# POPULAR MUSIC MAKING IN CANADA AND GREECE

# GLOBAL MUSIC, LOCAL CULTURE: POPULAR MUSIC MAKING IN CANADA AND GREECE

By

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**Abstract**

The purpose of this dissertation is to better theorize the relationship between cultural production, popular music and cultural identity. While broadly examining popular music, the primary focus of this study is on black popular music making and hip hop cultures in Canada and Greece. My dissertation focuses upon three distinct case studies in Toronto, Canada; Athens, Greece; and Vancouver, Canada.

Each of the three case studies in my dissertation contributes, and offers revisions, to Bourdieusian studies of cultural production. Whether it is DJs in Toronto trying to assert authorship and legitimate their roles as musicians, an MC in Vancouver trying to conceptualize a new mode of diasporic belonging for Greeks of the diaspora, or male hip hop practitioners in Athens utilizing their historical knowledge of the Greek field of popular music to authenticate their pursuits in rap music, each case study provides a different lens through which to understand how popular music makers use music in their quests for cultural legitimacy, diasporic belonging and/or authentication. Through an emphasis on *location*, *cultural identity* and *collective history*, each case study advances Bourdieu's field theory in new directions.

Drawing on, and refining Bourdieu, I demonstrate how an analysis of popular music has much to offer sociological studies of cultural production.

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Sixth, I would like to thank my family: my parents, Steve and Soula, and my brother, Bill. As a child, I grew up listening to a lot of Greek music and reading a lot of books. My father was an avid record collector of laika and rebetika. My love of music is in no small part the result of growing up listening to George Dallaras, Stelios Kazantzidis, Glykeria, and many others. The first record (that's right, record) I ever owned was NKOTB's *Merry, Merry Christmas*, which was given to me by my father for Christmas in 1989. My mother instilled in me the value of an education. She never had the opportunity to pursue a higher education, but from very early on in life she inspired in me a love of reading and learning. This dissertation is dedicated to her. Finally, I would like to thank my brother Bill for his wonderful sense of humour and friendship. Although I am eight years his elder, over the last few years, he has become one of my dearest friends.

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**Global Music, Local Culture: Popular Music Making in Canada and Greece**

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### Introduction

Since the early 1990s, black popular music[1], and rap music in particular, has increasingly been seen as a "global art form" (Potter 1995: 10) which has not only spread "from the margins to the mainstream" (Stapleton 1998: 219), but across the globe, with hip hop cultures in Canada, Greece, France, Japan, Australia, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Algeria, and South Africa, to name but a few examples. Hip hop began as a predominantly African-American, Puerto Rican and Latin American youth culture in the South Bronx, New York, United States. It consisted of the four elements of graffiti writing, breakdancing, turntablism and MCing. Hip Hop's cultural influences may be traced back to a myriad of African diasporic traditions, including, African bardic traditions; storytelling and toast traditions; ritualized games, such as signifyin(g), the dozens and hopscotch; blues, soul and funk music, especially the music of James Brown; North American black churches; the black Arts Movement; and Jamaican Sound System culture. Hip hop spread to other countries predominantly through flows of popular media, such as cassette tapes (most notably mix tapes), movies (in particular, *Wild Style* 1983

[1] The term black popular music, instead of rap music or urban music, is being used in reference to my respondents in Toronto. This term was chosen based on input from my respondents. I originally sought to interview artists involved in rap music, but found that many of the DJs I spoke with did not define themselves solely as rap DJs. Focusing on rap music also limited the numbers of female respondents I was able to interview. In order to interview more women, I began to employ the term urban music. However, many respondents found this term problematic, as it erased the African and African American roots of rap, reggae, R&B, and other genres classified as "urban." Ultimately, I chose the term black popular music as a term of categorization for several reasons. First, a number of respondents categorized the music they created as black music. Second, black popular music highlighted the African and African American roots of these musical forms. Third, it was a term which could be applied to the majority of my respondents.

and *Beat Street* 1984) and television (MTV and music videos), and flows of people who brought these popular media around the globe. As a result of these transnational flows of people and media, hip hop culture, both in its formation and dissemination, is a "diasporic cultural form" (Gilroy [1993]2003: 70).

With its roots in African-American culture, black popular music and hip hop culture has since become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identities all over the world (Mitchell 2001: 1-2). There are three key reasons as to why hip hop culture has become a seminal tool used to rework local identities worldwide. First and foremost, hip hop culture has been used as a tool to challenge marginalization and oppression. This is not surprising given that issues of social justice and racial inequality have historically been central themes within mainstream hip hop culture. From Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five's *The Message* (1982) to Public Enemy's immensely popular album entitled *Fear of a Black Planet* (1990) to Kanye West's *Late Registration* (2005) featuring the track entitled "Diamonds from Sierra Leone," there is a long history of political critique within hip hop culture. It is precisely the political nature of hip hop which has made this musical genre popular among marginalized youth in countries around the world. For example, Turkish youth in Germany adopted hip hop as a way of critiquing racism directed against them in German society (Bennett 2000: 145) and black Canadian youth in Canada have similarly adopted hip hop as a form of cultural expression and articulation of their marginalization within Canadian society (Haines 1999). As Bakari Kitwana reminds us, hip hop's mass appeal is based on the fact that rap music provided a public platform for black youth in a society who had previously been

silenced, and that over the years, rap music has also provided a voice for youth of other cultures around the world (Kitwana 2005: xiii).

Second, hip hop culture has also been uncritically adopted by youth in diverse locales as a way of experiencing "the other." In this instance, hip hop culture operates as an 'exotic other' through which youths can vicariously sample blackness (which is often framed in terms of violence, crime and poverty) in order to rebel against their parents, larger society, etc. For example, white rural youth in Ontario rearticulated black urban culture in ways which simultaneously disrupted locally constructed notions of white, rural, youth identity and re-inscribed popular imaginations of black, urban, youth identity in stereotypically homogenous ways (linked to poverty, crime, violence, etc.) (Hayes 2004: 68). In this instance, rap music plays a central role in white youths' (very) limited understandings of black urban youth. Rap music operates as one of the primary mediums through which these white youths gained access to (stereotypical) representations of black urban reality. The differences between these two types of uses of hip hop culture illustrate the complexities of cultural appropriation and highlight how issues of race, racialism and racism are central to understanding the reworking of black popular music and hip hop culture in various locations (Maxwell 2003: ix).

Third, aside from the political potentials and voyeuristic opportunities that hip hop culture and rap music offer to youth around the world, one of the most important reasons for the local reworking of hip hop culture is that it is a fairly democratic cultural form which does not require years of musical training in order to participate. This is because African American, Latino and Puerto Rican youth, the originators of hip hop in the south

Bronx in the mid 1970s, had very little in the way of economic assets but they had a great deal in the way of cultural and aesthetic resources (Rose 1994: 61). And, although being a DJ and being a graffiti artist have become increasingly expensive pursuits (as a result of the DJ equipment and cost of spray paint), being a break dancer and being an MC are not. These are some of the key reasons that black popular music and hip hop culture are distinct from other forms of popular music and provide excellent opportunities for the reworking of local identities. This dissertation examines how black popular music and hip hop culture have been reworked in three local contexts: Toronto, Canada (Canadian context), Athens, Greece (Greek context) and Vancouver, Canada (Greek-Canadian context).

Though most American based academic commentaries on rap used to be restricted to the United States and African-American contexts (Mitchell 2001: 3), this is no longer the case as there are now a wealth of studies of hip hop culture outside the United States (Elflein 1998; Mitchell 1998; Bennett 1999; Flores 2000; Mitchell's 2001 edited collection; Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002; Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2003; Fernandes 2003; Horak 2003; Huq 2003; Maxwell 2003; Somolon 2005; Condry 2006; George 2007; Huq 2006; Kahf 2007; Solomon 2007; Motley and Henderson 2008, etc.). Research into hip hop in Canada and Greece has been limited (e.g. Canada: Haines 1999; Chamberland 2001; Hayes 2004; Lashua 2006; Lashua and Fox 2006; e.g. Greece: Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002; Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2003), focusing primarily on the music/musicians (Haines 1999; Chamberland 2001) and consumption/audience reception of rap music (Hayes 2004; Lashua 2006; Lashua and

Fox 2006). The studies on hip hop in Greece have offered broad overviews of hip hop in Greece (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2003) and linguistic analyses of song lyrics (Androutsopoulos and Scholz 2002). By solely focusing on musicians and consumers of hip hop culture, these studies have neglected the producers, DJs, managers, and other individuals involved in the production of black popular music and hip hop culture. Thus, these studies miss the full spectrum of music making practices. This dissertation seeks to contribute to this growing body of literature by examining a wider variety of individuals involved in the cultural production of black popular music and hip hop cultures in the 'peripheries' of Canada and Greece.[2]

As Ulf Hannerz suggests, rather than obliterating cultural difference, global popular cultures, such as black popular music more broadly, and hip hop culture in particular, are a resource that people in different places in the periphery can draw on and put into dialogue with local cultural forms that integrate the global and the local (Solomon 2005: 16). The global spread of black popular music and hip hop culture outside of the United States provides an excellent opportunity to examine how cultural forms are reworked in new contexts. Towards this end, this research is separated into three case studies, and each case study draws from one of three distinct empirical cases:

[2] Although Canada is part of North America and in many ways not a 'peripheral' country within world politics, there have been limited Canadian hip hop artists who have become international successes. Aside from the scattered international success of individual hip hop artists such as Maestro Fresh Wes, the Dream Warriors, Michie Mee, the Rascalz, Kardinal Offishall, Swollen Members, k-os, K'Naan and most recently Drake, there has not been a unified sound or regional hip hop identity which has gained success internationally (e.g. such as the American East Coast, West Coast, Dirty South, etc.). In this regard, Canada, similar to Greece, is part of the hip hop periphery.

interviews and data collected about black popular music-makers[3] in Toronto, Canada, interviews and data collected about hip hop practitioners in Athens, Greece, and song lyric analysis of a Greek-Canadian MC in Vancouver, Canada. Each case study was chosen in order to examine how the same cultural form (black popular music and hip hop culture) can be reworked in different contexts, and how each case study provides insights into sociological studies of cultural production. Toward this end, this dissertation draws inspiration from Born and Hesmondhalgh's (2000) four part schema of the relationship between music forms and identity formation. Crucial to Born and Hesmondhalgh's discussion of the relationship between music and identity formation is their focus on *difference* and *appropriation* within Western musical forms. Their focus is on the ways in which Westerners have appropriated and made use of non-Western music. Each case study in this dissertation is sensitive to these issues.

Black popular music genres, such as blues, jazz, rock and rap, to name a few examples, have historically been sites of appropriation by the (white) musical mainstream in the United States. African Americans within the United States have in many ways served as "internal others," whose music, traditions and cultures have been appropriated for the purposes of mass entertainment. For example, as a result of black migrations to American cities in the 1940s, the music, dance and dress of middle-class Americans were

[3] The term black popular music is being used over the marketing category 'urban music' because many artists involved in making music in Toronto, Canada believe that the term 'urban music' erases the African and African American roots of the cultural forms associated with 'urban music.' Additionally, the term music-makers is being used over the term artists, in order to better represent the diversity of those involved in the music making-process and to include individuals (such as managers) not traditionally seen as music-makers. Finally, the broader term of black popular music is being used instead of hip hop or rap music, because although many popular music makers created or spun rap music, they did not want to be narrowly confined to this one genre of music. Many believed that being labelled a 'hip hop artist' limited the reception of their music in Toronto, so they did not want to be solely categorized under this term. Others genuinely were not solely hip hop artists and created or spun a wide variety of musical genres.

directly influenced by previously marginalized aspects of black and white Southern cultures (Lipsitz 1990: 117). This was particularly true in the case of rock and roll, the roots of which in the 1940s and 1950s can be traced to working class African American and Southern cultures in the United States (Lipsitz 1990: 116). Yet, as rock and roll's popularity grew, rock music, from 1959 and onward, became white, more commercially homogenous, and less working class each year (Lipsitz 1990: 127).

These musical appropriations of working class African American and Southern cultures are very clear examples of what bell hooks refers to as the "commodification of Otherness" (hooks 1992: 21), or the process by which ethnic and racial differences are continually commodified for the purposes of white entertainment (hooks 1992: 39). For hooks, race, sexuality, and desire are central to understanding how black cultural forms are commodified for white audiences. This process of assimilation into the musical mainstream has been much more complicated for hip hop in the United States as a result of earlier appropriations of jazz and rock and roll. Nonetheless, certain strains of rap music have been assimilated into the musical mainstream. From 1988 to 1993 hip hop music was transformed from a small subculture to a genre that had been absorbed into mainstream U.S. popular culture (McLeod 1999: 136). Crucial to the musical appropriation of hip hop during this time period was the shift from the East Coast Afrocentric, Nation of Islam, and black power strains of hip hop (e.g. "message" oriented rappers such as Public Enemy, Queen Latifah, De La Soul, KRS-One, etc.), to the West Coast gangsta rap strains of hip hop (e.g. N.W.A. Dr. Dre, Snoop Dogg, etc.). This shift occurred for two reasons. First, gangsta rap, with its themes of violence, sexism,

misogyny and materialism was easier to market to a mass audience than Afrocentric rap, with its themes of black empowerment and critiques of racial inequality. Second, message rappers such as Public Enemy were undermined by hip hop's own internal logic which privileged stylistic innovation as a response to intense commodification (Neal 2004: 376-377). In attempting to resist easy commodification, message rap lacked danceability, whereas gangsta rap (especially with the release of Dr. Dre's *The Chronic* (1992)) produced funk infused grooves that got people on the dance floor (Neal 2004: 376).

Nonetheless, various strains of black popular music and hip hop culture continue to provide a means for resistance for youth in diverse cultural settings. Historically, issues of cultural identity, representation and authenticity have been *central* in the struggles of African-American hip hop artists to define black masculinity through their music (Dyson 2001: 158; Boyd 1997; Boyd 2003; Quinn 1996; Quinn 2000), as well as in struggles to define authentic hip hop culture in ways which emphasize its roots in African-American experience. Black masculinity and black cultural identity have been some of the central concerns of African American hip hop artists such as Public Enemy, N.W.A., Tupac Shakur, and many others. Black cultural identity has often been one of the central themes focused upon in the lyrics of African-American hip hop artists, and more recently, white cultural identity has also been one of the central themes in the music of white rappers such as Eminem (Kajikawa 2009). Crucial to these debates about cultural identity and hip hop culture are how authenticity claims seek to preserve black cultural identity against the threat of assimilation into the musical mainstream (McLeod 1999).

This research examines how black popular music forms originating in the United States, such as hip hop, are adopted and adapted in new locales. The three case studies that constitute this dissertation seek to understand how discourses about black popular music, hip hop culture, and song lyrics are used by popular music-makers in Toronto, Vancouver and Athens in their own symbolic quests for cultural legitimacy, belonging and authenticity. The central aim of this research is to examine how black popular music and hip hop culture are used as cultural resources in the formation, representation and authentication of a wide range of cultural identities. In particular, I am interested in answering several broad questions. First, how is black popular music and hip hop culture used as a resource in the construction of cultural identities? Second, what can an analysis of black popular music and hip hop culture contribute to sociological studies of cultural production? Third, are the findings of these case studies applicable to other cultural fields? This dissertation seeks to answer these questions by examining black popular music-making in Canada and Greece through a Bourdieusian perspective. In particular, I examine how black popular music and hip hop culture are used as cultural resources by Canadian, Greek and Greek-Canadian popular music makers for the purposes of cultural legitimation, authentication and diasporic belonging.

**Cultural identities, Meaning-making, Representation and Popular Music**

As Stuart Hall reminds us, 'culture' is one of the most difficult concepts in the human and social sciences and there are many different ways of defining it (Hall 1997: 2). For the purposes of this project, culture is used to refer to whatever is distinctive about

the 'way of life' of a people, community, nation or social group. Culture is not so much a set of things, such as novels, paintings, comics, music, etc., but a *process* or set of *practices*. Central to this definition of culture is the process of *meaning-making* and the production and exchange of meanings between members of a society or group (Hall 1997: 2). The emphasis on shared meanings, as well as shared feelings, emotions and attachments is central to understanding how culture organizes, regulates and influences our conduct and has real and practical effects (Hall 1997: 2-3).

Language is a principal conveyor of cultural meaning. The production of meaning through language is centrally important to the construction of a shared culture. Language is a representational system where we use signs and symbols to represent our concepts, ideas and feelings, and it is one of the vehicles through which thoughts, ideas and feelings are represented in culture. Language, therefore, is central to the processes by which meaning and culture is produced (Hall 1997: 1). Though there are many different models for the study of culture and meaning, one which examines multiple moments of cultural production is the "circuit of culture." This model consists of five moments or cultural processes central to the understanding of cultural artefacts: representation, identity, production, consumption and regulation (du Gay et al. 1997: 3). My dissertation focuses on three of these moments: representation, identity and production of black popular music and hip hop cultures.

The "circuit of culture" model provides an excellent over-arching framework for the study of popular music and the representation and articulation of cultural identities. Stuart Hall argues that there are two ways that cultural identity is theorized: cultural

identity as essence and cultural identity as product. The first position defines cultural identity as one shared culture, a sort of collective "one true self" hiding inside many other artificially imposed selves, which people with a shared history and ancestry hold in common (Hall 1996b: 211). This definition assumes cultural identity is a stable, unchanging, and continuous frame of reference, and that there is a concrete "essence" to identity (Hall 1996b: 211). The second position defines cultural identity as produced, and although there are many points of similarity, there are also points of difference (Hall 1996b: 212). In this definition, people are actively involved in creating cultural identities.

In distinction to these two definitions, Hall sets forth his own conceptualization of cultural identity. This third theorization argues that there are points of similarity and continuity, as well as points of difference and rupture within all identities (Hall 1996b: 213). Identity in this instance is not solely an essence nor is it a social construction. Rather, cultural identities are constructed by individuals, yet the choices individuals make are constrained by various axes of domination such as race, class, gender, sexual orientation, etc. In this theorization, identity is not a fixed essence lying unchanged outside of history and culture, nor is it universal or transcendental, nor is it a phantasm, since identities have histories that have real, material and symbolic effects (Hall 1996b: 212-213). Thus, cultural identity is a production which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within and not outside of representation (Hall 1996b: 210).

Central to processes of meaning-making and identity formation within culture is representation, which is an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced

and exchanged between members of a culture (Hall 1997: 15). Representation is the link between concepts and language which enables us to refer to either the 'real' world of objects, people or events, or indeed to imaginary worlds of fictional objects, people and events (Hall 1997: 17). Stuart Hall argues that there are several theories of representation: *the reflective*, *the intentional*, and *the constructionist*. The first definition sees representation as a way of talking about how one imagines a reality that exists 'outside' the means by which things are represented (Hall 1996a: 165). To represent something is to describe it or to depict it (Hall 1997: 16). Meaning is thought to lie in the object, person, idea or event in the real world, and language functions like a mirror, to reflect the true meaning as it already exists in the world (Hall 1997: 24). Representations in this definition are a reflection of the 'real' and correspond to reality. The second definition sees the meaning of representation as belonging to the speaker or author of that representation. Meaning is thought to lie in the speaker or author who imposes their own unique meaning on the world through language (Hall 1997: 25). The third definition of representation is a radical displacement of the previous two definitions of representation. It states that the way in which things are represented play a constitutive and not merely reflective role in culture (Hall 1996a: 165). To represent something means to symbolize, to stand for, to be a specimen of, or to substitute for (Hall 1997: 16). Representations, in this instance, play a central role in creating rather than just reflecting reality. Things don't *mean*: we *construct* meaning, using representational systems (concepts and signs) (Hall 1997: 25) (italics in original). It is this third definition of representation, one which focuses on the performative or enactive aspects of representation, which is central to this

research project. The representation of cultural identities in and through popular music do not merely reflect social reality, nor do they merely reflect the intent of the author, rather these representations always play an active and creative role in reinforcing and/or challenging already existing cultural identities. The act of representation is always already political.

The theorization of the relationship between popular music and the representation of cultural identities is presently a major preoccupation of scholarly research (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 31). "Music, as many authors have observed, not only reflects people's reality but also 'constructs' or shapes that reality" (Guilbault, 2006: 188). There are two current models which theorize the relationship between music, identity and representation. The first model, dubbed the *homology model*, argues that popular music reflects social reality and that music is used in the representation of already-existing cultural identities (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 31). The concept of homology was central to the Centre for Contemporary Culture Studies (CCCS) at the University of Birmingham, and subcultural studies of youth and popular music which adopted semiotic and structuralist perspectives on subcultures as exclusive signifying systems (Laughey 2006: 14). Dick Hebdige believed that there was a symbolic fit between the values and life-styles of subcultural groups and the musical forms they listen to which are used to express their 'focal concerns' (Hebdige 1997[1979]: 137). The example he focuses on is punks, and the ways in which their 'spectacular' subculture (via clothes, drugs, music) offers a coherent critique against the capitalist order (Hebdige 1997[1979]: 137-138). The limitation of this model is that the emphasis of style as homology, particularly in the

work of Dick Hebdige, uncritically assumes that British youth subcultures are homogeneous groups (Laughey 2006: 28) and that the relationship between these homogenous groups and popular music is culturally determined (e.g. in the work of Hebdige punk music reflects the concerns of white working class youth) (Bennett 2008: 421). The reality is that the relationship between youth, style and popular music is much more complex given the diversity of people involved in musical subcultures and the diverse meanings they attach to their musical involvements. Music does not merely reflect reality, but is actively used in the construction of that reality, which is the main argument of the second model.

The second model, dubbed the *process model*, argues that popular music constructs social reality and that music is used in the representation of new cultural identities (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 31). The process model of musical identity tends to focus on the microsociality of musical performance, practice, and bodily gesture, and how these condense the signification of identity (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 33). The process model is the current model which is most often used to discuss the relationship between popular music, meaning and cultural identities. The limitation of this model is that an emphasis on the microsocial risks erasing how individual and collective identity formations may be powerfully influenced by larger discursive, ideological, social and generic forces (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 33). In other words, identities are constructed, but these constructions are limited by the confines of the specific subject positions people occupy within the social order.

In response to the limitations of both models, many academics have acknowledged that popular music can both construct new identities and reflect existing ones (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 31). Sometimes these processes are happening simultaneously, sometimes separately. In either case, it is important to note that any examination of the social aspects of music-making needs to situate the formation of cultural identities within the discursive, ideological, social and political contexts of music-making, and also focus on how music participants are actively involved in the construction, representation and negotiation of cultural identities (as is the goal of this current research). With these insights in mind, this project "...privilege[s] methods and data that allow us to take the role and perspective of the people we intend to understand, that allow us to focus on the construction of meaning through language and language use, and that allow us to interpret the significance of music-related practices in a precise historical, political, geographical and economic context (Kotarba and Vannini 2009: 13).

Drawing upon Bourdieu (1993; 1996), this dissertation examines how black popular music and hip hop culture act as cultural resources in the construction and reflection of diverse cultural identities. Towards this end, each of the three case studies in my dissertation contributes, and offers revisions, to Bourdieusian studies of cultural production. Whether it is DJs in Toronto trying to gain authorship within the black popular music field in order to legitimate their roles as musicians (Chapter 5), male hip hop practitioners in Athens who authenticate hip hop in ways which reinforce already-existing ethnic and gender boundaries and draw upon historical resources to legitimate their positions in the Greek popular music field (Chapter 6), or a Greek-Canadian MC in

Vancouver trying to formulate a new conceptualization of diasporic belonging (Chapter 7), each case study provides a different lens through which to understand how popular music makers use music in their quests for cultural legitimacy, diasporic belonging and/or authentication. In addition, through an emphasis on *location* (Chapter 5), *collective history* (Chapter 6) and *cultural identity* (Chapter 7), the case studies advance field theory in new directions. Each case study also provides the opportunity to contribute to several distinct literatures: the sociology of culture, diasporic studies, and popular music studies. My contributions to these literatures are fully addressed in the following chapter. My theoretical contributions are fully addressed in Chapter 3.

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# Chapter 2

# Literature Review

## Introduction

This chapter outlines how my dissertation contributes to the sociology of culture, diasporic studies and popular music studies literatures. I contribute to the sociology of culture by illustrating the strengths of utilizing a Bourdieusian approach to cultural production; I contribute to the diasporic studies literature by illustrating how cultural identities, similar to cultural legitimacy, capital and other material and symbolic resources, are an integral component of all cultural fields; and I contribute to the popular music studies literature by illustrating how cultural appropriation is strategically adopted by black popular music makers for their own purposes of cultural legitimation, authentication and constructions of belonging.

## Cultural Identities, Popular Music and the Sociology of Culture

The construction of *new articulations* (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 35) of cultural identity through popular music has been studied within the sociology of culture in a number of different ways. Three of the most significant sociological approaches which examine how music is involved in the articulation of new cultural identities include: first, *the subcultural approach* (namely the CCCS, Clarke et al. 1997[1975]; Hebdige 1997[1979]), second, *the production of culture perspective* (Peterson and Berger 1975; Peterson 1997; Peterson and Anand 2004) and third, *the cultural production perspective*

(Bourdieu 1993; Bourdieu 1996). This research primarily draws from the cultural production perspective, since this approach reconciles some of the limitations of the previous two perspectives and provides new avenues for research in the sociology of popular music. A discussion of the strengths and limitations of the first two perspectives will be followed by an illustration of how the cultural production framework is best suited for the current research project.

First, *the subcultural approach* to the study of popular music may be traced back to scholarly activity in the United States and Britain during the latter half of the twentieth century. In the American context, much of the early research is rooted in sociology and mass communications, most notably the Chicago School and two seminal studies: Paul G. Cressey's 1932 study on 'taxi dancers' and William F. Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (1943). However, it was not until Milton M. Gordon's article entitled "The Concept of Sub-Culture and its Application" (1947) that the first sustained consideration of 'subculture' was offered (Laughey 2006: 13-17). In the British context, the most seminal research conducted on youth subcultures was done at the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, most notably the foundational works of John Clarke et al. *Resistance Through Rituals* and Dick Hebdige *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. Though subcultural research has many different branches (for example research on deviant subcultures, sport subcultures, music subcultures), the early sociological research on musical youth subcultures tended to focus on the relationship between youth, style, identity, musical taste and resistance. Many of these early studies examined how predominantly male working-class subcultures offered spaces of resistance for youth

against either 'dominant' or 'parental' culture (e.g. Cohen 1997[1972], Clarke et al. 1997[1975], etc.).

The key strength of the CCCS approach is that it aims to disentangle the complex relationship between culture and social structure, and the ways in which individual biographies evolve out of this relationship. This aspect of the approach remains a valuable contribution for the sociology of music[4] (Schildrick and MacDonald 2006: 125). In particular, the emphasis on different levels of analysis such as between *structures* (the set of socially organized positions and experiences of the class in relation to the major institutions and structures), *cultures* (the range of socially organized and patterned responses to these basic material and social conditions) and *biographies* (the 'careers' of particular individuals through these structures and cultures) (Clarke et al. 1997[1975]: 111), remains a fertile conceptual framework for understanding cultural forms (such as music-making).

However, there are numerous critiques against subcultural (and more recent post-subcultural) approaches (Bennett 1999; Bennett 2002; Bennett 2008; Blackman 2005; Hesmondhalgh 2005; Laughey 2006). Of these critiques, there are three key limitations of the subcultural approach which are particularly relevant for the sociology of music. The first limitation is the CCCS contention that subcultural music and style were used by working-class youth as a strategy designed to resist the structural changes taking place around them (Bennett 1999: 602). This is known as the 'resistance thesis' and although it is possible to argue that some segments of working-class youth in Britain used musical

[4] Though Schildrick and MacDonald (2006) view these contributions as central to the sociology of youth, I argue that they are also of benefit to the sociology of music.

styles, such as punk, as a response to the contradictions of working-class life, there were undoubtedly many other youths who did not (Bennett 1999: 602). Instead of examining the complexity of responses among working-class youth (and indeed among girls and members of racial minorities), there was an assumed 'homology' between being working-class and resistance through popular music. The second limitation is that many of the early studies of musical subcultures (e.g. Hebdige's *The Meaning of Style*) provided critical readings of subcultural practices without actually speaking with participants in the subculture (Laughey 2006:27). Thus, another key limitation of these early studies is their emphasis on theory and their lack of empirical fieldwork (Bennett 2002: 453). The third limitation is the assumption of homogeneity within subcultural affiliations at the expense of difference. This is the most fundamental criticism of CCCS research since the focus on the subcultural unit resulted in the differences and interactions between young people and others within these different groups to be papered over (Laughey 2006: 15). As a remedy to this limitation, this current research uses Bourdieu's notion of cultural field instead of subculture as its overarching theoretical framework. The cultural field better conceptualizes the relationship between cultural identities, popular music and meaning-making since this approach specifically focuses on issues of difference and struggle within fields (between those in different positions within the field, between the autonomous and heteronomous regions of the field, between different hierarchical orderings, etc.) as well as between fields (between the fields of literature, art and music).

Second, *the production of culture perspective* draws on the "art worlds" perspective advanced by Becker (1974; 2008), while also using the analytical tools from

symbolic interactionism, the sociology of occupations, and the sociology of organizations, in order to see how social resources are mobilized in order to make cultural production possible (Mukerji and Schudson, 1991: 28-31). Broadly speaking, the production of culture perspective examines how the symbolic elements of culture (music, art, etc.) are shaped by the systems within which they are created, distributed, evaluated, taught and preserved (Peterson and Anand 2004: 311). The early studies in the production of culture perspective tended to move away from the study of meaning within culture and instead emphasized the study of culture as a manufactured product (Mukerji and Schudson, 1991: 30). Early studies in this perspective tended to focus on the moment of cultural production and not so much on cultural products, consumption and audience reception.

The key strength of this approach is that it provides great insight into the political economy of cultural production. The key limitation of this approach is the emphasis placed on production at the expense of meaning-making and audience reception. One of the most significant critiques levelled against the production of culture perspective is that it ignores the meaning of cultural productions (Peterson and Anand, 2004: 327). This limitation of the production of culture perspective is addressed in the current research by adopting a qualitative analysis of cultural production which focuses on the importance of meaning-making within cultural fields. Rather than understanding the relationship between popular music, cultural identity and meaning-making in terms of *cultural resistance* (the CCCS emphasis on resistance at the expense of other possible reactions, where meaning is located in subcultural symbols) or *cultural determinism* (the production

of culture emphasis on creation at the expense of audience reception and consumption, where meaning is solely located in the act of production), the cultural production perspective does not predetermine the nature of this relationship. Though cultural fields share certain similarities (e.g. the centrality of struggle), the internal workings of fields are different within different contexts (e.g. Canada vs. Greece), and it this emphasis on difference which is the key strength of the cultural production approach.

The third approach is *the cultural production approach.* The cultural production approach and the works of Pierre Bourdieu provide an excellent framework for an examination of how cultural identities are articulated through popular music. Though Bourdieu uses his discussions of the field of cultural production primarily for the study of literary, artistic and academic fields, this framework can be fruitfully applied to other areas of sociological inquiry. One such area is the study of popular music (for examples of other qualitative studies of popular music influenced by Bourdieu see Regev 1994; Thornton 1996; Lopes 2000; Moore 2007 and Prior 2008) which is the focus of all three case studies in this dissertation. In general, the cultural field is a space of positions occupied by different social entities, which might be organizations, groups or individuals. These entities or positions are in a constant state of struggle over the accumulation and distribution of prestige, recognition, high evaluation and various forms of capital (economic, cultural, social, symbolic, subcultural, etc.). These different forms of distinction within fields are not granted directly to the social entities, but primarily to the works and to the contents they produce; that is the cultural forms and art forms (Regev 1994: 86). Cultural fields such as the fields of literature, art and music, are hierarchically

organized into different regions and within these regions there are different resources which are struggled over. These resources can take the form of different positions within the field (such as the position of musician, see Chapter 5), different histories within the field (such as the historical construction of different field logics, e.g. east-west binaries, see Chapter 6), and different identities within the field (such as Greek cultural identity, see Chapter 7).

Further strengths of the cultural production approach are that it provides a complex conceptual model (the cultural field) within which to understand how various cultural identities are created, contested and struggled over. The advantage of this model is that it simultaneously situates popular music-making within larger systems of creation and distribution (similar to the production of culture) *and* it provides opportunities to focus on the meaning-making activities of popular-music makers (similar to the CCCS). Additionally, the emphasis on both aspects of musical production (through interviews with popular music-makers) and cultural product (through an analysis of song lyrics) addresses the limitations of solely focusing on one moment in the circuit of culture.[5]

Bearing these points in mind, this dissertation aims to contribute to the sociology of culture in two respects. First, it aims to illustrate the strengths of a cultural production approach to the study of popular music. Second, it aims to illustrate how the study of popular music can contribute to more nuanced understandings of cultural production. This will be accomplished by illustrating how an analysis of black forms of cultural production within Toronto, Athens, and Vancouver, offer important opportunities in the way of

[5] However, this research is limited in regards to not addressing the ways in which audiences consume popular music.

revising Bourdieu's field theory, and how these revisions are also broadly applicable to other cultural fields of production. These points will be further addressed in the theoretical chapter to follow.

**Cultural Identities, Popular Music and Diasporic Communities**

The construction of *imaginary articulations* (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 35-36) of cultural identity through popular music has been increasing as a result of the greater flows of people, capital and ideas across borders. Central to understanding these flows are the concepts of globalization, transnationalism, and diaspora, which are all contested terms (Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999; Butler 2001; Kellner 2002; Braziel and Mannur 2003; van Amersfoort 2004; Baltzis 2005; Brubaker 2005; Gargano 2009). Globalization is a highly complex, contradictory, and ambiguous set of institutions and social relations (Kellner 2002; Baltzis 2005). Human societies have been 'globalizing' for millennia, although a more formal network of trade in the post-war period is more commonly referred to as the period of 'globalization.' For some, globalization involves the flow of goods, services, ideas, technologies, cultural forms and people (Kellner 2002; Baltzis 2005). For others, globalization is best employed for the contemporary rapid and deregulated flows of capital that are restructuring patterns of investment, production, labour deployment and consumption (Mittleman quoted in Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999: 343). These flows of ideas, technology, and goods and services are termed 'global' (Glick Schiller and Fouron 1999: 343).

The term globalization is not only highly debated, but it is also a term which is sometimes incorrectly used to describe a different process, transnationalism (Gargano 2009: 333). Globalization cannot be applied to everything since "certain movements of people, ideas and objects are best defined as transnational rather than global" (Schiller and Fouron quoted in Gargano 2009: 333). Critics of globalization suggest that the term overemphasizes uniformity and "all encompassing global cultural trends;" transnationalism instead emphasizes the particular and differently experienced processes of cultural exchange and influence (Gargano 2009: 333). Grounded in critiques of globalization theories (Gargano 2009: 334), transnationalism was initially defined as "the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (Basch et el. 1994: 7). Based on this definition, transnationalism differs from globalization in two important ways. First, transnationalism illustrates how the forces of globalization are locally experienced and how people, communities, and societies interpret and respond in a range of ways to global flows and processes (Gargano 2009: 33). Second, it specifically relates to regular and sustained social contacts over time across national borders (Portes, Guarnizo and Landolt 1999: 219). For example, long term connections between the Greek hip hop scene in Athens and Greek-Canadian rappers in Vancouver is best understood as transnational, not global.

Transnationalism, however, should also not be confused with another closely related term, diaspora, which although there are significant points of overlap, should be distinguished from one another. There is considerable disagreement on the precise

meaning of the term diaspora and the ways in which the term can and cannot be used (Cho 2007; Braziel and Mannur 2003; Brubaker 2005). Historically, diaspora has "...referred to displaced communities of people who have been dislocated from their native homeland through the movements of migration, immigration, or exile (Braziel and Mannur 2003: 1). Despite disagreements over how to define diasporas, there are certain shared elements which are constitutive of diasporas. These 'core elements' (Brubaker 2005: 5-6) include *dispersion* in space (which usually, though not always, involves crossing state borders), a *homeland orientation* (to either a real or imagined 'homeland' as a source of value, identity and loyalty) and *boundary-maintenance* (involving the preservation of a distinctive identity vis-a-vis the host society, or societies). While diasporas may be accurately described as transnationalist, they are not synonymous with transnationalism (Braziel and Mannur 2003: 8). The most significant difference in emphasis is that diasporas, more than is implied with transnational communities, are politically engaged with their home state or home territory (van Amersfoort 2004: 368-369). That is, diasporas are a particular politicized type of transnational community.

Popular music is one of the mediums used by numerous transnational and diasporic communities in their constructions of new forms of cultural identity and identification. For example, there have been increasing studies which focus on popular music through the lens of transnationalism (Slobin 1993;[6] Simonett 2001; Simonett 2007) and more specifically hip hop through the lens of transnationalism (Flores 2000; Condry

[6] It should be noted that Slobin uses the term 'interculture' to examine connections between subcultural formations across state bounds, however, there are some similarities between his concept of diasporic interculture and transnational music formations.

