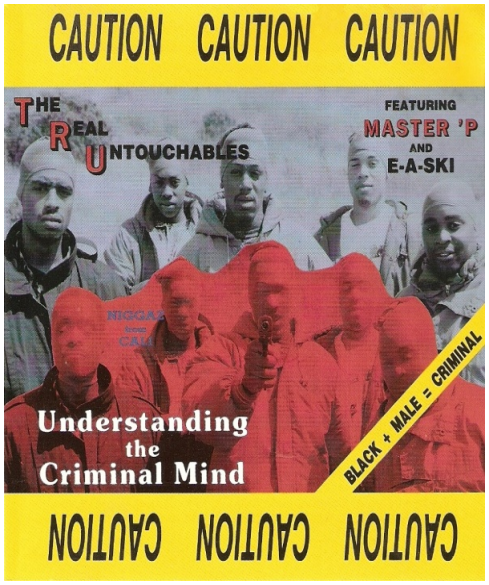
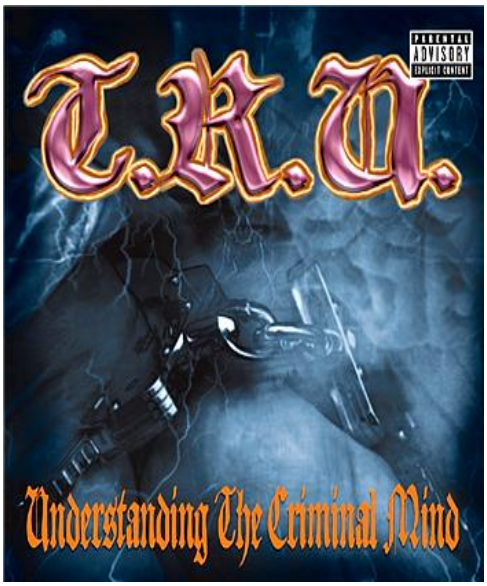


Figure 108: Source 238a



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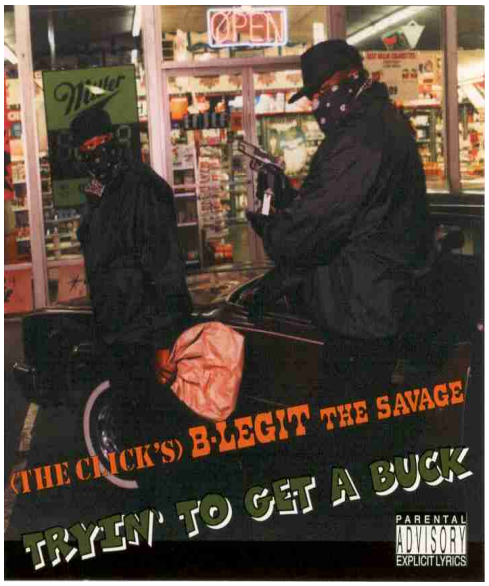

Figure 110: Source 246

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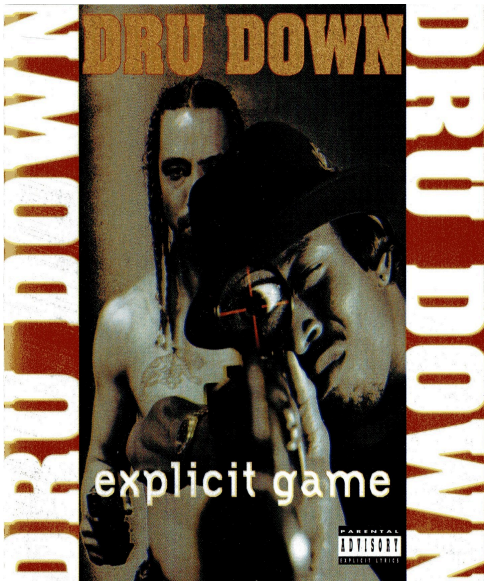

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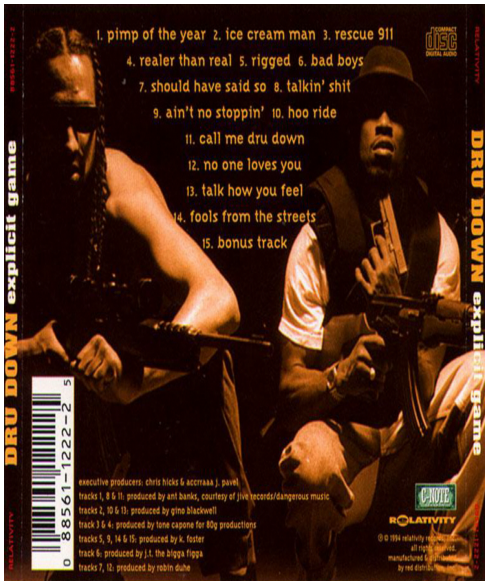

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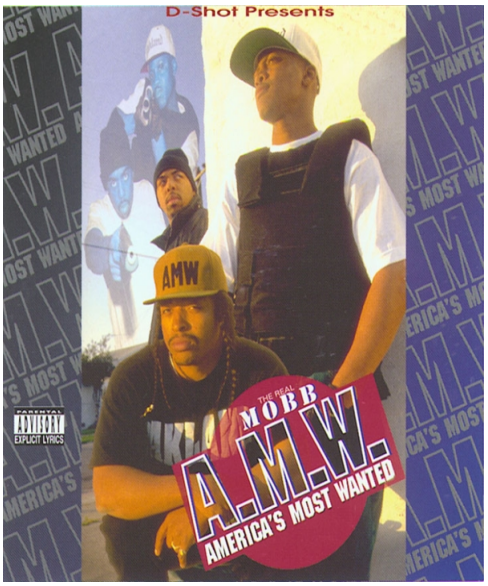

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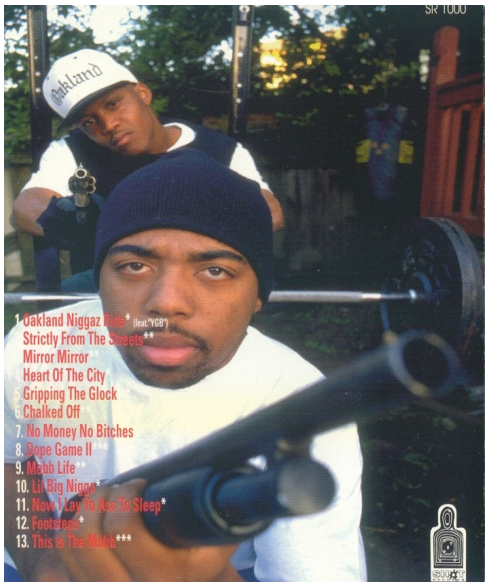

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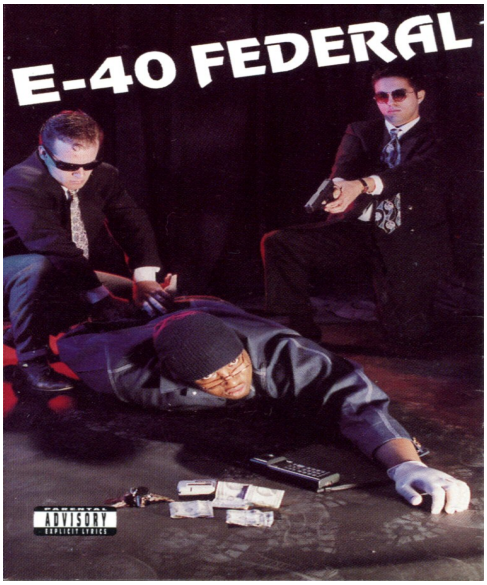

