

ERC Consolidator Grant 2018
Research Proposal [Part B1]

Principal Investigator: J. Griffith Rollefson
Host Institution: University College Cork
Proposed Duration: 60 Months

CIPHER: Hip Hop Interpellation

Le Conseil International pour Hip Hop et Recherche
The International Council for Hip Hop Studies



Hip Hop Interpellation

ABSTRACT:

CIPHER will launch the global research initiative, Hip Hop Interpellation, pilot a new semantic digital/ethnographic web methodology, and codify the emergent discipline of global hip hop studies. It addresses the central question: why has this highly localized and authenticizing African American music translated so easily to far-flung communities and contexts around the globe? Through this specific question the project attempts to understand the foundational and broadly transferable question: how are globalization and localization related? To answer these questions CIPHER posits the Hip Hop Interpellation thesis, that hip hop spreads not as a copy of an African American original, but, through its *performance of knowledge*, emerges as an *always already* constituent part of local knowledge and practice. The theorization thus moves beyond the “hailing practices” described by Althusser’s theory of *interpellation*—the discursive webs that coerce ideological incorporation—to describing an *interpolation* that locates *other* histories within and through hip hop’s performed knowledges.

CIPHER’s semantic web methodology tests this thesis, tracking how hip hop memes—slogans, anthems, and icons—are simultaneously produced by people and produce people. This research clears the conceptual impasse of structural “cultural imperialism” vs. agentic “cultural appropriation” debates and instrumentalizes the methodological distance between ethnographic specificity and big data generality. It does so by creating a feedback loop between digital humanities methods (crowd sourcing, semantic tagging, computational stylometry) and ethnographic fieldwork techniques (interviews, musical analysis, participant observation). The result will be an iterative map of Hip Hop Interpellation/Interpolation created by stakeholders that is transformational of our understanding of culture *and/as* cultural production and transferable to pressing questions about globalization and *l’exception culturelle*.

***The CIPHER Acronym:** The CIPHER methodology is encoded in the title of the project. In hip hop, a “cipher” is defined as the feedback circle formed whenever “three or more people gather” to perform, challenge, and empower each other (Keyes). As such, the cipher is *the basic unit of hip hop community*. Yet, there is another key definition of “cipher” in hip hop—it is also *the coded knowledge created by hip hop communities* (Alim). The cipher is thus the basic unit of hip hop community and the basic unit of hip hop knowledge—*le matériel et l’idéal*. Put succinctly, hip hop’s cipher concept recognizes how “culture and cultural production” are mutually constituted. As the critically acclaimed rapper, Mos Def, put it in 1999: “*We are hip hop. Me, you, everybody. We are hip hop. So hip hop is going where we going*” (Bey).

***The CIPHER Logo:** CIPHER’s Sankofa/Power Logo encapsulates Hip Hop Interpellation’s hypothesis, aims, and methodology. It is built around a favorite meme of hip hop knowledge, *the Sankofa Icon* of the Akan people of West Africa (Keyes). In Akan culture the symbol signifies the power of self-knowledge, depicting a bird progressing to the future yet reaching back to its history—depicted as an egg—which holds the dual potential for both sustainability and rebirth. In the Sankofa/Power Logo I have replaced the particularized power of the egg with the digital *Universal Power Symbol*. Like the Sankofa Icon, the Universal Power Symbol holds a dual potential, coded conceptually and visually as 1/0, on/off. The Sankofa/Power Logo thus unites an ancient icon with a contemporary icon, a particular wisdom with a universal one, signifying hip hop’s glocalizing power and this research initiative’s ethnographic and digital methodology.

Section A: Extended Synopsis of the Scientific Proposal

1. Background: “Statements” of the Art

Hip hop is a form of artistic and political expression forged in the crucible of New York City’s post-industrial South Bronx in the mid-1970s. Over the course of the 1980s this music and its allied art forms, graffiti art and breakdancing, provided invisible youth in the African American and Latino ghettos of U.S. cities with a constructive and increasingly mediatized platform for the expression of their dreams and frustrations. Today, this once highly localized and subaltern ghetto music has become an international commercial phenomenon, reaching every country and every culture across the globe (Chang 2007). What’s more, despite its wide commercialization, the music and its attendant ideological formations have blossomed in critical force.

On the classic 1993 track “Award Tour” the NY hip hop crew, A Tribe Called Quest, reflect on the globalization of hip hop against the backdrop of hip hop’s situated ideology. The track’s chorus reports from the “Tribe’s” voyage across the globe: “We on Award Tour with Muhammad my man / Goin’ each and every place with a mic in their hand / Chinatown, Spokane, London, Tokyo.” In the first verse, the rapper Q-Tip (so named because his words and voice “clean out your ears”) explains one of hip hop’s fundamental concepts, Knowledge of Self (KoS), as he journeys to the far corners of the hip hop world: “You can be a black man and lose all your soul / You can be white and groove but don’t crap the roll (role) / See my shit is universal if you’ve got knowledge of dolo or delf or self / See there’s no one else / Who can drop it on the angle / acute at that / So: doo-dat, doo-dat, doo-doo dat-dat-dat.” In these few lines, Q-Tip summarizes CIPHER’s theory of Hip Hop Interpellation. In the context of a track about hip hop globalization, Q-Tip explains that hip hop’s belonging is not racially determined. A black man can be out of touch with hip hop and its soulful black musicality. Likewise, a white person can enter into hip hop’s performative community and groove along, but—punning on the ghetto dice game *par excellence*, “craps”—warns that one should not feel entitled in this “role.” Rather, hip hop is universal, but *only* for those who have found themselves through a KoS “quest.” In addition to catachrestic wordplay (“acute”/“and cute”), homophones (“roll”/“role”), and non-lexical, jazz-inflected scat, Q-Tip’s poetic lines *encipher* this knowledge in the hip hop memes “dolo” (an acronym for “done on the lonely”) and “delf” (a “higher form” of self). As such, Q-Tip is performing encoded hip hop knowledge suggesting that this art form is globally accessible and potentially empowering to everyone, but must be accessed through local knowledge and practice.