2007; Schlund-Vials 2008; Solomon 2009). There are also many studies which examine diasporic musical cultures such as bhangra (Warwick 2000) rap (Gilroy 1991; Elflein 1998; Horak 2003; Kaya 2002; Solomon 2007) zouk (Guilbault 2006) and rebetika (Gauntlett 1999; Horn 2005; Boura 2006). In each of these studies, popular music forms have been adopted and utilized by diasporic communities in other countries, such as rap music by Turks in Germany, or rebetika by Greeks in Australia. For example, Thomas Solomon, in his study of the interconnections in between Turkish rap artists in Istanbul and Stockholm, argues that:

> "Turkish hip hop may be best understood as a transnational community of affect in which not only attachment to specific places, but also movement itself between them, are crucial to a sense of belonging for those who are able to participate in these movements" (2009: 305).

Though the contexts and reasons for the creation of these diverse diasporic musical communities may vary, as do the types of music diasporic communities adopt, what remains central in each instance is the ways in which diasporic communities utilize popular music in their negotiations and articulations of diverse cultural identities and diasporic belonging, issues which are further addressed in Chapter 7.

Transnationalism has also influenced research into social fields. According to Fouron and Schiller (2001), the 'transnational social field' is "an unbounded terrain of interlocking egocentric networks that extends across the border of two or more nation-states and that incorporates its participants in the day-to-day activities of social reproduction in these various locations" (quoted in Gargano 2009: 332). Building on Bourdieu's concepts of social and cultural fields, transnational social fields are spaces for the exchange, organization, and transformation of ideas, practices, and social networks

(Gargano 2009: 332). Instead of cultural fields being bounded within the confines of the metropole or nation-state, transnational social fields account for the crossings of ideas, products and people across borders.

The transnational crossings of products and people have played a seminal role in the translation of hip hop culture from the United States to both Canada and Greece as music, movies, and music videos, provided the mediated sounds and images adopted and adapted in the construction of local hip hop scenes. This was definitely the case for the transmission of hip hop from the United States to Greece. However, these same media have also been strategically adopted in the dissemination of transnational forms of identification by members of these various scenes. For example, in Chapter 7, this dissertation illustrates how BZ Jam, a Greek-Canadian rapper, explicitly uses rap music in order to promote a transnational Greek cultural identity for Greeks of the diaspora and to propagate specific views of "Greekness."

Bearing these points in mind, this dissertation aims to contribute to the diasporic and transnational literature in the following manner. Drawing upon the diasporic literature on cultural identity (particularly the work of Stuart Hall), this dissertation illustrates how Bourdieu's field theory offers a new model for understanding *how* cultural identities are struggled over within cultural fields.

**Cultural Identities, Popular Music and Social Difference**

In addition to examining the creation of new and imaginary cultural identities in and through popular music, this research also focuses on "how particular [existing] social

and cultural identities may be evoked, articulated, and represented in music" (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 31). The creation of *existing articulations* (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 35-36) of cultural identity through the construction and/or representation of musical boundaries through popular music is well documented within the sociology of music and popular music studies (Thornton 1996; Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000; Stokes 2000; Biddle and Knights 2007; Warwick 2007; Lena and Peterson 2008).

Although popular music is perhaps the cultural product that has crossed (and continues to cross) boundaries and frontiers (Biddle and Knights 2007: 7), it is equally important to remember how music is also a medium for marking and reinforcing the boundaries of existing sociocultural categories and groups (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 32) and how "music is intensely involved in the propagation of dominant classifications" (Stokes 1994: 10). For example, past studies in musicology (McClary 1991), musicology and cultural studies (Burns and Lafrance 2002), anthropology (Koskoff 1987) and popular music studies (Whiteley 1997) have contributed to a greater understanding of the social processes involved in the gendering of various aspects of musical performance. Ellen Koskoff's (1989) edited collection examines how music has been used to reflect/affect inter-gender relations, Sara Cohen (1997) examines the ways in which rock is actively 'produced' as male within Liverpool rock culture, Mavis Bayton (1997; 2006) examines the reasons as to why there are so few female rock guitarists, and she also examines the material constraints which limit women's participation in making music, Mary Ann Clawson (1999) examines the ways in which the bass is gendered as a

female instrument, Danielle Bessett (2006: 60) examines the ways in which "...the gendered experiences of music listeners contribute to the aesthetic experience and cultivation of gendered selves," Mary Celeste Kearney (2007) examines riot grrrl, media education, zine making and film production as critical examples of girls cultural production, and Marion Leonard (2007) examines the discursive, representational and performative contexts of gender in the popular music industry (with a specific focus on indie rock and riot grrrl). In each instance, the authors seek to unpack the ways in which gender (and in some instances sexuality) is being socially produced and reproduced within certain gendered spaces, technologies and listening practices.

Additionally, there are many studies which examine the intersections of gender, ethnicity, class, sexuality, etc. in and through popular music. For example, Martin Stokes (1994) has examined how music may be used by social anthropologists to understand the construction of ethnic, national and gender identities, Avelardo Valdez and Jeffrey A. Halley (1996: 148) have examined how the intersections of gender, ethnicity and class in the context of Mexican-American conjunto setting and performance reveal how conventional gender identity and gender inequality are reproduced, reinforced and contested, Tullia Magrini (2003) has examined how gender and ethnicity are transformed and/or reinforced within the musical cultures of the Mediterranean, Kevin Dawe (1996; 1999: 209) has examined how Cretan/Greek musical culture and the performance of idealized manhood is an arena within which 'otherness' (namely the rest of Greece as well as Turkey and the Middle East) is addressed, manipulated and controlled, and Mimi

Schippers (2000) has examined how gender and sexuality are socially organized within alternative hard rock.

Such intersectional analyses have been central to the literature on hip hop culture and rap music within the United States and overseas. Within the North American literature on hip hop, one of the seminal debates has focused on issues of appropriation and race. According to Canadian Scholar, Rinaldo Walcott, hip hop culture is simultaneously *the most multicultural* of popular musical forms (since all races and ethnicities are involved) and *the most racialized* (indeed the most blackened, musical form of our times) (Walcott 2005: 2). This is because rap music is a quintessentially appropriative form (adopting techniques of cut, paste, mix, bricolage, etc.) which has been, and should be, appropriated by rappers from diverse racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Walcott 2005: 5), while also being a highly racialized form which uses racial stereotypes and machismo to place black men in a position of being an "ongoing menacing attraction" (Walcott 2005: 6). And, although hip hop culture is a highly appropriative form, issues of appropriation within the genre have always been highly contested.

The reason for this is that the appropriation of black cultural forms for white entertainment and white profit has a long history within the United States. Popular culture has routinely been a place where the cultures of the dispossessed are routinely commodified and contested (Lott 1995: 8). One of the most racist manifestations of this cultural practice is that of Blackface minstrelsy, an established nineteenth century theatrical and musical practice, principally of the urban North in the United States, in

which white men caricatured blacks for sport and profit (Lott 1995: 3). However, nowhere have issues of appropriation been more apparent and highly contested than within popular music, where there is a long history of the cultural appropriation of African American inspired musical genres (e.g. gospel, ragtime, blues, jazz, R&B, rock and roll, etc.) by white artists for profit.

Bearing these historical conditions in mind, this dissertation focuses on the intersections of race and gender in the struggles for cultural legitimacy of DJs in Toronto and the cultural appropriation of hip hop among Greek and Greek-Canadian hip hop practitioners in Canada and Greece. Rather than dismiss the cultural appropriations of Canadian, Greek, and Greek-Canadian hip hop practitioners, this dissertation illustrates the complexities of cultural appropriation within these diverse settings. In all three case studies, particular attention is paid to the ways in which race and gender are strategically used, or used against, DJs, MCs, and popular music makers in their own quests for legitimacy, authenticity and belonging. In contrast to examinations of the appropriation of hip hop culture by white artists such as Eminem (Armstrong 2004: Kajikawa 2009) and white fans and practitioners in North America (Hayes 2004; Rodriquez 2006), this dissertation examines how *white ethnics* (Greek-Canadians and Greeks) use hip hop in their own ethnic struggles for cultural identity and belonging. Crucial to this dissertation is the illustration of the ways in which the black roots of hip hop culture are simultaneously focused upon and erased.

**Dissertation Outline**

This dissertation consists of eight chapters: Chapter 1 is entitled "Introduction," Chapter 2 is entitled "Literature Review," Chapter 3 is entitled "Theoretical Framework" and outlines how my dissertation contributes to refining Bourdieu's field theory; Chapter 4 is entitled "Data and Methods" and outlines the processes of ethics approval, data collection and data analysis; Chapter 5 is entitled "Locating the DJ" and this chapter focuses on black popular music-makers in Toronto and introduces the concept of *location* as a supplement to understanding how strategies are enacted within cultural fields; Chapter 6 is entitled "Historicizing the Field" and this chapter focuses on hip hop in Athens and the ways in which hip hop practitioners use *collective histories* of the music field in order to authenticate their place within the field of Greek popular music; Chapter 7 is entitled "Bouzouki Hip Hop" and this chapter focuses on how a Greek-Canadian rapper strategically uses history and memory as resources from which to make claims about Greek *cultural identity*; Chapter 8 is the "Conclusion" and this chapter summarizes my key findings, outlines my major contributions and suggests avenues for future research.

Each substantive chapter (chapters 5-7) focuses on one of three case studies and is broken down in the following manner: a broad discussion of the social, historical and/ or political context of music-making (in Toronto, Vancouver of Athens) and a textual analysis of interview data and/or song lyrics. This approach to the sociological analysis of popular music is similar to what Joseph A. Kotarba and Phillip Vannini (2009) term *critical constructionism.* Critical constructionism attempts to understand the meanings of

musical choices, discourses, and practices by critically reflecting on social positions and on the stratification of social positions (Kotarba and Vannini 2009: 6). In other words, meaning-making in popular musical texts cannot be understood without reference to the contexts within which these meanings are produced.

Though each chapter focuses on a different empirical context, these case studies are connected through their adoption of a Bourdieusian perspective on cultural production. However, there are also important connections across case studies, which will be further addressed in the conclusion (Chapter 8). For example, chapters 5 and 6 are conceptually connected in their framing of black popular music in Canada and hip hop in Greece through the lens of cultural production. What are the similarities and differences across musical fields? What do the concepts of *location* and *collective history* contribute to our understandings of cultural fields more broadly? Additionally, chapters 6 and 7 are connected through their focus on masculinity, Greekness and nationalism. What are the similarities and differences between these different conceptualizations of Greek cultural identity?

These are a few of the questions that will be addressed in the concluding chapter (Chapter 8) in order to provide a cross-cultural comparison of the case studies. In the following chapter, this dissertation outlines my theoretical framework and how each of the three case studies offers important revisions to Bourdieu's theories of cultural production.

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# Chapter 3

# Theory

## Introduction

This chapter outlines how my research into black popular music making and hip hop cultures in Toronto, Vancouver and Athens provide key insights and revisions to Bourdieu's theories of cultural production. In particular, I illustrate how the concepts of *location*, *collective history* and *cultural identity* can be applied to Bourdieu's field theory in order to address certain limitations of his theoretical framework. Each of these concepts and their relationship to Bourdieu's theories of cultural production will be further elaborated and explained in the pages that follow.

## Bourdieu and cultural production

Bourdieu's most significant work on cultural production is available in English in two books: *The Field of Cultural Production* (1993) and *The Rules of Art* (1996). When speaking of cultural production, Bourdieu intends a broad understanding of culture which includes science, law, religion, art, literature, and music, etc. However, his work on cultural production focuses primarily on two types of expressive-aesthetic activities: literature and art (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 212). For Bourdieu, cultural production is best theorized as a social field. The *field* is "a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by: first, the distribution of different kinds of resources or 'capital'" (Thompson 1991: 14), and second, the constant state of

struggle over the accumulation and distribution of resources such as prestige, recognition, high evaluation and various forms of capital (Regev 1994: 86).

For Bourdieu, the field of cultural production is divided according to two opposing principles: the heteronomous principle and the autonomous principle (Bourdieu 1993: 40). The *heteronomous principle* of hierarchization, which is often associated with the field of large-scale production, is characterized, first, over the struggle for economic capital, and second, as the field where producers produce for the broadest possible audience. This principle of hierarchization is often associated with 'mass' or 'popular' culture. The *autonomous principle* of hierarchization, which is often associated with the field of restricted production, is characterized, first, over the struggle for symbolic capital and second, as the field where producers produce cultural products for other producers (1993: 37-39). Bourdieu also notes that this principle is often linked to the creation of 'art for art's sake' and with certain forms of 'elite' culture (1993: 40). According to Hesmondhalgh (2006: 215), while, *the field of large scale production* is divided into *mass production for the bourgeoisie* and *'popular' mass production, the field of restricted production* is divided into the *consecrated avant-garde* and the *aspirant bohemian avant-garde.* The consecrated avant-garde has very high levels of symbolic capital in the shape of various forms of recognition, honour and acclaim. The aspirant bohemian avant-garde shuns symbolic capital.

In general, cultural fields are structured in a similar manner whether they are large scale or small scale in nature. As already noted, Bourdieu envisions the field as a network of objective relations between positions (Bourdieu 1996: 231) which is structured by the

distribution of available positions and by the objective characteristics of agents occupying those positions (Johnson 1993: 16). *Positions* in the field may be occupied by different social entities, such as organizations, groups or individuals (Regev 1994: 86). For the purposes of this dissertation, I focus on how individuals occupy different positions within the popular music field. Broadly speaking, people can occupy one of three types of positions within the field: *dominant positions*, those who possess various forms of capital and recognition within the field such as consecrated artists; *newcomers*, those who are new to the field; and *dominated positions*, those who have been in the field for some time but lack capital and recognition such as striving artists (Bourdieu 1993: 83). Each of these types of positions within the field is objectively defined by its objective relationship with other positions (Bourdieu 1996: 231). Within the popular music field, similar to literary and artistic fields, positions are uninstitutionalized, never legally guaranteed, open to symbolic challenge and non-hereditary (Bourdieu 1993: 61). Additionally, one's position in the field is the result of objectified practice and the products resulting from that practice (Bourdieu 1993: 131). It is within this context that agents within the popular music field struggle over the distribution of available positions (Bourdieu, 1996: 231) such as DJ, producer, MC, and musician, among others.

Crucial to understanding how agents struggle over various positions within the field is the concept of disposition. *Dispositions* incline agents to act and react in certain ways. Systems, or sets, of dispositions form what Bourdieu referred to as the *habitus*. The dispositions of the habitus generate practices, perceptions and attitudes, which are inculcated, structured, durable, generative and transposable (Thompson 1991: 12).

Dispositions are acquired through a process of inculcation at an early age; they are structured in the sense that they reflect the social conditions within which they were acquired; they are durable in the sense that they are ingrained into the body in such a way as to endure through the life history of the individual; and they are generative and transposable in the sense that they are capable of generating a wide range of practices and perceptions in fields other than those in which they were originally acquired (Thompson 1991: 12-13). In short, dispositions 'orient' the actions and inclinations of agents without strictly determining them (Thompson 1991: 13). Within this context, positions and dispositions are mutually constitutive; in other words, positions shape dispositions and dispositions shape positions (Bourdieu 1993: 61).

In this struggle over positions and resources, agents adopt different strategies in their conquest for cultural legitimacy and power (Bourdieu, 1993: 137). *Strategies* are a specific orientation of practice; they are a product of the habitus (Johnson 1993: 17); and they can be both conscious and unconscious (Bourdieu 1996: 133). For Bourdieu, the use of strategies within fields is the result of a confluence of positions (objective relations) and dispositions (a 'feel for the game') (Bourdieu, 1993: 183). The position one occupies in the field lends itself to certain types of position-takings while excluding others (Bourdieu 1996: 131). *Position-takings* are semi-conscious strategies in the conquest for cultural legitimacy and power (Bourdieu 1996: 137). Within this framework, it is one's position coupled with their disposition which determines the available position-takings (strategies of action, inaction and reaction) available to them. However, Bourdieu's model is not mechanistic. He is not arguing that 'position a' plus 'position b' always equals

'position-taking c.' In contrast to rules, strategies (a specific type of practice) are the result of freedom (individual choice) and constraint (location within the field) *and* strategies are the product of processes which are neither wholly conscious (position) nor wholly unconscious (disposition) (Jenkins 2002: 72). What mediates between position, disposition and strategy is the concept of reflexivity.

Reflexivity is crucial to understanding how agents employ practices (including strategies) in the field. Reflexivity is an important component of Bourdieu's theory of practice. *Practice*, for Bourdieu, is not the result of conscious and calculated rules, but the result of practical schemes or dispositions (Bottero 2010: 4). Social practice is generated by 'deeply buried corporeal dispositions, outside of the channels of consciousness and calculation' (Bourdieu 1998 as quoted in Bottero 2010: 4). Within Bourdieu's theory of practice, reflexivity plays a limited role. *Reflexivity*, the process whereby agents reflect upon an action situation, reflect on their own and others' actions, and calculate courses of action on the basis of these reflections, is acknowledged by Bourdieu. He acknowledges that people reflect upon their practice, construct narratives, and plan (Bottero 2010: 11). However, reflexivity within Bourdieu's model is situated as the result of a disjuncture between the habitus and the field. Within this framework, reflexivity is the exception to more general social processes of pre-reflective (or dispositional) practice (Bottero 2010: 11). In other words, reflexivity acts as a supplement to disposition. The strength of Bourdieu's approach is that he highlights the limits of reflexivity in the construction of social practice.

This is the theoretical model which forms the basis of this doctoral dissertation. Cultural fields are occupied by different social agents (DJs, MCs, managers, etc.) who are in constant struggle over different social resources within the field. These resources can be symbolic (prestige, cultural legitimacy) or material (economic capital). Cultural fields are objectively structured according to the distribution of various positions (such as the positions of dominant, newcomer and dominated). These positions are differentially distributed within the heteronomous and autonomous regions of the field. Within this context, agents adopt various types of strategies of legitimation as a result of their subjective dispositions. Reflexivity in this model is limited since practice is understood as the result of dispositions.

Having outlined Bourdieu's theoretical model of the field of cultural production, this chapter will now highlight how my empirical research into black popular music and hip hop culture in Canada and Greece provides insights into the limitations of Bourdieu's model, and suggestions for how to address these limitations. Four important limitations/improvements will be outlined. First, Bourdieu's model is unable to account for popular cultural production which is not part of the restricted subfield of popular art, but which is also not a part of the field of large scale production. Paul Lopes (2000) has suggested that the field of restricted popular art provides a solution to this problem. Second, Bourdieu's concepts of position and disposition (and even reflexivity) are insufficient in explaining how strategies are enacted in cultural fields. I suggest that the concept of location offers a solution to this problem. Third, Bourdieu's model does not pay much attention to the concept of identity. I suggest that cultural fields are not only

fields of practice, but fields of representations, and as such, fields are also seminal arenas for struggles over cultural identity. Fourth, Bourdieu's model provides a limited understanding of the role of history within cultural fields of production. I suggest that cultural fields are not only structured by historical conditions, but that history itself is a resource which is actively utilized by agents in cultural fields in their quests for cultural legitimacy, belonging and authenticity. In essence, history not only determines the structure of cultural fields, but it is also actively drawn upon by agents in cultural fields for strategic purposes.

**Refining the field of cultural production**

***The restricted subfield of popular art***

One of the limitations of Bourdieu's field of cultural production is that Bourdieu's model is unable to account for popular art production which is not part of the culture industry (Lopes 2000: 173). The reason for this is that Bourdieu's sociology of cultural production has serious limitations when analyzing contemporary cultural production since Bourdieu primarily focuses on restricted production at the expense of large scale heteronomous cultural production, or the 'cultural industries' (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 217). Based on Bourdieu's distinctions between the heteronomous and autonomous regions of the field, Bourdieu originally conceptualized two general artistic subfields: the *restricted subfield of art* (divided into the consecrated avant-garde and the aspirant bohemian avant-garde), and *the subfield of large scale production of art* (divided into commercial bourgeois art and popular art) (Lopes 2000: 173). However, as Paul Lopes clearly

illustrates in his research on modern jazz in 1950s America, there is another possible subfield: *the restricted subfield of popular art* (Lopes 2000: 173). This subfield accounts for art production (and I would argue music production) which is not part of the cultural industry (meaning large scale cultural production) but which is also not part of the avant-garde. The restricted subfield of popular art is located within the restricted subfield of art, along with the subfields of the consecrated avant-garde and the aspirant bohemian avant-garde. Within the restricted subfield of popular art, the principles of legitimacy are determined by musicians, audiences, producers, and critics (Lopes 2000: 174).

Lopes's additional subfield refines Bourdieu's model in the following ways: first, it is a concept which is broadly applicable to other music fields; second, it provides a means of understanding how cultural legitimacy within each subfield is internally determined; and third, it provides a conceptual framework for understanding how agents within the restricted subfield of popular music seek to legitimate and authenticate their musical productions in relation to mass mediated commercial popular music. First, the subfield of popular art is applicable to other musical fields. Although Lopes discusses the restricted subfield of popular art as a specific product of the American musical field, it is possible to argue that this concept is more broadly applicable to musical fields in other national contexts, such as those in Toronto and Athens. Most of the respondents I spoke with in Toronto and Athens would be part of the restricted subfield of popular music, since their musical production was primarily independent and not completely part of the mass-mediated culture industry. Whether it be popular music makers in Toronto participating in the subfield of black popular music making, or hip hop artists in Athens,

many of their cultural productions could not be classified as belonging to the restricted subfield of art, the subfield of commercial art, nor the subfield of popular art.

Second, situating black popular music makers in Toronto and Athens within the restricted subfield of popular music provides greater flexibility in determining their principles of cultural legitimacy. Unlike the restricted subfield of music, the restricted subfield of popular music does not follow the same logic of reverse economics (Lopes 2000: 181). Economic capital is not necessarily shunned within the restricted subfield of popular art. Also, cultural legitimacy and authenticity are not linked to abstract formalism and elaborate competencies (as is the case with the restricted subfield of art); rather, cultural legitimacy and authenticity are linked to expressing the culture of a popular community and its collective group identity (Lopes 2000: 181). The expression of a 'collective group identity' was the central focus of many popular music makers in Toronto, Athens and Vancouver.

By situating black popular music making in Toronto, hip hop in Greece, and diasporic hip hop in Vancouver within the restricted subfield of popular music, this dissertation highlights how stratifying forces within cultural fields operate. Central to each of these case studies is how black popular music and hip hop culture is marginalized in relation to the field of large scale cultural production. Regardless of the worldwide success of American hip hop culture and music, more localized forms of hip hop are nonetheless delegitimized and marginalized in relation to rock, pop and other indigenous musical forms. By situating these cultural forms within the restricted subfield of popular music, this dissertation is better able to illustrate the different types of strategies of

legitimation employed by those in marginalized positions. Whether it is DJs in Toronto trying to claim the position of musician within the popular music field, or hip hop artists in Greece seeking to authenticate hip hop in ways which reinforce already existing ethnic and gender boundaries, or a Greek diasporic rapper in Vancouver trying to create a collective identity and sense of diasporic belonging for Greeks of the diaspora, each case study seeks to understand how social agents in marginalized positions within the cultural fields seek to legitimate their positions within those fields.

***The importance of location***

Another important limitation of Bourdieu's model is that the concepts of position, disposition, and reflexivity are unable to account for the *contextual factors* which constrain and limit the enactment of strategies within the field. Strategies are not solely the result of unconscious dispositions or reflexivity. Rather, strategies also arise from the complex interactions between agents in the field and their social surroundings or social context (which includes people, places and things). Chapter 5, which discusses DJs in Toronto, focuses on the contextual factors which influence the enactment of strategies within cultural fields. In this chapter, I argue that the contextual factors which influence the enactment of strategies include: spatial, temporal, interactional, aural, individual and numeric dimensions. *Spatial* refers to the physical location of the agent within the social field; *temporal* refers to the time period; *interactional* refers to intersubjectivity with others in the field; *aural* refers to the type of music being performed; *individual* refers to the type of DJ and *numeric* refers to the number of positions one holds in the field. Each

of these dimensions, when understood in conjunction with one another, forms one's *location* within the field. So, when speaking of location, I am not referring to ones biographical location (in terms of one's succession of positions within the field, past experiences, etc.); rather, I am referring to one's contextual location (which is constantly changing but always impacting practice). In this sense, location constrains and/or enables the enactment of specific strategies within cultural fields, and mediates between one's position, disposition and strategy. The applicability of the concept of a modified concept of location within other fields of cultural production is further addressed in the conclusion.

***The strategic uses of history in fields***

The third limitation of Bourdieu's field of cultural production has to do with the role of history within fields of cultural production. Within his work on cultural fields, specifically the fields of literary and artistic production, Bourdieu highlighted the important role played by history in shaping the field. For example, when speaking of the field of artistic production, Bourdieu critiques the concept of the 'pure gaze.' The 'pure gaze' for Bourdieu is the formation of a pure aesthetic which is dehistoricized from the specific social space and historical time within which it was created and then treated as universal (Bourdieu 1996: 285). In other words, the 'pure gaze' takes a particular object or person (artistic, musical, etc.) or subjective experience of the object or person (critique, music review, etc.), which is rooted in specific historical and social conditions and universalizes them (Bourdieu 1996: 286). As a direct challenge to such dehistoricized

understandings of the cultural field, Bourdieu argues in favour of what he refers to as a *double historicization* (Bourdieu 1996: 309). In order to understand a particular cultural product (text, document, image, etc.) one must situate the cultural product as the result of two biographical histories: the dispositional history of the cultural product (as evidenced through the reconstruction of the space of possible positions) and the dispositional history of the cultural interpreter (as evidenced through the reconstruction of the space of possible positions) (Bourdieu 1996: 309). If one ignores this *double determination*, of cultural product and cultural interpretation, then an anachronistic and ethnocentric understanding is produced (Bourdieu 1996: 309). In this sense, Bourdieu's work provides a cogent critique of the idea of art as transcendent and impermeable to understanding and interpretation (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 216).

However, Bourdieu's model provides a limited understanding of how history influences cultural fields. Within this framework, history is something which structures the field in limited ways. The influence of history is limited to a unidirectional flow: the historical past impacts or determines the historical present. What is missing from this understanding of history within cultural fields are the ways in which agents within cultural fields strategically draw upon historical resources in their quests for cultural legitimacy in the present. The use of 'usable pasts' in the present is a point which is made by Yiorgos Anagnostou in reference to Greek diasporic communities. For Anagnostou, a focus on practice, through ethnographic research on a person's history within social fields associated with ethnicity, reveals how immigrant and ethnic pasts shape socially meaningful and enduring commitments in the present (2009: 115). He further argues that

the uses of ethnic memories and histories are never innocuous or neutral. They serve specific interests and work as powerful mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion (Anagnostou 2004: 52).

Drawing on Bourdieu and Anagnostou, this dissertation makes several points in regards to the role of collective history in cultural fields. Chapter 6, the chapter on hip hop practitioners in Athens, Greece, clearly illustrates how agents in the field strategically utilize their knowledge of the *collective history* of the field in their own quests for authenticity. In this chapter, I argue, first, that the collective history of fields, not merely the biographical history of agents within fields, is crucial to understanding how cultural fields are structured; second, that a focus on the collective history of fields clearly illustrates the underlying logic of how cultural fields operate—in this instance the underlying logic of the popular music field in Greece is a reliance upon, and reproduction of, an east/west binary of Greek cultural identity; third, that agents within the popular music field in Greece draw upon and strategically use the logic of the cultural field in their own quests for cultural legitimacy; and fourth, that social change within the popular music field in Greece is a result of the interplay between the objective logic of the field and the strategic use of historical pasts.

***The cultural production of identity***

A fourth limitation of Bourdieu's model is that he does not provide much discussion on the concept of identity. One of the critical aims of this dissertation is to understand how the concept of identity fits into field theory. Before this question can be

answered, however, this dissertation will provide some critical background on how identity acquired central importance within sociology as a result of the 'cultural turn' in sociological thinking. First, an outline the historical significance of the concept of identity within sociological thinking will be provided. Second, a discussion of the different conceptualizations of identity will be outlined. Third, a critical review of Bourdieusian inspired conceptualizations of identity will be shown. Finally, the importance of cultural identity within field theory will be illustrated.

Identity is a nebulous concept which is subject to diverse usage within sociology (Bottero 2010: 3). Historically, the term's usage in sociology can be traced back to the works of Charles Horton Cooley and George Herbert Mead, two of the founding figures in symbolic interactionism. One of the primary concerns of symbolic interactionism is an emphasis on 'the self' and the relationship between self and society. It was through these concerns with 'the self' that symbolic interactionists came to increasingly speak of 'identity' through the works of Anselm Strauss, Erving Goffman and Peter Berger (Brubaker and Cooper 2000: 3). These types of microsociological perspectives, in particular social psychological and symbolic interactionist theories, were quite popular throughout the 1970s and were primarily concerned with personal identity (individual level focus) (Cerulo 1997: 385).

For symbolic interactionists, individuals are role-making and role-taking creatures who see themselves as members of one or another social group or collectivity (Hewitt 1997: 90). Identity within this framework refers to a person's location in social life, and for symbolic interactionism there are three major forms of identity: situated identity,

personal identity and social identity (Hewitt 1997: 90-93). Situated identity is contextually specific and requires the adoption of a specific type of role, such as that of customer, professor, student, etc. The focus is on an immediate situation and the adoption of a role within that situation. Personal identity focuses on individual autonomy and a sense of separateness or difference from the rest of the social group. Social identity focuses on the collective and is anchored in a sense of belonging and likeness to others.

However, starting in the 1980s and onwards, there was a significant shift in the focus of identity research from the individual (personal) to the collective (social). Collective identity is a concept which is grounded in classical sociological constructs such as Durkheim's 'collective conscience,' Marx's 'class consciousness,' Weber's 'Verstehen,' and Tonnies' 'Gemeinschaft (Cerulo 1997: 386). Much of the collective identities research in sociology may be traced back to the new social movements literature (Cerulo 1997: 393). New social movements literatures argue that contemporary social movements are less about conflict over material resources than struggles over identity meaning and symbolic resources (Owens et al. 2010: 490). Rather than focusing on the "I" and "me" of symbolic interactionist research on identity, there was a shift in focus within the social movements literature from "I/me" to the collective "we." Some of the primary emphases in the social movements literature is in understanding identity as a resource of mobilization and in understanding how identity is involved in the construction of self-conscious forms of "collective agency" (Cerulo 1997: 393). Identity processes are deeply related to all aspects of social movements, including a) movement emergence, b)

recruitment and participation, c) movement strategy, and d) interpretation of outcomes (Polletta and Jasper quoted in Owens et al. 2010: 491).

These two divergent strains of literature on identity within sociology provide the basis from which competing and contested conceptualizations of identity can be outlined. For the purposes of this dissertation, two of the seminal tensions within theorizations of identity will be discussed: first, the distinction between individual identity and collective identity, and second, the distinction between agency and social structure. As already noted, identity is something which is personal and unique to individuals (individual identity), while also being shared and collective with other individuals (collective identity). Additionally, identity is something which can be reflexively and strategically deployed by individuals to advance particular claims (e.g. the social movement's literature clearly outlines how identities are strategically celebrated or suppressed for different political purposes, see Bernstein 1997), and it is something which can be used against individuals as a form of social control which structures peoples actions (e.g. the racial profiling of Arabs and Muslims in the "War on Terror" since 2001 is an excellent case in point). In this sense, identity is a highly ambivalent concept which simultaneously signifies similarity and difference.

These tensions surrounding definitions of identity have resulted in some scholars arguing that identity is no longer a useful sociological concept (Brubaker and Cooper 2000; Anthias 2002). Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 34) argue that the analytical concept of identity is riddled with ambiguity, consists of many contradictory meanings, and is also encumbered by reifying connotations. As a remedy to the limitations of identity, Brubaker

and Cooper suggest several alternative terms which might stand in for identity: identification and categorization, self-understanding and social location, commonality, connectedness and groupness (2000: 14-21). Similarly, Floya Anthias argues that identity often operates "...as a disabling concept that limits the focus and moves the analyst away from context, meaning and practice" (Anthias 2002: 493). Rather than focusing on identity, Anthias proposes that scholars examine *narratives of location*, which situate the narrator at a specific point in time and space, and situate the narrator in the social order of things (Anthias 2002: 501).

Although I agree with some of the critiques of identity presented by these scholars, I still believe that identity is a useful sociological concept. All of the arguments that Brubaker and Cooper raise about identity (e.g. the analytical concept of identity is riddled with ambiguity, consists of many contradictory meanings, and is also encumbered by reifying connotations) can equally apply to many other sociological terms of identification, such as those of race, class, gender and sexuality, to name only a few. There are many debates, contradictory definitions, and reifying connotations associated with each of these terms, yet these terms are still employed by academics within all fields in the social sciences and humanities. What is crucial with the concept of identity, similar to any other sociological concept, is that the term is clearly defined and delineated for the purposes of the study. The contradictions in the use of identity terms are often due to how they are used differently according to specific socio-historic contexts and the misunderstandings between them. For many scholars, it is precisely these contradictions and ambiguities which make identity a useful theoretical concept.

Bourdieusian-inspired conceptualizations of cultural identity aim to address the limitations and tensions of cultural identity. Bourdieu's theory of practice in many ways addresses various binaries within the sociological literature, such as the aforementioned ones between the subjective vs. objective and agency vs. structure. For example, according to Richard Jenkins, Bourdieu's work is best understood as a reaction against two movements: the existential phenomenology of Sartre (with a focus on subjective consciousness) and the structuralism of Lévi-Strauss (with a focus on objective structures) (Jenkins 2002: 16-18). In order to overcome the dualism of subjectivism and objectivism, Bourdieu focused on social practice, and introduced the concepts of habitus, field and strategy as solutions to this problem (Jenkins 2002: 18).

In particular, Bourdieu's concept of the habitus aims to overcome the dualism between subjectivism and objectivism. For example, Bourdieu's theorizing on the subject views the subject as a subject of *practice*, engaged in practical action which is always embodied though not always consciously known. This understanding of identity notes that the social is literally incorporated onto the subject (Adkins 2004: 10). Crucial to this process of incorporation (or how the objective becomes subjective) is Bourdieu's concept of the habitus. The habitus is central to Bourdieu's analysis of social identity, and is defined by Bourdieu as a 'socialized subjectivity' (Lawler 2004: 111). The habitus as 'socialized subjectivity' is how Bourdieu analyzes how social relations become constituted within the self, but also how the self is constitutive of social relations (Lawler 2004: 111). The habitus aims to bridge the subjective and objective divide.

However, there are limitations to Bourdieu's conceptualizations of practice and habitus which limit how his ideas can be applied to theorizing cultural identity. As Wendy Bottero illustrates, Bourdieu's view of 'socialized subjectivity' focuses on how identity emerges from the interrelations between habitus and field, but does not adequately address how identity emerges from the intersubjective relationships between agents (2010: 5). Bourdieu's emphasis on the dispositional nature of subjectivity makes it difficult to explain the more reflexive aspects of identity (Bottero 2010: 10). Bourdieu's model offers a limited understanding of reflexivity which views reflexivity emerging as the result of disruptions to the habitus. However, this model is unable to address *how* and *why* dispositional identities (those emphasizing the entrenched and involuntary aspects of identity) transform into reflexive identities (those involving conscious calculation and struggle) (Bottero 2010: 8).

The solution to this problem, as posed by Bottero, is that reflexivity needs to be reframed in *intersubjective terms*. In other words, the tensions between the *dispositional components of identity* (objective and entrenched) and the *reflexive components of identity* (subjective and mobilized) are resolved by addressing the intersubjective nature of practice and exploring the different aspects of identity as elements of situated intersubjectivity (Bottero 2010: 19). Reflexive identifications are a *reflection on*, not a *reflection of*, dispositional practice (Bottero 2010: 19). Cultural identity, within this revised framework, is both objectively structured and subjectively experienced, both dispositional and reflexive. This definition of cultural identity, as dispositional, reflexive situated and practice oriented, also remedies Anthias's critiques of cultural identity since

cultural identity within a Bourdieusian framework easily focuses on "context, meaning and practice." Additionally, the concepts of *location* and *collective history* also contribute to promoting contextually specific understandings of cultural identity.