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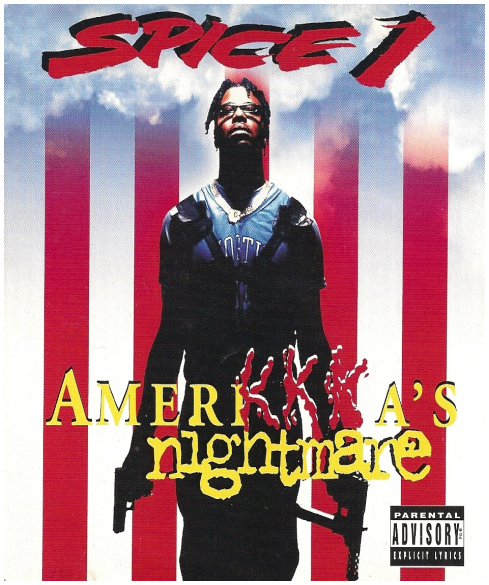

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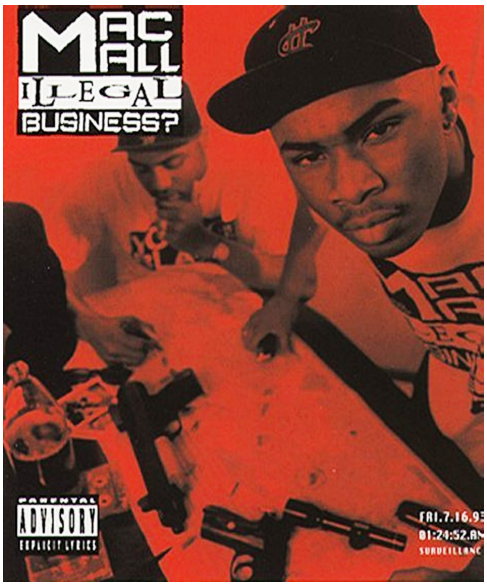

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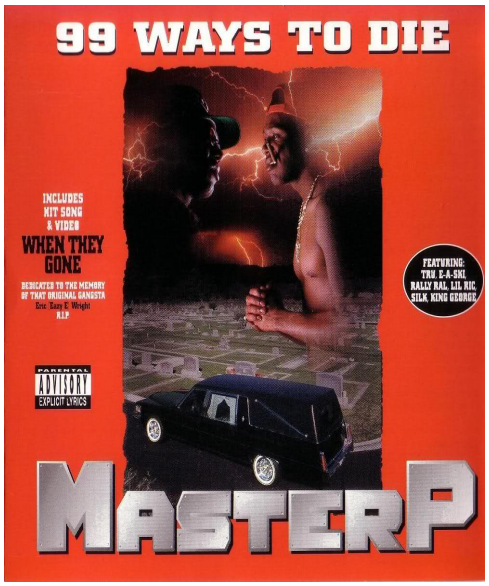

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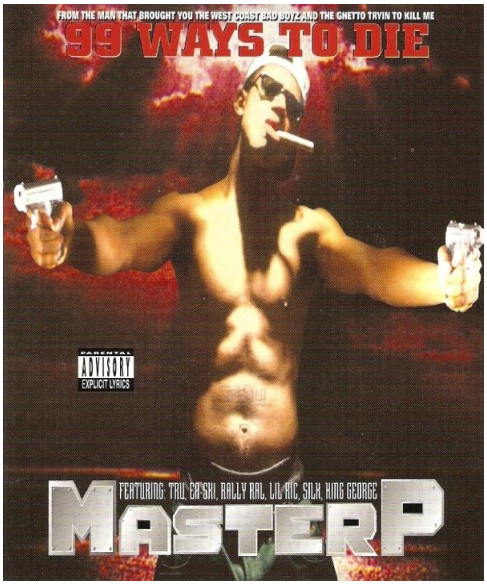

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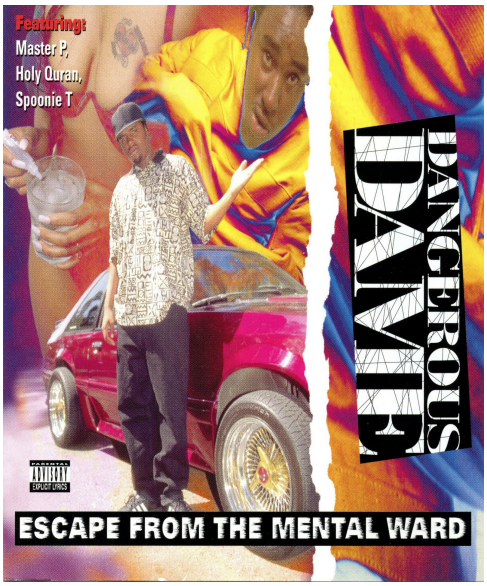

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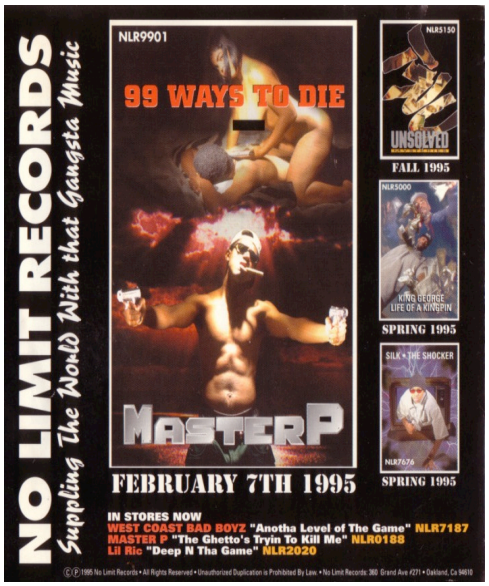

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Appendix B-2: Oakland, CA Rap Album Image Bank

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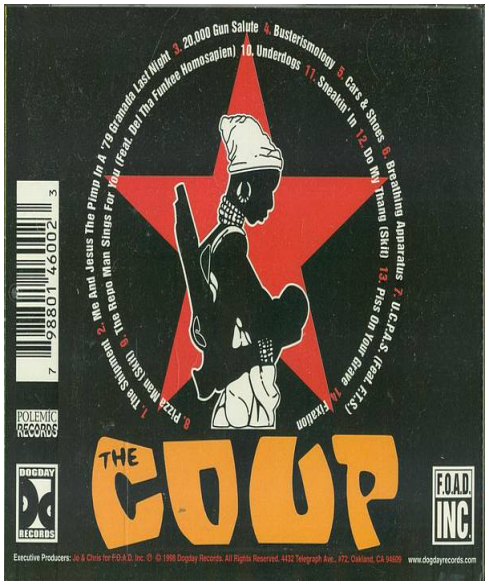

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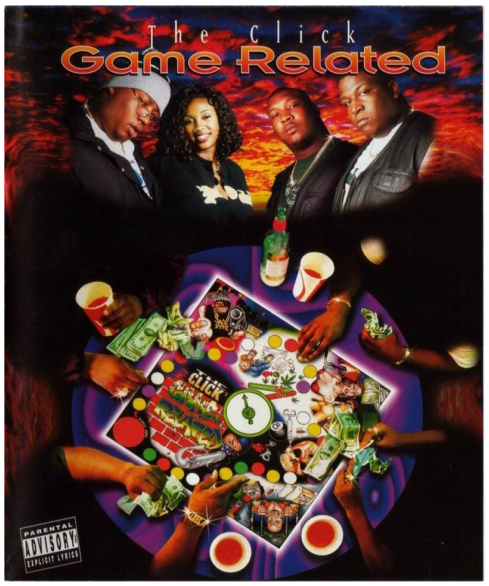

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Appendix B-2: Oakland, CA Rap Album Image Bank