As I have found in my fifteen years of fieldwork with hip hop communities across Europe and the US, hip hop has indeed spoken to subjects around the world. As Q-Tip suggests, it has resonated with these subjects because they are on the same quests, asking the same questions, and have generated a degree of KoS. If we are to believe him—and the statements of countless other hip hop artists—hip hop thus spreads not as a copy that is “adopted and adapted” to local concerns (Prevos), but emerges as an *always already* constituent part of local knowledge and practice. In this way, hip hop’s global appeal and power is found through introspection and centered in/on local traditions and concerns, not taken on as an appropriative or assimilative act. As the other half of Tribe’s rapping duo, Phife, explains in the track’s second verse: “When was the last time you heard the Phifer sloppy? / Lyrics anonymous, *you never hear me copy.*” CIPHER thus takes seriously hip hop’s theorizations of itself. Through a global but targeted approach, it focuses on the ways that hip hop’s universal messages are found through local knowledge and practice.

2. Global Hip Hop Studies: State of the Art

In 2001 Tony Mitchell edited *Global Noise: Rap and Hip Hop Outside the USA*, a milestone for the emerging field of global hip hop studies featuring chapters on hip hop in Canada, France, Germany, the UK, Japan, Korea, Oceania, and beyond. Referencing (in the title) Tricia Rose’s seminal monograph, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (1994), Mitchell signposted his collection’s indebtedness to Rose’s foundational work but also critiqued Rose for a perceived Afrocentrism, suggesting that her model for a global hip hop studies “would involve studying the appropriation of rap and hip hop as an essentialized, endemically African American cultural form.” Stemming from this critique a second major assertion, outlined in Mitchell’s introduction to the collection, suggested that hip hop outside the US offered better examples of the art form’s iconic status as a “resistance vernacular” freed from the commercializing imperatives of the largely co-opted US form (Potter). The stage was thus set for debates about the essence of hip hop that are still with us today (Perry, Morgan, Condry, et. al.). Notably these debates tend to be unproductive, rehearsing entrenched positions and reproducing untenably totalizing conceptual frames: Is hip hop an essentially African American form that has been universally (mis)appropriated or an imperialist extension of US global hegemony and the culture industries? While many thoughtful scholars have since added to our understanding of hip hop around the world through focused case studies (Perry, Morgan, Aidi, Haupt, Kitwana, Keyes, Appert, Condry, Forman, Flores, Kelley)—and sometimes with cross-cultural frames (Rollefson 2017a, 2015, 2014, Basu and Lemelle, Nietzsche and Grünzweig, Marshall)—CIPHER

proposes a paradigm shift in how we conceive of hip hop globalization by troubling the basic oppositional premises of how we think about the relation of the local to the global (Eoyang).

The second milestone in the field was the 2009 collection *Global Linguistic Flows: Hip Hop Cultures, Youth Identities, and the Politics of Language* (Alim, Ibrahim, Pennycook, eds). Following up on the hip hop artist interviews gathered for the 2006 collection *Tha Global Cipa*, this collection was the first to propose that hip hop globalization is more complex than the essentialist v. anti-essentialist debates outlined above would imply. Here the editors develop the thesis that hip hop spreads through a complex interplay of globalizing and localizing linguistic processes premised on hip hop's core tenets of "knowledge of self" (KoS) and "keepin' it real." Indeed, it is here in a piece coauthored by Pennycook and Mitchell that the scholars discuss the organic intellectual "dusty foot philosophy" of Somali-Canadian rapper, K'Naan, and report on a Māori rapper who suggests that hip hop "always has been" part of his indigenous culture. While we might dismiss the statement as manifestly absurd, it displays a distinctly hip hop way of thinking ("flipping the script") and inverts the glocal gaze suggesting that "entrenched oral traditions of storytelling and poetry stretching back thousands of years have incorporated hip-hop into their cultures rather than the other way around." This piece marks the first reported instance of a widespread phenomenon that I found in my own fieldwork with hip hop artists in Berlin, Paris, London, and across Ireland—namely, that hip hop ideology encourages artists to find themselves and their cultures in and through hip hop, localizing hip hop wisdom within local knowledges and claiming the art form as their own.

As part of the ethnographic fieldwork for my first book, *Flip the Script: European Hip Hop and the Politics of Postcoloniality* (University of Chicago Press, 2017), comments by a number of artists and fans ("they were speaking to me," "I heard myself and my community in hip hop") described emergent moments of recognition and resonance in listening to—and being "hailed" by—African American hip hop. It was the amplification and theorization of these voices that led Paul Gilroy to blurb my book as the new state of the art—the next level—in hip hop scholarship, writing: "At last we have a critical survey that can match the complexity and power of the music." In CIPHER, I thus build on the incremental advances of the 2001 and 2009 collections—and my own recent applications of interpellation theory (see Theory section below)—to pivot into new territory that systematically attends to these questions of localization that I was not able to address in my Europe-centered study.

Already underway is research for my forthcoming chapter "Hip Hop Interpellation: Rethinking Autochthony and Appropriation in Irish Rap," in the new collection *Made in Ireland: Studies in Popular Music* (Mangaoang, et al). Using pilot data sourced from Irish hip hop communities, the chapter tests the hip hop interpellation thesis. As I show, Ireland is both a country with a proud history of anti-colonial struggle and diasporic consciousness and a nation in which poetry, music, and storytelling figure prominently in constructions of national identity—indeed, the national symbol is the Celtic harp, icon of the ancient bards, the epic storytellers. Not surprisingly, these legacies—and their attendant symbols and archetypes—figure prominently in the ways that hip hop has been engaged by Irish rappers. The chapter thus makes a larger claim about the relationship between the ways that this irreducibly black American art form has hailed countless subjects into hip hop consciousness; subjects whose experiences and knowledges of self had primed them for the "new cultural affiliations" (Condry), "identity of passions" (Gilroy citing Ellison), and network of postcolonial entanglements that hip hop scholars have described. Why has this highly localized, particularized, and authenticizing black American music translated so easily to far flung communities and contexts around the globe? Because those communities were already hip hop; *they just didn't know it yet*.