This dissertation utilizes Wendy Bottero's conceptualization of cultural identity (as both dispositional and reflexive) and applies this vision of cultural identity to discussions of cultural fields. Drawing upon and extending Bourdieu, this dissertation argues that all cultural fields are not only compromised of *practices* but they are also compromised of *functions*. One of the functions of all cultural fields is the production of representations which are the key mechanisms of identity and identification. Thus, the popular music field, like other cultural fields, also operates as a *field of cultural representations*. And, given the intersubjective nature of cultural fields, with agents reflecting not only on their own representational practices but those of others, I argue that cultural identity is a resource (similar to capital, cultural legitimacy, etc.) which is struggled over by agents within cultural fields. Within this framework, cultural identities are a crucial component of what struggles within cultural fields are all about. The reason for this is that identities are not merely the *outcome of practices* within cultural fields; they are also simultaneously a *resource for practices* within cultural fields. Identities can be used against agents within the field as a way to challenge claims of authenticity and cultural legitimacy, but identities can also be strategically deployed as a cultural resource in support of claims of authenticity and cultural legitimacy. In essence, what this dissertation is interested in is how cultural fields are also involved in the cultural production of identities.

The reflexive production and deployment of Greek cultural identities within the popular music field is one of the central themes of Chapter 7, which offers an empirical examination of how theories of *cultural identity* can be applied to Bourdieu's field theory. In this chapter, I examine how a Greek-Canadian rapper named BZ Jam uses rap music as a medium for the representation of a transnational and reflexive "collective identity" for Greeks "outside of Greece." This reflexive collective identity is constructed by creating shared narratives of *collective history* (of classical Greece) and *collective memory* (of exile, destitution, trauma and ξενιτιά), and drawing upon local and national narratives in order to outline the biological, performative and geographical requirements of who can and cannot claim such a collective identity. I also highlight how Greek cultural identity, and the ability to claim that identity, is a politically charged issue which is struggled over by various agents within the Greek diaspora and in Greece. In this chapter, I illustrate how BZ Jam strategically uses specific Greek ethnic pasts and memories in his construction of a collective identity for Greeks of the diaspora. Similar to some of the findings in Chapter 6, *collective history* is strategically drawn upon by BZ Jam in order to make claims about diasporic belonging and Greek cultural identity in the present.

**Concluding Remarks**

In the three case studies to follow, I illustrate how the concepts of *location*, *collective history* and *cultural identity* can be applied to Bourdieu's field theory in order to address certain limitations of his theoretical framework. However, before these case

studies are discussed, the following chapter outlines the data and methods employed in this dissertation.

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# Chapter 4

# Data and Methods

## Introduction

My research focuses on cultural production and representation in popular music and the ways in which popular music-makers discursively construct cultural identities through interviews and song lyrics. Popular music is an arena within which cultural identities are evoked, articulated, and represented (Hesmondhalgh and Born 2000: 31), and like other artistic endeavours, music is an inherently collective activity (Becker [1982] 2008) that needs to be situated within specific social, political and historical contexts. Contextual understanding is significant since individuals produce and consume popular music within specific social contexts, at specific times or historical moments, and within specific social networks of social relationships (Cohen 1993: 135).

This dissertation treats popular music as a collective activity that cannot be divorced from the contexts within which it is produced and consumed. Additionally, in focusing on the social aspects of music-making, this dissertation takes as its primary subject matter the practices and processes of musical production (what people say and do as popular music-makers) (Finnegan 2007[1989]: 8), as well as the lyrical texts of popular music (song lyrics). This dual focus on production and product combines the best aspects of an ethnographic approach (via interviews and observation) *and* cultural studies approach (via textual analyses of musical products) (see Solomon 2005).

My focus on production and product is illustrated through three case studies: two chapters focus on cultural production and one focuses upon cultural representation. Chapter 5 deals with DJs in Toronto, Chapter 6 discusses hip hop practitioners in Athens and Chapter 7 analyzes a Greek-Canadian rapper in Vancouver. Case studies are one of the most common forms of qualitative inquiry (Stake 2000: 435) and generally involve the following elements: 1) the nature of the case, 2) the case's historical background, 3) the physical setting, 4) other contexts such as social, political, economic, aesthetic, etc., 5) comparison with other cases and 6) informants through whom the case can be known (Stake 2000: 438-439). Though the case studies included in this thesis are distinct, these case studies share an over-arching theoretical framework and offer revisions to Bourdieu's theories of cultural production. Through the discursive analysis of interviews, field notes, and song lyrics, I illustrate how popular music is an important arena in which to analyze how cultural identities are constructed, represented and proliferated within three different empirical contexts.

**From ethnography to interviewing to cross-cultural comparative research**

My project has undergone considerable change since its inception. During my data collection period, which lasted two and a half years, my ethics protocol was revised four times. These revisions were the result of issues in gaining access to my proposed site of study, a desire to increase the depth and breadth of the project, and my success in procuring an Alexander S. Onassis Postgraduate Research Scholarship, which allowed me to conduct research in Athens, Greece. Despite these changes, my research remained

relatively consistent in terms of its focus, since throughout the whole process I targeted *popular music makers* as respondents. The term popular music maker is being used because it is a more inclusive term which includes a variety of individuals who participate in the music-making process. Types of popular music makers who were interviewed include DJs, producers, sound engineers, musicians, MCs, radio hosts, managers, and other individuals involved in the music-making process (e.g. the president of the Urban Music Association of Canada, the CEO of Phemphat, etc.).

Research for my dissertation began in January 2007 while taking a Qualitative Methods course with Professor Billy Shaffir at McMaster University. Originally, my research was going to be an ethnography of a R&B/rap studio in Toronto, Ontario. I received ethics approval for this project titled "Ethnography of a music recording studio" on November 8, 2006. The purpose of this preliminary research was to gain a better understanding of the processual nature of musical "creativity" through participatory research (ethnography and interviews) in a recording studio. The primary focus of this research was on the interactions between producers, recording artists and other individuals involved in the recording process, in conceptualizing, negotiating, and renegotiating the final musical product.

Unfortunately, by the end of the semester, I realized that my project was not going to be successful because of severe restrictions in access to the studio. As a result of limitations in access, I thought it would be best to expand my research outside of the confines of the recording studio. The original intent and emphasis of this project—the musical process—remained the same. The proposed changes of this study were not in

terms of the content of the research, but in terms of the form of the research. Instead of utilizing participant observation, my primary method of data collection became interviewing. Random and snowball sampling techniques were used to gain access to popular music makers in Toronto, Canada (and a few interviews in other parts of southern Ontario). Respondents were recruited through *snowball sampling* (through respondents whom I had already spoken with and/or interviewed in the recording studio), and *random sampling* (recruitment of popular music makers at concerts and recruitment via email and/or phone calls). In regards to the recruitment of respondents, the internet was a valuable tool, as I found many email and phone contacts of popular music makers through online sources such as professional web sites and myspace pages. Revised ethics approval for this project entitled "Process of Music Making," was received on June 28 2007.

The third revision to my ethics protocol arose as a result of input from my committee on my dissertation proposal. Instead of focusing solely on the production of music, they suggested that I also include discussions about the consumption of music by fans. My last protocol was limited to the production process, which resulted in audience reception, being ommitted. This revision remedied this ommision by adding music fans to my list of interview subjects (which already included producers, musicians, managers, technicians and others involved in the musical process). Fans were to be recruited as potential interview subjects through pamphlets to be handed out at live concerts and through snowball sampling (asking respondents I had already interviewed to pass pamphlets to thier friends). Revised ethics approval for this project, called "Process of

Music Making and Appreciation," was received on October 30 2007. Shortly thereafter, my dissertation proposal was approved in January 2008.

The fourth and final revision to my ethics protocol arose as a result of my success in receiving an Alexander S. Onassis Postgraduate Research Scholarship (2008-2009). I found out about the scholarship in the summer of 2008 and I left for Greece at the end of January 2009. The original intent and emphasis of this project—the musical process—remained the same. These final proposed changes to my protocol were not in terms of the content or form, but in terms of *context* within which the research was being conducted. Part of the revision process involved an outside examiner reviewing my ethics protocol. As the process of ethics approval is not common in Greece, I asked a scholar whose work focused on popular music in the Mediterranean (Greece in particular) to act as the external reviewer of my protocol. This reviewer was Professor Kevin Dawe, School of Music, University of Leeds. He provided positive feedback on my ethics protocol and these final revisions provided me with the ethics approval needed to interview popular music makers and fans in Athens, Greece. These final revisions resulted in my dissertation becoming a cross-cultural comparative examination of the creative processes of urban music making in Toronto, Canada and Athens, Greece. My goal was to provide insights into the relationships between the social processes of music making, musical evaluation/production and constructions of cultural identity. My final ethics approval was received on November 9, 2008.

**Data collection**

This dissertation adopts a naturalistic approach to qualitative analysis by speaking to and observing popular music makers in their everyday settings. "*Naturalistic, qualitative social researchers* gather information by *observing* and by *talking with and listening* carefully to the people who are being researched" (italics in original) (Rubin and Rubin 2004: 2). Data from a broad range of sources, such as conducted interviews, field notes from live music events and conference proceedings, song lyrics, CD graphics, and on-line sources such as web pages (including newspaper articles, statistical sources and on-line interviews), were collected and treated as data to be analyzed. The collected types of data were treated as *texts*—the material manifestations of discourses (Chalaby 1996: 688). These texts[7] were analyzed within an interpretive framework which sought to uncover patterns of human activity, action and meaning (Berg: 2001: 239) within a qualitative framework which sought to situate these texts within their contexts (Charmaz 2006: 39).

More specifically, this project employed the qualitative methods of *in-depth interviews* and *observation* and these data were coded by employing *textual analysis*. Data for this project was collected over the course of two and a half years. From January 2007 until January 2009 (two years) I collected data on popular music makers in Canada.

[7] It should be noted that this dissertation focuses only on one aspect of the musical text—the song lyrics. However, musical texts consist of much more than simply song lyrics. In the case of hip hop, the musical text consists of samples, beats, complex rhyme schemes, etc. These textual elements are also influenced by various performative aspects as expressed in music videos and in live performances. My choice to focus on song lyrics is motivated by two reasons: first, the importance and centrality of writing one's own rhymes in hip hop as a central component of this musical craft, and second, my own limitations as a sociologist who does not possess sufficient musical training. I have, however, made efforts to include discussions of musical sounds, instrumentation and sampling, wherever possible.

From February 2009-July 2009 (six months) I collected data on popular music makers in Greece. As a result of the various changes made to my ethics protocol, in terms of content, form and context of data collection, I have a somewhat eclectic collection of interviews from a wide variety of popular music makers in Toronto, Hamilton and Athens, who spun, created, or were involved in popular music-making of black popular music (specifically, though not exclusively rap, R&B and reggae) and alternative music (specifically, though not exclusively, indie, punk and industrial). I also have also used BZ Jam's song lyrics as another valuable source of data. My three case studies draw on the range of data described above in my analysis of cultural identities. The few interviews with alternative musicians were not drawn upon in my final analysis.

***In-depth semi-structured interviews***

In-depth interviewing, also known as intensive or unstructured interviewing, is a guided conversation whose goal is to elicit from the respondent, rich, detailed materials that can be used in qualitative analysis (Lofland and Lofland 1995: 18). Interviews are the primary data source which my dissertation draws upon and analyzes, though observational data and textual analysis of extant texts (data which the researcher had no hand in shaping) (Charmaz 2006: 35) provided important supplemental information. The following section outlines how the interviews for my dissertation were collected.

*1) Toronto*

From January 2007 until January 2009 I conducted 39 in-depth interviews with popular music makers in Toronto, Canada, and Hamilton, Canada. Though I had wanted to include interviews with music fans, due to time constraints, logistics and having greater success in accessing popular music makers, I decided to refocus my energies on the production side of music-making. My rationale was that I wanted to have a larger pool of a few types of respondents rather than smaller pools of many types of respondents, as I thought that having more in-depth data would provider for richer analyses. Since my research focused on insights into the popular music industry, an industry where professional success is intimately connected with name recognition, respondents were given the option *not* to remain anonymous so that they could be credited for their ideas on the music-making process. Of the 39 in-depth interviews conducted, 8 chose to remain anonymous (4 male and 4 female). Of those interviewed, 21 were men and 18 were women. The breakdown of types of respondents included: 11 male DJs (6 DJs, 2 DJ/turntablists, 1 DJ/radio host, 1 DJ/producer and 1 DJ/MC), 13 female DJs (10 DJs, 2 DJ/promoters and 1 DJ/manager/producer), 7 male producers, 4 female producers, 1 male radio host, 1 male MC/journalist, the president of the Urban Music Association of Canada and the CEO of PhemPhat Entertainment Group which produces the HoneyJam showcase. It should be noted that the bulk of the interviews I conducted were with black popular music makers. Black popular music makers create, produce, spin, or are otherwise involved in African and African-American influenced musical genres, such as rap, reggae, R&B, etc. although many also incorporate elements of Top 40 into their musical practices.

The shortest interview lasted 20 minutes while the longest interview lasted just under three hours. The average interview length was around one hour. Respondents were given the option to do their interview in person, over the phone or via email. Given how much popular music makers travel (for concerts and tours), I wanted to ensure that I provided respondents with the option to conduct interviews over the phone and through email for their convenience. These options proved to be successful as several respondents were either out of province or out of the country at the time of the interview. All in all, 18 interviews were conducted in person, 17 interviews were conducted over the phone and 4 were conducted via email. The face-to-face interviews were conducted at a location chosen by the respondent, usually at a coffee shop, restaurant or the respondent's place of work.

Most of the respondents were recruited through their professional web pages and/or myspace pages. Contact was initiated via electronic communication (email or a myspace message). Respondents were sent a formal email script, letter of information and consent form (approved by the McMaster Ethics Board), which told them about the project and asked them if they were interested in being interviewed. A smaller number of respondents were contacted through snowball sampling, where respondents I had already interviewed provided me with the contact details for future respondents. All respondents received a letter of information and consent form via email before the interview was conducted. For interviews conducted in person, a hard copy of the consent form was brought to the interview to be signed in person. For interviews conducted over the phone and via email, respondents were asked to email me their consent via email. In the consent

email, respondents were asked to include the following information: first, that they have read the consent form, second, that they consent to the interview, and third, whether they would like to use a pseudonym, real name or DJ name for the interview. Whether in person, over the phone or via email, all respondents were reminded of the objectives of the project and the nature of the consent process (e.g. they do not have to answer all the questions, the interview can stop at any time, etc.).

After my first few interviews, I realized that my interview guides were much too long (roughly 65 questions) so I decided to focus on the first three sections of the interview guides (roughly 38 questions). The first three sections of the interview guide focused on 1) gaining background information about the respondents, 2) their involvement in the music industry, and 3) questions about their particular type of music-making. A full list of the interview questions can be found in the Appendix. The interviews were semi-structured and not all questions were asked of each respondent, since I tried to conduct interviews in a more conversational and open manner, thereby allowing topics of interest to emerge from the dialogue between interviewer and respondent.

*2) Athens*

From February 2009 until July 2009 I conducted 23 interviews with popular music makers in Athens, Greece. Since data collection in Canada had been completed by January 2009 and the bulk of respondents interviewed were from Toronto and involved in the creation and production of black popular music, I decided to focus on black popular

music-making in Athens in order to be able to conduct a comparison between Toronto and Athens. As I had not interviewed music fans in Toronto, I decided not to interview music fans in Athens. However, whereas I spoke to a broader cross section of individuals in Toronto, in Athens I narrowed my focus to rap and, to a lesser extent, R&B popular music makers. Of the 23 respondents interviewed one respondent chose to remain anonymous (1 male). Of those interviewed 22 were men and 1 was a woman. The breakdown of types of respondents included: 4 MC/producers, 4 producers, 3 DJ/producers, 3 MCs, 2 DJs, 2 managers, 1 MC/DJ, 1 promoter/DJ, 1 promoter, 1 cinematographer and 1 dancer/MC (the female respondent).

The shortest interview lasted 20 minutes while the longest interview was 2 hours. Most interviews lasted 30 minutes. Respondents were given the option to do their interview in person, over the phone or via email. However, in Greece, telecommunications (such as telephone and internet) are quite expensive. As a result of the cost of talking on the phone and using the internet, all of the respondents requested face-to-face interviews. Respondents chose the location of the interview, and most interviews took place at either a coffee shop or recording studio.

The recruitment process was identical to the one used in Toronto, with most respondents being contacted via email and/or myspace. All respondents were emailed a copy of the consent form in advance of the interview and during the face to face interview they were given another opportunity to read the form and ask any questions they had about the research before providing their written consent. All of the recruitment materials were translated into Greek and correspondence was primarily conducted in Greek.

Respondents were given the choice to conduct their interview in Greek or English. 17 interviews were conducted in Greek, 5 interviews were conducted in English and 1 was conducted in Greek and English. The types of questions asked of respondents were the same as those asked of respondents in Canada, though with an emphasis on the particularities of hip hop culture in Athens.

***Observation***

Although this dissertation primarily drew upon interviews for the bulk of the data analyzed, my observations at various music events also provided valuable supplemental information on the social processes of music-making. In particular, various music industry conferences in Hamilton, Toronto and Athens, provided excellent contextual information on important changes currently happening within the music industry.

*1) Toronto*

In addition to conducting interviews, additional data was collected through observations at music conference, music classes and live music events. These events and classes were attended in order to get a more robust account of music-making practices taking place in Toronto, and Hamilton. From Sunday, January 13, 2008-Sunday, March 16, 2008, I attended a *DJ Beginner I* class at Scratchlab DJ Institute, Toronto. This class was an excellent opportunity to meet DJs to interview for my research and it provided me with the opportunity to interview the DJ instructor of my beginner DJ class (DJ Grouch) who is a well known and respected club DJ, radio DJ and turntablist. I also attended a

series of other events which provided valuable contextual information. For example, from November 2007 until August 2008 I attended the following events: *Honey Jam* August 12 2007 (an annual women's only talent even in Toronto); *Hamilton Music Awards*, *Career Day Music Conference*, Friday, November 16, 2007; *Hip Hop Karaoke* Friday, February 15, 2008, Toronto; *Break on Through* Book Launch for Jill Murray Saturday, February 16, 2008, Toronto; *Canadian Music Week* March 5-8 2008, Toronto; *It Starts with the DJ Conference*, hosted by Ty Harper and rez Digital, Saturday, May 31, 2008, Toronto and *Battle of the Beatmakers*, Saturday, August 23, 2008, Toronto. The Hamilton Music Conference, Canadian Music Week Conference and the DJ Conference all provided invaluable information concerning the Canadian Music Industry and large scale changes currently occurring in the industry.

*2) Athens*

In Athens I also attended a national music conference and live music events. From February 2009 until July 2009 I attended the following events: Thessaloniki International Film Festival in Athens, which aired two documentaries on hip hop in Athens, *Bombing* Aggelos Athanasopoulos and Dimitris Nikopoulos (2008) and *Rhythms and Rhymes* Nikos Skarentzos (2008); *1st Beatbox Convention*, April 11, 2009, Athens; *Athens Music Forum 5*, Wednesday, May 6, 2009-Thursday, May 7, 2009; *17th Anniversary Active Member Concert*, Friday, June 26, 2009; *Resistance Festival*, June 26-June 28 2009 (a yearly politics and music festival which features hip hop acts) and *Athens Festival '09*, Sanades and Word of Mouth Human Beatbox Team, July 7, 2009.

Field notes in Toronto and Athens were written and transcribed directly after attending each event. Field notes consisted of general impressions of the events, number of people in attendance, types of individuals in attendance, etc. In addition, recordings were made of relevant speakers and key sessions at the music conferences. Observational data was collected to act as a supplement to interviews and as a way of filling in gaps within interviews (specifically in terms of information on the Canadian Music Industry and Greek Music Industry).

***Textual analysis of extant texts***

On-line sources, such as web pages, government and cultural sources, such as statistical data on music sales, and musical artefacts, such as song lyrics and CD covers, as well as music magazines, are all examples of what are referred to as *extant texts*. Extant texts consist of varied data which the researcher had no hand in shaping (Charmaz 2006: 35) and these forms of data are often used by qualitative researchers as supplementary sources of data (Charmaz 2006: 38). Such textual analyses can greatly contribute to qualitative studies of popular music (in conjunction with interviews and observation).

*1) On-line sources*

In addition to the interviews and observation, data was also collected through several important web pages. Finding initial information on black popular music-making in Toronto and Athens was accomplished through online web searches. Web pages which

were particularly useful in providing information on black popular music and hip hop culture in Toronto included: *Hip Hop Canada* http://www.hiphopcanada.com, *North Side Hip Hop* http://www.northsidehiphop.ca/, *Urban Music Association of Canada* http://www.umacunited.com/, and *Stylus DJ Awards* http://www.stylusgroup.ca/, and in Athens included: *AEPI Hellenic Society for the Protection of Intellectual Property* http://www.aepi.gr/ and *Hip Hop Greece* http://www.hiphop.gr. These web pages provided valuable information on the names of popular music makers, dates and times of local shows, transcripts of interviews with popular music makers in the scene, historical information on hip hop music and culture, and statistical information on music sales at the national level. The *Hip Hip Canada* and *Hip Hop Greece* web pages were an invaluable resource which was used to track down potential interview respondents. Once the names of potential respondents were located through the *Hip Hop Canada* and *Hip Hop Greece* web pages, these potential respondents were contacted via their professional web pages and myspace pages. This recruitment process was effective in producing a pool of 62 respondents.

Finally, a book by Christos Terzides, concert promoter and manager of Goin' Through (the most successful hip hop act in Greece) on the history of hip hop in Greece entitled *To Hip Hop Δε Σταματά/Hip Hop Don't Stop* (2003) provided important contextual information on how hip hop in Greece first began and changes in the scene since its inception. Unfortunately, there is no such book on hip hop in Canada, which made a discussion of the historical aspects of hip hop in Toronto much more difficult.

*2) Music-song lyrics and album covers*

Song lyrics are an important site for the creation, dissemination and representation of various types of claims about the social order, and as such, they prove to be an excellent arena for academic inquiry. According to Herman Gray, "popular culture, in particular, popular music are important subjects for claims and counter-claims about the moral and social order" (1989: 143). Gray outlines a history of claims about popular music and concludes that although the targets of the claims may change, the types of claims leveled against popular music (e.g. early jazz or rock and roll) remain remarkably similar since in each instance popular music was framed as "...threatening the moral fabric of society" (1989: 155). The second case study in my research treated the song lyrics of the artist under question as lyrical texts to be analyzed. This approach is similar to past studies on hip hop which use the lyrical content of rap music as their objects of analysis (Kubrin 2005a; Kubrin 2005b; Haugen 2003; Armstrong 2001; Martinez 1997; Goodall 1994; Rose 1994). These studies have analyzed rap lyrics as text in order to understand how the code of "the street" is represented in gangsta rap lyrics (Kubrin 2005); how violence against women is represented in rap lyrics (Armstrong 2001); how female identities are performed within rap music (Haugen 2003); how rap lyrics provide an arena for the political messages (Martinez, 1997); how female sexuality is constructed within the music of female rap artists (Goodall 1994) and how rap music can be seen as a cultural response to oppression (Rose, 1994). What is similar for each of these studies is that lyrical texts are framed as narratives which are analyzed in order to tell a story about identity, sexism, politics or sexuality.

However, there are those who are critical of textual analysis of musical texts. For example, Peter J. Martin's argues that "the 'meanings' of music must be understood as embedded in more general configurations of social activity, and methodologically that ethnographic research, rather than the production of decontextualised 'readings,' is more likely to elucidate these meanings (2006: 8). In his book *Music and the Sociological Gaze: Art Worlds and Cultural Production*, Martin drawing on Howard Becker, is arguing against past studies in the sociology of music which focused on "decoding" art works and finding "secret meanings." Drawing on symbolic interactionist and social constructionist arguments, Martin argues against the CCCS inspired notion "... that music expresses the values of social groups" (Frith 1996 quoted in Martin 2006: 29), and instead argues that a new sociology of music is emerging which is more concerned with the production and uses of music in social contexts (2006: 35).

Though I generally agree with Martin's assessment that sociological studies of music would greatly benefit from adopting empirical analyses grounded in ethnographic methods, I believe that there is still a place in the sociology of music for the analyses of lyrical texts. However, textual approaches need to emphasize social context, in order to make clear that the meanings derived from a text relate to readings by specific persons, at specific times within specific places (Cohen 1993:135). In other words, textual analyses need to be contextually grounded (musical texts cannot be understood outside of the contexts within which they were produced) and they need to be supplemented with other forms textual analysis (such as interviews, statistical data, historical data, etc.). The goal of these textual analyses is not to uncover 'hidden meanings,' but rather to illustrate the

complex processes of meaning-making which are occurring within music, at both the lyrical and sonic levels of analysis.

For example, my second case study offers a textual analysis of song lyrics and album covers of BZ-Jam, a rapper of the Greek-Canadian diaspora, in order to illustrate how ethnicity, nationalism and diasporic identities of Greekness are actively being constructed in his music. The albums analyzed were: *It Ain't Greek to me* (2000), *My Big Phat Greek...* (2005) and *Peace to Greece Volume I, A collection of the best Greek rappers outside of Greece* (2006), for a total collection of 41 songs. His song lyrics were not "decoded" to find "secret meanings," rather, they were treated as any other text, and analyzed by adopting an inductive approach which allowed the key themes to emerge organically from the data themselves. In this instance, BZ Jam's song lyrics were treated as reflections on diasporic belonging, since the vast majority of his songs are meditations on "Greekness" and on the complexities of being simultaneously Greek and Canadian.

**Transcription, coding and analysis of data**

Though each case study offers greater detail on the specifics concerning the qualitative methods employed, coding conducted and analysis reached, this section provides an overall discussion of how the coding and analysis were completed.

*1) Transcription*

The transcription process involved a mix of transcribing the interviews myself and hiring a professional transcriptionist for the rest. I hired a professional transcriptionist to

transcribe 5 of the 39 Canadian interviews, while I transcribed the rest of the interviews. I hired a professional transcriptionist to transcribe 17 of the 23 Greek interviews, while I transcribed the rest of the interviews. The reason that I hired someone to transcribe the majority of the interviews which were conducted in Greek is that although I possess solid oral and reading skills, my written skills in Greek are not as advanced, and transcribing these interviews on my own would have been very time consuming and difficult.

*2) Coding*

Qualitative coding involved a multi-stage process. The first two stages of the process drew upon Kathy Charmaz's approach in *Constructing Grounded Theory* (2006). Though I did not completely adopt a grounded theory approach in my analyses, Charmaz's book offers a practical guide to analyzing qualitative data, which can be used regardless of one's theoretical orientation. In the first stage of coding, *initial coding*, I remained open to exploring whatever theoretical possibilities emerge from the data (Charmaz 2006: 47). At this stage in the process, the data were coded with words that reflect action (instead of according to topics) (Charmaz 2006: 48) and they were coded by adopting a line-by-line approach (which draws one's attention to ideas which may have escaped one's attention if using a general thematic analysis) (Charmaz 2006: 50). For example, some of the initial codes for my chapter on DJs were taste-making, educating, pleasing, commanding, etc. In the second stage of coding, *focused coding*, I used the most significant and/or frequent codes from my first stage of coding as the basis to synthesize and explain larger segments of data (Charmaz 2006: 57). For example, in my

chapter on DJs, my distinctions between crowd pleasing and crowd commanding strategies, began to take shape at this second stage of coding.

*3) Analysis*

Data from a broad range of sources were analyzed, including, academic literatures on popular music, conducted interviews, conference proceedings, newspaper articles, song lyrics, statistical sources and on-line interviews from web pages. All of these sources were treated as *texts*, which are basic discursive units and the material manifestations of discourses (Chalaby, 1996: 688). These texts, when examined in reference to one another, or intertextually, form a class of texts, or what is known as a discourse (Chalaby 1996: 688). Discourses are classes of texts produced by real agents in concrete and specific socio-historical conditions (Chalaby 1996: 696). My analysis of interviews, observational data and extant texts, drew upon Jean K. Chalaby's sociological version of discourses analysis. For example, in my first case study on DJing in Toronto, I analyzed the discursive strategies used by DJs to legitimate their roles as musicians; in my second case study on the song lyrics of Greek-Canadian rapper BZ Jam, I analyzed the types of discourses used by BZ Jam in cultivating a "collective identity" for Greeks outside of Greece; and in my third case study on hip hop in Athens, I analyzed the discursive strategies of hip hop practitioners in the construction of an authentic hip hop identity. In each case study, interviews, observation and song lyrics are treated as texts which were analyzed through discourse analysis.

**Research questions**

Though each case study focuses on different aspects of cultural production and representation, they each provide a nuanced understanding of how popular music-makers are actively involved in the construction of various types of cultural identities. For example, in "Locating the DJ," DJs are seeking to construct authorial identities which legitimate their roles as musicians within a popular music field which denies them musicality; in "Historicizing the Field" Greek popular music-makers are seeking to construct an authentic hip hop identity in Greece; in "Bouzouki hip hop," BZ Jam is constructing diasporic identities of belonging for "Greeks outside of Greece."

The questions which guided my chapter entitled "Locating the DJ" included:

- What strategies are DJs adopting to gain cultural legitimacy?
- How are DJs using these strategies to gain cultural legitimacy?
- Which types of DJs are most likely to gain cultural legitimacy?
- How does the concept of *location* contribute to our understandings of the field of popular music?

The questions which guided my chapter entitled "Historicizing the Field" included:

- What is the *collective history* of the Greek popular music field?
- How does this collective history structure the Greek popular music field?
- How are hip hop practitioners utilizing their knowledge of this collective history to authenticate their roles within the Greek popular music field?

The questions which guided my chapter entitled "Bouzouki hip hop" included:

- How is Greek-Canadian identity imagined/represented within the lyrics of BZ Jam? Is this an inclusive or exclusive representation? Who is/is not included?
- How does BZ Jam utilize his music as a strategy for creating diasporic belonging?
- How is the field of popular music also a field of cultural representations?
- How is Greek *cultural identity* struggled over within this field?

**Concluding remarks**

On a whole, these case studies are interested in the cultural production and representation of cultural identities within popular music. The three case studies of this dissertation are theoretically informed by Bourdieu's theories of cultural production and methodological driven by qualitative analysis in order to understand how discourses about popular music-making and popular song lyrics are used by popular music-makers in their symbolic quests for cultural legitimacy, authenticity and belonging.

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## Chapter 5

## Locating the DJ: Black Popular Music, Location and Fields of Cultural Production

### Introduction

"Here [in Canada], a DJ is still seen as a DJ and not as an artist" Anonymous female DJ, interview, 2008.

This chapter examines black popular music-making in Toronto, Canada, as a field of cultural production. Extending Bourdieu's work, this chapter introduces the concept of *location* as a supplement to the concepts of position and disposition in understanding how strategies are enacted in cultural fields. Using Toronto as a case study, current struggles for musicianship among DJs of black popular music[8] are empirically examined in order to demonstrate the importance of *location* within the field of popular music. The spatial, temporal, interactional, aural, individual and numeric dimensions of *location* are outlined and the significance of *location* in the use of strategies in the quest for musical authorship is illustrated.

Past studies of DJing often uncritically assume that all DJs possess musical authorship. Herman (2006), Poschardt (1998), and Hillegonda (1998) all refer to DJs as authors in their works, while Brewster and Broughton note that the DJ is a musician who uses records as musical instruments (2006: 22). For example, Poschardt argues that "...the resurrection of the author by DJ culture is not just a theoretical suggestion but a

[8] The term Black popular music is used over the more common marketing term of "urban music" because many respondents do not identify as "urban" artists. Indeed, many argued that this term was created as a way to erase the African roots of Black musical forms in order to sell them to mainstream (which they viewed as mainly white) consumers. However, I do use the term "urban music" when referring to music sales, as this is how Black popular music genres are classified by the Canadian Music Industry.

cultural given" (1998: 378). While musical authorship is possible for *some* DJs, it is certainly not true for *all* DJs. Rather than view authorship for DJs as a "cultural given," this chapter posits that authorship is a site of contestation and struggle within the popular music field and it seeks to understand *how* DJs try to claim authorship and legitimacy within popular music. Three questions guide this analysis. First, what strategies are DJs adopting to gain cultural legitimacy? Second, how are DJs using these strategies to gain cultural legitimacy? Third, which types of DJs are most likely to gain cultural legitimacy?

To answer these questions, this chapter extends the works of Pierre Bourdieu on cultural production, by providing a more dynamic understanding of the interrelationships between positions, dispositions and strategies in the quest for cultural legitimacy. This chapter suggests that the relationship between one's position in the field and strategies employed is mediated by one's *location* in the field. For the purposes of this chapter, the concept of *location* refers to the contextual dimensions which structure the use of strategies in the field. Whereas *position* refers to the objective characteristics of agents (e.g. Are you a MC or a DJ?), and *disposition* refers to the subjective 'feel for the game' of agents (e.g. Can you 'read the crowd' and determine the type of music they want to hear?), *location* refers to the context within which strategies are enacted by agents (e.g. What types of events do you DJ? What types of music do you spin?). For example, within popular music one's *location* in the field is determined by the genres of music one is involved in, the number of positions one holds, the types of clubs one performs in, etc. This chapter will demonstrate how the concept of *location*, in addition to the concepts of

position and disposition, is central to understanding the deployment of strategies in the field.

To illustrate my argument this chapter is organized into five sections. First, the applicability and extension of Bourdieu's theory of cultural production is discussed. Second, the popular music field in Canada and the sub-field of black popular music-making in Toronto are described. Third, the strategies adopted by DJs (strategies of *crowd pleasing* and *crowd commanding*) to legitimate their roles as musicians are outlined. Fourth, the importance of *location* in the use of strategies in black popular music-making is illustrated. Finally, this chapter concludes by outlining how positions, dispositions and *locations* impact the use of strategies in the field of cultural production and suggesting possible avenues for future research.

**The importance of *location* in cultural fields**

Several music scenes contributed to the formation of what we know today as radio and club DJs. These range from the first 'record parties' (where people danced to records put on by a disc jockey) in Leeds in the 1940s to the discotheques in London, New York and Paris of the 1960s and are followed by the sounds of northern soul in Manchester and American disco of the 1970s and the rise of hip hop culture in the 1980s (Brewster and Broughton, 2006). Since then, the role of the DJ has undergone further transformations, from crate diggers (seeking rare older records) to blog diggers (seeking the latest remixes of tracks online), the role of the DJ remains in a constant state of flux. Within black

popular music-making, the role of the DJ is undergoing further transformations in the DJs current quest for authorship.

Past studies on popular music in Canada which have focused on the Canadian music industry (Straw, 1993; Straw, 1996; Sutherland and Straw, 2007), have not offered sufficient information on black popular music in Canada (though this is primarily the result of insufficient recording practices in Statistics Canada Reports). Those studies that have examined black popular music in Canada have primarily focused on Canadian rap music (Haines, 1999; Chamberland, 2001; Hayes, 2004; Lashua, 2006; Lashua and Fox, 2006). Of these, most have focused on the music/MCs (Haines, 1999; Chamberland, 2001) and consumption/reception of rap music (Hayes, 2004; Lashua, 2006; Lashua and Fox, 2006). These studies have provided important insights, but in neglecting the producers, DJs and other individuals involved in the production of music they do not illustrate the full spectrum of music-making practices. Furthermore, while there have been a wealth of studies on club cultures (Thornton, 1996; Redhead, 1997), rave cultures (Wilson, 2006; Marsh, 2006 offer Canadian examples) and electronic dance music (Bradby, 1993; Loza, 2001), research which specifically focuses on the social practices of DJing as its primary subject matter has until fairly recently (Langlois, 1992; Farrugia, 2004; Farrugia and Swiss, 2005; Bakker and Bakker, 2006; Katz, 2007) been underrepresented in academic debates.

There are a wealth of macro-level studies drawing on Bourdieu which focus on the relationships between taste cultures, music, consumption and social differentiation (Bryson, 1996; Peterson and Kern, 1996; Van Eijck, 2001; Savage, 2006), but there are

fewer studies that draw on Bourdieu's theories on cultural production to offer qualitative analyses of music-making in particular. Past qualitative studies of music-making, which have drawn on Bourdieu, have focused on the legitimization of rock music as an artistic form by radio DJs and critics (Regev, 1994), the subcultural distinctions within British club cultures (Thornton, 1996), the positioning of jazz practices within the "restricted subfield of popular art" (Lopes, 2000), the study of punk as a field of independent cultural production (Moore, 2007), and the study of 'glitch' through field theory and actor network theory (Prior, 2008).

This chapter offers a qualitative analysis of the strategies currently being used by black popular music DJs to gain authorship and cultural legitimacy in Toronto. In general terms, cultural fields are understood as networks of objective relations between positions (Bourdieu 1996: 231). One's position in the field is the result of objectified practice and the products resulting from that practice (Bourdieu 1993: 131); and agents within the field struggle over the distribution of available positions (Bourdieu, 1996: 231) such as DJ, producer, MC, musician, etc. In this struggle, agents adopt different strategies in their quest for cultural legitimacy and power (Bourdieu, 1993: 137). For Bourdieu, the use of strategies within fields is the result of a confluence of positions (objective relations) and dispositions ('feel for the game') (Bourdieu, 1993: 183).