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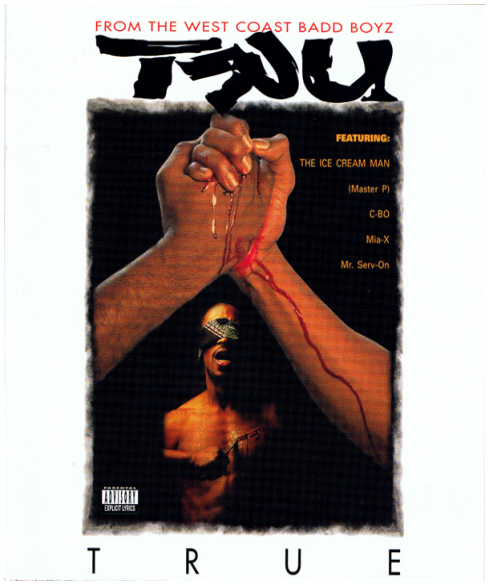

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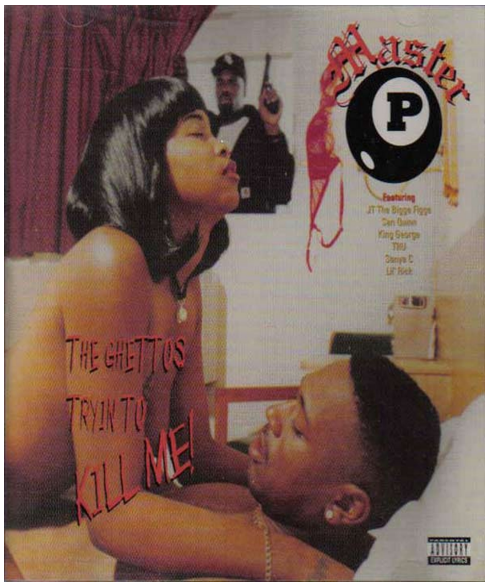

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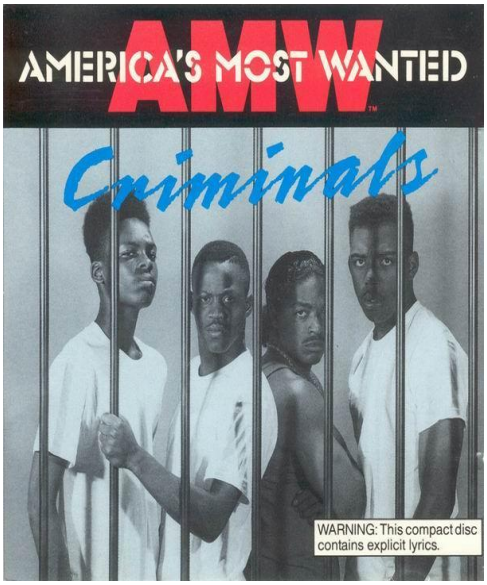

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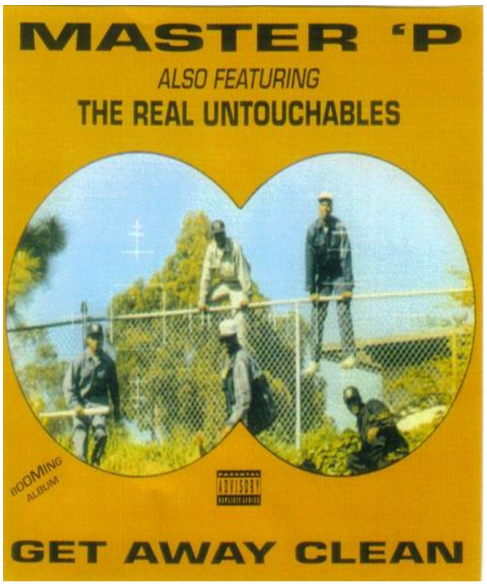

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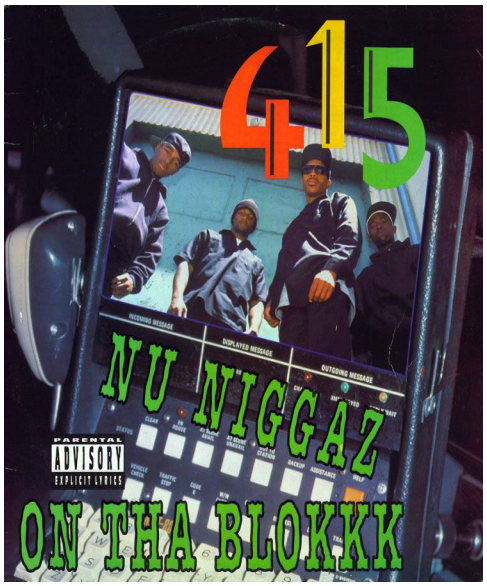

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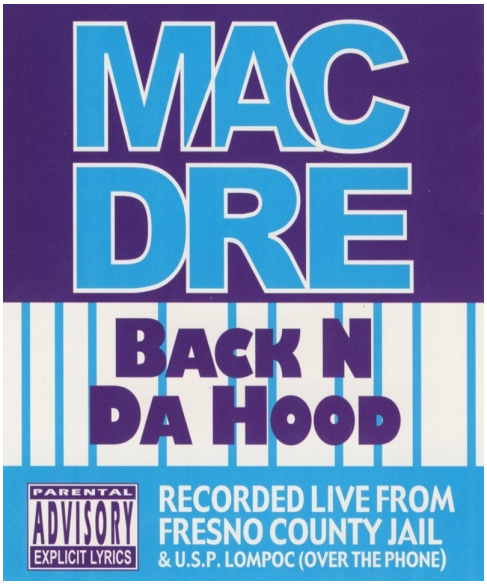
Appendix B-2: Oakland, CA Rap Album Image Bank



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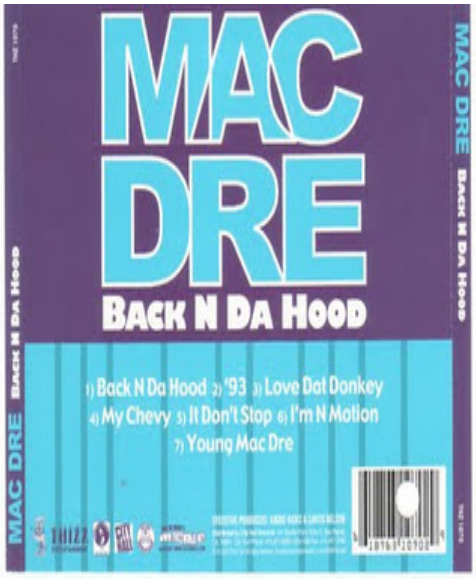

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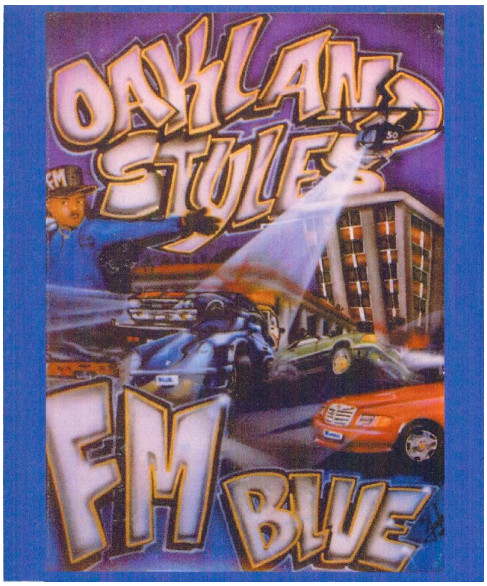

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Appendix B-2: Oakland, CA Rap Album Image Bank