While this research is systematic, cutting edge, and wholly transformative for a field that is still in thrall to hypodermic models of appropriation, it remains limited by traditional ethnographic methods and armchair theorizations. The jump-step innovation of this research initiative is in its testing of the Hip Hop Interpellation thesis with the big data tools of the CIPHER method (see Methodology section below). As Shazam.com, Genius.com, and WhoSampled.com have proven, we have an amazing resource in the already-digitized massive online archive of internet sound. A number of scholars have begun experimenting with data analytics in the realms of art musics, traditional musics, and popular musics (Bevilacqua, Kaneshiro, Mason, Srinivasamurthy, et. al.) and while the Text Encoding Initiative and Music Encoding Initiative have facilitated important incremental advances in cultural data analytics, these initiatives are still dealing with text and image (musical notation) – not sound. CIPHER's move into the rich and polysemic realm of *sound* will prove foundationally transformative for music studies—and cultural studies more broadly.

The major breakthrough of CIPHER's semantic *and sonic* web methodology is the emerging data analytics field of Stylometry (Argamon, Burrows, Matthews, et. al.). Stylometry is an emerging field of data analysis that asks experts to define parameters of style and then sets algorithmic thresholds for identification of that style using cluster analysis methods (Böhm, Everitt, Romesburg, et. al.). Stylometric methods have been

used for everything from identifying authorial voice in biblical texts and Shakespeare to predicting pop musical hits. Yet, the field is vastly overinvested in *textual* analysis and sonic applications are mired in the myopic economic imperatives of the music industry's as-yet-unproductive *predictive algorithms* for making the next pop hit (Westcott). Breaking new ground, the CIPHER method delimits the musical subject, scraping the web to build and index databases of global hip hop lyrics (layer 1 below) while also working with the massive *already-digitized* archive of internet music (layer 2 below). Working with this data and the CIPHER computational team, CIPHER's expert ethnomusicologists set parameters for style. The advance comes in CIPHER's expert computational and ethnographic cross-referencing cluster analysis of lyric, beat, timbre, and other sonic parameters to examine, for instance, what trends emerge when we examine a hip hop beat AND the iconic sound of the Turkish *Saz*; or further, what conceptual correspondences we can find when we have a hip hop beat AND a Turkish *Saz* AND German texts? The CIPHER method thus reminds us of the big picture: content is nothing without form; data is meaningless without understanding its contexts. As Deleuze and Guattari suggest, sound gives ideas context, and thus, power: "Sound invades us, impels us, drags us... Flags do nothing without trumpets." CIPHER allows us to cross-reference content with its performative iteration in musical form. This research thus re-centers performativity. As Lennard Davis reminds us, one of the primary practical implications of the Enlightenment was to move the West from a society that based its cultural production on performances to one that focused its cultural attention on texts. Due to its dialogue with earlier modes of storytelling, hip hop gives us a particularly insightful subject through which to analyze a recent shift away from text-as-culture and back towards performance-as-culture. This is the figure "culture and/as cultural production" to which I refer in the abstract above (Goehr).

Thus CIPHER: Hip Hop Interpellation will revolutionize global hip hop studies by integrating linguistic approaches with musicological and performance studies approaches, thus attending to this music *as music*. One of the most pernicious limitations in hip hop studies (and popular music studies more broadly) has been its reliance on text-based analyses that fail to account for the sonic, visual, and lived experience of musical performance and musical community (Auslander, Small). This critique rings loud and true for all of the landmark studies mentioned above. The methodology CIPHER proposes attends to this foundational problem in hip hop scholarship by positioning this music as *performance* rather than *communicative text* following Gilroy's largely unheeded caution to hip hop scholars against the idea "that the world can be readily transformed into text... especially when the phenomenology of musical forms is dismissed in favour of analysing lyrics" (Gilroy 1994 after Foucault). Now, nine years on from *Global Linguistic Flows*, sixteen years on from Mitchell's collection, and over twenty years on from Gilroy's caution, it seems appropriate to reconsider our reliance on language and intertextuality *per se*, instead moving into the sonically communicative, performative, and hearing-centered terrain of "interpellation"—a path laid out by recent interdisciplinary advances in *sound studies* (Sterne, Born, Kassabian, Elliott, Garcia, et. al.). Furthermore, it is high time for the intellectual and organizational disciplining that the CIPHER project proposes. The CIPHER theory and methodology provide, for the first time, a systematic, empirical, and global vision for hip hop studies that moves beyond the anecdotal.

3. Theory – Hip Hop Interpellation Theory: Post-Althusserian Performative "Hails"

In his 1972 essay "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatus (Notes Towards an Investigation)," Louis Althusser crafted the theory of interpellation to describe the ways that "ideological state apparatuses" subjugate and govern their subjects. Using the example of the way a police officer might shout "Hey, you there!" he explains how, on hearing the "hail," the individual being hailed turns *in conditioned response*. It is this *always already* entrainment of which Althusser writes: "by this mere one-hundred-and-eighty-degree physical conversion, he becomes a *subject*"—his interpellation is brought into form through the hail, which he recognizes and already understands.

Although Althusser's theory of interpellation—and elaborations by Foucault, Deleuze and Guattari, Ranciere, Butler, and others—was designed to describe the ways that ideological coercion and subjectivization function in hegemonic structures via ideological state apparatuses like police forces, bureaucracies, religions, etc., his work has since been widely applied outside of such repressive ideological regimes (Macherey, Haupt, Garcia, Bhabha, Lapsley and Westlake, Mulvey). In his 2012 *Radical Philosophy* article "Figures of Interpellation in Althusser and Fanon," Pierre Macherey relates Althusser's focus on the repressive state police's hail of "Hey, you there!" to Fanon's focus on the colonial subject's (own) hearing of "Look, a nigger!" Notably, the latter hail is *about* but not *for* this (non)subject—and, as Macherey rightly surmises, this (non)hail brings into consciousness *alterity*. Indeed, this hail brings into form and sonically structures a *counterhegemonic subjectivity*. Similarly, in his *Static: Race and Representation in Post-Apartheid Music, Media and Film*, the South African media scholar Adam Haupt speaks of the ways that "racial and class interpellation" both forms the shared languages of solidarity and facilitates individual agency.