What is missing from Bourdieu's analysis is an examination of the importance of *location* as a mediating factor between positions, dispositions and strategies in the field of cultural production. Instead of viewing strategies solely as the result of the interplay between positions and dispositions, DJs repeatedly suggest that their use of strategies is

also dependent on the context or *location* within which strategies are enacted. Depending on the situation, DJs will adopt different strategies to claim authorship as musicians. The strategy of *crowd pleasing* allows DJs to frame themselves as *musical entertainers* and the strategy of *crowd commanding* allows DJs to frame themselves as *musical artists*. Both strategies seek to claim cultural legitimacy in the popular music field, though in markedly different ways. What this empirical study of DJing illustrates is how Bourdieu's model of cultural production can be strengthened by taking into account the importance of *location* in the enactment of strategies in the quest for cultural legitimacy.

**Methods**

This study focuses on black popular music-makers[9] in Toronto who spun, created, or produced music that drew primarily on African and African American-influenced musical genres, such as rap, reggae, R&B, etc. though many also incorporated elements of Top 40 into their musical practices. Thirty interviews[10] with producers, DJs, industry professionals and other individuals involved in music-making in Toronto were conducted from January 2007 to January 2009. Interviews were conducted in person, over the phone and through email. Since my research focuses on insights into the popular music industry, an industry where professional success is intimately connected with name recognition, respondents were given the option *not* to remain anonymous, so that they

[9] The term "popular music-maker" is employed in order to be more inclusive of all the different types of individuals who are involved in the music-making process.

[10] This project is part of a larger study on popular music-making in Toronto, Canada and Athens, Greece. For this larger study, I have interviewed 39 respondents in Toronto and 23 in Athens, for a total of 62 respondents.

could be credited for their ideas on the music-making process. Of the thirty interviewed, only six chose to remain anonymous.

Data from a broad range of sources was analyzed, including, conducted interviews, conference proceedings, newspaper articles, statistical sources and on-line interviews from web pages. All of these sources were treated as *texts*, the material manifestations of discourses (Chalaby, 1996: 688), and were coded using discourse analysis. By conducting open-ended, in-depth interviews with popular music-makers which focused on their experiences within the popular music industry, I gained insight into which issues were of central concern to the popular music-makers. This study focuses on one of the key concerns of popular music-makers—struggles for musical authorship among DJs.

**The Canadian Music Industry and the Popular Music Field in Canada**

> "Once the non-existent infrastructure catches up to the current quality of the music, the artists should be good. I mean we all know that a large percentage of young people love hip hop music and culture. But Canadian radio does not even remotely reflect the demand for the music and touring companies do not support Canadian hip hop artists for whatever odd reasons. I believe there is a large amount of racism and 'not wanting to lose our spots/jobs in the industry' attitudes going on, or maybe even some unwarranted fear of the music" Gee Wunder, hip hop artist, MegaCityHipHop Interview"[11]

In the above quotation, Gee Wunder outlines two of the most important struggles in Toronto: struggles over material resources and struggles against racism and marginalization. The economic conditions within which popular music-makers make music are marked by increased struggles over material resources. At the national level,

[11] http://www.megacityhiphop.com/interviews/geewunder_feb2008.html

Canada is the world's sixth largest music market (Spendlove, 2004: 4). In 2007, Canadian artists accounted for 18% of all album sales in Canada, and the majority of the top ten Canadian artists were rock and pop musicians.[12] In terms of sales by genre, "according to the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry and the Canadian Recording Industry Association (CRIA), rock and pop recordings accounted for 51% of total sales, followed by country (6%), hip hop (6%), world music (5%), classical (4%), jazz (3%), R&B (3%), and soundtrack (2%). Other genres combined for a 30% share" (Spendlove, 2004: 15).

In Toronto, popular music-makers argue that the disparities in terms of new releases and sales of 'urban' music are the result of a lack of material resources for black popular music-makers and the marginalization of these musical forms. According to Will Strickland, the President of the Urban Music Association of Canada (UMAC) and Solitair, a well known producer, artist and song writer in Toronto, there is the widely held belief among popular music-makers that Canada is a "rock country."[13] Ron Nelson, a well known and well respected DJ in Toronto, recalls that in the mid 1980s, the major Canadian record labels showed no interest in black music: "What is keeping rap from taking off is a general misunderstanding and rejection of this type of music and its audience, not to mention media and public prejudice against the power of black urban music" (Nelson, cited in Chamberland, 2001: 309). Roger Chamberland, in this same

[12] Nielsen Soundscan data presented at Canadian Music Week 2008.
[13] By saying this, Strickland and Solitair are not making an essentialist argument that Canadians inherently like rock music more than urban music. Rather, they are arguing that one of the main problems facing Black popular music-makers in Toronto and in Canada are the biases towards Black popular music in the Canadian Music Industry.

article on rap music, argues that within Canada "...the production, distribution, and broadcasting of rap remains confined to the margins" (2001: 311-312). The same can be said of black popular music in Canada more broadly.

For Strickland, Solitair, and others, this marginalization of black popular music-making in Canada has serious consequences for music-makers in Toronto and has resulted in a lack of infrastructure, opportunity and support for black popular music. First, in terms of a *lack of infrastructure*, DJ Grouch, argues that "money is not being put into the development of urban artists the way that it is being put into indie music, or rock music, which are well oiled machines in terms of infrastructure. The bottom line is that urban artists are not getting the support that they need." Second, there is a *lack of opportunities to showcase musical talent* in live venues. Addi "Mindbender" Stewart, a rap artist and journalist, believes that "on the rock side, there is the traditional infrastructure which has been set up for touring and getting other forms of support. This is because rock and roll is well established in Canada. Hip hop culture on the other hand is much newer to Canada. It is also really difficult to go to rock people with hip hop music. They sometimes don't understand the music and because of that they are less likely to invest." Third, there is a *lack of radio support* (aside from FLOW 93.5, which is expected to service the whole country and also reach an international audience) for black popular music-makers. These are the social conditions which support Solitair's claim that rock music is at the "top of the mainstream food chain" in terms of radio/video play, corporate sponsors and A&R representatives at major labels.

**Black popular music in Toronto**

> "Stop trying to be more of the superstar than the superstars you're trying to break" comment directed towards DJs by an audience member who was a producer, artist and songwriter during *It Starts with the DJ Conference*, 2008.

Despite black popular music's marginalization in regards to other musical genres at the national level, Toronto is home to the vast majority of rap, reggae and R&B artists in Canada, and is also home to three of the most important national institutions of black popular music—the Urban Music Association of Canada (founded in 1996), which hosts the Canadian Urban Music Awards (founded in 1999); the New Flow 93.5 (founded in 2001), which is Canada's first urban music station; and the Stylus DJ Awards (founded in 2006), which hosts annual Canadian DJ awards and the Stylus Spinfest. Each of these institutions plays a seminal role in granting legitimacy and recognition for black popular music-making in Canada. They are arenas within which struggles against the marginalization of black popular music in Canada take shape, as well as arenas within which internal struggles between black popular music-makers happen. In particular, the Stylus DJ Awards and Stylus Spinfest have been instrumental in showcasing and rewarding the talents of Canadian DJs, and providing a platform for discussions on the role of the DJ. At a panel at the annual Stylus DJ Awards,[14] the tensions between DJs and musical artists over the role of the DJ and musical authorship were clearly illustrated. The panel focused on discussing the ways in which to "bridge the gap" between local musicians and local DJs, in order to facilitate greater support for local music in Toronto.

[14] *It Starts with the DJ Conference*, "Bridging the Gap" Panel, Saturday, May 31, 2008. Robert Gill Theatre, Toronto, Canada.

In repeated interviews, panel discussions and other moments, musicians and DJs revealed different understandings of the role of the DJ. For many musical artists, the role of the DJ, be that in the club or on the radio, is to play the songs of local musicians, whether they like them or not, in order to support the local music scene. During this panel, an artist from the audience argued, "...right now, where FLOW is the only urban commercial radio station that can play these kind of records...if there is a demand for it from the people, you should play it. Even if you don't like it. If there are people that love the music, you should play it...Otherwise, I gotta spend thousands of dollars to hit the streets, hit the blocks, to give them my music personally, when you guys are there for that."

For DJs, viewing the DJ as someone who is at the service of musical artists was deeply contested since many DJs view themselves as *musicians*. For DJ Starting from Scratch, a sixteen-year music veteran, FLOW 93.5 radio DJ, and multiple Stylus DJ award winner, the role of the DJ is much more than someone who plays music since "these guys aren't just guys who play records. They are song writers, producers. You should be mixing and mingling with them to see, like they might have some shit you don't even know about! It also comes from their musicality and their taste on what's hot." According to Starting from Scratch, DJs are musicians because they also write and produce their own music: "As non DJs you can't understand what we do either. I'm not gonna come to you and tell you 'make this song' 'cause I want this song. I can't do that. You're an artist...I'm not gonna do that...I don't have this job to play your records. You get me? My job is to make people dance when they come to my parties."

In many ways, these divergent views concerning the role of the DJ illustrate internal struggles over authorship that are as central to the self-definition of DJs as are their united struggles with other black popular music-makers against the marginalization of their music. In this instance, these struggles center around the position of *musician*, the status afforded to this position, and who can and cannot claim this position in popular music. The next section examines the strategies of authorship and the strategies of action DJs have employed in their quest for musicianship. The centrality of *location* in the enactment of strategies of authorship and action is emphasized.

**Crowd pleasing and crowd commanding**

***Strategies of authorship and the quest for autonomy***

> "For the good DJs it's how you read the crowd. It really is. I don't care what skills you've got if you can't read the crowd you can't DJ worth shit. And I hear guys say, "Fuck the crowd." And I'm like, "Yo, well the crowd is going to fuck you" Mike Tull, DJ veteran, interview, 2008.

DJs adopt different techniques and strategies in order to claim *authorship* in the eyes of musicians and audiences. The practice of "reading the crowd" is one of the central techniques of DJing. Though sometimes referred to as "recognizing your audience" (More or Les) or "listen[ing] to the crowd" (Mel Boogie), this ability of knowing what types of music your audience wants to hear was considered a central technique in DJing. As Mel Boogie notes, "reading the crowd" involves "understand[ing] how to get the crowd going and how to keep the crowd going." This technique involves looking for bodily cues (cheering and dancing) or listening to feedback from their listeners (on air) to help her decide what to play (genres) and how to play it (blending,

mixing, cutting, etc). As Mel Boogie points out, "[reading the crowd] does not come naturally and it is something that you have to really work at, like any other skill in DJing." The technique of reading the crowd is the *most* important skill in a DJs repertoire as it provides DJs with the ability to choose between different strategies in the field. Reading the crowd *correctly* is what allows a DJ to choose which strategy of authorship, crowd commanding or crowd pleasing, is best suited in the field.

In distinction from the shared technique of reading the crowd, DJs adopt particular and often alternating strategies of *crowd pleasing* and *crowd commanding* in order to legitimize their roles as autonomous agents in black popular music-making. *Crowd pleasing* strategies, as described by DJs, place emphasis on the practices of *selecting* and *entertaining*. The practice of *selecting* involves a DJ's ability to choose songs that get the crowd moving. Not only does one have to be able to read the crowd and understand what type of music they want to hear, but they must also be able to select songs which get them to dance. For Numeric, a part time DJ and promoter, being a good DJ is based on "good song selection. Someone who knows when to start a track and end a track is important, but it all comes down to what song you're playing."

*Crowd pleasing* also emphasizes that DJs be *entertaining*. As one female DJ noted, "the role of the DJ is to entertain" or as J-Tec notes, to be a "...party rocker—outright." These sentiments were echoed by DJ Ritz, a male club DJ and producer, who believes that "the role of the DJ is not to push songs on people. As DJs we are hired to make people dance and rock the party. I am not here to educate people. Radio and mixtapes are different; you can play stuff that you would not be able to get away with at

the club. But at clubs, people want to hear music that they already know. Even if that means you have to play the top 10 songs. Being a DJ...is about getting people to dance."

The second strategy adopted by DJs is that of *crowd commanding*. *Crowd commanding* involves the practices of *tastemaking*, *educating*, *technicality* and *artistic control* in an effort to legitimate status by framing oneself as a musical artist. Crowd commanding involves all the elements of crowd pleasing but goes much further. Instead of solely playing what the crowd wants to hear through the practices of reading, selecting and entertaining, *crowd commanding* involves the added ability to shape the musical tastes of the crowd. The central aim of *crowd commanding* is *tastemaking* which involves two primary practices: first, evaluating between good and bad music, and second, introducing audiences to good music. The role of the DJ is not to merely reflect the musical tastes of the crowd by reading and selecting music, the role of the DJ is to *create* new musical tastes. For L'Oqenz, this means that "A good DJ...is a tastemaker. They play songs that make you excited. They are the type of DJ who will play a track that you may not know, but that you will want to know. A track that is so good that you will go up to them and ask them what the song is." She further notes that "bad DJs also rely too much on what people say is hot. As a DJ, it is your job to say what is hot and what is not."

Second, crowd commanding also involves *educating* the audience which requires two things: first, being educated in the history of DJing, and second, possessing a solid knowledge of music. According to L'Oqenz, "I feel that it is our job, as DJs, to be historians and to educate people and make them stop and think. We are supposed to

make people enjoy a song for its beauty." This sentiment is mirrored by P-Plus, a male club DJ and radio DJ, who believes that DJs should discover songs and introduce them to audiences. He notes that "... when you're a DJ you usually spin what you like in a sense too, to really take music you like and make people like it." Similarly, having knowledge of music means that you have to know the music you are spinning really well. More or Les, a male MC, DJ and producer, believes that you "need to know your music really well so that you are able to pull out a golden nugget" because "if you don't know your music you are much more likely to cut out the good parts of songs."

Third, crowd commanding also involves placing emphasis on the *technical aspects* of DJing (such as scratching, blending, mixing, etc.). As DJ Grouch, notes, "you also need to be good at the technical side of things, such as using the turntable as an instrument, especially if you are known as a turntablist and you are performing in front of an audience because they will watch you...You could be really amazing at scratching but if you suck at blending, then what's the point? The same goes for blending. I mean, hip hop birthed the scratch and to me, only being able to blend without scratching is like having a peanut butter and jelly sandwich without the jelly."

Finally, crowd commanding involves the ability of possessing *artistic control* over the music that you spin. This is accomplished by one's ability to "control the crowd." L'Oqenz notes that "a good DJ...knows how to command a crowd" and DJ Grouch frames this capability in terms of "someone who is able to control the party." By controlling the crowd, a good DJ is able to command the party through their artistic skills and artistic autonomy. For many DJs, creative control is exercised by understanding the

difference between *catering* versus *recognizing* the crowd. As More or Les notes, "So, I guess that recognizing your audience and what they want is one thing, and catering to requests is another. The DJ is not there to cater to all of the requests of the audience." Catering to all of the requests of the audience results in the loss of control of your conditions of work, whereas recognizing or reading the audience is central to commanding the crowd by playing songs which the audience may not have wanted to hear, but which they nonetheless enjoy. Both strategies involve different orientations towards music-making and creativity: crowd pleasing is used to entertain the audience and crowd commanding is used to educate the audience.

***Strategies of action and the importance of location***

Drawing on Bourdieu, Ann Swidler views culture as "toolkit" from which individuals construct lines or "strategies of action" (1986: 277). Taking inspiration from this idea, this section outlines how the strategies of crowd commanding and crowd pleasing are employed in the field. Though these strategies seek to authenticate authorship in different ways, this section illustrates how one's choice of strategy in the field is contextually determined rather than positionally fixed, which allows for a more fluid understanding of the relationship between positions, dispositions and strategies. This section illustrates the importance of one's *location* in the field (as determined by spatial, temporal, interactional, aural, individual and numeric dimensions) in determining the type of strategy used.

First, a DJs choice of strategy is *spatially* determined by the type of event where they are performing. Is the DJ performing on the radio, club, corporate event, community event, house party or wedding? If they are performing on the radio, is it on community radio or mainstream radio? If a DJ is playing at a club, where is it located? Is it in the club district or in the periphery? What is the size of the club? Is it large or small? In many ways, though not always, the type of event often dictates the nature of the strategy to be used. For example, at weddings, DJs are expected to please the crowd by taking requests and playing what the crowd wants to hear. At large clubs DJs are expected to please the crowd by playing Top 40 and commercial hits. In smaller clubs and on community radio, there is greater freedom to command the crowd by introducing audiences to new music (such as underground house, socially and politically conscious rap, obscure jazz, etc.).

Second, one's choice of strategy is also *temporally* determined by the time of the event. Is the DJ performing during the day for high school students? At a local community event where children will be present? If they are performing at a club or on the radio, which time slot do they have? Not only will DJs use different strategies depending on *where* they are performing, but *when* they are performing. This can also involve the use of strategic switches at different times during their set. For example, DJs in larger clubs are often required to play Top 40 tracks at certain times in the evening, such as around midnight, when larger crowds are in attendance. However, DJs who perform earlier in the night have greater freedom in their musical choices (though they may still be constrained by a Top 40 format).

Third, one's choice of strategy is also *interactionally* determined based on the audience in attendance and whether or not one DJ is alone or with others. Different audiences respond differently to different types of strategies. The type of audience is determined by reading the crowd. When asked how exactly one goes about "reading the crowd" J-Tec, a male turntablist noted that "I know this is going to sound a bit weird, but you basically have to read the demographics. You can gauge by age, is it a younger or older crowd? It is mostly male or mostly female? Is it a mix of genders? And then, it is really based on trial and error." In other words, the strategy employed is determined by the audience in attendance, since a strategy which is successful with an older female crowd may not be successful with a younger male crowd, or vice versa. However, rarely are audiences completely homogenous and DJs often have to strategically switch between strategies in order to determine which strategy will please the greatest amount of people in attendance. Additionally, if two DJs are DJing together, the strategies they use will be largely determined through their interactions with one another (as well as with the crowd).

Based on the interviews conducted with DJs in Toronto, there are racial differences among the audience members in different venues in and around Toronto. In general, the larger the venue and the closer to the downtown core of Toronto, the more racially diverse the audience or the more "white" the audience. However, these demographics are also event specific, and the racial audiences of clubs differ depending on the type of music being played. For example, DJ P-Plus puts on a musical event entitled *Originals*. *Originals* is a musical event which showcases original songs of the

past that have been sampled and re-made by some of today's most popular artists. The event focuses on soul, funk, Motown, and R&B from the 60's, 70's and 80's, and this music is blended, mixed and fused with today's hottest musical hits. This is an event which is usually held in smaller independent venues, such as the Dazzling Lounge on King Street West, and it is an event which is predominantly attended by black people. Similarly, according to Miss Boomarang, the West Indian market, where reggae, soca, calypso and chutney are musical staples, is located outside of the downtown core of Toronto. Thus, the racial demographics of audiences (in addition to other types of social differences) play a seminal role in determining the type of strategies a DJ will employ in the field.

Fourth, one's choice of strategy is also *aurally* determined by the type of music being played. As L'Oqenz reminds us, "you know that songs with a 4x4 tempo or 98 bpm will make people move. You also know that types of songs will make people think." Certain genres lend themselves to certain strategies. Is the DJ playing chart hits or underground beats, Top 40 or avant-garde electronica? Is the DJ eclectic in their musical mix or are they playing music from a very specific genre (e.g. an evening of Afrobeat)? Broadly speaking, DJs who play Top 40 chart hits are more likely to employ the strategy of crowd pleasing, whereas DJs who play more obscure genres are more likely to employ the strategy of crowd commanding. However, there are many DJs who seek to embrace both the autonomous and heteronomous regions of the sub-field by playing mainstream and underground music and by employing crowd pleasing and crowd commanding strategies in their sets. For example, DJ Dalia often spins underground music with Top

40 music in order to "open people's minds and ears to new music." With this technique, Dalia is simultaneously pleasing and commanding the crowd.

Fifth, one's choice of strategy is also *individually* determined by the type of DJ. Since certain types of events are more likely to have certain types of audiences, play certain types of music and rely on certain types of strategies, DJs will often perform at events which allow them to utilize the strategy (or strategies) of their choosing. Such limitations of strategy are one of the reasons that some DJs will only play at certain types of events. As DJ Grouch argues, "as a DJ you have to sometimes play the songs that you don't like. This is one of the reasons that I don't really do the downtown scene. I'm not all that into playing for the masses. I would rather play for people who have an open ear instead of a closed ear. I don't want to play for robots. I play for real people." DJ Grouch's comment clearly illustrates the complex interplay between strategies, events and creative autonomy, and how he resolves this tension by screening the events he performs at.

Finally, one's choice of strategy is also determined by the *number* of positions one holds in the field. Though Bourdieu mentions the ambivalence encountered by agents in the field who occupy more than one position, such as the painter-dealer and the writer-publisher (1993: 79), he does not fully examine the implications of possessing multiple positions. In particular, he does not discuss the relationship between multiple positions and strategies for gaining cultural legitimacy. Holding multiple positions in the field, such as being a radio DJ, club DJ and producer, improves one's *location* in the field and provides one with greater opportunities and chances for success. This means that

dominance in the field is not solely based on *which position one holds* but it is also based on one's *location* in the field as determined by *how many positions one holds*, with more positions resulting in greater chances for dominance, and *how one holds them*, with those who are best able to switch between strategies (e.g. artist and entertainer) being the most successful.[15]

DJs employ different strategies depending on their *location* within the field, but the reasons and rationale for these strategies is legitimation. Legitimation in the face of a music industry which marginalizes black popular music generally, and within a black popular music field in which the role of the DJ is still, decades-on, contested in terms of musicality and musicianship.

**Conclusion**

This chapter has outlined the strategies of authorship currently being adopted by DJs of black popular music in order to gain cultural legitimacy within a popular music field which rejects their claims of musicality. In doing this, I have illustrated how the concept of *location* contributes to a better understanding of the deployment of positions, dispositions and strategies in the popular music field. I will conclude by providing an example from my research in order to demonstrate the importance of the concept of *location* within cultural fields and to suggest avenues for future research.

[15] It should be noted that although holding multiple positions in the field increases dominance, for many DJs it is also an act of necessity given the precarious nature of DJ work. For example, being a DJ, producer and MC increases potential revenue abilities while decreasing certain types of costs (e.g. album production costs). For many DJs, the ability to produce and/or MC were seen as crucial to their survival in the music industry.

As already discussed, the successful use of strategies of authorship in the field is largely influenced by one's *location* in the field, which is determined by spatial, temporal, interactional, aural, individual and numeric dimensions. However, not all dimensions will be relevant in determining one's *location*, though a combination of several dimensions will be relevant in determining almost all *locations*. This is because similar to Bourdieu's concepts of position, disposition and strategy, *location* is a relational and contextual concept which changes from one field to another. What determines a DJs *location* within the popular music field is not the same for writers in the field of literature; yet, similar to position, disposition and strategy, the concept of *location* is central to understanding all cultural fields.

I will provide an example from my research to clearly illustrate my point. One of my respondents was a DJ named Mike Tull. Mike Tull is an established part-time DJ in Toronto who has been involved in black popular music-making since the 1980s and who spins "anything but the kitchen sink" in smaller clubs outside the club district in downtown Toronto. Mike Tull first became known in the 1990s for the hip hop "master mixes" he would play on his radio show. In these mixes he would play a hip hop track, mix the original break, play the hip hop track and then mix the original sample. Below he discusses his first major bookings:

> "So we had the parties doing all that stuff and that would be good for places like the *Riv* and where it's more down to earth and lower spaces but then your name starts getting big and then *Fluid* books you, you know what I mean, or *Phoenix* books you. And then you're in there and now you have double the crowd and you start dropping like a hip hop record and some soul record it sampled and they're looking at you like, "What the fuck is this," you know what I mean. Then you come off and the guy after you comes on and plays like this pounding hell set and you're

like, "Whoa, I'm nothing like that guy." So we started working house into the set and...the long and short of it you become a house DJ..."

This example illustrates the significance of *location* in the successful enactment of strategies in the field. In this quotation, Mike Tull distinguishes between two different *locations*: smaller "down to earth" clubs in the periphery, such as the *Rivoli*, and larger top-tier clubs in the downtown core of the club district, such as *Fluid*. His "master mix" techniques worked well with audiences in the smaller clubs, but failed in the larger clubs. The reason for this is the difference of *location*, since his positions, dispositions and strategies remained the same. At the downtown club there was a disconnect between his position as a newcomer to the field, his dispositions as a knowledgeable radio hip hop DJ, his location within a large top-tier club in downtown Toronto, and the strategies he adopted within the club to try and command the crowd with his sampling abilities. There are times when a DJ should please the crowd and there are times when a DJ should command the crowd, and knowing the difference is crucial to becoming an established DJ. Mike Tull became established in the field by learning the difference between these times (disposition), adapting to the limitations of different performative contexts (*location*), and finding his niche in smaller venues. Based on these observations, the types of DJs who will most likely claim authorship are DJs such as Mike Tull whose positions, dispositions and *locations* allow them to successfully use different types of strategies, know when and how to use different strategies, and know how to strategically switch between strategies in the field.

Future research could examine if and how the concept of *location* can contribute to improved understandings of other cultural fields, such as those of art, literature,

education, among others. For example, what are the similarities and/or differences of *location* across cultural fields? How are *locations* shaped by the intersections of race, class, gender and sexuality within cultural fields?[16] In terms of the popular music field, and other fields more broadly, there is additional research which should also examine the ever changing role of technology. How are changes in technology reshaping cultural fields? Is there a technological dimension to *location*? For example, within DJing, new technologies are contributing to the redefinition of the role of the DJ, specifically in terms of craft, labour and de-skilling. Researchers could examine how new technologies shape the intersections of positions, dispositions, *locations* and strategies within DJing, how new technologies are part of the redefinition of labour practices within DJing, and how new technologies contribute to reshaping internal hierarchies among DJs. These are but a few points which future research may address in order to further map out the complex relationships between positions, dispositions, *locations*, and strategies within various fields of cultural production.

16 Due to the confines of space, intersectionality and location were not addressed in this paper but they will be focused on in future research.

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## Chapter 6

## Historicizing the Field: Greek Hip Hop, Collective Histories and Fields of Cultural Production

### Introduction

This chapter examines hip hop in Athens, Greece, as a field of cultural production. Extending Bourdieu's work, this chapter introduces the concept of *collective history* as a supplement to Bourdieu's concept of biography in understanding how cultural legitimacy is struggled over within cultural fields. Using Athens as a case study, current struggles for cultural legitimacy among hip hop practitioners are addressed. I outline how two different groups of hip hop practitioners seek to legitimate hip hop culture: one group in reference to the Greek popular music field, and the other group in reference to the transnational hip hop field. Both groups draw upon different historical resources in their quests for cultural legitimacy.

Past studies of hip hop scenes outside of the United States highlight the concrete mediated connections, namely movies, music videos, television, etc., between local scenes and American hip hop (e.g. French rap, Prévos 2001; German rap, Pennay 2001; Bulgaria, Levy 2001). These studies illustrate how French, German, Bulgarian, and other hip hop cultures adopted and adapted this American-based musical form in their own distinct musical contexts, and the ways in which these newly formed hip hop cultures were initially marginalized. However, what is missing from these studies of hip hop cultures is an examination of how hip hop history and local popular music history are

resources, which hip hop practitioners draw upon in their own quests for cultural legitimacy within the popular music field.

This chapter extends the works of Pierre Bourdieu on cultural production by providing a more dynamic understanding how history operates within cultural fields. Rather than history solely structuring fields of cultural production, this chapter examines the reflexive ways in which social actors draw upon the collective histories of fields for their own strategic purposes. To illustrate my argument, this chapter is organized into four sections. First, I offer an examination of how the concept of collective history contributes to a more nuanced understanding of cultural fields. Second, I outline the collective history of the Greek popular music field by outlining the positions of rebetika, new wave laika and rap music within the field. Third, I illustrate how hip hop practitioners utilize their historical knowledge of the Greek popular music field in order to legitimate their position within this field. Fourth, I illustrate tensions among hip hop practitioners concerning the role of Greek samples and Greek instrumentation within hip hop in Athens. I conclude by suggesting avenues for future research.

**Collective histories and cultural fields**

In order to understand Greek popular music as a cultural field, this chapter draws upon Pierre Bourdieu's work on cultural production (Bourdieu 1993; Bourdieu 1996). Though Bourdieu used his theories of cultural production to focus on the cultural fields of art, literature, theatre and philosophy, his theories have also been successfully applied to the study of popular music (Regev 1994; Thornton 1996; Lopes 2000; Moore 2007; Prior

2008). Within his work on cultural fields, specifically the fields of literary and artistic production, Bourdieu highlighted the important role played by biographical history in shaping the field.

For example, when speaking of the field of artistic production, Bourdieu illustrates the importance of history and historical context by critiquing the concept of the 'pure gaze.' The 'pure gaze' for Bourdieu is the formation of a pure aesthetic which is dehistoricized from the specific social space and historical time within which it was created and then treated as universal (Bourdieu 1996: 285). In other words, the 'pure gaze' takes a particular object or person (artistic, musical, etc.) or subjective experience of the object or person (critique, music review, etc.), which is rooted in specific historical and social conditions and universalizes them (Bourdieu 1996: 286). As a direct challenge to such dehistoricized understandings of the cultural field, Bourdieu argues in favour of what he refers to as a *double historicization* (Bourdieu 1996: 309). In order to understand a particular cultural product (text, document, image, etc.) one must situate the cultural product as the result of *two biographical histories*: the *dispositional history of the cultural product* (as evidenced through the reconstruction of the space of possible positions) and the *dispositional history of the cultural interpreter* (as evidenced through the reconstruction of the space of possible positions) (Bourdieu 1996: 309). If one ignores this *double determination*, of cultural product and cultural interpretation, then an anachronistic and ethnocentric understanding is produced (Bourdieu 1996: 309). In this sense, Bourdieu's work provides a cogent critique of the idea of art as transcendent and impermeable to understanding and interpretation (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 216).

However, Bourdieu's model provides a limited understanding of how *collective history* influences cultural fields. Within this framework, history is something that structures the field in limited ways. First, his emphasis on biographical history (or the history of the individual actor within the field) elides the much broader collective history of struggle within the field. Second, the influence of history is limited in a one way flow where the historical past determines or structures the historical present. In other words, the history of the field shapes dispositions, limits reflexive possibilities, and structures the hierarchical organization cultural fields.

For example, though Bourdieu's work focused primarily on the hierarchization of cultural fields via social class (Bourdieu 1993; 1996), other scholars have examined the ways in which gender, similar to class, structures all cultural fields of production (Moi 1991; McCall 1992; Fowler 2004; McNay 2004; Skeggs 2004). In her critical examination of the links between Bourdieu and feminism, Toril Moi cogently argues that similar to social class, gender is a part of all cultural fields (1991: 1034). She further argues that understanding how class and gender operate within cultural fields is context specific and that the intersections of class and gender are not stable or fixed across fields (1991: 1035). In fact, the ways in which social class and gender manifest themselves within fields is always socially variable or relational, meaning that it is not possible to assume a priori that social class or gender are the most relevant factor at play (Moi 1991: 1036-1037). However, it is possible to assume that all fields are structured through different forms of othering, inclusion and exclusion. For Bourdieu, these hierarchical

relations of difference are symbolized in the form of binary oppositions (McCall 1992: 838-839).

Such is the case within Greece since discourses about Greek popular music often draw upon a series of binary oppositions between self and other, such as rural/urban, eastern/western, female/male, foreign/indigenous and working class/bourgeois, in their efforts to construct an "authentic" Greek culture and cultural identity. "Binary oppositions comprise the culturally defined value system used predominantly in Western society to categorize difference. This system is comprised of a list of components classified as opposing elements" (Marsh 2003: 184). The opposing elements of binaries are inherently relational terms which can only be understood in reference to one another (Derrida quoted in Poovey 1988: 52) and are often hierarchically organized where one half of the binary is valued more than the other. Within this framework, binary oppositions are created and maintained through othering, which is a specific form of collective identity work which is aimed at creating and/or reproducing inequality (Schwalbe et al 2000: 422). Central to othering is the formation of boundaries as markers of distinction between in-group and out-group membership. Within the realm of popular music the social processes of 'othering' play a central role in the commodification and consumption of difference (Thornton 1996). In Greek popular music, othering has been central to the construction of an "authentic" Greek identity via the processes of urbanization, westernization, hellenization, masculinisation, indigenization and gentrification.

What is missing from this discussion of history and cultural fields is any examination of how agents within the historical present utilize aspects of the historical past for their own strategic purposes. In other words, what is missing from this understanding of the importance of history within cultural fields are the ways in which agents within cultural fields strategically draw upon historical resources in their quests for cultural legitimacy in the present. The process of drawing upon collective history and collective memory is referred to by Yiorgos Anagnostou as the use of 'usable pasts.' The use of 'usable pasts' in the present is a point which is made by Yiorgos Anagnostou in reference to Greek diasporic communities. For Anagnostou, a focus on practice, through ethnographic research on a person's history within social fields, reveals how immigrant and ethnic pasts shape socially meaningful and enduring commitments in the present (2009: 115). He further argues that the uses of ethnic memories and histories are never innocuous or neutral. They serve specific interests and work as powerful mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion (Anagnostou 2004: 52). Drawing on Bourdieu and Anagnostou, this chapter examines how hip hop practitioners in Athens strategically employ their knowledge of the collective history of the Greek field of popular music and the transnational field of hip hop in their own quests for cultural legitimacy.

**Methods**

This study examines Greek popular music as a field of cultural production. In particular, it focuses on the discursive aspects of the field of cultural production, by examining the discourses about Greek popular music more broadly, and hip hop culture in

particular, which in tandem form part of the discursive field of Greek popular music. Currently, the field of Greek popular music is divided into two subfields: *international music* (music which is not sung in Greek) and *indigenous music* (music which is sung in Greek, including both Greek popular music genres and international genres with Greek artists). According to Alexandros Patakis, Marketing Manager, International Repertoire, Universal Music in Greece, 63% of popular music sales in Greece are of local repertoire (Greek music) and 37% are of international repertoire (non-Greek music and classical music). Of these popular music sales, a large share of the Greek music market is taken up by *Greek pop music*, which is an urban hybrid merging Greek lyrics with western pop-rock influences and/or eastern elements (such as Egyptian and Turkish arabesk), and *laika* (λαϊκά/popular music), which ranges from what is considered a more authentic style with roots in the *rebetika* (ρεμπέτικο/urban blues), to versions closer to Greek pop (Kallimopoulou 2009: 3).

When speaking of the field of Greek popular music, this chapter refers to the 63% of music sales of the local repertoire (which includes traditional and popular Greek genres, as well as international genres performed by Greek artists, such as rap, reggae, rock, etc.). Greek popular music genres of the local repertoire include: *rebetika* (urban blues), *laika* ('popular' music), *entehna* (art-popular), *politika* (political-song), and *demotika* (folk songs), among others. Within the last twenty years or so, the genres of *new wave laika* (which includes Greek pop and contemporary folk also known as 'dog music'), rock, rap, reggae, and others, have made inroads into a musical field which has been largely controlled by the aforementioned "indigenous" musical forms. Similarly,

when speaking of the discursive field of Greek popular music, this chapter refers to the discourses surrounding changing conceptualizations of Greek popular music.

More specifically, this study focuses on hip hop culture in Greece and the hip hop practitioners in Athens who spin, create, or produce rap music. Twenty-three interviews with MCs, producers, DJs, industry professionals and other individuals involved in music-making in Athens were conducted from January 2009 to August 2009. All interviews of Greek popular music makers were conducted in person in Athens. Interviews were primarily conducted in Greek, though some were conducted in English and a few were conducted in Greek and English. Since my research focuses on insights into the popular music industry, an industry where professional success is intimately connected with name recognition, respondents were given the option *not* to remain anonymous, so that they could be credited for their ideas on the music-making process. Of the twenty three interviewed, only one respondent chose to remain anonymous. Only one interviewee was female. In Athens, as is the case in many other hip hop scenes, the realm of hip hop is still very much a masculine social space.

Data from a broad range of sources were analyzed, including academic literatures on Greek popular music, conducted interviews, conference proceedings, newspaper articles, statistical sources and on-line interviews from web pages. All of these sources were treated as *texts*, which are basic discursive units and the material manifestations of discourses (Chalaby, 1996: 688). These texts, when examined in reference to one another, or intertextually, to form a class of texts, or what is known as a discourse (Chalaby 1996: 688). Discourses are classes of texts produced by real agents in concrete

and specific socio-historical conditions (Chalaby 1996: 696). When discourses share certain common properties these discourses form a field of discursive production (Chalaby 1996: 690). Discursive debates about Greek popular music are crucial components of the discursive field of musical production. Discursive fields are sets of discourses, such as discourses about "nationalism," "ethnicity," "gender" and "music," which change slowly over time (King 2007: 303). In regards to Greek popular music, the discursive field of musical production has been instrumental in shaping the reception of Greek popular music forms (such as rebetika, laika, art-popular, political song, new wave laika, as well as rock, rap and reggae).