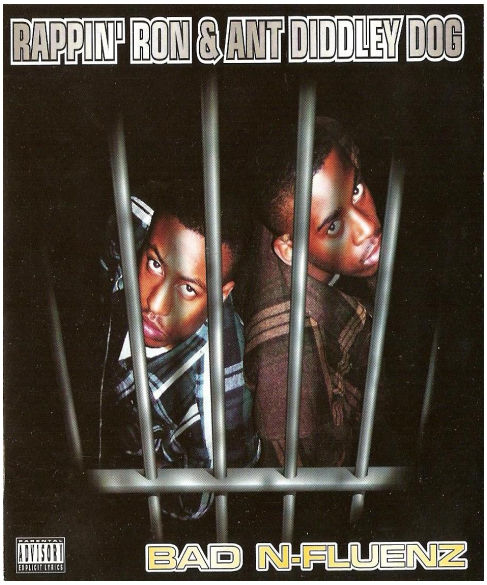

Figure 139: Source 287

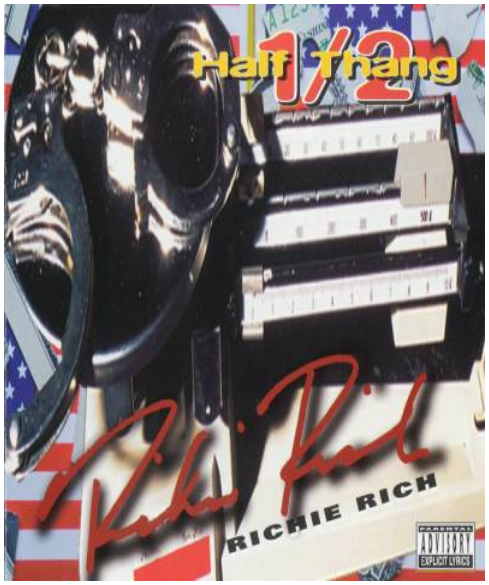

Figure 140: Source 290a

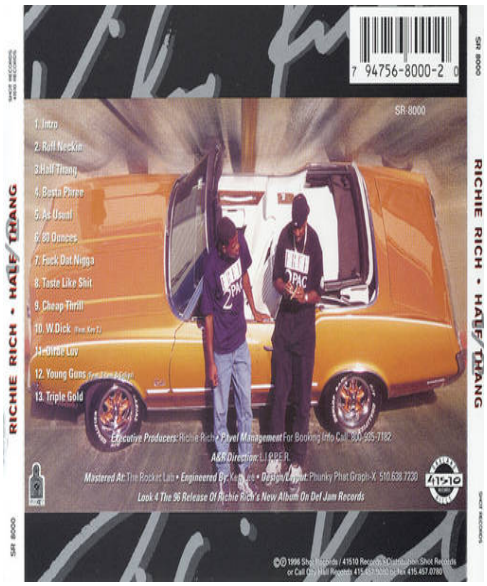

Figure 141: Source 290b

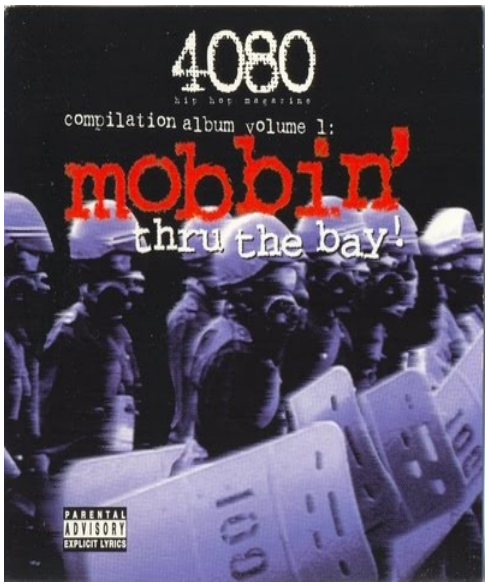

Figure 142: Source 294

Appendix B-2: Oakland, CA Rap Album Image Bank

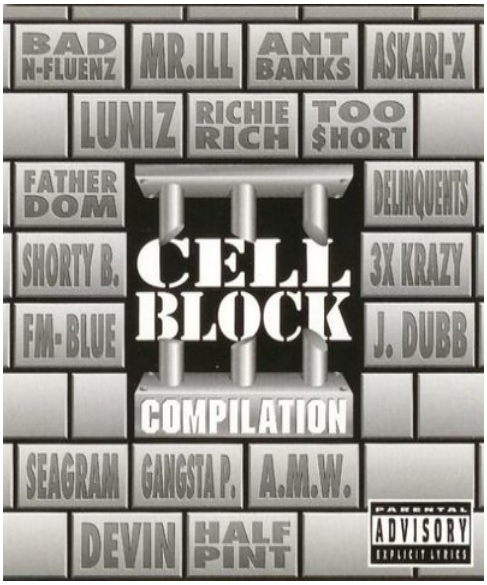

Figure 143: Source 292

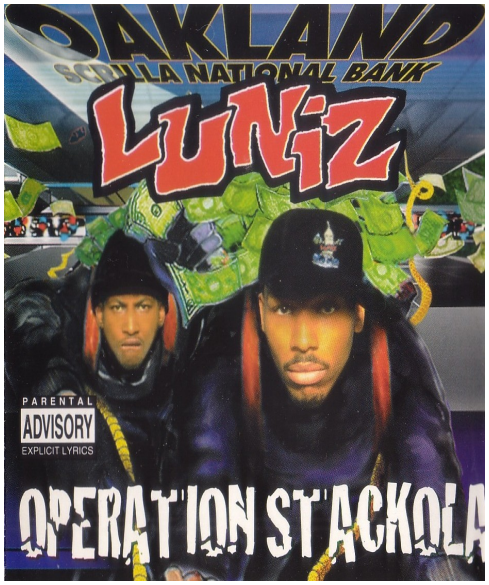

Figure 144: Source 276a

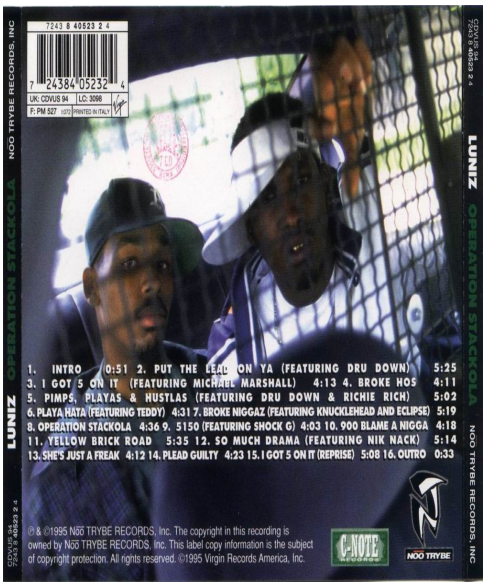

Figure 145: Source 276b

Appendix B-3: Oakland, CA Rap Single Image Bank

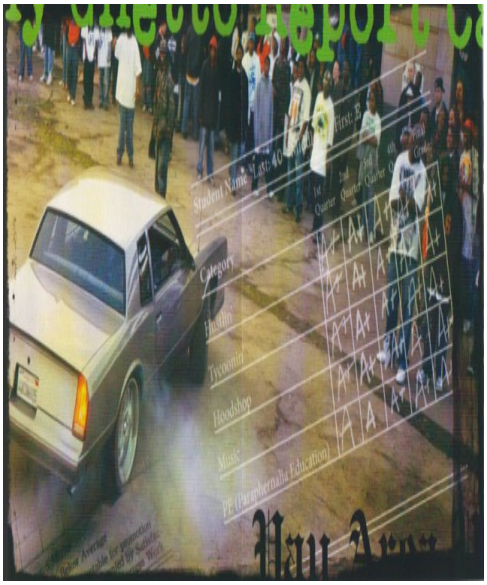

Figure 146: Source 332

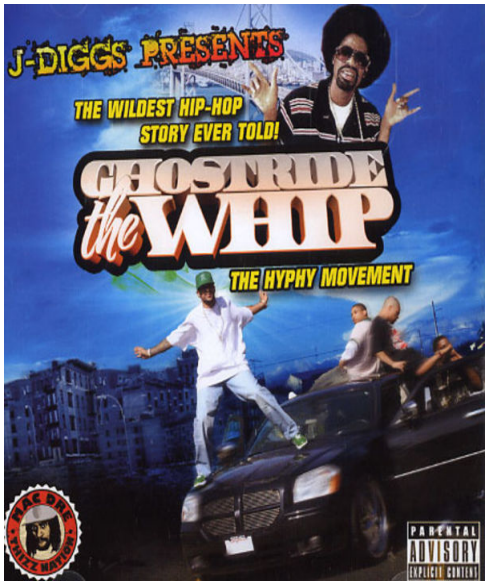

Figure 147: Source 377

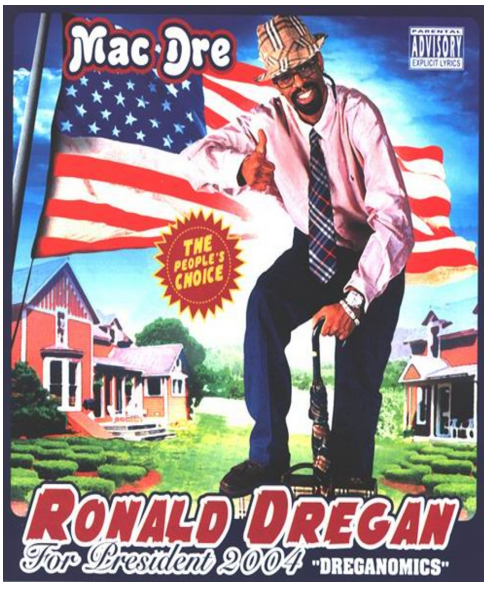

Figure 148: Source 318a

Figure 149: Source 318b

Appendix B-3: Oakland, CA Rap Single Image Bank

Figure 150: Source 318c

Figure 151: Source 318d

Figure 152: Source 318e

Appendix B-4: Billboard Rap Album Image Bank

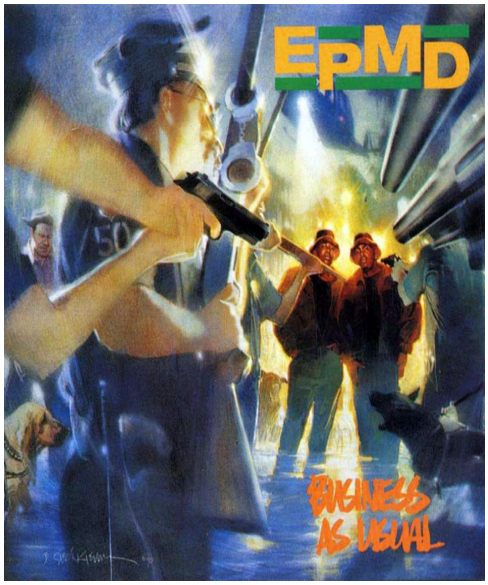

Figure 153: Source 416a