In addition to Deleuze and Guattari's post-Althusserian work on how sound "impels us," perhaps most relevant to the sonic interpellation theory I describe here is Luis-Manuel Garcia's "Interpellation and the Ethical Turn in Electronic Dance Music." In this recent colloquium presentation at the Oxford Faculty of Music, the EDM scholar described the "coercive ideological force" of "calls to *ethical* action in EDM communities in Berlin," turning the focus to *counterhegemonic* ideological formations—and foregrounding *musical sound* in the analysis thereof. CIPHER leverages such post-Althusserian theories of interpellation and subjectivization to explain how counterhegemonic movements such as hip hop (Lipsitz) also function through such "coercive" hailing practices, which "shout out" to individuals and bring them into form as subjects. Further, Hip Hop Interpellation moves from an understanding of the *naming practices* of Althusser's theory of *interpellation*—the hailing practices and discursive webs that enable ideological incorporation—to an *interpolation* that locates *other* histories within and through hip hop's performed knowledges. This theory thus reinterprets Althusser's interpellation as a performative theory centered around the act of *sonic recognition*—"they were speaking to me."

4. Methodology – The CIPHER Method: *The Semantic Digital/Ethnographic Web*

CIPHER: Hip Hop Interpellation will employ a three-layered semantic digital/ethnographic web methodology built on the premise that slogans, anthems, and icons are simultaneously produced by people and produce people. If #BlackLivesMatter has shown us anything it is how the discursive *is* the material; how a hashtag can become a movement and how a movement needs memes: hashtags, anthems, and symbols. Since the emergence of #BlackLivesMatter and #MeToo this truth has become self-evident. But this premise is nothing new. Likewise, the samba is both product of and productive of Brazilians, « *liberté, égalité, fraternité* » is at once *une devise révolutionnaire* and constitutive of *la République française*, the Wolof griot both sings about the people and "sings the people." What is new is our ability to track the emergence, circulation, and translation of those appellative practices—those memes—through digital networks (Maynard, Mello). As such, the three-layer CIPHER Method employs the digital humanities methods of crowd sourcing, semantic tagging, computational sociolinguistics (stylometry, cluster analysis, topic modeling) (Matthews, Kaufman, Blei), and mapping and cycles them through the traditional ethnographic techniques of interviews, thick description, musical analysis, participant observation, and stakeholder training. In this way the CIPHER Method attends to culture and/as cultural production by articulating digital "semantic web" technologies to ethnographic webs (see Layers 1-3 below).

To attend to the glocal complexities of how global flows are particularized at the local level, the CIPHER Method divides the global focus into five geographic fields with their myriad culture regions. While this project will not (indeed cannot) presume to closely examine every culture and language region, the CIPHER Ethnographic Team—comprising three trained Ethnographic Postdoctoral Researchers with linguistic, musical, and cultural specializations within the geographic fields of Africa/Middle East, Asia/Pacific, and Latin America/Circum-Caribbean, respectively, along with the PI and a PhD Student (in ethnomusicology) focusing on the European and North American geographic fields—will create a networked collection of targeted regional studies with true global reach and diversity. What's more, through the CIPHER Method's stakeholder training design (see Layer 3 below), the targeted geographic focus will cycle out across the regions more broadly, taking root in local hip hop communities beyond the geographic, linguistic, and musical reach of the Ethnographic Team's fieldwork. CIPHER will thus yield data-driven, landmark conclusions about transnational and translational cultural flows at the regional and national levels, but it will also provide local insights and power more focused ethnographic conclusions—with digital resonances.

In every layer of the CIPHER Method, the CIPHER Ethnographic Team feeds data back to the CIPHER Computational Team—and vice versa. Comprising the PI, a Senior Postdoc in Computational Sociolinguists, her/his PhD student (in digital arts and humanities), and the support staff at the Insight Centre for Data Analytics, the Computational Team will model and refine the search parameters and stylistic thresholds fed in by the Ethnographic Team. Further, they will build the Application Programming Interfaces (APIs) (see Layer 1 and Layer 2 below) that will analyze and map correspondences between Ethnographic data sets and scraped online data. Setting up these feedback loops and working in constant collaboration, the Ethnographic and Computational Teams will thus model the cyclical, global/local, and digital/ethnographic conception encoded in the CIPHER: Hip Hop Interpellation acronym and logo (see p.1 above). This model will facilitate the first systematic global and cross-cultural analysis of hip hop while also deepening the individual researchers' knowledges within and across their specific culture regions and computational fields. Most importantly, this method will prove transformative for our understanding of the spaces between culture and cultural production, between *Shadow and Act* (Ellison), between *Text and Act* (Taruskin), shifting our focus to the all-important spaces where cultural meaning is made. As such, the CIPHER Method will prove easily transferrable to broader areas of cultural inquiry: to popular music, to musical sound, to performance, to culture.

Layer 1. “Hip Hop Appellations: Building the Knowledge Base” (and the Textual API)

First, the CIPHER Team, Advisory Council Members, and our extended networks of artists and scholars will crowdsource an initial data set and knowledge base by introducing a viral meme into our social networks (Twitter, Facebook, email lists, and RapGenius.com). The meme asks users to: “Name the top ten gems of hip hop knowledge that best represent your hood/city/nation. These can be words, phrases, and lyrics, or symbols, samples, beats, and power moves (dance). They can be digital hashtags, classic revolutionary anthems, or ancient icons. They can have universal or local meaning. #CIPHERGEMS @CIPHERHHI.” With the help of the CIPHER Team’s artist and research network and the globally-connected CIPHER Advisory Council (see letters of commitment in Annex 2), the meme will be translated into French, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, German, Greek, Polish, Czech, Russian, Turkish, Hebrew, Arabic, Wolof, Yoruba, Xhosa, Zulu, Afrikaans, Hindu, Tamil, Urdu, Mandarin, Cantonese, Japanese, Korean, Indonesian, Māori, and Tagalog, and introduced into appropriate regional social networks. Additionally, we will circulate a follow-up meme to encourage new translations and circulations.