**A brief history of Greek popular music: mapping the *collective history* of the field**

This section maps the collective history of the field of Greek popular music in Athens, Greece by focusing on three genres of popular music: *rebetika, new wave laika* and *rap music*. Rebetika and new wave laika were chosen for several reasons: first, rebetika and new wave laika are institutionalized genres within the Greek popular music field; second, although both genres are institutionalized, each genre is differentially and hierarchically valued, thereby clearly illustrating how the Greek popular music field is hierarchically organized; and third, hip hop practitioners in Athens often implicitly or explicitly made references to these genres when speaking of hip hop culture in Greece.

***Rebetika***

Rebetika, often referred to as the Greek 'urban blues,' is a genre of music with a complex history. It is an urban folk style of music that originated at the start of the 20th century and was associated with 'disreputable' elements in society (often referred to as the "Greek underworld," drugs, hardship, prostitution, etc.) (Tragaki 2007: 25). This musical form may be traced back from about the 1850s onwards, in Asia Minor's Smyrna, in Istanbul, in the port of Syros, in the working class areas of Athens, Pireaus, Thessaloniki and in the United States (Emery 2000: 11). Rebetika is built upon the use of the long necked bouzouki, the baglamas (smaller version of the bouzouki) and the guitar (Pennanen 2005: 115). In very broad terms, the musical roots of rebetika are rural folk music (demotika) and music from the eastern Aegean (present day Izmir and Istanbul) (Papageorgiou 2005: 121).

During the interwar period (1918-1939), urban popular music was a battlefield between advocates of westernization and advocates of indigenous culture (Kallimopoulou 2009: 24). Rebetika was one of the musical genres at the heart of these debates. The reason for this is that the roots of rebetika may be traced back to the population exchange between Greece and Turkey in the 1920s and this musical form was constructed as an eastern threat to western Greek culture. During and immediately after the Greco-Turkish war of 1921-22 and the signing of the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, one and a half million Asia Minor Greeks were expatriated to Greece from Turkey (Pennanen 2005: 114). The Asia Minor Greeks brought with them a long established tradition of musical innovation and originality which blended Greek language with eastern modality and rhythms which

eventually revolutionized mainstream Greek music (Pappas 1999: 354). However, their mix of eastern and western cultural customs (e.g. in music) was not easily accepted by the locals. Upon their arrival in Greece, Asia Minor Greeks faced considerably hostility by local Greeks who saw them as representing "...an Anatolian corruption of Greekness, a Turkofied version of themselves, polluted by Turkish language, Levantine mercantilism, and oriental customs" (Pappas 1999: 353).

As a result of these negative feelings towards Asia Minor Greeks, it was not until the late 1940s that rebetika enjoyed a wide audience. Up until the 1930s, Greek-Ottoman cafe music was the dominant form of rebetika. Greek-Ottoman cafe music was the style of music that Asia Minor Greeks brought with them from the eastern Aegean, and it is also referred to as the Smyrnaiko style of rebetika (Kallimopoulou 2009: 23). Greek-Ottoman cafe music consisted predominantly of stylized laments, with musicians using a variety of musical instruments such as the violin, santouri, cello, etc., and featured an equal number of male and female singers (Holst-Warhaft 1998: 115). During this period, skilful instrumentalists were mostly males, while prominent singers and widely acclaimed dancers were mostly females (Tragaki 2007: 13). Greek-Ottoman cafe music was dominant until the mid 1930s, when the Pireaus bouzouki style of rebetika gained popularity (Pennanen 2005: 115). The Pireaus style of rebetika marked several decisive shifts in rebetika: first, it was centered on the bouzouki, second, it was primarily sung by male vocalists, and third, the subject matter moved towards more male centered topics (e.g. the disparagement of women) (Holst-Warhaft 1998: 120).

It was in the late 1940s that rebetika gained a much wider audience. During the fascist dictatorship of Ioannis Metaxas (1936-1941), the Axis Occupation (1941-1946) and the Greek Civil War (1946-1949), rebetika was censored by the Greek state. It is important to note that from the 1930s and all the way to the Greek Civil War in the late 1940s, rebetiko was mostly defined in negative terms by the state. It was looked down upon as the song and culture of the "underworld" and of those not respectable enough to be members of the Greek middle classes, whose Greco-Christian ideals required proper *katharevousa* (archaizing form of Modern Greek, used during the 19th and 20th centuries as literary Greek 'freed' from foreign influences) and non-oriental mannerisms (Firillas 2006: 123). For example, during the Axis occupation (1941-1946) gramaphone record production was suspended (recording studios closed down) and in 1943 the Occupation government imposed new censorship on rebetika while promoting western art and western music (Tragaki 2007: 63).

However, in the late 1940s rebetika began to gain popularity among the Greek middle classes. During this time, there was a long process of appropriation and 'purification' of rebetika in order for it to gain followers among the more affluent classes. There were three important moments in the gentrification of rebetika. First, rebetika were hellenized in the shift from Greek Ottoman cafe music to a nationalist Smyrneiko style. Second, rebetika were masculinized in the shift from 'feminine' Smyrnaika to 'masculine' Pireaus style rebetika. Third, rebetika were westernized to suit the tastes of bourgeois Greeks.

The process of *hellenization* began when Greek Ottoman Cafe music was gradually incorporated into modern rebetika through an erasure of its Ottoman roots. Greek Ottoman Cafe music was nationalized into Smyrnaiko by being recast as the Greek music of the Greek population of Smyrna (Pennanen quoted in Kallimopoulou 2009: 26). Vasilis Tsitsanis, a composer, bouzouki player, and the founder of modern rebetika, popularized and made rebetika fashionable to high society by "hellenizing" the music and purging it of its Turkish traces (Kallimopoulou 2009: 26).

The *masculinization* of rebetika happened in the shift from Smyrneika to Pireaus style, when the 'feminine' laments of Smyrneika were replaced with the 'masculine' sounds of the bouzouki and tough-guy personas of the Pireaus style (Holst Warhaft 1998: 116-120). Hellenization and masculinization were also crucial elements in the nationalization of the Pireaus style which "crystallized" rebetika as a pan-hellenic form of popular music by the 1930s (Holst-Warhaft 1998: 121).

The *westernization* of rebetika happened during and after the civil war of 1946-1949, when rebetika were increasingly being performed in luxurious bouzoukia[17] taverns for elite members of Greek society. During these performances of rebetika, the musical style was fused with western popular music to suit the tastes of these new bourgeois audiences (Pennanen 2005: 115). As Eleni Kallimopoulou notes, the musical form that

[17] The bouzoukia, are a type of evening entertainment where Greek popular artists perform while the audience sits in tables where alcohol and light snacks (meze) are served. These types of establishments are one of the most popular forms of evening entertainment in Greece and they feature performances by laika performers. Bouzoukia has a dual meaning and can refer to the establishments which play bouzouki music (generally, the bouzoukia will play rebetika, laika, Greek pop, etc.) but it can also refer to the music that is played by those establishments.

rebetika acquired after the Second World War was quite distant from the eastern idioms of Asia Minor refugees and from the Pireaus style of the 1930s (2009: 26).

However, debates about rebetika were once again at the forefront of Greek cultural life in the 1960s with Mikis Theodorakis' entehna release. Entehna (art-popular) is a genre of music which combines elements of western art music and Greek musical forms (including rebetika) and poetry and is best exemplified by classically trained composers such as Mikis Theodorakis and Manos Hadjidakis (Kallimopoulou 2009: 3). In 1960 Mikis Theodorakis released *Epitaphios*, which was an avant-garde work which aimed to unite the world of "art" (the poetry of Yiannis Ritsos) with the world of rebetika. The release of *Epitaphios* resulted in "one of the most fervent controversies in the history of modern Greek music among local music experts and intellectuals" (Tragaki 2005: 50). According to Dafni Tragaki (2005), the controversy focused on how 'Greekness' and Greek identity were being represented in rebetika (urban blues) and demotika (rural folk). The discourses defining rebetika debates were mostly from male educated, middle class and leftist authors discussing whether or not rebetika was "healthy" for the masses (Tragaki 2005: 53).

In her insightful analysis of these debates, Tragaki illustrates how opponents of the urban blues sought to delegitimize this musical form in two significant ways. First, they highlighted rebetika's *eastern* influences, in particular linking this musical form to Turkish conquest (2005: 57), which they believed had a negative impact on the masses due to their associations with "pessimism" "fatalism" "melancholy" and "depression" (2005: 58). This tactic sought to frame rebetika as not truly "Greek." Second, they

imagined rebetika in *feminine* terms as a "...corrupted and alluring female that seduces proletarians and leads them to the land of pleasures..." (2005: 62). This tactic sought to feminize the urban blues and challenge the music as not being truly "masculine."

These discursive debates about the "Greekness" of rebetika were followed by rebetika being censored during the military dictatorship of 1967-1974. Rebetika songs and any materials related to rebetika (such as Elias Petropoulos 1968 book on rebetika titled *Rebetika Songs*), were banned by the junta. The banning of rebetika at this time made it very difficult for young Greeks to hear old style rebetika music (Holst 2006[1975]: 23). However, the ban on rebetika and the social and economic conditions of this time period eventually led to the revival of rebetika in the 1970s and contributed to a resurgence in Greek music in all its forms in the 1980s (Dawe 2003: 226).

After the fall of the military dictatorship or junta (1967-1974) in Greece, important debates once again emerged about Greek identity and Greece's relationship to the 'east' and 'west.' From 1974 to 1981, during the term of right wing prime minister Konstantinos Karamanlis, the issue of Greek identity was "...recast around the question of where Greekness ought to be located in the west-east continuum" (Kallimopoulou 2009: 17). At this time, the debates surrounding 'Greekness' and Greek identity framed Greek identity in two ways: *Greeks as Hellenes* (idealized Hellenes of the classical past, linked to 'the West') vs. *Greeks as Romioi* (Byzantine and Turkish Christians, linked to 'the East') (Kallimopoulou 2009: 15-16). It is important to note that these divisions between the east and west were also classed divisions which reflected deeper social divisions between the more western tastes of the educated and affluent elite and the more

traditional and eastern tastes of the working classes (Papageoriou 1997: 67-68). In terms of Greek popular music, these ethnic and classed distinctions date back to the start of the 19th century when the Greek educated classes tended to idealize the purity and morality of Greek folk music while condemning non-Western Greek popular music because of its Turkish, corrupt and commercial connotations (Pennanen 2005: 114).

During this same time period, there was a rebetika revival and rebetika became widely popular, especially among leftist Athenian youth who opposed the military dictatorship (Kallimopoulou 2009: 27). One of the crucial elements of this revival in rebetika was the renewed interest in the eastern elements of rebetika (Kallimopoulou 2009: 27-28), which had been actively erased and marginalized in the previous decades. Rebetika tradition was once again remade, but this time it was fashioned to appeal to a new audience of middle class liberal urbanites, students, artists and intellectuals (Tragaki 2007: 113).

***New Wave Laika***

It was during the revival of rebetika among Athenian youth in the 1970s and 1980s that a new musical form known as new wave laika first emerged. The roots of *new wave laika* may be traced back to the laika of the 1950s and 1960s and rebetika. During the 1950s, rebetika provided the background for several new strands of Greek popular music: laika, entehna (Papageoriou 1997: 69) and political song. Laika is a broad-based genre of Greek popular music which originally emerged as a simplification of rebetika in order to make this type of music more broadly marketable (Papageoriou 1997: 69). The

influences of laika include rebetika, West European, Latin American, North American, Turkish and Egyptian popular music and Indian film music (Pennanen 2005: 116). From the 1960s onward, laika became fashionable among wealthier segments of Greek society and variations of the genre were produced to suit the tastes of the middle classes who frequented nightclubs and tavernas featuring these musical forms (Papageorgiou 1997: 69). At this time, laika also began being performed in bouzoukia nightclubs (Pennanen 2005: 116) which to this day play a central role in Greek nightlife.

During the 1980s, *new wave laika*, also referred to as laika (but not to be confused with the laika of the 1950s and 1960s), emerged as a new musical genre. The new wave laika are a hybrid musical form which merges traditional laika styles (rebetika, laika, etc.) with western pop music. Two of the most popular genres of new wave laika are Greek pop and contemporary folk. Contemporary folk music, disparagingly known as 'dog music' (σκυλάδικα),[18] began as a fringe music which addressed the alienated, nihilist and consumer aspects of urban life while merging traditional laika styles with pop music and Arabic and Asian musical forms. It was initially popularized through pirated cassettes of live performances, amateur radio stations and night clubs (Papageorgiou 2005: 121-122). Originally, contemporary folk addressed itself to alienated rural migrants who were unable to integrate into the city; it was a type of music which was popular in the working class areas of Athens and it was released primarily through independent labels that charged performers to record and produce their records (Papageorgiou 1997: 72).

[18] Although I am aware of the pejorative connotations of using the term 'dog music,' I am employing it in reference to contemporary folk music because it is the term which was widely used by the hip hop practitioners that I spoke with. Also, the popular usage of the term is revealing of the aesthetic value (or lack thereof) placed upon this musical form, which is illustrative of how the field of popular music in Greece is hierarchically organized.

The growing popularity of contemporary folk in the 1980s resulted in this musical form being the subject of much academic debate. The majority of scholars in the 1980s argued that 'dog music' was of low artistic value, decadent and inane, and that it threatened the 'purity' of Greek folk song (Tragaki 2007: 125). These views of dog music are still prevalent in academic discussions today. In 1997, dog music was considered an "expression of decadence" by both the musical establishment and recording companies in Greece (Papageorgiou 1997: 72). In 2005, Risto Pekka Pennanen referred to the dog music establishments of the 1960s and onwards as the "notorious counterparts" of bouzoukia and as "...suburban and predominantly male nocturnal haunts notorious for their boisterous clientele, alleged drugs and prostitution, and doleful music" (2005: 116).

Among all of the genres of new wave laika, 'dog music' is the most disparaged and devalued. Dog music is devalued because of its origins as a hybrid (in particular Eastern/Asian) and working class music of rural migrants which heavily relies upon the bouzouki. For many hip hop practitioners, 'dog music' represents everything that they dislike about the Greek popular music industry.

***Rap***

> "We are talking about a country which was absolutely bouzoukia and rock...What I want to say about Greece is that Greece has never been hip hop, aside from a few minor exceptions which merely reconfirm the rule!" (Kebzer interview 2009)

For many hip hop practitioners, such as Kebzer, a part time DJ and producer, hip hop culture and rap music have always held a marginal position within the Greek field of popular music. This section outlines some of the reasons as to why hip hop culture holds

a marginal position within the Greek popular music industry by outlining the history of this genre within the field. Hip hop in Greece began as a subculture in the late 1980s and early 1990s. Similar to Germany and other European countries, one of the first encounters of hip hop culture in Greece was through films such as Charlie Ahearn's *Wild Style* (1983), Stan Lathan's *Beat Street* (1984), Joel Silberg's *Breakin'* (1984), and Sam Firstenberg's *Breakin' 2: Electric Boogaloo* (1984), which were released as *Breakdance 1* and *Breakdance 2* in Europe (Τερζίδης 2003: 28-32). As a result of the emphasis on breakdancing and graffiti placed in these films, many of the earliest practitioners of hip hop began their careers as graffiti artists (e.g. Artemis of Terror X Crew) and breakdancers (e.g. Michalis Papathanasiou of Goin' Through, Dimitris Petsoukis of FFC, Kostis Kourmentalas of FFC, Efthimis of Terror X Crew) (Τερζίδης 2003: 30-32).

Television, specifically music videos, also contributed to the spread of hip hop culture to Greece and within Greece. In particular, MTV played a very important role in introducing hip hop overseas. As Mithridatis, MC of Imiskoumbria (*Τα Ημισκούμπρια*) notes: "I started to listen to [rap] when this type of music came to Greece through television and MTV. Around 1989. I started to get involved slowly and gradually with this type of music" (quoted in Τερζίδης 2003: 30). From 1997 onwards, MAD TV, a Greek music channel also played a role in transmitting American hip hop. In particular, Nikos Vourliotis, aka Nivo, an MC, producer and DJ, began hosting a television show called 'Beat Street,' which since 1997 has been showcasing hip hop music and urban culture from around the world. According to White Dragon, MC and DJ, "Essentially MAD TV is what supports the Greek scene. MAD TV, because of Nikos Vourliotis and

his television show, who supported hip hop in his own way, both Greek and foreign. It was the only [rap music] show on television. For ten years at least."

In the case of Athens, technology, media products and the movements of people along diasporic routes have played a significant role in the spread of hip hop to Athens. In particular, members of the Greek diaspora played a key role in bringing records and tapes of rap music from overseas to Greece. Kebzer, a DJ and producer, based in Athens, though originally from Mitilini (Lesvos), recounts how members of the Greek diaspora played a key role in the early formation of hip hop in Greece:

> "From 1984 and onwards, there existed certain exceptions, certain instances of people, Greek-Americans mainly, who would spend their summers in Greece. One of these people I know personally and he is the person who brought hip hop to Lesvos, to Mitilini in 1986. He was in high school and he would come for three months in the summer from Canada to Greece to visit with family, and every time he came, and especially the first time he came, he brought with him a crate with records. He introduced the rest of the world and some kids I knew in the neighbourhood [to hip hop], he initiated us in this. The same thing happened in the rest of Greece, but essentially hip hop in Greece began to be developed from 1991 and onwards."

These music media and mediated representations of American hip hop culture were some of the first points of contact for Greek youth interested in this cultural form. These mediated fragments of hip hop culture were what the founders of Greek hip hop drew upon for inspiration.

Similar to other parts of the world, hip hop in Greece began as a subculture which was practiced among mostly male and urban youth of Athens, and it still remains a primarily male dominated musical form, with few female practitioners (particularly in terms of DJing and production). Sparky-T, DJ/producer, and former member of FF.C (Fortified Concept) notes, "When I first started there was no

independent hip hop scene. That is, in the eighties this thing did not exist...maybe there would be a party now and another party after two months, things were that loosely organized." The formative years of hip hop culture in Greece (between 1990-2000) were marked by a lack of venues for artists to perform and a lack of support on the radio and in print (Τερζίδης 2003: 36). "There were not any venues which played hip hop from 1992 to 1995, regardless if the scene was blossoming. An exception was "Sussex" in Glyfada, which due to its American base [played hip hop]" (Efthimis, former MC of Terror X Crew, quoted in Τερζίδης 2003: 37). In other words, there was little to no support for rap music in clubs, live venues and on mainstream radio. What little support existed for hip hop culture was largely based in Athens, where hip hop culture first formed.

One of the reasons for a lack of live venue support is that there are specific indigenous forms of entertainment in Greece, such as the bouzoukia, which specifically cater to the musical tastes of Greek popular music fans. According to Stereo Mike, MC/producer/song writer/sound engineer, the primary limitation for hip hop in Greece, both historically and currently, is that most of the live venues in Greece cater to Greek popular music. Most specifically, they cater to dog music (σκυλάδικα) and other forms of new laika. As Stereo Mike notes: "As you well know, Greece is dependent on dog music, or what they call σκυλάδικα. Or the night life is dependent on that quite heavily, so there hasn't been an organized live scene for anything else but that." Dog music and other types of Greek popular music are performed at bouzoukia. The bouzoukia (in general)

are not venues which cater to hip hop performances which made (and continues to make) hosting hip hop events more challenging.

There were, however, certain key radio shows and venues which contributed to the development of Greek hip hop culture. Dimitris Mentzelos, MC of Imiskoumbria, hosted a radio show called Breathless from 1992-1993 on Space FM 93.9. This radio show was one of the first shows to play hip hop in Greece and was also the radio show which showcased many of the first hip hop acts in Greece, such as Terror X Crew, FFC and Active Member (Mentzelos quoted in Τερζίδης 2003: 39). Also, a club called "Roxy" was central to the establishment of local hip hop in Athens. The Roxy was a roller skating rink where many of the early hip enthusiasts would congregate. As Kostis Kourmentalas of FF.C notes, "The Roxy is where we built our kingdom" (quoted in Τερζίδης 2003: 37).

It was during these formative years of hip hop that the five founding groups of hip hop in Greece were first formed. These groups include FF.C (Fortified Concept), Imiskoumbria (Τα *Ημισκούμπρια*), Active Member, Terror X Crew and Goin' Through. Though some of these groups are now defunct (such as FF.C and Terror X Crew) and others have undergone significant changes in membership (such as Active Member), many of the members of these groups are still active in a variety of ways in Greek hip hop, and each of these groups contributed to the Greek hip hop scene in important ways (Τερζίδης 2003: 11-17). In addition, I would also include the group The Living Dead (Ζωντανοί Νεκροί, also known as ZN), as another group which has greatly influenced the

Greek hip hop scene. ZN is significant in that they provide the first example of Greek gangsta rap with the release of their album The First Volume (Ο Πρώτος Τόμος) in 1998.

These hip hop pioneers in Greece had a difficult time being accepted by the Greek popular music industry. This is because musical genres from outside of Greece, such as rap music, have traditionally had a difficult time breaking into the Greek popular music field. For Diveno, a producer/composer, the reasons for this are simple:

> "It would have been very easy [to enter the mainstream] if Greece did not have very strong characteristics in regards to music. Greek traditional music [paradosiaka παραδοσιακή μουσική], which later evolved into laika [λαϊκή μουσική], held back all of the independent currents in music. Whichever independent current in music attempted to make it in Greece, it found things to be very difficult, like the rock movement of the 80s, which managed to get to a certain point and obtain fans, but then stopped. Hip hop began along the same lines."

The popularity of more indigenous and traditional genres, such as *paradosiaka* and *laika*, contributed to 'foreign' genres, such as rap music, having a much more difficult time gaining fans.

Since 2003, however, some aspects of hip hop culture and rap music have gained commercial success. One of the reasons for this success is that Greek hip hop successfully merged with other commercially successful genres of popular music such as Greek pop and R&B. According to Christos Terzides, the manager of Goin' Through, one of the most successful hip hop acts in Greece, the reason for this is that "from that period, from 2003 and after, R&B became massive in the clubs, and hip hop is twinned, at least in the minds of Greeks, with R&B. And the public, who never listened to hip hop, started to buy the records of Greek hip hop groups."

However, despite rap artists increasing commercial success, rap music is still marginalized as 'alternative' (Stereo Mike)[19] or 'independent' (Diveno) genre, on the outskirts of the Greek popular music field. Stereo Mike, currently signed with EMI, states:

> "I am not happy with the mainstream label I got signed with in the second album, because the list of priorities in mainstream labels means that even if you are one of their biggest successes in the hip hop catalogue, because it is hip hop and its alternative, you are still a very low priority after the international stuff they have to push and after the local pop stuff they have to push. So, you come so low on the list of priorities that you come to thinking that me, my manager, and my team are doing everything by ourselves, just the way we did before, so what's the point of giving a piece of the pie of our record sales to anybody else?"

As Stereo Mike clearly illustrates, major labels and the popular music industry in Greece hierarchically organize the promotion of popular music in Greece in the following manner (from most economically valued to least economically valued): Greek popular, foreign popular, and indigenous independent (such as hip hop). So, despite the recent commercial successes of hip hop, with artists such as Stereo Mike, Mhdenisths, Goin' Through, Stavento, Professional Sinnerz, and many others being signed to major labels, rap music in Greece has been (and still is) marginalized within the Greek popular music industry and in relation to Greek popular music more broadly.

As already noted, hip hop culture and rap music, similar to other genres from outside of Greece, was seen by many people in Greece as a "foreign brought" (ξενόφερτο):

[19] The interview with Stereo Mike was conducted in English. All of the others cited in this paper were conducted in Greek.

> "We don't do Greek, popular (laiko), or rock, maybe it is easier for them. We do something which is very foreign brought for Greece, there were very few of us, and people had it in their minds 'oh, the youngsters with the baggy pants' until very recently. But we continued and I think it is good that we continued." Mhdenisths (Nihilist)

For Mhdenisths, being involved in hip hop culture at the start was difficult due to the small numbers of hip hop practitioners and the stereotypes (youth with baggy pants) associated with the genre. The reference to 'youngsters with the baggy pants' as a negative stereotype associated with hip hop was one which was raised by numerous hip hop practitioners in Athens. The reference he makes to the 'youngsters with the baggy pants' is one which is quite revealing of the racial dynamics at play in the Greek popular music field in Athens. Much of the early contact that Athenian youth and Greek people in general had with African-American culture was mediated through television and movies. Within these media, the image of youth with baggy pants often signified in two significant ways: as working class and as black. This is because many Greek youth, and Greek people in general, have limited contact with black urban youth outside of the stereotypical images represented in the media. The images of black youth in the media, especially in music videos (e.g. N.W.A., Dr. Dre, Snoop Dogg, and other gangsta rappers) and movies (e.g. John Singleton's Boyz n the Hood), represent black urban youth in ways which reinforce associations with misogyny, violence, crime and poverty. These black youth, with their baseball caps and baggy pants, come to signify as a foreign, black and working class racial 'other.' So although Mhdenisths does not directly discuss why there are negative associations about 'youngsters with the baggy pants,' given the mediated nature of hip hop transmission in Athens, Greece, it is not surprising that there are

negative stereotypes associated with hip hop fashion styles. However, according to Mhdenisths, these perceptions and associations between blackness, criminality and hip hop culture and rap music are slowly changing.

One of the ways these associations between blackness and hip hop have been changing is through the adoption of Greek elements into rap music in Greece. This change is significant because Greek rock music only gained acceptance by the Greek popular music industry after rock artists adopted Greek elements and Greek lyrics in their music (Papageorgiou 1997: 72). The same is true for rap music. Greek hip hop successfully "crossed over" into Greek popular music by adopting certain Greek elements (in terms of lyrics, melodies and instrumentation). For Diveno, the adoption of Greek elements was the result of pressures from the Greek public:

> "The way that things changed is that after a certain point, certain hip hop groups moved away from the classic hip hop sound, that everyone as a hip hop artist wanted, and they placed Greek elements, which however natural this seemed, many within the hip hop community felt that it was not right. This, however, was right for the mainstream public in Greece, that is, it was easier for them [the public] to listen to this type of song, instead of listening to a more [traditional] hip hop song."

The adoption of Greek elements (Greek instruments, Greek samples, etc.) has been one of the most important ways in which hip hop culture and rap music have gained greater legitimacy and greater commercial success within the Greek popular music industry. However, as Diveno clearly states, there are tensions within the hip hop community in Greece about the issue of Greek instrumentation and Greek sampling within hip hop.

In general, hip hop artists who have adopted Greek elements in their music have had greater commercial success than those who have maintained a much more 'classic' or 'traditional' hip hop sound. This is because these sonic changes to the sound of

hip hop music in Greece contributed to the increased popularity of certain types of Greek hip hop, specifically those types of hip hop which have crossover appeal. In particular, artists and bands, which collaborated with Greek popular artists, were more likely to receive record contracts with major labels (especially from the year 2000 onwards). The hip hop act which was one of the first to successfully collaborate with popular artists [laika artists] was Goin' Through. Goin' Through did collaborations with Γιώργο Μαζωνάκη (Yiorgo Mazonaki), Στέλιο Ρόκο (Stelio Roko), David Lynch, Peter Andre, among others (Τερζίδης 2003: 16). However, many hip hop artists have followed suit, such as Stereo Mike who in his 2007 album entitled XLI3H (Evolution), collaborated with artists such as Haris Alexiou, the Reggae Philharmonic Orchestra, Sandman, Ghetto Priest and many others.

This twinned commercialization and simultaneous marginalization has resulted in rap music being positioned as *both* mainstream and alternative, *and* as indigenous and foreign. Within the Greek popular music field, rap music operates as an *undecidable*—it is neither mainstream nor alternative and it is neither indigenous nor foreign. Thus, hip hop culture and rap music in Greece currently occupies a tenuous position within the Greek popular music field. Whereas contemporary folk or 'dog music' has in many ways taken the place of rebetika as the 'imaginary other' in Greek popular music, the ultimate fate of rap music within the Greek popular music field has yet to be decided.

Based on this brief historical outline of the positions of rebetika, new wave laika and rap music within the Greek popular music field, it is possible to argue that rebetika currently occupies a dominant position and new wave laika and rap music both occupy

dominated positions within the field. The collective histories of rebetika, new wave laika and rap music clearly illustrate how the Greek popular music field is currently structured according to an east/west binary which is closely related to competing definitions of Greek cultural identity. Within this binary, east and femininity are intertwined, as are west and masculinity. The former pairing is evaluated positively, while the latter pairing is evaluated negatively.

Bearing in mind this collective history of the Greek popular music field, the next section outlines how hip hop practitioners use their historical knowledge of the Greek popular music field to situate their own genre as hierarchically superior to new wave laika, to make space for themselves within the field, and to legitimate hip hop culture and rap music. However, what is also illustrated is a significant tension among hip hop practitioners concerning hip hop culture in Athens. Is Greek hip hop culture part of Greek popular music? Or, is Greek hip hop culture part of the transnational hip hop scene? Hip hop practitioners who aim to legitimate hip hop within the Greek popular music field support the use of Greek samples and Greek instrumentation within the genre. Hip hop practitioners who aim to legitimate hip hop within the larger transnational hip hop scene argue that Greek samples and Greek instrumentation should not be used within the genre. Both groups seek to legitimate hip hop culture by drawing on different historical resources.

**Legitimizing Rap Music: the strategic adoption of 'usable pasts'**

As already noted, rap music and new wave laika are in dominated positions within the Greek popular music field, while rebetika occupies a much more dominant position. However, as a result of the stereotypical connotations between rap music and black youth, rap music is still very much considered a 'foreign brought' musical form. Because of this outsider status, new wave laika (hybrid genres of Greek music and Western pop) is much more likely to be promoted by record companies than rap music, and new wave laika is much more likely to be performed in live venues (namely bouzoukia) than rap music. These additional promotional opportunities and venue options have afforded new wave laika greater commercial viability within the Greek popular music field. This section outlines the *discursive techniques* and *everyday practices* used by hip hop practitioners to position their music as superior to the commercially successful genre of new wave laika in order to gain access to cultural and economic capital in the Greek music industry and/or in the transnational hip hop field. Most significantly, I illustrate how the *collective history of the Greek popular music field* and the *collective history of hip hop in the United States* are strategically used by hip hop practitioners in order to legitimate hip hop culture and rap music.

Given hip hop culture's marginalized position with the Greek popular music field, most hip hop practitioners seek to legitimate hip hop culture by discursively positioning hip hop culture and rap music as cultural form that is incompatible with the Greek popular music industry and new wave laika. For example, Eisvoleas, MC of

Marijuana Seeds (Τιγρέ Σποράκια) and solo artist succinctly outlines how and why hip hop is not supported by the Greek popular music industry:

> "Look, the music industry in Greece cannot give you what you need...They [the music industry] don't give support [for hip hop], they want to make *tsiftetelia*. That's all. And rappers who have gotten into the industry in this way-- In order to get into the music industry you have to become a popular artist (laikos, λαϊκός). And unfortunately you soil your name. And these are not simple remnants that are easily cleaned, they are indelible stains. And that is why we are broke but we are clean."

For Eisvoleas, the popular music industry does not support hip hop music. What the industry does support are popular artists who make *tsiftetelia*. And if you happen to be a hip hop artist who is signed with a major label you have "soil[ed] your name." Within this quotation, Eisvoleas makes a clear distinction between "us" (hip hop practitioners outside of the Greek popular music industry, most likely signed with independent labels) and "them" (hip hop practitioners inside the Greek popular music industry, signed with major labels). Eisvoleas is making an evaluative distinction between hip hop practitioners, such as himself, within the field of restricted popular production (Lopes 2000) and hip hop practitioners, such as Stereo Mike, Goin' Through and others signed to major labels, within the field of large scale popular production.

However, in order to fully understand the implications of the above quotation, it is important first to define the *tsiftetelia*, second outline the connections Eisvoleas makes between *tsiftetelia* and *laika*, and third summarize the implications of the distinctions Eisvoleas makes between *laika/tsiftetelia* and hip hop. It should be noted that the distinctions Eisvoleas makes between laika/tsiftetelia and hip hop cannot be divorced from the collective history of the Greek popular music field. In order to frame hip hop as

superior to new wave laika, Eisvoleas draws upon the discursive techniques used by musicians, scholars, and others, who sought to legitimize or delegitimize rebetika in the past.

First, *tsifteteli*, along with *Hasapikos* and *Zeibekikos* are dances associated with the rebetika (the urban blues). These dances originated in Asia Minor and were transferred to Greece during the 1923 population exchange between Greece and Turkey (Monos 1987: 306). Historically, *hasapikos* and *zeibekikos* were male dances, while the *tsifteteli* was a woman's dance, very similar to the "belly dance" which originated in the Middle East and Turkey (Giannaris 1972, quoted in Monos 306). Though it is sometimes danced as a couple's dance, *tsifteteli* is still most often danced by women, sometimes on tables, most often at late night bouzouki establishments known as the *bouzoukia*. *Tsiftetelia*, conversely, are songs that you can dance the *tsifteteli* to, such as dog music and Greek pop. These are genres of music which are typically performed at *bouzoukia* nightclubs. Second, by choosing the *tsiftetelia*, and not *hasapikos* or *zeibekikos*, as being representative of Greek popular music, Eisvoleas constructs Greek popular music in very specific ways as feminine and eastern. As Angela Shand cogently argues, "for many Greeks, the *tsifteteli* remains an Oriental dance of a woman without restraint: beautiful and sensual, but also dangerous and tempting" (1998: 132). By linking *laika* and *tsiftetelia*, Eisvoleas makes an implicit connection between Greek popular music, 'the orient,' dancing and the female body. Third, these connections between *tsiftetelia* and *laika*, wherein Greek popular music is *tsiftetelia*, and the *tsiftetelia* are popular, eastern, feminine, associated with the body and female sexuality, and 'dirty' or soiled, results in

the implicit binary construction of hip hop culture and rap music as alternative, western, masculine, associated with the mind, and 'clean.' Therefore, when Eisvoleas states that "we are broke but we are clean," this implies that hip hop practitioners within the field of large scale popular production are contaminated. This contamination results from hip hop practitioners contact with the Greek popular music industry—an industry, which according to Eisvoleas, is eastern and feminine.

Second, many hip hop practitioners seek to differentiate hip hop culture and rap music from Greek pop. Greek pop, as one of the genres of new wave laika, is also critiqued by hip hop practitioners in their quest for cultural legitimacy. For Skinothetis, the increased merging of hip hop and Greek pop is problematic because:

> "instead of bringing the people to hip hop, many went to the people, that is they became one with the people and with the perceptions of young Greeks. Instead of trying to change their perceptions and bring him closer to what they have to say...That is, where there was once a political type of hip hop which spoke of political and social issues, it became pop."

In this above quote, Skinothetis makes the following claims. First, hip hop has changed in order to suit the tastes of the people instead of shaping the people's tastes to suit the needs of hip hop. Second, this change has not been positive for hip hop or male hip hop fans. Third, and most importantly, this movement to suit the tastes of the people has resulted in the dilution of hip hop culture from a cultural form concerned with political and social issues to pop. Similar to Eisvoleas, Skinothetis makes very clear distinctions between "us" (whose goal is to use hip hop for political purposes and change the consciousness of youth) and "them" (who have catered their music to the tastes of youth instead of trying to shape the tastes of youth).

Artists he considers pop include Despina Vandi (Δέσποινα Βανδή), Giorgos Mazonakis (Γιώργος Μαζωνάκης), Phoebus (Φοίβος), as well as the hip hop group Goin' Through and MC Ypoxthonio (Υποχθόνιο) of the group the Living Dead. This shift in hip hop in Greece from politics to pop is problematic for Skinothetis because "hip hop has developed but in a wrong direction." More people are listening to hip hop in Greece, it is being played in the clubs in Greece, but for Skinothetis, the merging of hip hop with Greek pop has resulted in a fusion which he no longer considers to be hip hop.

These sentiments were reflected by another MC/producer who wished to remain anonymous who had the following to say about hip hop and pop music:

> "I don't believe that he who listens to, for example, something which I think is tasteless and commercial and I don't like it, such as pop hip hop or hip hop pop, I don't think that is hip hop! That is, there are very few who I think listen to hip hop, essential hip hop, that which is hip hop for us! I don't think there are that many."