Figure 154: Source 416b

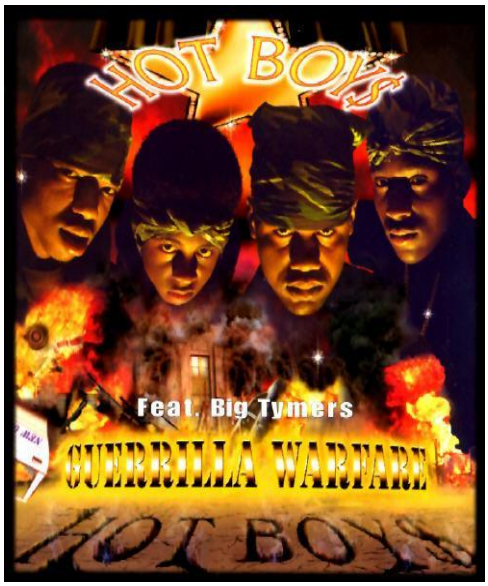

Figure 155: Source 499

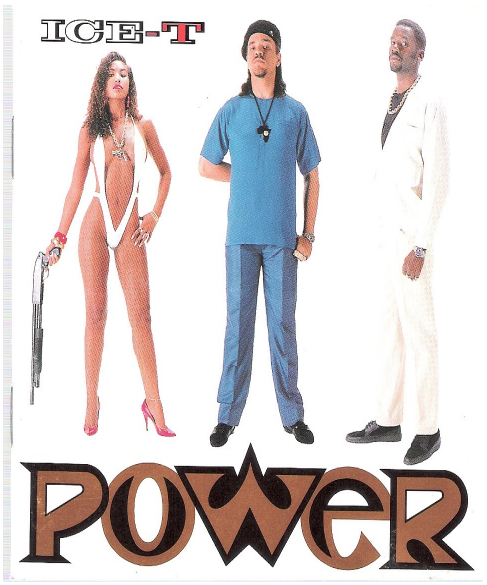

Figure 156: Source 408

Appendix B-4: Billboard Rap Album Image Bank

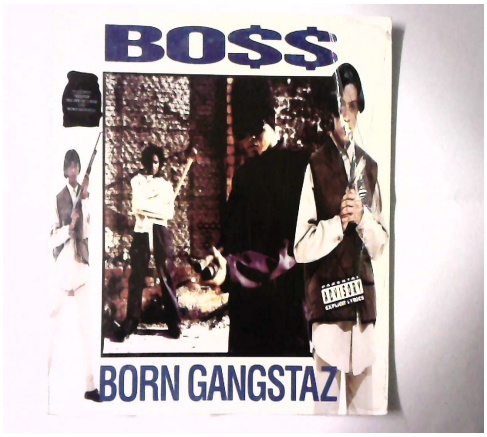

Figure 157: Source 444

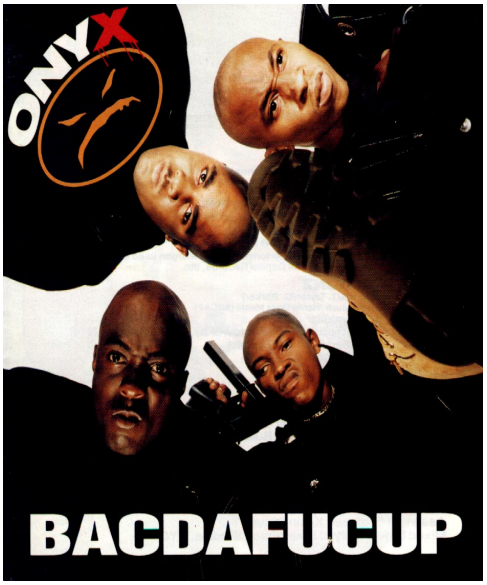

Figure 158: Source 443

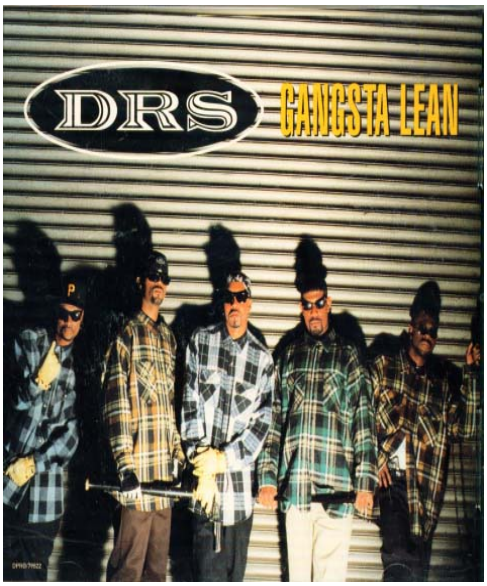

Figure 159: Source 450

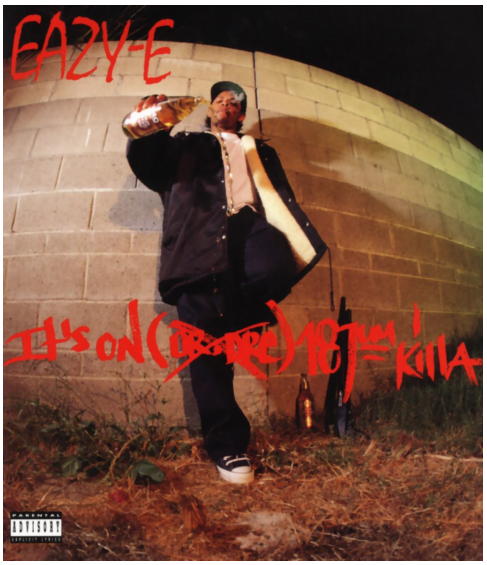

Figure 160: Source 452

Appendix B-4: Billboard Rap Album Image Bank

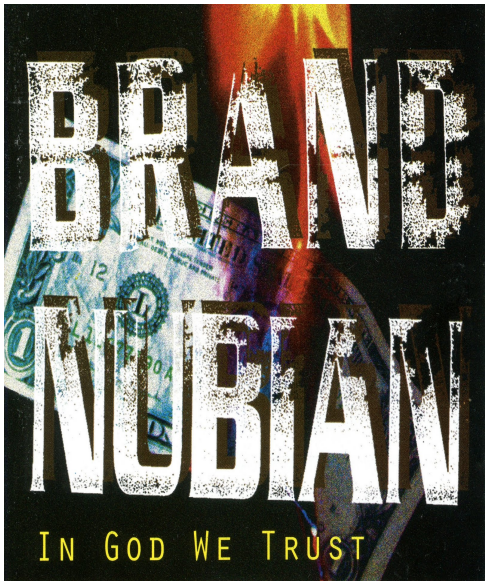

Figure 161: Source 441

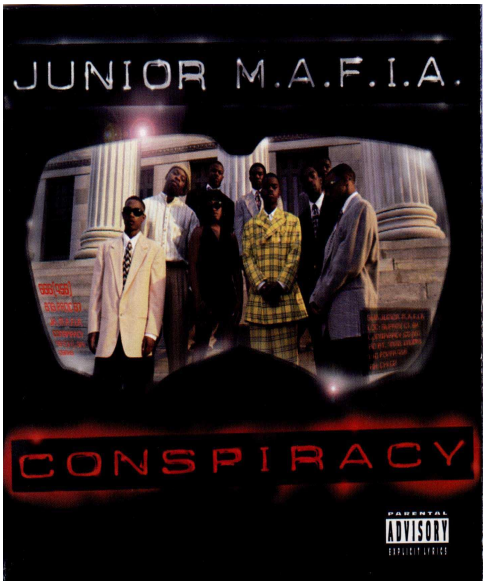

Figure 162: Source 486a

Figure 163: Source 486b

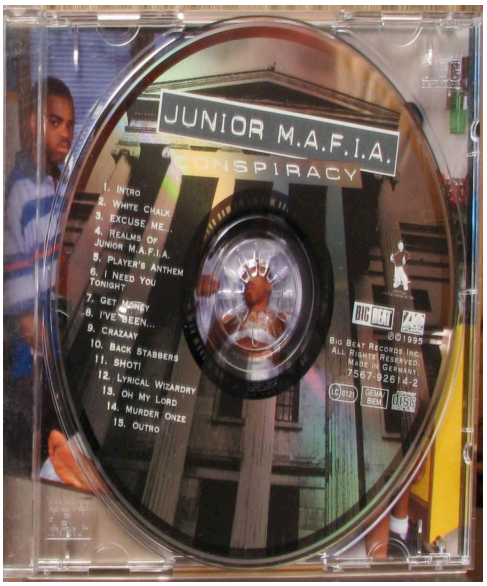

Figure 164: Source 486c

Appendix B-4: Billboard Rap Album Image Bank

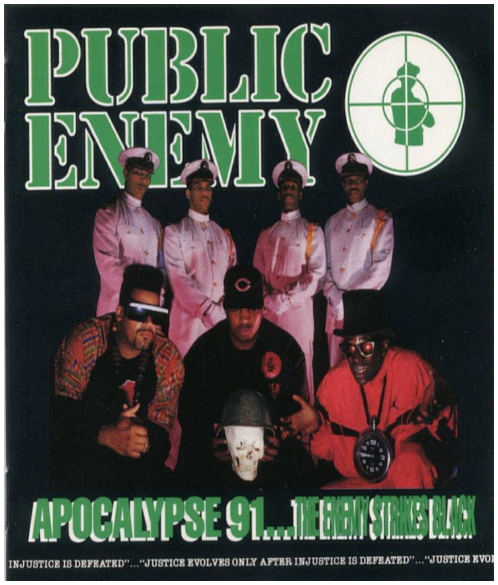

Figure 165: Source 422

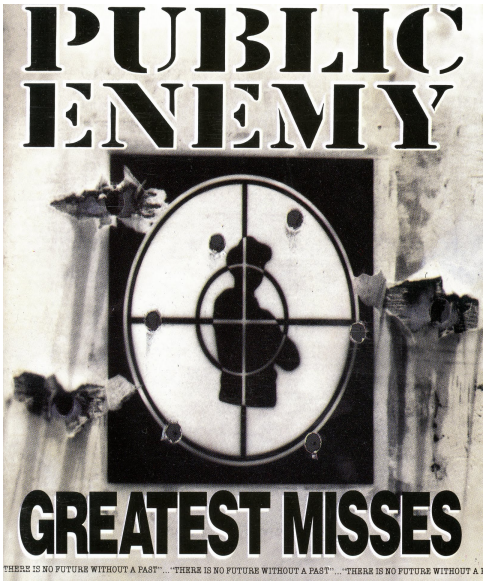

Figure 166: Source 435a

Figure 167: Source 435a

Appendix B-5: Billboard Rap Single Image Bank

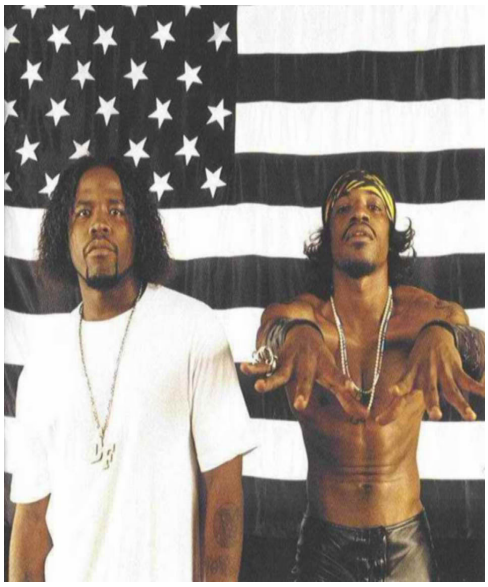

Figure 168: Source 435b