We will collect and compile the crowdsourced feedback in multiply indexed databases and then design AI Natural Language Processing searches for everything from global archetypes to specific hip hop gems—allowing for the AI to learn and flag emerging memes, themes, archetypes, and flashpoints. Layer 1 thus connects first-generation US-based markers of hip hop knowledge and knowledge of self (Sankofa, KoS, third eye, overseer/officer, “I have a dream,” “Buffalo Soldier,” “It’s like a jungle sometimes,” “dead presidents,” etc.) to translations and local cultural markers around the globe, for instance in France (*liberté, j’accuse*, Fanon, Algeria, Vichy, *banlieue, les émeutes*, Sarko, etc.). Together, the Ethnographic and Computational teams will sort, tag, and track these data—these “gems”—indexing them to massive lyric databases scraped from lyric sites such as RapGenius.com/.fr/.de/.jp/etc. (home to Rap Stats with 25 million unique users per month), building a Textual API to analyze these data and build a profile of the ways that such “hails” emerge and evolve. The CIPHER team will look not only at how these practices emerge within national contexts over time, but how these linguistic forms are translated, hybridized, localized, and flipped across ‘hood, region, and nation. By working with these smallest units of hip hop knowledge, the CIPHER approach attends to a vast array of appellations and puts them in a distilled and manageable form that allows us to understand the complexities of these glocalizing transnational and translational processes.

Layer 2. “Hip Hop Interpellations: Sounding the Knowledge Base” (and the Sonic API)

With this big data set, we will highlight common threads between appellations and begin examining the enunciative and musical aspects of their interpellation on sound recordings by building a Sonic API (Bevilacqua) on top of the Textual API. For as I suggest above, content is nothing without form; “Flags do nothing without trumpets.” In this second stage, the computational and ethnographic teams will thus analyze beats, instrumentations, rhythms, dialects, flow styles, and other sonic markers, moving beyond an *intertextual* analysis to a sonically sensitive *interpellative* one with the cutting edge methods of stylometric analysis—analysis that is defined (and constantly refined) by expert ethnographers and augmented by the power of AI computational interpolation. Here, the combined Ethnographic and Computational Teams will pay special attention to the ways in which musical markers of locality and indigeneity are used to buttress, highlight, contradict or otherwise signify on linguistic interpellations—for interpellation need not happen in text. In hip hop, hails often come in the form of melodic reference (*La Marseillaise*), instrumental timbre (the unmistakable sound of the Chinese *erhu*), local dialect (the Rubber Bandits’ working class Limerick brogue), and on. Most importantly, by analyzing sound in relation to text we will build a profile that gets us closer to an understanding of culture as cultural production; of form *as* content. To be sure, “meaning” and thus cultural significance, exists not in texts nor in their utterance, but in their interpellation.

Layer 3. “Hip Hop Performed Community: Cycling the Knowledge Base” (and the Iterative Map)

The ongoing third layer of this methodology will involve fieldwork trips by the PI, Ethnographers, and PhD student (all area specialists), both to visit scenes and to meet with artists and fans who emerge as central players in Layers 1 and 2. In this way we will complete the crowdsourcing loop, build on the solicited knowledges, observe live performances, interview artists and fans, solicit further input, and train local stakeholders to upload new knowledge structures to an Iterative Map that will further broaden our data, be searchable for cross-referencing with lyric (layer 1) and sonic (layer 2) data sets, and allow for a means of continued communication and feedback. By soliciting further input and encouraging stakeholders to gather and upload their own gems, the ethnographers will cycle the knowledge base, further pushing the meme and creating new knowledges. In this third layer, the Ethnographers will close the digital/ethnographic divide and enact CIPHER’s semantic web method, theorizing on the ground—but with the AI in their pocket—how this interpellative process works in their communities; how knowledges are translated, how new knowledges are created and performed, and how new communities are created around these knowledges. In this way, CIPHER draws conclusions about how communities create culture and how culture creates communities.

Section B: Curriculum Vitae**Faculty Posts**

University College Cork – Department of Music Established Lecturer in Popular Music Studies; Director of Graduate Studies	2014 –
University of Cambridge – Faculty of Music Lecturer in Popular Music Studies	2013 – 2014
University of California, Berkeley – Department of Music ACLS New Faculty Fellow; UC Chancellor’s Public Scholar	2011 – 2013

Education

PhD University of Wisconsin-Madison (musicology) Dissertation: <i>Musical (African) Americanization in the New Europe: Hip Hop, Race, and the Cultural Politics of Postcoloniality in Contemporary Paris, Berlin, and London</i> Committee: Ronald Radano, Tejumola Olaniyan, Susan Cook, R. Anderson Sutton, Pamela Potter	2009
MM Bowling Green State University (music history)	2003
MM Bowling Green State University (music composition)	2003
BA Macalester College (music) <i>with honors</i>	1997

Awards, Grants, Fellowships (Selected)

American Musicological Society AMS PAYS Subvention: <i>Flip the Script: European Hip Hop and the Politics of Postcoloniality</i> , University of Chicago Press (2017)
University College Cork Strategic Research Fund – CIPHER: Hip Hop Interpellation (2015)
British Academy/Leverhulme Grant: “Voicing Solidarity: A Postcolonial Reconsideration of the 1874 Visit of the Fisk Jubilee Singers to Wales” – Archival Research in Swansea, Wales (2014)
Volkswagen Stiftung/Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, Postdoctoral Research Fellow – Freie Universität, Berlin [Salary, Research Fund, and Conference Hosting Stipend] (2013-14) (Offer Declined)
University of California Chancellor’s Public Scholar Award [Research Stipend, Course Development Funds, and Research Assistant at UC Berkeley] (2012-13)
ACLS New Faculty Fellow, American Council of Learned Societies – Two-year postdoctoral appointment as Visiting Assistant Professor in the Department of Music at the University of California, Berkeley (2011-2013)
Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst (DAAD) “Changing Demographics” Research Grant [Airfare and Research Stipend for 2 Months in Germany] (2008)
Berlin Program for Advanced German and European Studies, Research Fellow (Dissertation support through the Freie Universität Berlin and German Studies Association [Research Stipend for 11 Months and Travel Budget] (2006)