For this anonymous MC/producer, hip hop which has merged with Greek pop is not "essential hip hop." This is not surprising given how he views Greek pop: "Laiko pop and stupidity, stupid music, and without meaning." For male hip hop practitioners, rap music is *not* pop music. Rather, hip hop culture and rap music are politically and socially conscious, whereas pop music is tasteless, commercial, stupid and without meaning. In other words, "we" produce "essential hip hop" and "they" produce hip hop which is "tasteless and commercial."

Third, hip hop culture and rap music are seen as distinct from artists who perform in the *bouzoukia*. After my interviews with White Dragon and Haris, the only female hip hop practitioner whom I spoke with, and who is a hip hop dancer, MC, and the girlfriend

of White Dragon, they had the following distinctions to draw between hip hop and the *bouzoukia*:

> *Haris*: At the *bouzoukia*, you will go and you will see an artist perform. This artist can be a man or a woman and they will often sing cover songs of other artists. So, they won't even sing their own material and they get paid thousands of dollars a night to do this! Meanwhile, hip hop artists are lucky if they get paid a few hundred euro for a performance!...
> *White Dragon*: Another thing which is different when you are a hip hop artist versus one of these artists at the *bouzoukia* is that as a hip hop MC, you write your own lyrics. All MCs do this. I don't know any who don't. But, when you are an artist at the *bouzoukia*, it is very different.
> *Haris*: Yes, you will get a manager who will tell you what to wear, what to sing, how to sing. You will have stylists who are styling you. It is very different from being a hip hop artist.

In the above discussion, both Haris and White Dragon clearly outline the differences between hip hop culture and bouzouki culture, which for them are two very different forms of cultural production. Hip hop artists write their own songs; *bouzoukia* artists sing covers. Hip hop artists are active agents in the creation of their own lyrics; *bouzoukia* artists are passive agents who are told "what to wear, what to sing, how to sing." Given that one of the central tenets of rock ideology is the necessity of performing self-written material (Warwick 2007: 95), it is not surprising that hip hop artists seek to adopt elements of this ideology in their own quest for authenticity. For both White Dragon and Haris these differences are critical to the distinction between hip hop artists ("us") and popular music artists ("them").

However, in addition to the *discursive distinctions* made by hip hop practitioners about the superiority of rap music and the inferiority of new wave laika, there are also certain concrete *practices* employed by hip hop practitioners in order to

further marginalize new wave laika and to better position hip hop culture and rap music within the Greek popular music field. Two of the most important practices employed by hip hop practitioners are that they will not *produce* or *spin new wave laika*. These musical genres will not be promoted in any way among hip hop practitioners. For example, Stereo Mike, an MC, producer, sound engineer, and songwriter, clearly explains the historical reasons as to why he refuses to produce contemporary folk aka 'dog music:'

> "Skyladiko [dog music], which is a very specific case in Greece, I wouldn't produce. It's I think the subconscious reason that made me leave this place [Greece]. It was such a heavy mainstream in everything that was happening, in the way the music industry was funded...So, anybody with money could produce anything and you have a famous joke of this club owner who took this girl he fancied in the studio and said can you use your tricks and make this an amazing product and this created the stereotype of the extremely sexy but vocally incapable female dog music artist here, which was supported by a very sexist man-made and man-run industry behind the scenes."

For Stereo Mike, while he was growing up in Greece, dog music was a central component of the musical mainstream which supported both the local nightclub industry (*bouzoukia*) and the popular music industry. Through Stereo Mike's quotation, and in the joke he recounts, the musical mainstream is synonymous with 'dog music' which is constructed as female, commodified, talentless (vocally incapable), sexy and male dominated. Given that jokes act as markers of social, geographical and moral boundaries (Davies 1982), this particular joke reinforces the already noted discursive distinctions between hip hop and *new wave laika*. Similar to rebetika of the past, new wave laika are being framed as the new 'other' within the Greek popular music industry.

Dog music is also marginalized and gendered through the genre's associations with talentless but sexy female vocalists. The trope of the talented male producer (or

'svengali') and the talentless female vocalist is fairly common in popular music discourse, and the delegitimation of female vocalists is not only the subject of tasteless jokes, but is also "endemic to the fields of musicology and media studies" (Warwick 2007: 95). As Jacqueline Warwick argues, the trivialization of female singers and their work is the result of singing being a product of bodily effort. From a Marxist feminist analysis this is due to the links between labour and the body: "the closer the connection between labour and the body, the more abject the worker" (Warwick 2007: 94).

However, Stereo Mike also has personal reasons as to why he refuses to produce dog music:

> "So apart from the historic reasons why I won't work with that sort of music [dog music], it is a bad example of pastiche. It is not a good example of a country which is between Asia, Africa and Europe which is taking all these influences and making something new and amazing...What happened here was like a bad pop which depended on *touberleki*[20] and Turkish Asian undercurrents, which is fine, but it was all based around the belly dancer dancing [*tsifteteli*] around this sort of nightlife that was very much about a repetitive chorus, a rumba groove. And something that I found really non-challenging to my IQ as a musician."

In this quotation, Stereo Mike clearly defines dog music in the following terms: bad pop, Turkish Asian in sound, associated with the *tsifteteli*, performed in the *bouzoukia*, repetitive, and non-challenging to his musical IQ. Once again eastern musical elements, the female body and belly dancing (*tsifteteli*) are symbolically associated with "bad pop" and are cast in opposition to hip hop and Stereo Mike's IQ as a musician. Similar to Eisvoleas discussion of *tsiftetelia/laika*, there is an implicit body/mind duality being constructed here between the feminine and bodily aspects of

[20] The touberleki (also translated as toumperleki and toumbeleki) is a percussive instrument. It is a small goblet shaped drum which is cylindrical. One side is open and the other side has a leather membrane.

"bad pop" and Stereo Mike's IQ as a male musician. The implication being that hip hop is a musical form which is masculine and linked to the mind, whereas *new wave laika* is feminine and linked to the body. The same tropes which were used to marginalize rebetika are now being used to marginalize new wave laika.

The second way that *new wave laika* are marginalized by hip hop practitioners are by hip hop DJs who refuse to spin Greek popular music. When I asked DJs if there were certain genres of music that hip hop practitioners refused to play, this question received some very strongly worded responses *against* Greek popular music. For example, DJ MCD notes that he would not spin or produce Greek popular music:

> "For sure I would never have anything to do with Greek popular music. It is something that I don't recognize, it is something that I don't listen to, it has nothing to do with myself and my idiosyncrasies, I have never listened to it and I would not be able to make music that I do not know. In my DJ sets I don't place Greek music. I play Greek hip hop which is part of hip hop more broadly. Yes, I think that I would never play Greek [music] at all."

For DJ MCD, there is a very clear distinction between hip hop (including Greek hip hop) on the one hand and Greek popular music on the other. This sentiment was mirrored by White Dragon, an MC and DJ, who performs with DJ MCD who notes that: "...I will not play any Greek, nothing Greek, not even my own stuff. I'll play funk, I'll play soul, I'll play light rock, pop[21], reggaeton, Latin, those types of things, hip hop, R&B, that's it."

Based on the distinctions made by hip hop practitioners thus far, the differences between hip hop and *new wave laika* may be summarized as follows:

[21] It is important to note that White Dragon is referring to English language pop, not Greek pop.

| **hip hop** | ***new wave laika*** |
|---|---|
| political and social | stupid and without meaning |
| | tasteless and commercial |
| "essential hip hop" | "bad pop" |
| western | eastern (Turkish/Asian) |
| masculine | feminine |
| | *tsiftetelia*, female body, sexy |
| alternative | mainstream |
| independent | popular |
| "clean" | "dirty" |
| male mind | female body |
| active | passive |
| originals | covers |

What lies at the center of these processes of differentiation is the east/west binary which structures the *collective history* of the Greek popular music field. However, these discursive and practical processes of westernization and masculinization would not be possible without two other contentious processes occurring simultaneously: the erasure of the African-American roots of hip hop in Greece and the hellenization of hip hop in Greece.

Just as the foreign influences of rebetika were erased and minimized in order for the genre to gain a broader audience, so too are the African-American influences of hip hop culture being erased and minimized for rap music to gain a broader audience in Greece. The current erasure of the African-American roots of hip hop culture and the hellenization of rap music has received mixed responses among hip hop practitioners in Athens. This is because despite the general agreement that hip hop practitioners should not produce or spin Greek popular music, there is much disagreement as to whether hip hop practitioners should sample Greek popular music and use Greek instrumentation.

**Conflicting Strategies of Legitimation: Erasure and Hellenization**

Although most hip hop practitioners agree that rap music is superior to new wave laika, there is much disagreement as to whether or not hip hop culture in Greece should adopt Greek elements (samples, instrumentation, etc.) or retain a more 'classic' (meaning American) hip hop sound. For some hip hop practitioners, hip hop culture and rap music in Athens must emphasize and highlight certain *types* of Greek culture in order to gain a broader audience. For others, the adoption of Greek elements in hip hop is not acceptable.

For example, despite Eisvoleas critical appraisal and rejection of *tsiftetelia*, a predominantly feminine form of expression associated with rebetika and new wave laika, he is an ardent supporter of using rebetika samples and Greek instrumentation (particularly bouzouki) in rap music:

> "Not only am I a MC, but I also play instruments as well and I use them in my music. So, I won't play a traditional rebetika track, but I have written my own new rebetika tracks. And, instead of singing in the dialect or slang that was used in the old rebetika songs, I will use today's slang. I also draw a lot from rebetika and bouzouki in my hip hop. We are in Greece and the music should adapt to Greece. Some people don't like that I use Greek instruments because they consider them less than or secondary. They don't want Greek instruments in hip hop. These people will draw on an American blues sample or something like that in their music, whereas I will draw from rebetika or a Greek song as a sample. For me, if hip hop started in Greece, rebetika would be the music which hip hop would draw from. But, hip hop started in the United States, so it drew from jazz, blues, etc. That is why I think that Greek hip hop should draw from rebetika."

For Eisvoleas, hip hop culture and rap music in Greece should adapt and reflect the realities of Greek life. This means that Greek instruments should be used and Greek musical genres (such as rebetika) should be sampled. Additionally, the Greek blues, or rebetika, should be sampled because this musical genre has affinities with the urban blues

of the United States (one of the musical precursors of rap music). So, despite his rejection of certain feminine ways of dancing linked to rebetika, he supports the sampling of rebetika music. Producing, performing and sampling rebetika music, unlike dancing the tsiftetelia, are central to creating an authentic hip hop which represents Greece. Similar to earlier comments made by Diveno about the adoption of Greek elements in hip hop in Athens, Eisvoleas is making a distinction between "us" (those who use Greek instruments and Greek samples in their hip hop) and "them" (those who do not want Greek instruments or Greek samples in their hip hop).

For Eisvoleas, the explanation for his music and sampling choices are simple:

> "When I first started I was occupied with instruments and now in my hip hop I add Greek elements. Basically only Greek elements. That is, I'm not going to take a soul sample, I would rather take a rebetika sample. You understand, it is an old sample because we are representing our place, we are not in American doing this."

The theme of representing where you are from is an important one in hip hop culture. Hip hop practitioners who adapt Greek elements in their music often draw upon this discourse as a justification for their use of Greek samples and Greek instruments. However, hip hop culture has always drawn upon a variety of musical sources (from classical to jazz to blues, etc.) and samples (television shows, movies, video games, etc.) from a wide variety of sources. When Eisvoleas says he is using "only Greek elements" he is moving beyond representing a type of hip hop which reflects the realities of Greek life towards a type of hip hop which is solely Greek in form. This is further reflected in the following statement made by Eisvoleas about hip hop MCs:

> "...MCs are the rhapsodists of the streets just like in Ancient Greece, they would go to the streets and make their rhapsodies"

By claiming that MCs are the "rhapsodists of the streets" and linking them with Ancient Greece, the African-American lineage of hip hop culture and rap music is actively erased and replaced with a classical Greek lineage. The erasure of the African-American roots of hip hop has been so complete in some instances that Sparky-T, a full time DJ and hip hop veteran in Athens, told me, "the silly thing is that there are some people who believe that hip hop exists in Greece and nowhere else! As silly as that sounds! In other words, they think that it is something which was birthed here!"

For hip hop practitioners such as Eisvoleas, the adoption of Greek elements has produced a distinct and unique hip hop culture in Greece. As DJ MCD notes "Greek hip hop is a type of music known by many people and listened to by many people." Artists such as Eisvoleas and DJ MCD believe that there is a thriving local hip hop scene in Athens which has adopted hip hop culture and rap music to suit a Greek reality. This thriving hip hop culture is one which, under the right circumstances, can gain economic and cultural legitimacy within the Greek popular music field.

On the other hand, there are also hip hop practitioners who believe that Greek popular music and Greek instruments should not be sampled or included in hip hop. For artists such as Sinis, part time producer, "commercial hip hop which is something like bouzouki, hip hop, popular, all together, has nothing to do with hip hop." Kebzer goes so far as to say that he wishes to "cast away Greek culture from this [hip hop]!" For these hip hop practitioners, hip hop culture is *distinct* from Greek culture and Greek popular music and these practitioners aim to keep these differences intact. Hip hop practitioners such as

Sparky-T, DJ ALX, DJ Bart and DJ Noiz, also believe that the African-American roots of the rap music are crucial to appreciating this musical form.

For these hip hop practitioners, the African-American roots and history of hip hop are necessary to understanding the current status of hip hop in Greece. These hip hop practitioners have a much more critical appraisal of hip hop in Athens:

> "...'Greek hip hop' does not exist, it is a mistake, you should not put together 'Greek' and 'hip hop.' That is, we have adopted many things crookedly and it is a shame to name what we have as a scene. The difference [between Greek and American hip hop] is the language, the difference is the mindset, the difference is that we are essentially biters of something foreign which we don't know how it was...that is, when blacks in America in 1980 spoke about their problems, this has nothing to do with the youngsters in Kiffisia [rich suburb of Athens] in 2000, whose mom and dad pay for everything for them" (Sparky-T).

Hip hop culture and rap music, was and always will be, a 'foreign' musical form that is performed by hip hop practitioners in Greece. As DJ ALX notes: "It [hip hop] has come from there [America], it has sprung from there, hip hop is not Greek, I say that openly...We sample sounds from funk music from America, the form is foreign, end of story." However, what is most problematic for these hip hop practitioners is that they believe that the development of hip hop in Athens has been incorrect. For Loop, "the hip hop scene [in Athens] is releasing the wrong model for the outside world, and the world is learning, in the wrong way, what this music is in Greece." And according to DJ ALX, this wrong model is the result of "a lack of basic education! That is why there is no scene, because there is a lack of education about the music."

**Conclusion**

How can we account for these different appraisals of hip hop in Athens among hip hop practitioners? The answer to this question depends on how one defines hip hop in Athens: as a Greek or foreign musical form. Hip hop practitioners who view hip hop in Athens in Greek terms seek to legitimate this musical form within the Greek popular music field. They adopt Greek elements and draw upon the collective history of the Greek popular music field for cultural legitimacy within Greece. Hip hop practitioners who view hip hop in Athens in foreign terms seek to legitimate this musical form within the broader transnational hip hop field. They rely on funk, soul, jazz samples and draw upon the collective history of American hip hop for cultural legitimacy within the broader hip hop community. So far, artists who have adopted the first strategy have been more successful in gaining economic capital within the Greek popular music field. As already noted, artists who adopts Greek elements and collaborate with Greek popular artists are more likely to be signed to major labels and receive greater airplay. Hip hop practitioners who seek to challenge these types of "bouzouki, pop, hip hop" have had mixed success within the Greek popular music field. Whereas the first strategy seeks to gain increased economic capital and a larger musical audience for hip hop practitioners in the large scale field of popular music, the second strategy seeks to gain increased symbolic capital and a smaller musical audience for a select number of hip hop practitioners in the restricted field of popular music. Both groups of hip hop practitioners are gaining recognition and cultural legitimacy, the first group within the large scale field of popular music, the latter in the small restricted field of popular music.

What this case study of hip hop in Athens has illustrated are the ways in which the *collective histories* of fields of cultural production are resources which can be utilized by actors within fields for cultural legitimation. Although the underlying logics of cultural fields vary, the collective histories of fields remain valuable tools which can be mobilized for different purposes. For example, the underlying logic of the Greek popular music field is one which is based on an east/west binary of Greek cultural identity, wherein western masculinity is positively valued over eastern femininity. Other fields have different logics. One of the most common logics of the American musical field is the feminization of pop and the masculinization of rock. These logics structure the collective histories of cultural fields, and understanding how they operate assists in understanding how the cultural field operates.

Future research should examine the extent to which actors in other cultural fields draw upon collective histories for their own purposes of cultural legitimation. For example, how are collective histories drawn upon? Who has access to collective histories? Is access to collective histories limited to those in certain positions? For example, are newcomers, those in dominated positions, or those in dominant positions more likely to rely on 'usable pasts' in order to legitimate the present? By answering these questions, future studies can further contribute to refining Bourdieu's theories of cultural production.

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**Glossary of terms**

**Rebetiko/a**: An urban blues built around the bouzouki. It developed in the 1920s and 1930s in the port cities of mainland Greece, among Greek communities uprooted from Turkey in the population exchanges after the Treaty of Lausanne (1923).

**Bouzouki**: A stringed instrument with a pear shaped body and long neck. The key instrument used in Pireaus style rebetika.

**Bouzoukia**: 1) The plural of bouzouki. 2) Late night entertainment establishments where Greek popular music is performed.

**Laika**: A broad-based genre of Greek popular music which originally emerged as a simplification of rebetika (known as the Greek blues) in order to make this type of music more broadly marketable (Papageoriou 1997: 69). The influences on laika include rebetika, West European, Latin American, North American, Turkish and Egyptian popular music and Indian film music (Pennanen 2005: 116).

**New wave laika**: Emerged in the 1980s and are hybrid musical forms which merge traditional laika styles with western pop music.

**Skhyladiko** (aka 'dog music'): A denigrated genre of new wave laika. Dog music is contemporary folk music, and it began as a fringe music which addressed the alienated aspects of urban life, while merging traditional laika styles with pop music and Arabic and Asian musical forms. Dog music was initially popularized through pirated cassettes of live performances, amateur radio stations and night clubs (Papageorgiou 2005: 121-122).

**Tsifteteli**: A type of belly-dance brought to Greece by the Asia Minor Greeks after the population exchanges and the Treaty of Lausanne (1923). Tsifteteli, hasapikos and zeibekikos, these are the dances of rebetika.

**Tsiftetelia**: 1) The plural of tsifteteli. 2) Music that you can dance the tsifteteli to (genres include laika, new wave laika, Greek pop, etc.).

**Hasapikos**: This is a common folk dance also known as the 'butchers' dance.

**Zeibekikos**: An improvisational dance which has historically been danced by men.

**Touberleki:** The touberleki (also translated as toumperleki and toumbeleki) is a percussive instrument. It is a small goblet shaped drum which is cylindrical. One side is open and the other side has a leather membrane.

## Chapter 7

## "Bouzouki Hip Hop?" Representation and Identity in Greek-Canadian Rap Music

### Introduction

*Message to the Greek youth of the world: Be proud of your roots and where you come from. Keep the Greek culture alive for generations to come!*
-BZ Jam, liner notes of *My Big Phat Greek*...(2005)

This chapter examines the song lyrics of BZ Jam (pronounced "Busy Jam"), a Vancouver based Greek-Canadian rap artist, who has been independently producing his own albums since the beginning of the 1990s. Extending Bourdieu's work, this chapter examines how *collective identity* fits into field theory. I illustrate how BZ Jam uses his music as a medium within which to discuss the interrelationships between nationalism, ethnicity and the Greek diaspora as well as the tensions of *diasporic belonging*.[22] I argue that BZ Jam seeks to reconcile the tensions between being simultaneously Greek *and* Canadian by actively shaping and cultivating a collective identity for Greeks "outside of Greece."[23] This collective identity is constructed through the creation of shared narratives of collective history and memory, and through narratives of biological, performative and geographical membership.

Utilizing BZ Jam's song lyrics as a case study, this chapter seeks to provide some initial ideas on how Bourdieu's theories of cultural production offer us new ways of understanding cultural identity. I illustrate how BZ Jam's lyrics simultaneously highlight

[22] The term "diasporic belonging" refers to the experience of plural identifications (e.g. Greek-Canadian) which are constitutive of diasporic forms of identity.
[23] In the song "Gangsta" (2005), which is rapped in Greek, BZ Jam states that he represents Greeks "outside of Greece."

the tensions of possessing a hyphenated diasporic identity (e.g. Greek-Canadian) and (most significantly) provide strategies for hyphenated Greeks to locate themselves within the larger transnational Greek community. BZ Jam resolves the marginality of diasporic "Greekness" by utilizing his position within the field of popular music to make claims about Greek cultural identity. By problematizing "Greekness," BZ Jam is engaged in strategies of cultural struggle which seek to authenticate Greek diasporic identity by laying claim to histories of oppression, exclusion, dispossession and forced migration. In this sense, BZ Jam is actively engaged in struggles over the representation of Greek cultural identity within the broader field of cultural representations.

This chapter draws on Bourdieu (1991; 1993; 1996), Bernstein (1997) and Born and Hesmondhalgh (2000) to illustrate how BZ Jam uses his music and song lyrics as a resource within which to fashion a collective identity for members of the Greek diaspora. Drawing on Bourdieu, this chapter situates BZ Jam's collective identity work within the larger field of cultural production. Drawing on Bernstein, this chapter illustrates how identity is deployed strategically within the cultural field. Drawing on Born and Hesmondhalgh, this chapter illustrates how BZ Jam's strategic deployment of identity within the cultural field is central to understanding how he constructs an *imaginary articulation* of Greek-Canadian cultural identity: a new type of diasporic belonging for Greeks outside of Greece.

**Fields, Representation and Cultural Identity**

One of the basic elements of Bourdieu's theory of practice is his concept of the field: "a structured space of positions in which the positions and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or 'capital'" (Thompson 1991: 14). Although Bourdieu himself tended to focus on the cultural fields of literature, art, science and religion (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 212), his work has been productively used to discuss the field of popular music (Regev 1994; Thornton 1996; Lopes 2000; Moore 2007). Bourdieu notes that cultural fields are stratified as a result of two opposing principles of hierarchization—the heteronomous principle and the autonomous principle (1993: 40). The *heteronomous principle* of hierarchization, which is often associated with the field of large-scale production, is characterized, first by the struggle for economic capital, and second, as the field where producers produce for the broadest possible audience. This principle of hierarchization is often associated with 'mass' or 'popular' culture. The *autonomous principle* of hierarchization, which is often associated with the field of restricted production, is characterized, first, by the struggle for symbolic capital and second, as the field where producers produce for other producers (1993: 37-39). Bourdieu also notes that this principle is often linked to the creation of 'art for art's sake' and with certain forms of 'elite' culture (1993: 40). Bourdieu's own work focused primarily on the field of restricted production at the expense of further theorizing the field of large-scale production (Hesmondhalgh 2006: 217-218).

Based on Bourdieu's distinctions between the heteronomous and autonomous regions of the field, Bourdieu originally conceptualized three general artistic subfields:

the restricted subfield of art, the subfield of commercial bourgeois art, and the subfield of commercial-industrial (popular) art (Lopes 2000: 173). However, as Paul Lopes clearly illustrates, there is a fourth possible subfield: the restricted subfield of popular art (Lopes 2000: 173). In his examination of jazz music in the United States, Lopes cogently outlines how Bourdieu's original idea of the restricted subfield of art being limited to "high art" production does not take into account popular art production which is not part of the culture industry (Lopes 2000: 173).

It is within the restricted subfield of popular art that BZ Jam's work as an independent musical artist of the Greek diaspora is best situated. Furthermore, BZ Jam's work as a member of a diasporic community should simultaneously be situated within the 'sub field' of ethnic cultural production. I situate BZ Jam in this manner because I believe that similar to gender (Moi 1991), ethnicity is best conceptualized as a part of all social fields, rather than an autonomous field. His position as a Greek-Canadian producing music for the Greek diaspora places him in a marginal position on two fronts: he is marginalized within the broader musical community as a result of his independent production of music for diasporic Greeks, and he is marginalized within the larger transnational Greek community as a result of being a member of the Greek diaspora. This is the context within which BZ Jam uses his position within the popular music field to make assertions about Greek cultural identity and 'Greekness,' and where he simultaneously uses his position as a member of the Greek diaspora in order to authenticate his participation in hip hop culture.

Utilizing BZ Jam as a case study, I illustrate how Bourdieu's theory of cultural production can contribute to broader discussions about cultural identity. Past studies which have drawn upon Bourdieu in order to discuss identity have focused on 'dispositional' identity. Dispositional identity emphasizes the importance of social location on constraining identity formation. These conceptualizations of identity emphasize the dispositional aspects of identity and how they limit reflexivity. In contrast to the symbolic interactionist understandings of identity, these theorists emphasize the entrenched, involuntary, practical and pre-reflective aspects of identity (Bottero 2010: 5-7). However, as Wendy Bottero (2010) illustrates, what these studies are unable to address is the nature of the relationship between the *dispositional aspects of identity* and the *reflexive aspects of identity* (Bottero 2010: 8). If identities are dispositional, how, and why do dispositional identities transform into conscious calculation? The solution that is posed to this problem is that social practices are not just dispositional but also intersubjective (Bottero 2010: 12). In other words, reflexivity is reframed as a reflection on, not a reflection of, dispositional practice. This is accomplished by understanding practice in more intersubjective and negotiated terms (Bottero 2010: 19).

This chapter examines both the dispositional and reflective aspects of identity by illustrating how cultural identity is something which is *used by* agents in their quests for recognition in the field, and how cultural identity is something which is also *used against* agents in the field. In other words, social location enables social practice and constrains social practice in complex ways. However, this chapter moves beyond the work of Bottero by illustrating how dispositional and reflexive understandings of cultural identity

fit into Bourdieu's model of cultural production, and by focusing on the representational aspects of identity, which are not addressed by Bottero on her work.

First, identity, similar to cultural legitimacy, authenticity, autonomy, etc. is a resource which is struggled over within *all* cultural fields. Greek cultural identity is a contested identity, and it is one which has historically been contested within Greek popular music (Kallimopoulou 2009: 16). "Music, as many authors have observed, not only reflects people's reality but also 'constructs' or shapes that reality" (Guilbault, 2006: 188). One of the realities that music has historically helped shape is that of cultural identity. Cultural identity, whether it is diasporic or ethnic, is "a 'production' which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation" (Hall, 2003: 234). The linguistic devices of shared memories, fantasies, narratives and myths (Hall, 2003: 237) are crucial to the "...rhetorical construction of collective identities" (Nelson-Rowe, 1995: 84). By framing cultural identity as a resource which is struggled over within cultural fields, I illustrate how cultural identity may be deployed strategically as a form of collective action (Bernstein 1997: 537).

Second, crucial to the formation and contestation of cultural identities are various practices of representation. In this instance, song lyrics and album covers are the representational mechanisms uses to perform a collective identity for members of the Greek diaspora. This performance of a collective identity for diasporic Greeks clearly illustrates how music provides opportunities for what Born and Hesmondhalgh refer to as imaginary articulations. *Imaginary articulations* are musical constructions of identity and difference which are primarily experiences of the cultural imaginary but which work to

powerfully inscribe and re-inscribe existing boundaries (Born and Hesmondhalgh 2000: 35). Central to these imaginary articulations of a "collective identity" is the construction of shared representations of nationalism. Nationalism, as a system of cultural representation whereby people come to imagine a shared experience of identification with an extended community, is a historical practice through which social difference is both invented and performed (McClintock, 1997: 89). Field theory in this instance illustrates how music is used as an *objectified representation* (similar to flags, emblems, badges, etc.) of ethnic identity (Bourdieu 1991: 220) in the cultural struggle for recognition. Past studies have examined the connections between black nationalism and rap music (Watkins 2001; Henderson 1996; Decker 1993; Zook 1992). Drawing on these works, the connections between diasporic nationalism and Greek-Canadian rap music are studied in order to understand the role that Greek-Canadian rap music plays in the invention and performance of nationalist narratives of diasporic belonging.

Third, cultural fields provide rich arenas for the study of identities since they not only produce *practices* (ways of acting) but they also produce *representations* (ways of seeing), which are used in struggles over both *identity* and the *mechanisms of identification*. For BZ Jam, the cultural production and performance of "bouzouki hip hop" is the means he uses in the struggle over Greek cultural identity. Specifically, this chapter examines the ways in which re-constructions of collective Greek history (classical and mythical images) as well as collective Greek memory (the "Hellenic Genocide") are utilized by BZ Jam in an active process of "authenticity work" (Peterson, 2005: 1083) in order to claim and reaffirm "authentic Greekness" within his music and lyrics.

Fourth, as a result of the three previous points, it follows that the cultural field is also a field of representations; all cultural fields involve the struggle over representations and cultural identities (Bourdieu 1991: 221). In this instance, the cultural field of representations is one which encompasses two regions of the popular music field: the restricted subfield of popular art and the subfield of ethnic cultural production. What is particularly of interest in this case study is the way in which musical resources (the restricted subfield of popular art) are mobilized in order to make claims within another about the nature of Greek cultural identity, and, the way in which ethnic resources (his claims of Greekness) are mobilized in order to authenticate this work as a cultural producer of hip hop in Vancouver.

**Methods**

The song lyrics of BZ Jam need to be understood in reference to his ethnicity as a member of the Greek diasporas. As Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur note, the terms "diaspora, diasporic and diaspora-ization (Stuart Hall) are all contested terms, the meanings and multiple referents of which are currently being theorized and debated" (2003: 4). The term diaspora is ambiguous and "literally (and on a historical level, negatively) denotes communities of people dislocated from their native homelands through migration, immigration, or exile as a consequence of colonial expansion, but etymologically suggests the (more positive) fertility of dispersion, dissemination and the scattering of seeds" (Braziel and Mannur, 2003: 4). Yet, it has been increasingly used by many scholars to "...describe the mass migrations and displacements of the second half of

the twentieth century, particularly in reference to independence movements in formerly colonized areas, waves of refugees fleeing war-torn states, and fluxes of economic migration in the post-World War II era" (Braziel and Mannur, 2003: 4). This second definition is most salient for this analysis, since the Greek diasporas in Canada were predominantly formed through economic migrations.

The term diaspora is germane to the study of BZ Jam's music because it encompasses the multiple and multifaceted trajectory of movement (Lie, 2001: 356) of Greek peoples and it provides ample space to explore the complex realities of migrations and identities. While there is a tendency for diasporic communities to be framed in homogenous, nationalist and reified terms (Lei, 2001: 356), this chapter seeks to disentangle and problematize the narrative constructions of diasporic nationalist discourse within the lyrics of BZ Jam. The song lyrics of BZ Jam are treated as *texts*, the material manifestations of discourses (Chalaby 1996: 688), and were coded using discourse analysis. Songs from a total of three of BZ Jam's albums are included in this analysis.[24] The albums chosen for analysis include: *It Ain't Greek to me* (2000), *My Big Phat Greek...* (2005) and *Peace to Greece Volume I, A collection of the best Greek rappers outside of Greece* (2006).This approach is similar to past studies on rap music which use the lyrical content of rap music as their objects of analysis (Kubrin 2005; Haugen 2003; Armstrong 2001; Martinez 1997; Goodall 1994). Based on close textual readings of the song lyrics, certain recurring themes were selected for analysis: narratives about Greek identity, conceptualizations of 'imagined community,' collective history, collective

[24] BZ Jam's first album *Welcome to honkysville* (1993) was not included for analysis as this album is no longer in print and difficult to procure.

memory, as well as biological, performative and geographical narratives of belonging. The goal of this case study is to illustrate how a Boudieusian approach to cultural production can contribute to more nuanced understandings of cultural identity.

The analysis is organized into four distinct yet interrelated sections. "The history of the field" situates BZ Jam within the larger Greek-Canadian diaspora. "Feta Funk" examines how Greece is constructed as an 'imagined community' through narratives of collective history and memory, in order to cultivate a "collective identity" for diasporic Greeks. "Deep inside we all Greek" examines the ways in which biological, performative and geographical narratives are employed in order to construct an essentialist version of "authentic Greekness." "It Ain't Greek to Me" brings together the findings of the two previous sections and illustrates the limitations of BZ Jam's nationalist vision of a "collective identity" for Greeks "outside of Greece" by discussing the cultural reception of his work among diasporic Greeks. This chapter concludes by providing a broader discussion of how Bourdieu's field theory provides insights into discussions of cultural identity.

**The history of the field: Greek-Canadian Diaspora(s), BZ Jam and Van City Greeks**

In order to understand how BZ Jam situates himself within the popular music field, I first provide some historical context on Greek-Canadians in Canada. As Peter D. Chimbos notes, the history of Greek immigration to Canada began after the Greek war of independence against Turkey (1821-1828). Most of these early immigrants came to Canada for economic reasons and they were often unskilled or semi-skilled, poorly

educated men (1999: 87-88). This trend in economic migration in the case of the various Greek-diasporas in Canada and elsewhere continued into the twentieth century, and as Lina Ventoura (1999) notes, "scholars of the post-World War II migration history have argued that the post-World War II movement of populations represents the most massive case of labor migration in the history of contemporary Greece" (quoted in Laliotou, 2005: 89). Therefore, as Chimbos argues, Greek immigration to Canada was mainly the result of two factors: first, negative economic (e.g. poverty, unemployment) and political circumstances (e.g. political persecution during the military junta of 1967-1974) in Greece and second, the need for economic and industrial development in Canada (1999: 88).

Drawing on Statistics Canada reports, Anastasia N. Panagakos notes that "from 1945 to 1970, over 107,000 Greeks entered Canada. In 1951, there was a steady rise of Greek immigrants until Greek immigration reached its peak in 1967 (2005: 819). According to the 2001 census, it is estimated that 203,000 Canadians are of Greek heritage, out of the total Canadian population of 31 million" (Statistics Canada, 2003a, quoted in Panagakos, 2005: 820). Many of these "Greek-Canadian immigrants are disproportionately represented in the unskilled and semi-skilled occupational categories primarily because of low academic attainment in the homeland" (Chimbos, 1999: 99). Nonetheless, despite the similarities which are found within certain segments of Greek-Canadian diasporas, Greek-Canadian diasporas (and communities) are not homogenous entities since they are divided along axes of gender, class, sexuality, etc.

Greek-Canadian musicians are one of the groups within the Greek-Canadian diaspora. Within this group, I will be focusing on the musical lyrics of the Vancouver based Greek-Canadian rapper known as BZ Jam in order to understand the ways in which he seeks to construct "Greekness" and Greek-Canadian identity within his song lyrics. BZ Jam raps in both Greek and English. Although BZ Jam is a single artist within Greek-Canadian music, his music provides an insightful case study because he explicitly engages with current debates about the "Greek youth of the world." Most importantly, his music offers an excellent opportunity for the examination of the lyrical, visual and musical construction of diasporic identity through the use of local, national and transnational narratives.

BZ Jam is a first generation Greek-Canadian (born in Canada) in his late thirties who grew up in a lower middle class household with two immigrant parents. He is the self proclaimed creator of "bouzouki hip hop" ("bouzouki plus hip hop equals bouzouki hip hop"), and to date he has released three albums, *Welcome to Honkysville* (1993) (this album is out of print and no longer available), *It Ain't Greek to me* (2000) and *My Big Phat Greek...* (2005). He is also the executive producer of *Peace to Greece Volume I, A Collection of the Best Greek Rappers Outside of Greece* (2006). He writes his own music, he has been the executive producer on all of his albums, he founded his own record label, Integrity Records, and he is also the manager of a small roster of artists.

In 1991 BZ Jam started Vancouver's first ever two hour hip hop radio show, called "In Effect" on U.B.C. radio (CiTR 101.9fm) (Siormanolakis, 2005: 17). His first album, *Welcome to honkysville* (1993), was a basement recording which was produced solely by

BZ Jam and it featured a single Greek track, "It ain't Greek to me," which was later re-released on his second album. The CD sold over 1000 records in its first week, mainly by word of mouth (Siormanolakis, 2005: 17). Seven years elapsed between this record and his first project on Integrity Records. During this time BZ Jam left the hip hop scene for several years, after negotiations with a potential Greek and Australian record label did not materialize into a contract (Siormanolakis, 2005: 17).