Appendix C: Data Sources

Appendix C-1: Select Oakland, CA Census Changes, 1960-2010

Table 8: Select Oakland, CA Census Changes from 1960-2010

Category	Demographic	1960-1970	1970-1980	1980-1990	1990-2000	2000-2010
Population	Total Population	-5,987	-22,224	+32,905	+27,242	-8,760
Population	Black Population %	+11.7%	+12.5%	-3.1%	-8.2%	-7.70%
Population	Hispanic Population %	+0.2%	+2.8%	+3.7%	+8.7%	+3.50%
Population	White Population %	-14.5%	-20.5%	-6.1%	-1.2%	+3.20%
Population	Male Population %	+0.3%	-0.5%	+0.2%	+0.6%	+0.20%
Age/Family	Median Age	-4.3	No Change	+1.5	+0.4	+2.9
Age/Family	Families	-7,960	-8,609	+4,387	+1,336	-2,629
Age/Family	Families with Children	-3,853	-635	+2,476	+718	-6,822
Household/ Income	Population Per Household	-0.16	-0.2	+0.19	+0.08	-0.12
Household/ Income	Median Household Income $	+$3,323	+$4,154	+$13,315	+$12,960	+$8,541
Household/ Income	Per capita income $	**$3,651**	+4,050	-$2,975	+7,260	+$8,158
Household/ Income	Below Poverty Level %	Not Measured	**16.60%**	+1.9%	+0.9 %	*-0.7%