Postdoc Management & PhD Students

Jessica Cawley, PhD – UCC Postdoctoral Fellow (Irish Research Council Book Completion Postdoc) “How Irish Traditional Musicians Learn: Exploring Musical Enculturation and Culture” (2017 - present)
Michalis Poupazis, PhD – University College Cork (Defended 2016 – *no corrections) “Utopian Ruptures In Spaghetti Junction: Greek and Turkish Cypriot Communities Birmingham, UK”
Gustavo Sousa Marquez – UCC (Current 3 rd year PhD Student) “Beyond Gangsta: Hip-Hop, Skate Culture, and Web Culture in the Music of Tyler the Creator”
James McGlynn – UCC (Current 1 st year PhD Student) “The Transient Composer: Intertextuality and the Interplay of Popular Music and Cinema”

External Examiner (PhD)

Simran Singh, PhD (Ethnomusicology) – Royal Holloway University of London (Advised by Tina K. Ramnarine) “Disco Dreads’: Self-fashioning through Consumption in Uganda’s Hip Hop Scene”
David Hook (AKA Solareye) (Performance) – Edinburgh Napier University (Advised by Haftor Medbøe) “An Autoethnography of Scottish Hip-Hop: Identity, Locality, and Social Commentary”

Service (Selected)

2018-	Director of Graduate Studies – UCC, Music Department; UCC Graduate Studies Committee
2016-	Editorial Board, Reviews Editor (2017-) – <i>Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland</i>
2015-2017	Research and Innovation Committee – UCC, College of Arts and Social Sciences
2014-2015	Digital Arts and Humanities Committee – UCC, College of Arts and Social Sciences
2013-2014	Part II Examination Board – University of Cambridge, Faculty of Music
2013-2014	Admissions Interviewer in Music – Girton College, University of Cambridge
2012-2013	UC Berkeley Chancellor’s Public Scholar – American Cultures Engaged Scholarship (ACES)
2011	Program Committee, AMS Popular Music Interest Group Panel (AMS Annual Conference)

Invited Talks (Selected)

- 2018 Keynote, Rope-A-Dope Hip Hop Festival and Conference (AHRC) – Bristol, UK: “Hip Hop Interpellation: Rethinking Autochthony and Appropriation in Irish Rap”
- 2017 Arizona State University – Musicology Colloquium: “‘The Big Pill’: Enlightenment Binaries and Black Musical Metaphysics”
- 2017 Trinity College Dublin – Music Composition Center Lecture Series: “‘Time is Illmatic’: Disability Studies, Non-normative flows, and Hip Hop *Illness*”
- 2017 Public Musicology Symposium – National Concert Hall, Dublin: “Community-Engaged Musicology: The Hip Hop as Postcolonial Studies Initiative and the Stakes of Public Scholarship”
- 2016 UNESCO Learning City Lecture – Ballyphehane District of Cork, Ireland: “‘Strangers in Paradise’: Performing Rebellion, Embodying Postcoloniality on the Emerald Isle”
- 2015 The Bleak Project – SOAS, London: Live Interview and Performance with Hackney MC and *The Guardian* (UK) Contributor, Franklyn Addo.
- 2015 Digital Arts and Humanities at UCC – “Hip Hop Annotation Tools Online: Promises and Problems”
- 2014 Cambridge Festival of Ideas: “Hip Hop Psych” panel “‘Got a Freaky, Freaky, Freaky, Freaky Flow’: Theorizing Hip Hop *Illness*” (with Dr. Becky Inkster, neuroscience; Dr. Akeem Sule, psychiatry)
- 2014 Cambridge Union Society, Debate: “This House would Teach Hip Hop over Shakespeare” (“yea”)
- 2013 *The Rest is Noise Festival* – Southbank Centre, London: Invited to lead the Superpower Weekend Study Night: Musical (African) Americanization and *Watch the Throne* (Jay-Z and Kanye West)

Conference Papers (Selected)

- 2017 American Musicological Society – Rochester, NY: “‘Soul Craft’: Bad Brains, H.R.’s Throat, and the Instrumentalization of *Human Resources*”
- 2017 Reggae Research Network (AHRC) – Institute of Popular Music, Liverpool: “‘Soul Craft’: Bad Brains, H.R.’s Throat, and the Instrumentalization of *Human Resources*”
- 2016 MUSICULT ‘16: 3rd International Music and Cultural Studies Conference – Istanbul, Turkey: “CIPHER: Hip Hop Interpellation”
- 2016 “It Ain’t Where You’re From, It’s Where You’re At”: International Hip Hop Conference – University of Cambridge: “‘Straight Outta B.C.’: Juice Aleem’s Precolonial Afrofuturist Critique”
- 2015 Hip Hop North/South – Helsinki, Finland: “‘Strangers in Paradise’: Performing Rebellion, Embodying Postcoloniality on the Emerald Isle”
- 2015 European Conference on African Studies – Sorbonne, Paris: “Letters from Birmingham: Différance, Defness, and Juice Aleem’s Holographic Universe in “Straight Outta B.C.”
- 2014 British Forum for Ethnomusicology “Ethnomusicology and the City” Conference, City University London: “‘Ghettos du Monde’: Sounding the Ghetto, Occupying the Nation from Paris to Berlin”
- 2013 American Anthropological Association – Chicago: “‘He’s Callin’ His Flock Now’: MC Sefyu’s Postcolonial Critique and the Sounds of Double Consciousness”
- 2013 Hip Hop as Social Empowerment – Volkswagen Stiftung Center, Hannover, Germany: “Ghetto Grammar: Hip Hop as Postcolonial Critique on the UK”

Peer Review (Selected)**Manuscripts**

University of Chicago Press
 Oxford University Press
 Versita Open Access Press/DeGruyter Press

Editorial Board (Reviews Editor)

Journal of the Society for Musicology in Ireland

Journals

Journal of the American Musicological Society (Cal)
Popular Music (Cambridge)
Journal of Popular Music Studies (Wiley)
Music Theory Online (SMT)
American Literary History (Oxford)

Research Areas

Hip Hop Studies, Popular Music Studies, Postcolonial Cultural Studies, African American Music, Media Studies, Digital Arts and Humanities, Critical Race Theory, Jazz Studies, New Music

Languages

German, French, Spanish, Portuguese (Reading)

Citations

There is no reliable mechanism for recording citations in my discipline, and, because of this, citation metrics are not a community norm for assessing impact. Google Scholar lists my total citations at 83 with an h-index of 3, though this under-reports the actual numbers. The wide disciplinary range of this small sample of my citations does, however, demonstrate the interdisciplinary impact of my work, particularly in African American studies, media studies, urban geography, comparative literature, and postcolonial studies—a fact supported by my peer wide ranging review activities.