In 2000, the first project which was released by Integrity Records and BZ Jam was *MAD LOVE* (Making a difference living on Vancouver's eastside) (2000), a compilation featuring eleven of Vancouver's most prominent hip hop artists (such as Swollen Members, Moka Only, Checkmate, and others). The proceeds from this project benefited SHEWAY project, a drop in center in the downtown east side of Vancouver for pregnant women with alcohol and drug dependencies (Siormanolakis, 2005: 17). It was also during the year 2000 that BZ Jam released his second album, *It Ain't Greek to me.*

In 2002 BZ Jam was the recipient of the Greek-Canadian Award for Best Urban Hip-Hop Artist, and in 2004 BZ Jam was nominated for a another Greek-Canadian Music Award by the Greek-Canadian Academy for the Arts for his song entitled "Maria Dressed in Yellow." One year later, in 2005, BZ Jam released his third album, *My Big Phat Greek....* Presently, Integrity Records has distribution deals with HMV and Music World, and CDs from the label are available in a total of 4200 stores worldwide.[25] On the

[25] As a result of recent changes to the music industry, I am not confident in these figures. Music World, filed for bankruptcy in November 2007 and closed all of its 72 locations in Canada in January 2008, so BZ Jam's CDs are no longer distributed in as many retail chains across Canada. Additionally, HMV is no longer solely focused on musical retail and the company has rebranded itself as an "entertainment" retailer. As a result of these changes, it is much more difficult to purchase independent music, and an online search for BZ Jam on HMV's homepage yielded no results.

main web page for Integrity Records, www.bzjam.com, the label boasts that BZ Jam and his roster of artists have sold over 15,000 units since the label was first created. In addition, the CDs from Integrity Records are distributed overseas in Athens, Greece.

Currently BZ Jam is working on his fourth album and he is also working on putting together a second compilation of Greek diasporic rappers entitled *Peace to Greece, Volume II.* In his role as executive producer of these compilation albums he is purposefully bringing together Greek rappers outside of Greece and he is actively attempting to create a trans-local Greek diasporic hip hop scene that crosses geographical boundaries.

**"Feta Funk": the contours and contradictions of Greece as 'imagined community'**

One of the key tensions BZ Jam outlines in his song lyrics is the complex relationship between being both Greek and Canadian.[26] However, in order to understand how BZ Jam conceptualizes the interrelationship between being simultaneously "Greek" and "Canadian," one must first unpack what being "Greek" means to BZ Jam. This section outlines the ways in which "Greekness" (as a "collective identity") is being constructed visually, musically and lyrically. In other words, according to BZ Jam, what makes Greeks "*Greek*?" Or, *what* is "authentic Greekness?" Central to understanding the ways in which BZ Jam conceptualizes Greeks of the diaspora in collective terms are the *visual narratives*, employed in the images on his CD covers, the *musical narratives*,

[26] It should be noted that BZ Jam does not address the tensions of multiple belongings (e.g. multi-racial or multi-ethnic individuals). His work only examines the tensions of being of Greek "origin" (meaning having two Greek parents) but living in Canada.

constructed through his reliance on the bouzouki as one of the sole forms of live instrumentation in his music, and the *lyrical narratives* of collective history and memory he constructs in his vision of an 'imagined community' of Greece as πατρίδα (native country/fatherland). Taken together, these narratives of shared history and memory are central to his specific framing of a *nationalist* "collective identity" for diasporic Greeks—an identity which is "rooted" in a classical and unchanging image of Greece and Greek culture.

***Constructions of collective history: classical Greece and the diasporic imaginary***

Renee Hirschon notes that one of the ways to foster the creation of a national identity is through the re-casting of a shared common past, or collective history, with an emphasis on narratives of conflict, friction and violence (2003a: 10-11). This section, and the one following, examine the ways in which a collective nationalist vision of Greece "rooted" in collective historical narratives and collective memories (of destitution, trauma and exile) is formulated within the lyrics of BZ Jam.

The vision of Greece that BZ Jam constructs in his music is one in which Greece is forever frozen in time. The visual, musical and lyrical narratives employed by BZ Jam, when read in conjunction with one another, seek to represent Greece in classical terms where the "roots" of Greece and Western civilization are traced back to the classical period of ancient Greece. Many of the visual images he uses on his album covers reflect his preoccupation with framing Greece as the cradle of Western Civilization. For example, the image he uses on the cover of *Peace to Greece* is that of Ares, god of war,

who is a central figure in classical Greek mythology. The symbol of Integrity Records is the Parthenon, which is one of the most important surviving buildings of classical Greece—a symbol which is recognizable and is often used to symbolize both "Greekness" and Western Civilization more broadly. Finally, he uses the colours of the Greek flag as the colour scheme for both of his solo album covers. The album cover of *It Ain't Greek to me* (2000) is three bands of colour—a white band, blue band and white band (symbolizing the Greek flag) with words "BZ Jam" at the top left in black lettering, followed by the album title just below in smaller black lettering and ελληνικο (elliniko, or Greek) in large grey lettering just beneath (with a white background). The album cover of *My Big Phat Greek...* is a photo of BZ Jam in a hat, leather jacket, white dress shirt and jeans, holding a bouzouki case. In the background there is a sign which reads "Athens Cultural Club: Members Only." The photo is finished with a bluish grey tint, with white and black colouring. In the top left hand corner of the album are the words BZ Jam in white lettering, and just beneath are the words "Bouzouki hip hop." In both album covers, through references to the flag, the bouzouki, the use of Greek words and the members' only Athens cultural club sign, BZ Jam visually represents an image of "collective identity" for Greeks of the diaspora.

Musically, BZ Jam frames his music as "Greek music fused with the street rhythms of hip hop."[27] For BZ Jam, his music is traced first and foremost to Greek music, and only secondarily is it traced to the black and Latino cultural form known as hip hop. This marginalization of the roots of hip hop culture within his music is no coincidence,

[27] For further details please visit: http://www.myspace.com/bzjam

for although BZ Jam is using a black cultural form (rap music) in order to address members of the Greek diaspora, he is also actively involved in the erasure of the black roots of hip hop music. In many ways, BZ Jam is drawing upon what Jason Rodriguez (2006) identifies as a "color blind ideology" in order to justify his appropriation of a black cultural form for his own political ends. Color blind ideology allows BZ Jam to justify his place within hip hop by removing the racially coded meanings in hip hop culture (Rodriguez 2006: 645) so that he can utilize rap music for his own claims of authenticity.

Furthermore, his albums also increasingly rely on the use of the bouzouki as an aural signifier of "Greekness." For example, the most significant musical change in his albums is the greater reliance and incorporation of the bouzouki (played by Bouzouki George) in his songs. Whereas the use of the live bouzouki only appears in one track on *It Ain't Greek to me*, though it is also sampled in a few more tracks on the album, it becomes the definitive sound in *My Big Phat Greek...* appearing in nine of the eleven tracks. This is not surprising since this is the album where he defines his musical sound as "bouzouki hip hop." The bouzouki is employed to a greater or lesser degree on various tracks on *My Big Phat Greek...* and, unsurprisingly, it is very prevalent on tracks which specifically focus upon "Greekness" (be that Greek culture and history) such as on the "Hellenic Genocide," "Feta Funk" and "My Big Phat Greek." BZ Jam also sonically samples from Greek folk songs and rebetika songs. At the end of "My Big Phat Greek" there is a mini track that is reminiscent of rebetika music and belly dancing music (tsifteteli) of Greeks from Asia Minor. The inclusion of this track is no coincidence, since this track aurally traces his musical lineage back to the Μικρασιάτες of Asia Minor.

Also, the track entitled "Maria Dressed in Yellow" is a hip hop remake of a traditional Greek folk song, which has been sung by numerous artists including Haris Alexiou. When his visual and musical narratives are read in conjunction with his lyrical narratives, a very clearly defined vision of a collective identity for Greeks "outside of Greece" emerges.

Lyrically, the subject matter of BZ Jam's music complements his visual and musical narratives. For example, in the track "Feta Funk Freestyle" Featuring Sophia of Troy, he paints a verbal image of Greece and Greeks as the founders of the Western world:

> "Greek Peoples are the foundation,
> of life today and Western Civilization
> Can I get an ovation for my nation?
> Taken for granted, no appreciation"

This image of supremacy is reinforced by producing a long litany of activities (sports, Olympics, voting, democracy, politics, freedom of thought, etc.) which he argues are the result of Greek ingenuity and which are central to life in "the West." In addition, in "Celebrate your roots," all the references he makes to learning about his "roots" in Greek school are examples which are taken from ancient Greek history and mythology (e.g. the Iliad, the Parthenon, The Odyssey, Hercules, the Minotaur, etc.). Thus, the "foundation" of Western civilization is rooted in the myths and images of classical Greece. BZ Jam seeks to lay claim to this history by constructing a narrative of belonging among Greeks "outside of Greece" which connects them to this shared classical past. This narrative of belonging is accomplished in "Feta Funk Freestyle" by conflating the terms

"Greek peoples," "my peoples" and "my nation" wherein each distinct term is read as being synonymous with the other. By referring to Greece as "my nation" BZ Jam is actively claiming and creating a symbolic connection between classical Greece and the Greeks of the diaspora.

The reliance on classical narratives as the lynchpin of Greece as an 'imagined community' is no coincidence since it is only through recourse to the classical past that a collective sense of identity in the present can be created. Because of the changing character of contemporary Greece, through economic restructuring, regional differences, immigration, and other factors, Greece in the present moment does not provide a solid basis from which to construct a shared sense of collective identity for Greeks overseas. Since Greeks from the diaspora may not have any current knowledge of modern Greece, it is only by constructing an image of Greece that never changes and is homogenous in character, which allows collective narratives of belonging to be utilized for the purposes of creating a collective identity for Greeks "outside of Greece." It is much easier to lay claim to the myth of a classical Greek history of the past which never changes than the complex realities of Greece in the present.

The emphases on Hellenism and Classicism as the "roots" of Greek cultural identity are also found within other groups of the Greek diaspora. For example, as Yiorgos Anagnostou clearly illustrates, AHEPA (American Hellenic Educational Progressive Association) framed Greeks as the cultural descendants and inheritors of Classical Greece. In this sense, AHEPA's assimilationist politics played an instrumental role in inscribing immigrant Greek America into American "whiteness" (2004: 38).

Crucial to this Hellenic construction of Greek cultural identity in America was the construction of an intrinsic cultural and racial "whiteness" which naturalized the connection between Americanism and racial Hellenism (Anagnostou 2004: 46). BZ Jam's music contributes to these larger cultural debates about the nature of Greek cultural identity by promoting a vision of Greekness which is rooted in Western understandings of Greek culture.

Ultimately, it is only when Greece as fatherland or patrida (πατρίδα) is represented in classical terms which allows BZ Jam to refer to Greece as "my nation" and Sophia of Troy to refer to the people of Greece as "my peoples" in "Feta Funk Freestyle." Greece as "the nation" of diaspora Greeks is possible only if the "roots" of "authentic Greekness" are located within the classical past and a sanitized and homogenous vision of "Greekness" is represented as the basis of a collective identity for diasporic Greeks. Greece is represented in sanitized and homogenous terms because the differences among Greeks in contemporary Greece are elided and the complex history of dialogue and cultural exchange between Greece and Turkey (an exchange which is evident in the shared customs, foods, music, etc. of these two countries) is erased. Thus, the formation of a *nationalist* collective identity for diasporic Greeks is contingent upon creating a shared sense of collective history, and this shared collective history is only possible through recourse to the myth of an imagined classical past.

***Constructions of collective memory: narratives of destitution, exile and ξενιτιά***

The second element in BZ Jam's construction of a collective identity for diasporic Greeks is the way in which he makes implicit connections between certain events in Greek history and in his own personal history (which resonates for many diasporic Greeks) in order to create a shared sense of collective memory. As George Lipsitz notes, music may be seen "as a part of collective historical memory and continuing social dialogue" (1990: 107). Specifically, BZ Jam is using his music to construct a shared sense of collective historical memory among Greeks outside of Greece by assembling certain narratives of trauma and exile within his musical works.

There are two interrelated narratives of collective memory which play a central role in his shaping of a collective identity for diasporic Greeks. The first narrative focuses on the re-creation of a *collective memory of trauma* in the song "Hellenic Genocide" (2005). The second narrative focuses on the re-creation of a *collective memory of ξενιτιά*, which means to sojourn in foreign parts with a certain longing for the homeland (Clogg, 1999: 17), in the song "Tower of Babel I." When read in conjunction with one another, these narratives illustrate how destitution and exile are framed as constitutive elements of BZ Jam's vision of a collective identity for Greeks "outside of Greece" and his vision of a "Greater Greece."

BZ Jam constructs a collective memory of trauma on the track "Hellenic Genocide." The term "Hellenic Genocide" is one which is politically charged and needs to be unpacked. First, the use of the term "Hellenic" and the reference to "Hellenes" within the song is significant. As Michael Herzfeld notes, the use of "Hellene" instead of

"Greek" as a self identifier is closely related to nationalist sentiments within Greece which emphasize continuity between Greece and its ancient past. The idea of "Hellenism" is an imaginary construction upon which the structure of the Greek nation state is built. He further notes that Hellenism as an idea began in the early nineteenth century, when European intellectuals sought to make connections to a historical past which had few documented historical associations with contemporary Greek populations (Herzfeld, quoted in Panagakos, 1998: 60). Therefore, when BZ Jam refers to certain historical events as a "Hellenic Genocide" he is reinforcing the continuities between modern Greece and ancient (classical) Greece.

Second, BZ Jam is specifically using the term genocide in reference to the forced relocation of Greeks in Constantinople (Istanbul), Eastern Thrace (Northwestern Turkey), Pontos (Trabzon province) and Smyrna (Izmir).[28] The forced relocation of Greeks in Asia Minor was the result of a failed Allied-supported military incursion by Greece into the Ottoman Empire. This forced migration of Muslim and Christian populations, both in Greece and Turkey respectively, was a stipulation of the Lausanne Convention of 1923.[29] In 1999, attempts were made by the Greek government, through presidential decree, to establish September 14 as "a remembrance day for the 'genocide' of Asia Minor Greeks at the hands of Turkish forces." But this decree was withdrawn in 2001 due to pressures from Turkey, the international community and "commitments arising from the 1948

[28] BZ Jam employs the Greek versions of all these terms in the song "Hellenic Genocide."
[29] One of the outcomes of the Greco-Turkish War of 1919-1922 was the creation of the Turkish Nation State, and this paper will use the term Turkish as well as Ottoman in reference to the events in Asia Minor.

treaties drafted by the United Nations and signed by Greece."[30] These historical events were not recognized as genocide by academic scholars in North America until quite recently. In December 2007, the International Association of Genocide Scholars (IAGC) passed a resolution with the support of eighty three percent of the members who voted which declares that "it is the conviction of the International Association of Genocide Scholars that the Ottoman campaign against Christian minorities of the Empire between 1914 and 1923 constituted a genocide against Armenians, Assyrians, and Pontian and Anatolian Greeks." It "calls upon the government of Turkey to acknowledge the genocides against these populations, to issue a formal apology, and to take prompt and meaningful steps toward restitution."

Therefore, BZ Jam's song, "Hellenic Genocide" should be read as a nationalist attempt at re-constructing a series of violent expulsions of Greeks from Constantinople (Istanbul), Eastern Thrace (Northwestern Turkey), Pontos (Trabzon province) and Smyrna (Izmir), by the Ottoman Empire which eventually became the Turkish State, as a collective event labeled by BZ Jam as the "Hellenic Genocide."[31] The song paints a gruesome picture of massacre, torture, ethnic cleansing and exterminations of these specific Greek populations of the Ottoman Empire.

> "The devil himself butchered my forefathers
> The red soil you live on represents them as martyrs
> Robbed and looted, raped and pillaged
> The devil himself massacred the village"

[30] This information is from the Athens News Agency and it is posted on the Hellenic Republic Embassy of Greece web site.
http://www.greekembassy.org/Embassy/content/en/Article.aspx?office=3&folder=319&article=7937

[31] On the Integrity Records web site (http://www.bzjam.com/) there is a link that takes visitors to a non academic web site dedicated to the Hellenic Genocide (http://www.hellenicgenocide.org/). This is the web site that acted as the basis for BZ Jam's discussions about the "Hellenic Genocide."

BZ Jam also provides the listener with the warning that the Greek people are strong ("we a unique breed") and although they may forgive this "bloodshed" they will never forget it.

What is central in this particular song is that BZ Jam is using the real experiences of Greeks[32] living in Asia Minor and other parts of the Ottoman empire, who were killed or exiled during this period, and that he is re-presenting these events in terms of a collective trauma suffered by all Greeks (even though many of these same people were marginalized and persecuted within Greece upon their arrival). In this representation, the differences—such as significant language and cultural differences—between the Greeks who were exiled from their homelands and the "natives" of Greece are glossed over in order to construct a collective narrative of trauma and destitution. As Richard Clogg notes, after the 'catastrophe' in Asia minor and the exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey, there were many tensions between the locals of Greece and the Anatolian (and other) Greek refugees. Many of the refugees spoke only Turkish, or a dialect of Greek (those from the Pontos region) and they encountered considerable prejudice from the natives of Greece. In addition, many of the Greeks from Anatolia (specifically from larger cities such as Smyrna) looked down upon the natives of Greece, whom they believed were old fashioned in their customs (Clogg 1992: 101). In other words, there were very real differences among these groups of peoples that cannot be elided.

[32] It is important to remember that at this time there were many ethnic Greeks who spoke Turkish, Turks who were Christian, etc (Clogg, 1992: 48). The boundaries of ethnic identity were much more complex than present day constructions of certain historical events would lead us to believe.

However, in order to understand why these events resonate in collective terms, some historical background for the period BZ Jam is rapping about is in order. One of the most significant events to occur during this particular period in Greece's history, was the demise of the "Megali Idea" or "Great Idea" which was a political vision of irredentism that sought to unite within the bounds of a single state, whose capital would be Constantinople, all the areas of Greek settlement in the Near East (Clogg, 1992: 46-47). The Greco–Turkish War of 1919–1922, also known as the "Asia Minor Catastrophe" (for Greeks) or the "Turkish War of Independence (for Turks) was initiated by the pro-Allied Prime Minister of Greece, Eleftherios Venizelos, as part of the expansionist dream of the "Megali Idea" and the creation of a "Greater Greece" (Hirschon, 2003a, 4-5). It was this war which resulted "...in the defeat of the Greek army and in the subsequent violent expatriation of more than 1 million Greeks from Asia Minor and hundreds of thousands of Muslims from Greece" (Laliotou, 2005: 87). Most importantly, this military defeat also brought an end to the "Megali Idea" as a valid political vision (Laliotou, 2005: 87).

This historical period is significant not only because it resulted in the loss of certain lands that were seen as being part of "Greater Greece," but also because it resulted in the downfall of the nationalist vision of a "Greater Greece." Therefore, the expatriations which BZ Jam raps about in "Hellenic Genocide" both represented the loss of geographical space of certain lands which had often been co-occupied by Greeks for centuries, and the symbolic demise of the psychical space of the idea of "Greater Greece." In this sense, the "Hellenic Genocide" of Greece which BZ Jam speaks of was not only a

physical (through the death of people) but symbolic (through the death of the vision of "Greater Greece") defeat in the eyes of many Greeks.

After the Greco-Turkish war, the Treaty of Lausanne was signed, and one of the key stipulations of the treaty was the mandatory exchange of populations between Greece and Turkey (an exchange which was based on religion, rather than language or 'national consciousness') (Clogg, 1992: 99). As Richard Clogg notes, "this had some anomalous consequences, for just as many of the Orthodox Christians of Asia Minor were Turkish speaking, so many of the Muslims of Greece, and particularly of Crete, were Greek speaking" (1992: 99). Thus, there were a significant number of refugees from Asia Minor who did not speak Greek and there were many tensions between Μικρασιάτες (Greeks/Turks from Asia Minor) and ντόπιοι (locals/natives) of Greece. For example, many of the Greeks from Asia Minor were referred to in pejorative terms such as τουρκόσποροι (Turkish Seeds), γιαούρτο-βαφτισμένοι (baptized in yogurt) and ανατολίτες (Anatolians/Orientals) (Hirschon, 2003b: 19). Nicholas G. Pappas notes that the strains between the Greek speaking Μικρασιάτες and ντόπιοι were so polarized during this period that the Μικρασιάτες were referred to as an "...Anatolian corruption of Greekness, a Turkofied version of themselves, polluted by Turkish language, Levantine Mercantilism, and oriental customs..." (1999: 3). Yet these concrete social divisions and tensions between the Μικρασιάτες and the ντόπιοι are removed from BZ Jam's representation of the "Hellenic Genocide."

Thus, BZ Jam's reconstruction of the "Hellenic Genocide" de-contextualizes these specific historical events (by eliding the differences among exiles from Asian Minor and

elsewhere and natives of Greece) and re-contextualizes them in terms of a collective narrative of trauma for all Greeks (all Greeks suffered equally during these events). In essence, in order for this narrative of collective trauma to be assembled as part of his narrative of "collective belonging" for Greeks "outside of Greece," BZ Jam must erase the "asymmetric social relations" (Anthias, 2001: 626) between exiles from Asia Minor and the local inhabitants of Greece. By doing this, there is a metonymic slip in his works, wherein the trauma suffered by the Greeks of Asian Minor is reframed as a collective trauma which is suffered by all Greeks.

The historical context of the "Hellenic Genocide" and the way in which BZ Jam frames these events is central to understanding BZ Jam's vision of a collective identity for diaspora Greeks. Ultimately, BZ Jam is representing his own vision of a "Greater Greece" in his song lyrics—a "Greater Greece" which is founded on a sense of collective trauma. Though he is not advocating the physical reclamation of lands lost during this period, he is advocating a nationalist vision of "Greater Greece" which is based on shared collective history and memory (both of which have been stripped of difference). However, BZ Jam's vision of a "Greater Greece" is being constructed not in terms of the enlargement of physical geographical borders and boundaries, but in terms of the creation of a diasporic nationalism and the creation of a collective identity for Greeks "outside of Greece," which is not based on geographical boundaries. This vision of "Greater Greece" is part of the diasporic imaginary and for BZ Jam it is a necessary construct for Greeks in the diaspora as it provides them with shared image of πατρίδα upon which his versioning of a collective identity is based.

BZ Jam is constructing a very specific image of πατρίδα, one which is classical in character and embedded in the collective narratives of exile, destitution and trauma. BZ Jam's emphasis on exile, destitution and trauma as constitutive features of a collective identity is not coincidental as these narratives resonate with the experiences of many diasporic Greeks. These narratives resonate because they mirror immigrants' own experiences of ξενιτιά (sojourn into foreign parts with a longing for the homeland). Thus, the emphasis on the collective exile and destitution of Greeks in "Hellenic Genocide" is significant because it parallels the individual exile and destitution of Greeks immigrating to Canada in the track "Tower of Babel 1" (2000).

When "Tower of Babel I" (2000) is read in conjunction with the "Hellenic Genocide" there are certain equivalences in his representations of the expatriations of Greeks and the immigration of his parents to Canada. Crucially, the exile that helped constitute the geographical boundaries of "the Greek nation" (through the "Hellenic Genocide" and the death of the "Megali Idea"), is mirrored in the constitutive exile of diasporic Greeks overseas and the creation of a new vision of "Greater Greece." The demise of the geographical vision of a "Greater Greece" (in "Hellenic Genocide") is resurrected in the creation of a symbolic "Greater Greece" in the imaginations of the Greeks of the diaspora (in "Tower of Babel I").

"Tower of Babel I" is a track which features numerous ethnic rappers rapping verses in their own native languages (Greek, English, Italian, Armenian, etc.). BZ Jam raps his verse in Greek, and in his verse he paints a very familiar picture of immigration,

wherein his parents leave Greece for financial reasons in order to come overseas to "the land of honey" and wealth in hopes of a better life.

> "Μετανάστες οι γονείς, αφηναν τα χωριά
> Για καλύτερη ζωή, και να ξεφύγουν την φτωχιά
> Μες τα βαπόρια 'μπεναν, αθλοι και μόνοι
> Με προσευχή να φτάσουν, σε αυτοί τι χώρα που σώνει
> America οι χώρα του μέλι"[33]

His verse chronicles their journey from their villages, to the steam boats which brought them finally to America. In his verse he talks of his parent's industriousness, sacrifice and hard work and he also contrasts the myth of North America (as seen through the eyes of immigrants, as the "land of honey") with the harsh realities his parents experienced in Canada (having their long names cut short to sound more like those of the locals).

The central feature of his parent's experience overseas is their experience of ξενιτιά and the possession of two πατρίδες. Similar to many Asia Minor Greeks, Greek-Canadians possess a dual understanding of identity based on having two "homelands." BZ Jam outlines how his parents, through the process of immigration, came to experience their sense of identity differently as they now saw themselves living in one country but being of another. This experience of ξενιτιά resulted in the construction of a different sense of collective identity—an identity still "rooted" in Greece through a longing for the homeland, but an identity also "routed" in Canada as a result of immigration.[34] It is precisely this duality of being which is seminal to BZ Jam's notion of a collective

[33] "Immigrant parents, left their villages
For a better life, to leave poverty
They got into boats, miserable and alone
With a prayer to reach, the land that saves
America the land of honey"

[34] The terms "rooted/routed" are used by James Clifford in his article "Diasporas" (1994).

identity. His is a vision of Greekness which is not rooted in geographical belonging, but one which is routed in a shared identity based on constructed narratives of *collective history* (of classical Greece) and *collective memory* (of exile, destitution, trauma and ξενιτιά) which transcends geographical borders.

However, what is most peculiar about BZ Jam's construction of a collective sense of belonging among diasporic Greeks is that instead of emphasizing the very real histories of exile and immigration of Greeks of the diaspora in the 19th and 20th centuries (to Canada, the United States, Australia, Egypt, etc.) as the basis for a construction of collective identity (an emphasis on "routes"), BZ Jam constructs a collective sense of belonging among diasporic Greeks by fashioning a collective history and memory with a direct lineage to Greece (an emphasis on "roots"). So, even though his construction of a collective identity for diasporic Greeks is "routed" overseas and is not bounded within a geographical territory, it is nonetheless "rooted" in the narratives of a Hellenistic conception of Greece which incorporates elements of classicism, exile, destitution and ξενιτιά.

**"Deep inside we all Greek": the contours and contradictions of being Greek and Canadian**

BZ Jam's vision of "Greekness," which is central to his construction of a collective identity for Greeks "outside of Greece," is a vision in which versions of Greece as a Hellenistic πατρίδα are embedded in collective narratives of classicism, exile, destitution and ξενιτιά. This section examines the ways in which this notion of "Greekness" is incorporated into his construction of an identity which is simultaneously Greek and

Canadian (Greek-Canadian). However, instead of framing Greek-Canadian identity in binary terms, as a hyphenated relationship between Greece and Canada, Greek-Canadian identity is examined through local, national and transnational narratives that are more reflective of the diversity of Greek diasporic communities. Whereas the previous section examined the ways in which BZ Jam constructed transnational diasporic narratives of Greekness for Greeks "outside of Greece," this section examines the ways in which BZ Jam uses local and national narratives in order to delineate the biological, performative and geographical requirements of who can and cannot claim a Greek-Canadian identity. Before these connections between being Greek and Canadian can be outlined, however, one must first understand how BZ Jam conceives of "Canadianness" since this plays a role in his views of Greek-Canadian identity. Specifically, how is Canadian identity conceptualized within his music? What is the relationship between Greek identity and Canadian identity?

In his songs, BZ Jam does not directly discuss Canada or Canadian identity at any length. However, The Stunt Man, who is actively involved in the production, mixing and mastering of BZ Jam's CDs, raps about being Canadian on the track "Tower of Babel II." In this track, Canadian identity is framed as being synonymous with the cultural signifiers of maple syrup, coffee, donuts and marijuana and the biological signifier of his blood which is a "mix of like half of Europe." This definition of "Canadianness" is one which frames Canada in ethnically homogenous terms (Canadians are the descendants of English-speaking Europeans), thereby erasing First Nations peoples, Francophone Canadians, and the diverse multiracial, multicultural, and multiethnic composition of

Canada. Similar to BZ Jam's versioning of Greeks in homogenous terms as classical Hellenes, Stunt Man views Canadians as descendants of Europeans which erases differences among Canadian peoples.

To be sure, there are some concrete instances when Canada and Canadian identity is discussed within BZ Jam's lyrics, but it is almost always in reference to simultaneously being Greek. In other words, Canadian identity is important only in as much as it illuminates the tensions of diasporic identity and difference—"Canadianness" acts as the binary against which "Greekness" is constructed. For example, the tensions between being Greek and Canadian are outlined in his experiences of growing up in Canada. As BZ Jam notes on the track "Celebrate your roots" (2005), as a young child he was "a little messed up" because of having to negotiate the relationship between his Greek background and being born in English-speaking Canada.

> "Juggling home and school, school and home
> I was two people yet I felt alone
> ...
> Two forces pulling at me, different directions"

BZ Jam reconciles these tensions by telling the listener that it is possible for two cultures (Greek and Canadian) to "co-exist" and "intertwine." This co-existence is accomplished in his lyrics by Greek ethnic identity being re-constructed as national identity. This is most apparent on the track "Feta Funk" where Greece, not Canada, is referred to as "my nation" by BZ Jam. BZ Jam constructs Greek-Canadian identity as authentically Greek by drawing upon biological, performative and geographical narratives in order to claim a national sense of belonging with Greece.

BZ Jam uses *biological narratives*, such as racial and gender differences, as central components in his construction of a biological basis for Greek-Canadian identity. Racial differences are emphasized on the track "It ain't Greek to me" (2000). In this track, BZ Jam seeks to emphasize the differences of Greek-Canadians from both "blacks" (μαύροι) and "whites" (άσπροι).

> "Οι μαύροι με κοιτάνε γιατί άσπρος σαν και μένα κάνει μαύρη μουσικοί
> Με την πρώτη που με βλέπουν με φωνάζουνε βανίλια
> ...
> Οι άσπροι με κοιτάνε και στο νόημα δεν μπαίνουν
> Τα λόγια που μιλώ δεν πολύ καταλαβαίνουν"[35]

According to BZ Jam, blacks do not understand why he insists on performing "black music" and whites do not understand him because they do not speak Greek. In both instances, he argues that these two groups are not forward thinking in their approach to rap music. The chorus, which is in English, notes that though his rapping may sound "all Greek to you" (meaning that it makes no sense), the quick retort is that "it ain't Greek to me."

In this track, BZ Jam is positioning Greek identity as "in between" black identity and white identity. By framing Greek identity as ethnic, not white, he is trying to authenticate himself as a Greek-Canadian rapper in the Vancouver hip hop scene. In essence, BZ Jam is using his Greekness to lay claim to hip hop culture. However, in doing so, BZ Jam is erasing the privileges of white ethnicity. For although Greek cultural

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[35] "Black people look at me and ask why a white guy like myself is making Black music
As soon as they see me they call me vanilla
...
White people look at me and they don't know the meaning
The words that I speak they don't really understand"

identity was historically framed as not quite white or 'other' (similar to other white ethnicities, such as Irish and Italian), currently within North America (in the United States and Canada) there are important differences between European ethnicities and groups racialized as "non white." In other words, it is not possible to neglect the racial privileges enjoyed collectively by Greeks who are white ethnics (Anagnostou 2009: 4). By framing Greek-Canadians as neither black nor white but Greek BZ Jam seeks to authenticate Greek diasporic belonging at the expense of erasing racial difference.

Essentialized gender differences are also central to BZ Jam's representation of a Greek-Canadian identity. The track "My Big Phat Greek..." (2005), which signifies on the blockbuster film written by Nia Vardalos "My Big Fat Greek Wedding, is rapped in Greek, and in this song he outlines the role of women in Greek-Canadian communities. Central to this prescription for women is their place as part of the hetero-normative institution of marriage. The song outlines the "type" of woman a Greek-Canadian man should marry.

> "Βρες την, πάντρεψ' την και φάε ένα λουκούμι
> Η νύφη να είναι όμορφη και μυρωδιά λουλούδι
> Να'χει μια κορμαρα και τρυφερό το booty
> Να'χει καλή δουλειά και νοικοκυρά στο σπίτι
> ...
> Να πλένει, να ράβει, και να ξέρει το cooking
> Αλλιώς πως θα τρωμε όλο hotdog και στο Goody's"[36]

[36] "Find her, marry her and eat a loukoumi [Turkish/Greek dessert]
A wife should be beautiful and smell like a flower
She should have a body and a really nice booty
She should have a good job and she should also be a housewife
...
She should wash, sew and know how to cook
Otherwise, what would we be eating, always hot dogs and Goody's [fast food chain in Greece]"

Her qualifications should include a woman who is Greek (and speaks Greek), is beautiful, has a good job, washes, sews, cooks, cleans, does not stay out at night and does not ask for money. Should she be so bold as to ask for money "θα φαΐ φάπα, σφαλιάρα και χαστούκι," meaning she will be smacked, slapped and punched. Therefore, not only are Greek-Canadians fundamentally different from other racial groups (blacks and whites), but they must also maintain these racial differences by marrying other Greeks (presumably having Greek babies) thereby "keep[ing] the Greek culture alive for generations to come."

The affinities between BZ Jam's conceptualizations of diasporic identity (in this case, Greek-Canadian identity) and reified views of Greek 'diasporic nationalism' (Lie 2001) (in this case, his view of "the Greek culture") should not be surprising. This is because diasporic imagining and diasporic struggles have historically played a central role in national development (Lie 2001: 360). The role of women, and in particular women's bodies, in these national struggles has been particularly crucial. This is because women's reproductive capabilities have historically contributed to women being framed as the biological reproducers of 'the nation' (Yuval-Davis 1997: 37). This is certainly true for BZ Jam, since Greek women are central to the transmission and maintenance of his monolithic conceptualization of "the Greek culture."

There are also *performative narratives* of belonging, centered on the use of language, in BZ Jam's music. As Andy Bennett notes, there is a cultural significance attached to the language in which lyrics are sung. Thus, language itself should be viewed as a primary means through which the meaning of popular music is interpreted (Bennett,

1999: 82, 86). BZ Jam's songs consist of Greek, English and Gringlish (a hybrid between Greek and English) lyrics. He often slips in and out of Greek and English in the same song, though he also has whole songs which are rapped in either Greek or English. Rapping in Greek is significant because it creates a shared sense of belonging with Greece (the "homeland"), and it also creates a shared sense of belonging among geographically dispersed Greeks of the diaspora (through a shared common language).

BZ Jam also explicitly discusses the cultural significance of the Greek language on the tracks "It ain't Greek to me," the title of which signifies on the saying "it's all Greek to me" (meaning incomprehensible) and "Celebrate your roots." Both songs emphasize the importance of speaking Greek as a way of maintaining your Greek cultural heritage. Therefore, not only does the content of his songs emphasize the role of the Greek language in maintaining your Greek "roots," but the form of his songs, many of which are in Greek, are also a means through which the centrality of the Greek language is reinforced. However, his specific use of English words amidst Greek lyrics situates his music as an explicitly diasporic cultural production. For example, in "My Big Phat Greek...," which is predominantly in rapped in Greek, he nonetheless uses the English and anglicized Japanese words Suzuki, booty, Goody's (name of a Greek fast food chain), Kawasaki, Japanese, sushi, sake, Bill, Billy and hockey, among others. So although the importance of the Greek language is emphasized, his positioning as a member of the Greek diaspora is also fore grounded.

Finally, Greek-Canadian identity is also constructed using *geographical narratives* of belonging. For example, in terms of his own self conception, BZ Jam

frames his identity in terms of being a Greek "outside of Greece." For example, he frames himself as "livin' Greek, livin' on the outside," on the track "Transistor" (2005) and he also frames himself as representing Greeks on the outside (of Greece), on the track "Gangsta" (2005). However, even though one is a Greek who is living on the outside, one must be able to trace one's Greek lineage back to Greece. On *Peace to Greece, Volume I*, his compilation album of "the best Greek rappers outside of Greece," in the liner notes, each rapper lists "city reppin" (the city they currently reside in and represent) and "Greek origin" (their Greek lineage).

So, although on the track "Transistor" Featuring Jessikah, BZ Jam claims that "deep inside we all Greek," there are serious limitations as to who can claim this identity within Canada, since it appears to be restricted to first generation Greeks whose parents are both of Greek origin (biological), who speak Greek (performative) and who can trace their Greek lineage back to a specific location in Greece (geographical). This specific model of cultural transmission, which is based on biological, performative and geographical criteria of "Greekness," erases and homogenizes differences between various Greeks within diasporic communities across lines of gender, race and national origin (Lowe, 2003: 132). It also relegates women to a secondary position, where their primary duties involve the safeguarding of an outdated and gendered notion of "Greekness" in the private sphere. Ultimately, this construction of what it means to be Greek-Canadian leaves no room to explore different transmutations and configurations of being Greek, such as simultaneously possessing multiple ethnicities and identifications. This is an understanding of diasporic identity, though hybrid in nature, which when

critically examined illustrates the ways in which alienation, exclusion and difference (Anthias, 2001: 631) are central features of diasporic belonging (or non-belonging).

However, BZ Jam's claims of "Greekness" are not unchallenged. For example, the ability to be simultaneously Greek and Canadian, even in the stringent terms set out by BZ Jam, is deeply contested by some Greeks who live in Greece. In "Tower of Babel II" (2005), BZ Jam is forced "to choose" between Canada and Greece when he is asked by people in Greece if Greece is better than Canada. In this instance, there is no co-existence since a choice must be made. BZ Jam likens this "choice" to asking a mother who has two children to choose which one she prefers (a choice which for him is impossible).