Source: Bay Area Census (2010)
Initial Figures in **Bold**
*Using the 2006-2010 ACS

Appendix C-2: Oakland, CA Summary of Crime Offenses, 1969-2010

Table 9: Oakland, CA Summary of Crime Offenses, 1969-2010

Year	Murders	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Felony Assault	Burglary	Total Larceny	Auto Theft	Total Offenses	1 Year % Change
1969	88	197	2572	1131	14182	19727	6220	44117	10.77
1970	66	212	2494	1111	13783	20222	5013	42901	-2.76
1971	91	220	2945	1696	14348	19331	5396	44027	2.62
1972	86	261	2906	1771	13078	18608	5422	42132	-4.30
1973	100	251	2879	1790	14738	16244	4746	40748	-3.28
1974	80	246	2883	2177	14144	16702	4279	40511	-0.58
1975	106	316	3189	2292	13986	18858	4076	42823	5.71
1976	94	309	2905	2214	13200	18857	3590	41169	-3.86
1977	91	366	3116	2268	12750	17498	3702	39791	-3.35
1978	94	351	2821	2159	12501	17789	3189	38904	-2.23
1979	108	374	3072	2531	12351	18923	3930	41289	6.13
1980	116	435	4250	2743	13124	20093	3406	44167	6.97
1981	123	430	3836	2756	14171	20070	3401	44787	1.40
1982	101	446	3195	3175	12780	20947	3007	43651	-2.54
1983	97	478	3289	3060	11647	19622	2742	40935	-6.22
1984	114	426	3170	3023	12413	19598	2923	41667	1.79
1985	96	531	3329	3317	11846	20871	3409	43399	4.16
1986	130	538	3798	4071	12231	22673	4060	47501	9.45
1987	114	538	3176	4372	10793	22449	4812	46254	-2.63
1988	112	498	3144	4394	10962	23662	5943	48715	5.32
1989	129	563	3246	4237	9879	23951	6545	48550	-0.34
1990	146	517	3240	4536	8503	19077	7174	43193	-11.03
1991	149	460	3933	4941	8848	20695	7281	46307	7.21
1992	165	418	4610	4947	8870	21310	7766	48086	3.84
1993	154	353	4557	4794	8355	18991	7772	44977	-6.47
1994	140	323	3877	3983	7026	17800	7217	40366	-10.25
1995*	137	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
1996	93	322	3622	4131	6058	19878	5070	39174	-3.00
1997	99	306	3482	4342	5923	18909	4987	38048	-2.87
1998	72	340	2651	3998	6119	18554	5182	36916	-3.12
1999	60	305	2190	3199	5094	15437	4788	31073	-15.83
2000	80	320	1929	2709	3506	11652	4864	25060	-19.35
2001	84	295	2125	2826	3696	13081	5520	27627	10.28
2002	108	249	2452	2852	4252	13703	6258	29874	8.13
2003	109	267	2445	2762	4568	12551	5511	28213	-5.56
2004	82	262	2190	2616	4324	10984	6877	27335	-3.11
2005	93	293	2590	2543	5646	7087	8821	27073	-0.96
2006	145	306	3534	3614	5070	8725	10549	31943	17.99
2007	120	297	3460	4023	4737	8929	9923	31489	-1.42
2008	116	338	3323	4129	4488	8915	8085	29394	-6.65**
2009***	104	326	2898	3465	4798	8833	6542	26966	-8.26

Year	Murders	Forcible Rape	Robbery	Felony Assault	Burglary	Total Larceny	Auto Theft	Total Offenses	1 Year % Change
2010***	90	318	2917	2942	4961	7720	4644	23592	-12.51
* 1995 crime statistics are not available due to a change in the Records Management System. **The source lists the 1 Year % Change as -0.06653, and it appears to be -6.653 ***After 2008, the OPD removed the crime reports from its website and referred visitors to the FBI Uniform Crime Reports. As a result many of the categories are slightly altered in title, but they did not influence the numbers reported.									
Sources: (Oakland Police Department, 2008; F.B.I., 2009; and F.B.I., 2010)									

Appendix D: Periods of Internal Colonization and Warfare Language/Lyrics

Appendix D-1: BPP Internal Colonization and Warfare Language Periods

Table 10: BPP Internal Colonization Periods

Internal Colonization Period	Dates	Stages	Source(s)
1. Creating a Base of Black Power	October 29, 1966-January 4, 1969	**1-1.** Defining Black Colonies	100, 102, 103, 107
		1-2. Defining White Amerikkka	110, 112, 113, 114
		1-3. Examples of Harassment	116
2. Rejection of Capitalist Economic Nationalism	February 17, 1969-May 25, 1969	**2-1.** Examples of Immense Class Inequality	117, 121, 123
		2-2. Examples of Local Poverty	125, 127
		2-3. International, Domestic, and Local Campaigns Against Poverty and For Freedom	129, 134, 136, 138
3. Proposition of Socialist Economic Nationalism	May 1969-November 1969	**3-1.** Linked History of Native Americans and Blacks	140, 142
		3-2. Work to be Done by People/Party	143, 148
		3-3. Examples of Successful International Campaigns	150, 151
		3.4. Impact of Military, Press, and State Forces on Colonial Subjects	156, 157, 158
4. Community Control and Services	November 1969-January 1970	**4-1.** Showing Efforts to Undermine BPP Efforts and Goals	159, 160, 161, 164
		4-2. Defining Roles for Women, Whites, and Negro America	165, 167, 169
		4-3. Establishing Goals of the BPP Press	171

Internal Colonization Period	Dates	Stages	Source(s)
5. Fascist Methods, Imperialist Goals, and Late Capitalism	January 31, 1970-August 15, 1970	**5-1.** Domestic Structure and Local Examples of Fascism	172, 173
		5-2. Conflicts with Congress and the Federal Government	175, 176
		5-3. Rejection of the US Constitution as Defunct	178, 179
		5-4. Gender and Sexual Orientation as Sources of Oppression	180
6. Alternative and Revolutionary Framework for Change	August 15, 1970-November 18, 1970	**6-1.** Rewriting the US Constitution	181
		6-2. Unconstitutional Applications of Force by State Law Enforcement	182, 184
		6-3. Victory in Freeing Newton from Horrific Prison System	185, 186
		6-4. Presenting a New Model	187
7. Ongoing and Future Struggles of the People	December 1970-June 18, 1977	**7-1.** Recounting the Rise of BPP's People Power	188
		7-2. Problem of Hard Drugs	189
		7-3. Transcending Incarceration and Seeking Releases	191, 192
		7-4. Original Crime of Slavery and Promises of Freedom	193, 194
		7-5. Future Leadership— Prison, Electoral, and Community Leaders	195, 196, 198

Table 11: Stages and Topics Established Through BPP Warfare Language

Stages	Date Range	Topics	Sources
Forces of State Repression	May 1967 – September 7, 1967	Anonymity; Early Actions/Timeline; Legal Redress; Extending of Problem Domestically	101, 104, 105, 115, 108, 109, 111
Defenders of Capitalism	February 17, 1969 – May 31, 1969	Defining the World Power Structure; Early COINTELPRO; War on Poverty, Youth and Adult Counterinsurgency; Capitalism, Imperialism, and Black Capitalism as Forms of Warfare with Support from US Leaders and the Public	118, 122, 124, 126, 128, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 146
Use of Racism	May 25, 1969 – 1971	Victims of Law Enforcement, Courts, and "the System"; Conspiracies in the Courts and on the Streets to Destroy the Party	137, 139, 141, 145, 147, 149, 152, 153, 163, 166, 183, 190
Ineffective Local Response	October 4, 1969 – January 31, 1971	New Problem of Drugs Creating New Types of Crime Problems; Efforts to Infiltrate the Party and Take Over the Streets by Local Police; Attempts to Silence the People on the Streets and in Courtrooms	154, 155, 162, 168, 170, 174
Effective Federal Response	June 20, 1970 – June 1980	Declared Struggle/War; Timeline of Early Struggle; Recognition of COINTELPRO	177, 197, 199