Appendix: All ongoing and submitted grants and funding of the PI (Funding ID)
Mandatory information (does not count towards the page limits)

On-going Grants

<i>Project Title</i>	<i>Funding source</i>	<i>Amount (Euros)</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Role of the PI</i>	<i>Relation to current ERC proposal</i>
CIPHER Proposal	UCC Strategic Research Fund	€2000	2017-2018	Grant Writer	Proposal Support Fund for ERC
CIPHER Proposal	UCC CACSSS Major Application Support Fund	€2000	2017-2018	Grant Writer	Proposal Support Fund for ERC
<i>Flip the Script</i> Subvention	AMS PAYS 75	€1000	2017-2018	Author	First book subvention and promotion

Grant applications

<i>Project Title</i>	<i>Funding source</i>	<i>Amount (Euros)</i>	<i>Period</i>	<i>Role of the PI</i>	<i>Relation to current ERC proposal²</i>
Flip the Script	UCC, College of ACSSS	€1000	2017-2018	Author	First book subvention
Flip the Script	National University of Ireland	€1000	2017-2018	Author	First book subvention
Hip Hop Interpellation In Europe	IRC New Horizons	€89,000	2015-2016	Ethnographer Project Leader	Small-scale Pilot Version of CIPHER
Voicing Solidarity	British Academy / Leverhulme Foundation	€3,000	2014	Archival Researcher	African American Musical Influence in Europe
European Hip Hop and The Politics Of Post-coloniality	Volkswagen Stiftung	€70,000	2013-2014 (offer declined for Cambridge Job)	Ethnographic Work to Finish Ms. And Lead Conference on Subject	Smaller scale European study of hip hop
Planet Rap	UC Berkeley Center for American Studies	€5,500	2013-2014	Coordinator and Manager	Community Engaged Research Initiative
European Hip Hop and The Politics Of Post-coloniality	ACLS New Faculty Fellowship	€100,000	2011-2013	Research and Teaching Fellowship to Finish Ms.	Smaller scale European study of hip hop

Section C: Early Achievements Track Record

J. Griffith Rollefson, PhD – Established Lecturer in Popular Music Studies, University College Cork
jg.rollefson@ucc.ie / <http://jgriffithrollefson.wix.com/homepage> / <https://europeanhiphop.org/>

Principle Investigator Profile

I am an ethno/musicologist and cultural theorist whose research centers on black music and globalization from the African American spirituals to hip hop. I have a top-notch and truly internationally record of academic achievement having earned prestigious PhD and dissertation research funding; published with the top presses, series, and journals in my fields of ethno/musicology, black music, and popular music studies; earned international awards, fellowships, and grants from the ACLS, DAAD, Volkswagen Stiftung, British Academy, Enterprise Ireland, American Musicological Society, and others; and secured research and teaching posts at the world's finest universities.

Throughout my research, I have pursued an innovative approach to engaging the hybridities, paradoxes and asymmetries of contemporary globalization, working through the contradictions of global capitalism that simultaneously center black music and marginalize black people. Based on fieldwork with communities in Paris, Berlin, and London, my monograph, *Flip the Script: European Hip Hop and the Politics of Postcoloniality* (University of Chicago Press, 2017), makes the bold and transformational claim that in hip hop's sonic and rhetorical contours we can *hear* that African American "double consciousness" is a particularized US form of a global postcolonial condition. Of the global and necessarily interdisciplinary study, sociologist and author of *The Black Atlantic*, Paul Gilroy, writes: "detailed, innovative, and exhilarating... At last we have a critical survey that can match the complexity and power of the music"; musicologist Ellie Hisama adds: "A brilliantly textured portrait of European hip hop... An inspiring and hopeful book"; ethnomusicologist Tom Solomon writes: "*Flip the Script* is highly original and ambitious, and a substantial contribution to research on hip hop and postcolonialism"; and hip hop and media studies pioneer Murray Forman concludes: "Simply stated, this is a powerful book with a killer flow." The American Musicological Society recently published an excerpt from the book's conclusion on their flagship blog, *MusicologyNow* and it has been featured on TelegraphBooks.com, FauxSounds.com, Page99Test.com, and elsewhere. The book has also been adopted in interdisciplinary postgraduate seminars around the world, including Tatiana Thieme's Geography seminars at University College London and Ellie Hisama's Musicology seminars at Columbia University. This and much more information on the book's impact is available at the companion website: <https://europeanhiphop.org/>.

What's more, the book is making inroads back to the communities that inspired it. The hip hop fan site ScratchedVinyl.com writes: "*Flip the Script* is a must-read for hip hop fans that are seeking to broaden their horizons and understand how hip hop is being made and consumed in Europe... Rollefson has crafted a book that is very readable, and helps build a base knowledge that will leave you hungry to learn more." As I have stressed in the "statements of the art" section above, when we take seriously the cultural knowledge of music makers and model a methodology premised on their beliefs and practices—regardless of how complex a task that might be—we open up new avenues of inquiry and make bold new leaps in understanding. Through close listening I have thus crafted theoretical and methodological tools that help to disabuse us of our presuppositions and move us past the oft-sedimented habits of thought and into new culturally responsive, engaged, and nuanced realms of understanding.