> "Όταν ήμουνα μικρός, ξερ'σ πιτσιρικάς,
> Καναδά-Ελλάδα, Ελλάδα-Καναδάς
> «πούνε ποιο καλύτερα, Ελλάδα η έξω;»
> όλοι με ρωτάγανε και θελαν να διαλέξω
> είναι σαν την μάνα που έχει δυο παιδιά
> δεν διαλέγει ένα, τα έχει ίδια στην καρδιά"[37]

However, later in the song, he notes that within Greece this "choice" has already been made for him by locals who refer to him as an "αμερικάνο" (American) and who gossip about him behind his back.

In this context, his Canadianness (being Canadian, which is equated with being American) is more salient than his ethnicity. Regardless of how hard he tries to claim

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[37] "When I was small, you know really small
Canada-Greece, Greece-Canada
"Where is it better, Greece or outside?"
Everyone would ask me and they would want me to choose
It is like the mother who has two children
She does not choose one, she has them both in her heart"

"Greekness," he will never be Greek enough in Greece. In other words, although his music "ain't Greek to him" in the sense that Greek is not a foreign language, it still "sounds Greek to others" in the sense that non-Greek Canadians are not able to understand it, and it is "not Greek enough to others" since Greeks in Greece challenge his self-definition as Greek. So, although he sees himself as both Greek and Canadian, his claim of possessing a Greek identity is contingent on social context. While in Greece his self-definition as "Greek" is challenged by Greeks who label him as a foreigner. Therefore, the ability of BZ Jam to claim "Greekness" as the defining feature of Greek-Canadian identity is conditional on his ability to cultivate a sense of "authentic Greekness" which is not reliant on nativist definitions of "Greekness."

**"It Ain't Greek to Me": Greek cultural identity and cultural reception**

Having outlined BZ Jam's vision of a collective identity for Greeks of the diaspora, this section provides insights into the cultural reception of his works. Four different responses to BZ Jam's work will be examined: a Greek-Australian, a Greek from Greece living in the United States, a Greek-American and a Greek in Greece.

First, there are those who take the music of BZ Jam as the basis for their own nationalist definition of Greek diasporic identity. In 2005, in an online chat group of diasporic Greeks living in Australia, one commenter uses BZ Jam's song "Hellenic Genocide" in order to support his own nationalist vision of Greece which includes a justification for the invasion of Istanbul:

> "United, World-wide, never-surrendering, Hellenic Warriors armed with American Nukes and Stealth Bombers, pumping BZJam's Hellenic Genocide,

> while driving our Hummers with M60s mounted on the back, heading towards Konstantinople. Just like Kolokotronis pointing to Tripoli!!"[38]

This commenter uses the music of BZ Jam as the basis for his own construction of what it means to be Greek. "Greekness" is defined in terms of military expansionism, war and aggression. This particular ultra-nationalist vision of diasporic nationalism goes well beyond the sentiments of BZ Jam and arguably takes the music of BZ Jam in a direction beyond its original intent. However, what is of critical importance is that this commenter agrees with BZ Jam's vision of diasporic belonging and argues that "we" (presumably Greeks of the diaspora and of Greece) need to put into practice some of the tenets of the Megali Idea.

Second, there are those who argue that BZ Jam's music, and specifically the track "Hellenic Genocide" is not "authentic" or truly Greek enough. As one blogger notes, the track is "thoroughly odious...to the memory of our slain ancestors. Truly, every day there is yet but another reason to be ashamed of our country-men. Alas, if only these "Greek"-Canadians (and "Greek"-Americans, for that matter) would completely assimilate so that they could no longer shame us."[39] In a racist diatribe against African American cultures, he further argues that he would rather no one know about the "Hellenic Genocide" than have people know about it through the music of an "inferior culture" which is "repulsive." Contrary to the Greek Australian commenter who wanted to take BZ Jam' song and use it as a springboard in formulating his own ultra-nationalist vision, this blogger views BZ Jam, and Greek-Canadians who create and listen to rap music as being "inauthentic"

[38] http://ausgreek.9.forumer.com/a/bz-jam_post687.html
[39] http://hellenicnationalist.blogspot.com/2005/09/song-titled-hellenic-genocide.html

Greeks. Greek-Canadians and Greek-Americans are not Greek (one of "us") because their cultural productions draw upon African American cultural forms. For this blogger, both the content and the form of BZ Jam's music negates BZ Jam's claims of creating a Greek cultural identity for Greeks of the diaspora.

Third, there are those who identify with BZ Jam, not because of his nationalist vision of a Greece "outside of Greece" but, because as Greeks of the diaspora they too have experienced the dislocation of being from one place and of another. In an online article written about global hip hop, Angela Kariotis, a Greek-American writer, performer, scholar, and educator, notes that she relates to BZ Jam for two very important reasons. First, she identifies with him because he cogently addresses the tensions of being from two places at once. This is important for her "because so many here and around the world have become hyphenated, halved, with one foot in two sides, we have had to negotiate being from one place and living in another..." Second, she also identifies with BZ Jam because when she heard his music she realized that she "wasn't the only working class Greek kid living in Hip Hop."[40] This third response to BZ Jam is drastically different from the first two responses, as it offers a definition of Greekness which is "routed" in difference, instead of one which is ultra nationalist, nativist and exclusionary.

Fourth, there is a poignant review of BZ Jam's album *My Big Phat Greek...*(2005) on Hip Hop Greece (www.hiphop.gr). In this review, Dimitris Litsikakis, one of the founders of Hip Hop Greece, summarizes BZ Jam's album in the following manner:

[40]http://www.angelakariotis.com/index.php?mact=News,cntnt01,detail,0&cntnt01articleid=6&cntnt01detailtemplate=Details-CC&cntnt01returnid=64

> "Τελικά υπάρχουν κάποιοι άνθρωποι που παραμένουν **προσηλωμένοι στις ρίζες τους**. Οι ρίζες του BZ Jam είναι ελληνικές και με όχημα το hip-hop εκπροσωπεί όλους τους έλληνες του εξωτερικού, μιλώντας για πράγματα που μόνο ένας έλληνας θα καταλάβαινε. Η εθνική ταυτότητα του rapper είναι πολύ έντονη και αυτό είτε θα ενθουσιάσει όσους νιώθουν 100% έλληνες είτε θα απογοητεύσει αυτούς που δεν αντέχουν να ακούν συνέχεια για Ελλάδα."
>
> "In the end, there are some people who remain **fixated on their roots**. The roots for BZ Jam are Greek and with hip hop as his vehicle he represents all of the Greeks in foreign lands, speaking about things that only a Greek can understand. The national identity of this rapper is very strong and that will either provide enthusiasm for those who feel 100% Greek or it will disappoint those who cannot stand to constantly hear about Greece."

According to Litsikakis, BZ Jam is a nationalist rapper who is fixated on his Greek roots and who represents Greeks who are living in foreign lands. However, for Litsikakis, there is no doubt that BZ Jam is Greek. BZ Jam may speak for Greeks in foreign lands, but he nonetheless possesses a strong nationalist Greek identity. Contrary to the previous Greek blogger who questioned BZ Jam's Greekness, Litsikakis warns that BZ Jam's music might be too Greek for those who are not Greek nationalists.

Though each of the comments about BZ Jam is very different in terms of their scope and intent, they are remarkably similar in that they each provide insights into the boundaries and tensions of Greek cultural identity. These comments also illustrate how the struggle over Greek cultural identity is politically charged. BZ Jam is simultaneously used to promote an *ultra nationalist vision of Greek cultural identity* (Australian commenter) and a *vision of Greek cultural identity routed in difference* (Angela Kariotis). BZ Jam is also simultaneously framed as *not being Greek enough* (Greek blogger) and as *being too Greek* (Dimitris Litsikakis). These responses to his work illustrate a number of tensions which run throughout BZ Jam's work and which will be addressed in the

conclusion. Ironically, these responses to BZ Jam's music also reveal the heterogeneity of the Greek diaspora which resists speaking as a single voice, even when commenting on the music of BZ Jam, an artist whose music seeks to invoke such a voice.

**Conclusion**

Past Bourdieusian inspired examinations of identity have focused on the dispositional aspects of identity, those aspects which unconsciously shape our actions (Bottero 2010; Lawler 2004; McNay 2004). This chapter has illustrated that it is also possible to use Bourdieu to focus on, first, the strategic and reflexive deployment of identity within a social field framework, and, second, the significance of representational aspects of identity in the field of cultural production. It illustrates the importance of reflexivity and representation in the strategic deployment of identity within the cultural field.

According to Yiorgos Anagnostou, the uses of ethnic memories and representations are never innocuous or neutral. They serve specific interests and work as powerful mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion" (Anagnostou 2004: 52). In this instance, BZ Jam is using collective history and collective memory in his song lyrics in order to accomplish two tasks. First, he is using Greekness in order to authenticate his position within the Vancouver hip hop scene. In constructing himself as neither black nor white, he is using Greek cultural identity as a resource in his struggle for recognition within hip hop culture. By claiming Greekness while negating whiteness, he is deploying his ethnic identity as a strategy for claiming cultural legitimacy within the popular music

field. Second, he is using his music in order to authenticate Greek-Canadian identity in particular and Greek diasporic identity more broadly. As neither Greek nor Canadian, he is using his music in order to promote his vision of a collective identity for "Greeks outside of Greece." Music is used as a resource in his struggle for recognition within Greek culture and for recognition within broader debates about Greek cultural identity.

The findings of this case study are widely applicable. Struggles over identity are central to all social fields and are present within academia, journalism, art, literature, to name only a few examples. The field of cultural production is an excellent model from which to draw in explaining how cultural identity operates as a reflexive resource which is struggled over (e.g. Greekness is differentially defined by various people within Greek communities in Greece and overseas) and as a dispositional reality that resists challenge (e.g. claims of Greekness are assessed differently by Greeks who are born in Greece vs. Greeks who are born overseas). The strength of using a field theory approach in the examination of cultural identity is that it illustrates both the dispositional and reflexive aspects of cultural identity and how these two aspects are negotiated in practice. Identity in this framework is both an outcome of practice (the result of dispositions) and a resource for practice (the result of reflexivity).

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# Chapter 8

# Conclusion

## Introduction

The overall intention of this dissertation has been to illustrate how black popular music genres (namely rap music and hip hop culture) can offer important revisions and contributions to Bourdieu's theories of cultural production. Towards this end, this dissertation has focused on the practices, discourses and representations employed by black popular music makers and hip hop practitioners in order to legitimate black popular music forms within the field of cultural production. Chapter 5, which focused on black popular music makers in Toronto, Canada, illustrated how the concept of *location* can contribute to more nuanced understandings of how strategies of legitimation are enacted within the black popular music field. Chapter 6, which focused on hip hop practitioners in Athens, Greece, illustrated how hip hop practitioners draw upon the *collective histories* of the Greek popular music field in order to legitimate hip hop culture within the Greek popular music field and the larger transnational hip hop field. Chapter 7, which focused on a Greek-Canadian rapper in Vancouver, Canada, illustrated how *cultural identity*, similar to authenticity and various forms of capital, is a resource which is struggled over within the field of cultural production.

What follows in this concluding chapter is a summary of the key findings of my dissertation, a discussion of my important contributions to the literature and some final thoughts on directions for future research.

**Summary of key findings**

***Cultural Production and Location***

One of the first contributions this dissertation makes to sociological studies of cultural production is the introduction of the concept of *location* to Bourdieu's field theory. When first writing Chapter 5, the chapter which focuses on black popular music makers in Toronto, the distinctions between the strategies of *crowd commanding* and *crowd pleasing* were fairly straightforward. Based on my interviews with DJs and my observations at clubs, it was clear that DJs adopted different orientations towards the crowd when performing. What was much more complicated, however, was explaining *how* and *why* DJs adopted these various orientations/strategies. Based on my interview data, there were no clear-cut connections between one's position or disposition and the strategy adopted. Crowd commanding and crowd pleasing were strategies that were adopted by those in dominant *as well as* dominated positions. This led me to delve deeper into my interview data in search of other possibilities. What I found was that there are a host of contextually specific factors which influenced the use of strategies within the field. These contextual factors included: *spatial* (determined by the type of event they are performing at), *temporal* (determined by the time of the event), *interactional* (determined by the audience in attendance and whether or not one DJs alone or with others), *aural* (determined by the type of music being played), *individual* (determined by the type of DJ) and *numeric* dimensions (determined by the number of positions one holds in the field). Without a vocabulary for these various contextual factors, I named the confluence of these dimensions as one's *location* within the cultural field. The concept of location thus

draws upon a much more intersubjective understanding of practice, wherein actors' strategies are not merely a *reflection of* their dispositions, but are actually a *reflection on* their dispositions (Bottero 2010: 19), which I argue should be more broadly construed as an intersubjective *reflection on* their position, disposition and *location* within the field.

Although some of the aspects of location are specific to the popular music field, I believe *location* is a concept which has much broader applicability. Although each field is different, the concept of *location*, meaning the contextual dimensions which structure the use of strategies in the field, in one form or another, is constant. Take for example one of the leading intellectuals of the French avant-garde, Charles Maurras. Maurras, a notable member of the French avant-garde, in the period Bourdieu examines in his studies of the French literary field, can be understood according to his position and disposition within the avant-garde itself. Born and raised in the provinces and educated in a traditional Catholic school, like other members of the avant-garde he was originally positioned as an outsider against established intellectuals in the French literary field. However, Maurras went on to establish the École Romane in opposition to the success of the Symbolists, and then integrated an aesthetic and political program that was at once traditionalist and avant-garde. Yet, to restrict an analysis of Maurras to his position and disposition misses the sometimes subtle, sometimes very distinct, ways in which he addressed different audiences. For example, his writings in nationally-based avant-garde journals are distinct from his addresses to provincial elites participating in the regionalist avant-garde movements or his workshops with radical syndicalists. Depending on the audience and venue (more specifically his *location*), he adopted different strategies in order to

consolidate a political and aesthetic power-base in intellectual and political communities in France.[41]

***Cultural Production and Collectives Histories***

The second contribution this dissertation makes to sociological studies of cultural production is the introduction of the concept of *collective history* to Bourdieu's field theory. When first writing Chapter 6, the chapter which focuses on hip hop practitioners in Athens, it became readily apparent to me that in order to understand *how* and *why* hip hop practitioners believed their music to be superior to the genre of new wave laika, it was first necessary to understand how indigenous Greek genres (such as rebetika, new wave laika, etc.) were positioned within the Greek popular music field. In order to understand how genres are positioned within the field, I had to understand the *collective history*, the structural logic of different musical genres in the field. After some secondary research, it was evident that there were certain social processes which were central to the cultural legitimation of any musical genre within the Greek popular music field. Some of the most important processes included: westernization, hellenization, and masculinization. What was much more difficult to explain, however, were the different types of reactions among hip hop practitioners: some believed that hip hop needed to adopt Greek elements into the music; others believed that hip hop did not require the adoption of Greek elements. Based on previous studies of localization and hip hop culture (Bennett 1999) which focused on the relocation and reworking of hip hop to reflect local

[41] I would like to thank Christopher Churchill for providing this example of Charles Maurras and the French literary field.

issues, I was confused as to why some hip hop practitioners did not want to adopt Greek elements (meaning Greek samples and Greek instrumentation) in hip hop. After further analysis, I realized that the answer was due to two different understandings of hip hop: the first understanding sought to Hellenize the musical form, while the second sought to maintain the African-American roots of the musical form.

However, what was quite clear to me in my analysis of the Athens hip hop scene was the strategic importance of 'usable pasts' (Anagnostou 2009) in quests for cultural legitimacy in the present. Both groups of hip hop practitioners drew upon *collective history* in order to legitimate their particular version of hip hop culture in Athens. All drew upon the *collective history* of the Greek popular music field to legitimate hip hop in relation to new wave laika. The difference was that some hip hop practitioners drew upon the *collective history* of Greek popular music to Hellenize hip hop and legitimate this cultural form in relation to other Greek popular music genres; while other hip hop practitioners drew upon the *collective history* of the transnational hip hop community to authenticate hip hop and legitimate this cultural form in relation to other hip hop scenes. Similarly, in Chapter 7, BZ Jam draws upon *collective history* and collective memory in order to legitimate his vision of a collective Greek identity for Greeks outside of Greece.

An emphasis on *collective history* was central to the findings of Chapters 5, 6 and 7, and raises several implications for studies of cultural production. First, Chapters 6 and 7 illuminate the strategic significance of collective histories for purposes of cultural legitimation. History is not something that solely happens to agents within the field, it is also something that is strategically used by agents within the field for their own purposes

of cultural legitimation and authentication. Hip hop practitioners in Athens used their knowledge of the Greek field of popular music to authenticate hip hop as masculine and western in relation to new wave laika which was framed as eastern and feminine. BZ Jam used his knowledge of Greek history to authenticate diasporic Greekness. In both examples, historical knowledge was used to validate Greek forms of hip hop culture and Greek diasporic cultural identity. Therefore, similar to cultural capital, it is possible to argue that *collective history* is a resource which is drawn upon by agents within all cultural fields.

Second, all three case studies illustrate the significance of temporality for studies of cultural production. There are significant temporal dimensions within all cultural fields which are sometimes overlooked. An emphasis on *collective history* helps to temporally orient studies of cultural production to take the past into consideration when speaking of the present. By situating actors within the collective histories of fields, this provides opportunities to illustrate the concrete connections between actors within different fields of cultural production. For example, Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 highlight how the collective histories of the Canadian Music Industry and the Greek Music Industry have contributed to the marginalization of hip hop culture within both fields of cultural production, and how actors within both fields have sought to legitimate a devalued musical form.

Third, all three case studies highlight the significance of transnational connections for studies of cultural production. Fields of cultural production cannot be thought of in isolation from other cultural fields. Given technological advancements, fields of cultural production have never been as integrated and interconnected as they are in the present.

For example, in Chapter 6, an emphasis on the *collective history* of the Greek field of popular music highlighted the interconnections between the origins of hip hop in Mitilini, Lesvos and the Greek-Canadian diaspora. Before the widespread popularity of the internet, the movements of people and other media (television and movies) were primarily responsible for the cultural transmission of cultural products. In this instance, Greek-Canadians brought hip hop artefacts (namely records) to Greece. All studies of cultural production need to take these interconnections, where applicable, into account.

***Cultural Production and Cultural Identities***

The third contribution this dissertation makes to sociological studies of cultural production is in seeking to understand how *cultural identity* fits into field theory. Most significantly, Chapter 7 argues that all fields of cultural production are also fields of cultural representation and that within these fields of representation cultural identities are resources which are struggled over. In order to make this argument, this dissertation utilizes an intersubjective understanding of *cultural identity*, which views cultural practice as the negotiated outcome of *intersubjective* coordination (Bottero 2010: 20). Within this framework, *cultural identity* is the result of the relationship between the dispositional components of identity and the reflexive components of identity, wherein reflexivity is best understood as a reflection on, not a reflection of, dispositional practice (Bottero 2010: 19). This reframing of Bourdieusian *cultural identity* allows scholars to focus on how cultural identities are strategically utilized within cultural fields.

An emphasis on *cultural identity* was central to the findings of Chapters 6 and 7, and raises several implications for studies of cultural production. For hip hop practitioners in Athens and a Greek-Canadian rapper in Vancouver, struggles over Greek *cultural identity* were a central component of their strategies of cultural legitimation. In order to authenticate hip hop in Greece, hip hop practitioners in Athens drew upon discursive techniques used to legitimate rebetika as western and masculine—techniques which have also been used to legitimate 'Western' conceptualizations of Greek *cultural identity* in the past (e.g. *Greeks as Hellenes*, idealized Hellenes of the classical past, linked to 'the West' vs. *Greeks as Romioi*, Byzantine and Turkish Christians, linked to 'the East') (Kallimopoulou 2009: 15-16). Similarly, in order to authenticate himself in the Vancouver hip hop scene and among Greeks of the diaspora and in Greece, BZ Jam constructed a Greek diasporic identity rooted in collective history and collective memory—a type of Greek *cultural identity* employed by other Greek diasporic communities to adopt more 'Western' visions of Greekness (e.g. see Anagnostou (2004) on AHEPA in the United States).

What these case studies of *cultural identity* and cultural production illustrate is that the cultural appropriation of cultural forms such as black popular music and hip hop culture by white ethnics (both Greeks and Greek-Canadians) is complex and contradictory. This is because the cultural appropriation of black popular music and hip hop culture cannot solely be explained as a voyeuristic fascination with the 'other' (namely black youth and black cultural forms). For many Greek and Greek-Canadian hip hop practitioners, rap music and hip hop culture provide an outlet for their own feelings

of cultural dislocation and insecurity. This is not to excuse the ways in which some hip hop practitioners seek to justify their presence in hip hop by erasing the African-American roots of hip hop, but rather to argue that there are diverse outcomes in processes of cultural appropriation.

Additionally, each case study illustrates a much more reflexive understanding of how cultural identities are enacted within cultural fields. Reflexivity, as evidenced through the strategies of crowd commanding and crowd pleasing adopted by DJs in Chapter 5, the strategies of westernization and masculinization adopted by hip hop practitioners in Chapter 6, and the strategic use of collective history and collective memory in the construction of diasporic belonging in Chapter 7, is much more complex than Bourdieu's model allows. In Chapter 5, reflexive action is not only influenced by position and disposition but also by location. In Chapter 6, reflexive action cannot be understood without a broader understanding of the collective history of the Greek popular music field. In Chapter 7, reflexive action cannot be understood without a broader transnational understanding of Greek *cultural identity*. In other words, reflexivity within cultural fields cannot be divorced from *location*, *collective history* and transnational *cultural identity*.

**Common themes: important contributions to the literature**

In addition to the contributions of *location*, *collective history* and *cultural identity*, three significant themes were found within all three of the case studies: the themes of *race, ethnicity* and *masculinity*. These common themes highlight how a sociological

analysis of cultural production contributes to more nuanced understandings of the production, reproduction and representation of social difference. For example, Chapters 5 and 6 are conceptually connected in their framing of black popular music in Canada and hip hop in Greece through the lenses of race, ethnicity and cultural production. Black popular music makers in Toronto and hip hop practitioners in Athens, Greece are vying for legitimacy in countries where these black musical forms are still marginalized. Black popular music makers in Toronto, Canada argue that field of popular music in Canada favours rock music at the expense of rap music. As a result of certain structural inequalities within the field of cultural production (lack of venues, radio support, etc.), black popular music forms do not receive the same institutional support as rock music. Whether intentional or not, the end result of these structural conditions is that black popular music forms do not receive the same funding as more 'white' popular music forms (e.g. rock music).[42] As a result of this marginalization, black popular music DJs in Toronto seek to legitimate their place within the field by adopting the position of musician.

Hip hop practitioners in Athens, Greece, on the other hand, argue that the field of popular music in Greece favours new wave laika at the expense of rap music. As a result of certain structural inequalities within the field of cultural production (lack of venues, radio support, etc.), hip hop culture does not receive the same institutional support as rebetika, new wave laika and other indigenous musical genres. Hip hop practitioners in Athens seek to legitimate their place within the field by drawing upon east/west binaries

[42] Although I am aware that the roots of rock music may be traced back to African-Americans and working class Whites in the United States, this popular music form, at least in Toronto, is currently 'raced' as White.

of Greek cultural identity. To legitimate hip hop in Greece, hip hop practitioners in Athens draw upon the collective histories of the field in order to construct hip hop culture and rap music in western and masculine terms. Although the empirical findings of each chapter are quite different, what is the same are the ways in which all cultural fields not just structured by class (Bourdieu 1993; 1996) and gender (Moi 1991) but also by *race and ethnicity*.

Additionally, Chapters 6 and 7 are connected through their focus on masculinity and performances of Greek cultural identity. Chapter 6 examines how male hip hop practitioners in Athens, Greece seek to authenticate hip hop culture and rap music as a western and masculine cultural form. These hip hop practitioners emphasize westernization and masculinity in order to authenticate hip hop as a Hellenic cultural form with roots in the Greek classical past (e.g. MCs are the rhapsodists of the streets). Similar to rebetika in the past, hip hop culture and rap music are legitimated by emphasizing the western and masculine roots of the musical form. This is because the collective history of the Greek popular music field is structured along an east/west binary wherein western and masculine are positively valued and eastern and feminine are negatively valued. Chapter 7 examines how a Greek-Canadian rapper aims to fashion a masculine, nationalist and classical cultural identity for Greeks of the diaspora. BZ Jam emphasizes classical history, collective trauma, and exile as central components of diasporic belonging. Despite the vast differences in these two case studies, in terms of geographical location, racial and ethnic makeup, gender makeup, etc., what is strikingly similar are the ways in which Greek and Greek-Canadian hip hop practitioners construct a

Greek cultural identity rooted in classicism, western 'values' and masculinity. These are Greek cultural identities which severely limit who can and cannot participate in hip hop culture in particular, and Greek culture more broadly.

What these three case studies contribute is a more nuanced understanding of the cultural production of race, ethnicity and masculinity within cultural fields. Race and ethnicity have been used by agents within cultural fields in order to substantiate their own claims of cultural legitimacy. For example, BZ Jam uses his Greekness as a way of authenticating himself as a rapper in Canada who is neither white nor black but Greek. Additionally, masculinity has been used by agents within cultural fields in ways which limit women's participation. For example, for the most part, women's participation in hip hop culture in Athens, Greece is restricted to audience member, club dancer, or MC. During my time spent at live events in Athens, there were many women present in the audiences of hip hop events, but there were few women taking active roles on stage. During the *First Greek Beatbox Convention* at the Fuzz Club in Athens, there was not a single female MC, beatboxer, breakdancer or host on stage at the convention. The only female participant, aside from the women in the audience, was a woman singing backup to a beatbox rendition of Peggy Lee's "Fever." However, women were much more present during *Active Members 17$^{th}$ Anniversary Festival* at Technopolis, which showcased several female MCs, the most famous being Sadahzinia. Unfortunately, the showcasing of female talent, as in the case of the Active Member festival, is the exception and not the rule, as the majority of events and concerts during my stay in Athens in 2009

featured all male line-ups. In the vast majority of instances, men's participation in the production and performance of hip hop culture greatly outnumbered that of women.

However, women do participate in hip hop culture through dancing, particularly as club dancers, as well as a few MCs. In my interview with Haris, a female club dancer/MC, she told me that she began her career in hip hop at the age of 18/19 as a club dancer, which she noted is one of the primary ways women participate in hip hop culture in Greece. Other MCs include Sadahzinia, Dogmother, and Marina of the group Stoixima, who are among the most well known female MCs in Greece. Many of the female MCs in hip hop in Greece are part of male crews, such as Haris who performs with White Dragon and DJ MCD, Sadahzinia who performs with Active Member, and Marina who is in Stoixima. This illustrates that there are many male hip hop practitioners who are actively involved in supporting female practitioners. Yet, despite women's participation as audience members, MCs and dancers, women are primarily absent from the roles of producers, DJs, and sound engineers.

What this dissertation illustrates are the ways in which an emphasis on *location*, *collective history* and *cultural identity* illuminates the underlying racial, ethnic and gender logics of fields of cultural production. It also illustrates the flexibility of using Bourdieu's model of cultural production across different cultural fields, temporal periods and linguistic, racial, ethnic and gender divides.

**Future research possibilities**

First and foremost, this dissertation suggests that future research should be conducted on the concepts of *location*, *collective history* and *cultural identity*, in order to test whether these concepts are present within all social fields, such as the political field, the academic field, among others, or, whether these three concepts are best utilized within certain types of cultural fields, such as the fields of music, art, literature, etc. For example, does a modified version of the concept of location provide a greater understanding how academic fields operate? Or how political fields operate? This dissertation suggests that these concepts may provide more nuanced understandings about how all social fields operate, but future research needs to be conducted in order to validate this claim.

Second, this dissertation suggests that future research should be conducted on how social differences structure cultural fields. There is a wealth of studies on how gender structures cultural fields (Moi 1991; see edited collection by Adkins and Skeggs 2004), but there is less research devoted to understanding, for example, how race and ethnicity are a crucial component of all cultural fields of production. Though potentially quite challenging, future research should examine how intersectional theories (Collins 1991; Glenn 1999; Denis 2008) could provide much more theoretically sophisticated understandings of the field of cultural production. Such an *intersectional field of cultural production* would take into account how different cultural fields produce different intersections of race, ethnicity, class, gender, sexuality, etc. One of the unique contributions of this dissertation was the discussion of how the east/west binary structures

the Greek field of popular music. Other cultural fields would produce other complex iterations of intersectionality and a focus on these iterations would greatly enhance our understandings of how cultural fields operate.

Third, another important area for future research is to better understand the importance of transnationalism in fields of cultural production. Bourdieu's work did not focus on the transnational interconnections between cultural fields. His work focused on the relationships between cultural fields and economic fields and/or political fields, but he did not focus on the concrete interconnections between cultural fields (e.g. the field of music in Toronto and the field of music in Athens). Bourdieu's work on the field of cultural production was an excellent model for explaining the avant-garde intellectuals his work focused upon. But this group was a less immediate transnational community than many twenty-first century cultural fields—as this dissertation on black popular music making and hip hop culture illustrates. Building upon the works of Fouron and Schiller (2001), Gargano (2009) and others, there are many opportunities to understand how transnational and diasporic connections are, and always have been, crucial to understanding how cultural fields are structured and function. Within the fields of popular music, such research can focus on the concrete connections between various music fields, in terms of the diffusion of people, objects and ideas across national borders.

Scholars focusing on migration and transnationalism have attempted to address some of these limitations of Bourdieu's theories of cultural production by introducing the concept of the 'transnational social field' (Glick Schiller et al. 1992). The transnational social field extends across the border of two or more nation-states and provides spaces for

the exchange, organization, and transformation of ideas, practices, and social networks (Gargano 2009: 332). One of the central components of transnational social fields literature is an emphasis on *diasporic ways of being* (the concrete social relations and practices that individuals engage in) and *diasporic ways of belonging* (practices that signal to enact an identity which demonstrates a conscious connection to a particular social group) (Levitt and Glick Schiller 2004: 1010). Future studies on the popular music field would greatly benefit by adopting a transnational social fields approach.

Finally, the analysis of black popular music in Canada and Greece still has many more opportunities for academic analyses. Some of the most interesting developments in Canada have been the rise to fame of Drake, a Toronto-based hip hop artist, and K'naan a Toronto-based Somali-Canadian hip hop artist and poet. K'naan's music and his commitment to social justice issues (namely refugee issues) recall politically conscious hip hop of the past (namely Public Enemy and others). Whether or not these artists are able to challenge Canada's image as a "rock country" and challenge the marginalization of hip hop in Canada remains to be seen. What is promising, however, is the fact that hip hop culture and rap music in Canada are receiving greater media coverage than ever before. Hopefully, one day, these black cultural forms in Canada (as well as Greece) will receive the recognition that they truly deserve.

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## Appendix

Sample Interview Guides in English and Greek

### DJs

*General questions:*

1. What is your occupation(s)? Do you DJ full time?
2. Age?
3. How did you become interested in music?
4. What are your thoughts on the urban music scene in Toronto?
5. What are your thoughts on the use of the term urban music?

*DJ involvement*

1. How did you become involved in DJing? How long have you been DJing?
2. How did you pick your DJ name?
3. Tell me about all the ways that you have been, or are, involved in the music industry?
4. How did you learn to DJ?
5. What type(s) of music do you spin? Are there certain types of music you won't spin?
6. Do you DJ in a specific scene in Toronto? Or, do you DJ at a variety of events?
7. How did you get your first job?
8. Do you scratch? Do you blend? How important are these skills to DJing?
9. Do you talk over your songs while you play them?
10. Are you affiliated with any other DJs?
11. What technology do you use when you DJ? Records, CDs, Serato?
12. Is the technology that you use scene specific (e.g. most reggae DJs use CDs)?
13. Do you bring your own equipment to shows?
14. Do you create DJ sets for your shows, or are you more flexible in terms of what you play? If you create sets, how does the process of creating a set work for you?
15. How do you decide what songs you will play during a show?
16. How has being a DJ changed since you started DJing? What do you think of these changes?
17. How difficult was it to break into DJing in Toronto (getting shows, etc.)?
18. What types of events do you perform at? Do you battle or clash with other DJs?
19. What advice would you have for someone who wanted to get into DJing?
20. How do you juggle family life and your day job with DJing?
21. Have you ever been treated poorly while DJing? If you feel comfortable, can you explain the details of your experience?
22. How are female DJs treated in the industry? Has this changed since you first started DJing?
23. What changes could be implemented to encourage more women to participate in DJing?

*DJ culture*

1. What type of a DJ are you? (radio, rave/club, hip hop, mobile, etc.)
2. What are the qualities of a good DJ?
3. What are the qualities of a bad DJ?
4. What do you like the most about DJing?
5. What do you like the least about DJing?
6. If there is one thing you could change about being a DJ or being in the DJ business, what would that be?
7. Is Toronto supportive of urban music artists (be that DJs, rappers, singers, etc.)?

**Δειγματολόγιο ερωτήσεων**

**DJs**

*Γενικές ερωτήσεις*

1. Τί δουλειά κάνετε; Είστε DJ πλήρους απασχόλησης;
2. Ηλικία;
3. Πώς άρχισε να σας ενδιαφέρει η μουσική;
4. Τί γνώμη έχετε για την αστική μουσική σκηνή στην Αθήνα;
5. Τι γνώμη έχετε για τη χρήση του όρου «αστική μουσική»;

*Συμμετοχή των DJ*

6. Πώς ξεκινήσατε να κάνετε Djing; Πόσο καιρό είστε DJ;
7. Πώς διαλέξατε το επαγγελματικό σας όνομα;
8. Πείτε μου για τους τρόπους που είστε αναμεμειγμένοι στη μουσική βιομηχανία.
9. Πως μάθετε να κάνετε DJing;
10. Τί είδους μουσικής παίζετε; Υπάρχει μουσική που δεν βάζετε σε καμμία περίπτωση;
11. Κάνετε Djing σε συγκεκριμένη μουσική σκηνή στην Αθήνα ή παίζετε σε διάφορες εκδηλώσεις ;
12. Πώς βρήκατε την πρώτη σας δουλειά;
13. Κάνετε σκράτσιγκ (scratching); Μιξάρετε; Πόσο σημαντικές είναι αυτές οι τεχνικές για ένα DJ;
14. Μιλάτε όσο παίζετε μουσική;
15. Έχετε επαγγελματική σύνδεση με άλλους DJs;
16. Τί τεχνολογία χρησιμοποιείτε όταν βάζετε μουσική; Δίσκους, CDs, Serato;
17. Η τεχνολογία που χρησιμοποιείτε εξαρτάται από τη μουσική σκηνή (π.χ. οι περισσότεροι DJ που παίζουν ρέγγε χρησιμοποιούν CDs);
18. Φέρνετε τον δικό σας εξοπλισμό στις εκδηλώσεις;
19. Φτιάχνετε σετ για τις εκδηλώσεις σας ή είστε ελαστικοί με το τί παίζετε; Αν φτιάχνετε σετ, πως τί διαδικασία ακολουθείτε;
20. Πώς διαλέγετε τί τραγούδια θα παίξετε σε κάποια συγκεκριμένη εκδήλωση;
21. Πώς έχει αλλάξει το επάγγελμα από τότε που ξεκινήσατε να βάζετε μουσική; Τί γνώμη έχετε γι'αυτές τις αλλαγές;
22. Πόσο δύσκολο ήταν να μπείτε στο Αθηναϊκό κύκλο των DJ (να βρείτε εκδηλώσεις κ.τ.λ.);
23. Σε τί είδους εκδηλώσεις παίζετε; Έχετε αντιμαχίες με άλλους DJ;
24. Τί συμβουλές έχετε για κάποιον που τώρα ξεκινάει στο επάγγελμα;

*Κουλτούρα των DJ*

25. Τί είδους DJ είστε; (ράδιο, rave/club, hip hop, mobile κ.τ.λ.)
26. Ποιά είναι τα χαρακτηριστικά ενός καλού DJ;
27. Ποιά είναι τα χαρακτηριστικά ενός κακού DJ;
28. Τί σας αρέσει περισσότερο στο επάγγελμα του DJ;
29. Τί σας αρέσει λιγότερο στο επάγγελμα του DJ;

30. Τί θα αλλάζατε, αν μπορούσατε, στο επάγγελμα του DJ ή γενικά στον κύκλο των DJ;
31. Υποστηρίζονται στην Αθήνα οι καλλιτέχνες της αστικής μουσικής (DJs, ράπερς, τραγουδιστές, κ.τ.λ.);