Appendix D-2: Rap Internal Colonization Lyrics Periods

Table 12: Rap Album Internal Colonization Lyrics Periods

Rap Period (Years)	Common *Quotidian* Functions	Difference between Local and Billboard Exceptions
The New Ghetto (1986-1993)	Descriptions and Signs of the Territory; American Nightmare; and Urban Experience	Local emphasis was earlier (1986-1992) than Billboard Exceptions (1988-1993). Local scene was more full-bodied with signs of social and political awareness prior to Billboard Exceptions.
The New Markets (1992-1994)	Drug and Crime Market Profitability; Results for Individuals	Local emphasis was earlier (by the end of 1992-March 31, 1994) than Billboard Exceptions (May 26, 1993-October 18, 1994). Local scene was totally immersed in the scene and started elements of class analysis; Billboard Exceptions were more allegorical, stereotype-confirming.
The New Warzone	Negative Impact of Wars on Streets; Role and Roots of the Rapper; Tales of Life within the Warzone.	Local emphasis was earlier (October 24, 1994 until the end of 1996) than Billboard Exceptions (April 25, 1995-September 29, 1998). As socially conscious rap became more popular and widespread, many local artists remained rooted in more gangsta messages.

Appendix E: Codes

Appendix E-1: "The Rules of the BPP…"

Every member of the **Black Panther Party** throughout this country of racist America must abide by these rules as functional members of this party. **Central Committee** members, **Central Staffs**, and **Local Staffs**, including all captains subordinated to either national, state, and local leadership of the **Black Panther Party** will enforce these rules. Length of suspension or other disciplinary action necessary for violation of these rules will depend on national decisions by national, state or state area, and local committees and staffs where said rule or rules of the **Black Panther Party were violated**. Every member of the party must know these verbatim by heart. And apply them daily. Each member must report any violation of these rules to their leadership or they are counter-revolutionary and are also subjected to suspension by the **Black Panther Party**. The rules are:

1. No party member can have narcotics or weed in his possession while doing party work.

2. Any part member found shooting narcotics will be expelled from this party.

3. No party member can be **drunk** while doing daily party work.

4. No party member will violate rules relating to office work, general meetings of the **Black Panther Party**, and meetings of the **Black Panther Party anywhere**.

5. No party member will **use**, **point**, or **fire** a weapon of any kind unnecessarily or accidentally at anyone.

6. No party member can join any other army force, other than the **Black Liberation Army**.

7. No party member can have a weapon in his possession while **drunk** or loaded off narcotics or weed.

8. No party member will commit any crimes against other party members or **black** people at all, and cannot steal or take from the people, not even a needle or a piece of thread.

9. When arrested **Black Panther members** will give only name, address, and will sign nothing. Legal first aid must be understood by all Party members.

10. The Ten-Point Program and platform of the **Black Panther Party** must be known and understood by each Party member.

11. Party Communications must be National and Local.

12. The 10-10-10-program should be known by all members and also understood by all members.

13. All Finance officers will operate under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.

14. Each person will submit a report of daily work.

15. Each Sub-Section Leaders, Section Leaders, and Lieutenants, Captains must submit Daily reports of work.

16. All Panthers must learn to operate and service weapons correctly.

17. All Leaders who expel a member must submit this information to the Editor of the Newspaper, so that it will be published in the paper and will be known by all chapters and branches.

18. Political Education Classes are mandatory for general membership.

19. Only office personnel assigned to respective offices each day should be there. All others are to sell papers and do Political work out in the community, including Captain, Section Leaders, etc.

20. **Communications**--all chapters must submit weekly reports in writing to the National Headquarters.

21. All Branches must implement First Aid and/or Medical Cadres.

22. All Chapters, Branches, and components of the **Black Panther Party** must submit a monthly Financial Report to the Ministry of Finance, and also the Central Committee.

23. Everyone in a leadership position must read no less than two hours per day to keep abreast of the changing political situation.

24. No chapter or branch shall accept grants, poverty funds, money or any other aid from any government agency without contacting the National Headquarters.

25. All chapters must adhere to the policy and the ideology laid down by the **Central Committee** of the **Black Panther Party**.

26. All Branches must submit weekly reports in writing to their respective Chapters.

8 Points of Attention

1. Speak politely.

2. Pay fairly for what you buy.

3. Return everything you borrow.

4. Pay for anything you damage.

5. Do not hit or swear at people.

6. Do not damage property or crops of the poor, oppressed masses.

7. Do not take liberties with women.

8. If we ever have to take captives do not ill-treat them.

3 Main Rules of Discipline

1. Obey orders in all your actions.

2. Do not take a single needle or piece of thread from the poor and oppressed masses.

3. Turn in everything captured from the attacking enemy

Source: Newton (1966, emphasis in original)

Appendix E-2: "The Code of Thuglife"

1. All new Jacks to the game must know: a) He's going to get rich. b) He's going to jail.
c) He's going to die.

2. Crew Leaders: You are responsible for legal/financial payment commitments to crew members; your word must be your bond.

3. One crew's rat is every crew's rat. Rats are now like a disease; sooner or later we all get it; and they should too.

4. Crew leader and posse should select a diplomat, and should work ways to settle disputes. In unity, there is strength!

5. Car jacking in our Hood is against the Code.

6. Slinging to children is against the Code.

7. Having children slinging is against the Code.

8. No slinging in schools.

9. Since the rat Nicky Barnes opened his mouth; ratting has become accepted by some.
We're not having it.

10. Snitches is outta here.

11. The Boys in Blue don't run nothing; we do. Control the Hood, and make it safe for squares.

12. No slinging to pregnant Sisters. That's baby killing; that's genocide!

13. Know your target, which's the real enemy.

14. Civilians are not a target and should be spared.

15. Harm to children will not be forgiven.

16. Attacking someone's home where their family is known to reside, must be altered or checked.

17. Senseless brutality and rape must stop.

18. Our old folks must not be abused.

19. Respect our Sisters. Respect our Brothers.

20. Sisters in the Life must be respected if they respect themselves.

21. Military disputes concerning business areas within the community must be handled professionally and not on the block.

22. No shooting at parties.

23. Concerts and parties are neutral territories; no shooting!

24. Know the Code; it's for everyone.

25. Be a real ruff neck. Be down with the code of the Thug Life.

26. Protect yourself at all times.

Source: 2Pac (1994)

Appendix E-3: "The New Code of Thuglife"

Code #1 - Git Rich Or Die Tryin

Code #2 - You Gat is Yo Bond

Code #3 - Put All Snitches and Rats on 187 Street

Code #4 - Select a Diplomat to Settle Beefs

Code #5 - Car Jacking is Off Limits Nowhere.

Code #6 - Sling to Da Kids

Code #7 - Teach Kids How to Sling Like a True Baller

Code #8 - Sling in Schools Fo Quick Cash Money.

Code #9 - We Control Da Hood

Code #10 - If they Wanna Git High, We Gon Supply

Code #11 - Know Yo Target

Code #12 - Keep it Gangsta

Code #13 - Protect Yo Territory

Code #14 - Hit'em and Git'em at Da Club

Code #15 - Know the Code

Code #16 - Be Down With The Code of the Thug Life.

Code #17 - Protect Yourself at All Times…

Code #18 - Put All Wankstas In Check

Source: Thuglaws.com (2010)

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