I recently published a co-authored article with Laudan Nooshin as part of the journal *Twentieth-Century Music's* Discussion Forum, "Defining Twentieth and Twenty-first Century Music" (2017b). Our piece, titled "Critiquing 'twentieth-century music': A Polyvocal Ethnomusicological Response," sat next to luminaries in the field including George Lewis, Dai Griffiths, Noriko Manabe, and Benjamin Piekut and implored music scholars to think long and hard about how "Eurocentrism and its twentieth-century myopia have conspired to naturalize a universal idea of human progress at the expense of other parallel histories." Another recent essay for the forthcoming *Oxford Handbook of Hip Hop Studies* [in press, 2018] examines the hybrid history and polycultural reality of hip hop's engagements with martial arts ideologies and epistemes. That chapter, titled "Hip Hop as Martial Art: Towards a Political Economy of Violence in Rap Music," examines one hip hop "gem" (in the sense that I describe in B1 above)—the ideological/performative metaphysics of "words as weapons" so evident and ubiquitous in hip hop praxis.

Looking back at my track record, my 2008 examination of musical Afrofuturism, published as "The Robot Voodoo Power Thesis" in *Black Music Research Journal*, is an early example of my penchant for finding novel, artist-led heuristics and became an early milestone in my career. The article opened the floodgates for music-centered examinations in the field of Afrofuturism and was the first to theorize the concept of "anti-anti-essentialism"—moving debates past the well-worn ruts of the "essentialism vs. anti-essentialism" debate in black music studies. Similar to my seemingly contradictory Hip Hop Interpellation thesis, this was accomplished through the sonic ambivalences and rhetorical contradictions of a hip hop lyric: "Supersonic,

bionic / Robot voodoo power” (Thornton). The article has been cited over forty times and garnered me speaking engagements at Cambridge, Princeton, Northwestern, and elsewhere. Additionally, a French translation was published in the conceptual artist Lili Reynaud-Dewar’s book *Interpretation*.

I also have extensive management experience: I have served as PI for various international research grants; I have managed dozens of postgraduate teaching and research assistants; I have managed applications and served as official mentor for ERC and Irish Research Council Postdocs; and I currently serve as Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of Music at UCC. As one example of my management experience, during my time as ACLS New Faculty Fellow in Musicology and Ethnomusicology at the University of California, Berkeley (2011-2013), I was named UC Chancellor’s Public Scholar, serving as PI for a community engaged scholarship initiative on hip hop and postcolonial studies. As PI for the project “Planet Rap, Bay Style,” I conducted a search for and hired a postgraduate research assistant and selected ten Berkeley undergraduate students to work with secondary school youth at local community arts institutions. I managed contracts and funds dispersal; drafted memorandas of understanding with the organizations; and arranged a live-streamed panel on hip hop and the digital humanities titled “Rap Genius and the Open-Sourcing of Hip Hop Knowledge” as part of the public research project. It is as part of this panel that I first met the Genius.com team and began thinking about instrumentalizing big data in hip hop studies—an interest that has led me to my interests in digital humanities and my work with UCC’s Digital Arts and Humanities Committee. Not coincidentally, my time as PI for Planet Rap was also the period during which I imagined the social media feedback loop that would be responsive to hip hop communities and provide a feedback mechanism that could value hip hop’s knowledges and give hip hop’s stakeholders a real and active role in hip hop scholarship.

In working on the European hip hop book—the first of its kind—I made a number of theoretical breakthroughs to explain the processes that center black music while marginalizing black people. During my time on the Faculty of Music at the University of Cambridge, I led a panel on hip hop discourses of “illness” vis-à-vis mental health at the Cambridge Festival of Ideas (with Cambridge neuroscientists Becky Inkster and Akeem Sule) and was also invited to London’s Southbank Centre to lead a study night on my concept of “Musical (African) Americanization” as part of Alex Ross’s *The Rest is Noise Festival*. That theory describes how Americanization in the realm of music is not simply a homogenizing monolith, but a deeply ambivalent process that also diversifies, activates minority identities, and plants seeds of emancipation through the unlikely form of commercial media and cultural commodities. This concept proved a crucial step in developing the basic assumptions that ultimately led me to CIPHER’s new emancipatory forms of post-Althusserian interpellation theory.

As mentioned in my state of the art discussion above, research is nearing completion for a chapter titled, “Hip Hop Interpellation: Rethinking Autochthony and Appropriation in Irish Rap,” in the new collection *Made in Ireland: Studies in Popular Music*, (Mangaoang, et. al.). Using pilot data sourced from Irish hip hop communities, the chapter models and tests the Hip Hop Interpellation thesis. As I show, Ireland is a nation in which poetry, music, and storytelling figure prominently in constructions of national identity—indeed, the national symbol is the Celtic harp, icon of the ancient bards, the epic storytellers. Notably, it is also a country with a proud history of anti-colonial struggle and diasporic consciousness. Not surprisingly, these legacies figure prominently in the ways that hip hop has been engaged as a tool of cultural expression and political resistance by Irish MCs and DJs—from the street reporting, revolutionary lyrics, and “Celtic funk” of pioneers ScaryÉire and Marxman to the bardic references, Joycean wordplay, and trad soundscapes of contemporary artists like Temper-Mental MissElayneous and Spekulative Fiktion. In the study I illustrate how KoS manifests itself in Irish hip hop praxis. Through interviews, observations, and other forms of ethnographic and archival research—including collaborative storytelling with artists—this chapter tells a history of hip hop in Ireland. In so doing, however, it also makes a larger claim about the relationship between the ways that this irreducibly black American art form has hailed countless subjects into hip hop consciousness; subjects whose experiences had primed them for the “new cultural affiliations” (Condry) and “identity of passions” (Gilroy citing Ellison) that hip hop scholars have described.

Indeed, Spekulative Fiktion, one of the Irish rappers I examine in the chapter perfectly encapsulates my theorization of CIPHER: Hip Hop Interpellation in his references to James Joyce, who, writing in 1916 (at the dawn of Irish Independence), suggested: “When the soul of a man is born in this country there are nets flung at it to hold it back from flight. You talk to me of nationality, language, religion. I shall try to fly by those nets.” I now intend to use the track record of career achievements that I describe here as a launch pad to undertake the utterly transformative and broadly transferable work of CIPHER: Hip Hop Interpellation. With the game-changing support of the ERC Consolidator Grant I will lead global hip hop studies into a brave new world, parlay my established excellence in the field of hip hop studies into broad new realms of cultural investigation, and upend how we think about culture and/as cultural production.

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