Swag Studies:
Identity as Performance in Hip-hop Culture and Portraiture in History

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Abstract

As a member of the hip-hop community, I find myself advocating for the authentic culture over the commercialized, appropriated culture all too often. Hip-hop is a space in our society for organic forms of self-expression and discovery, particularly powerful to youths. I have turned to art making to deconstruct the images of hip-hop, in an attempt to showcase the power hip-hop has, and always will have, for global change. Through hip-hop and my visual studies, I hope to engage macro scale understandings and discussions of the human condition in order to connect people of all different backgrounds and beliefs.

In my current series of visual works, I am studying the performance of identity in hip-hop through the collection and manipulation of images as artifacts. I strive to remove the superficial layer on top of the expressions within hip-hop to get a glimpse at the underlying truths of the culture and its people. Images in the series are derived from two collections: the street photography of Jamel Shabazz and Grand Manner portraiture curated into Tate Gallery’s Swagger Portrait Exhibition. Understanding the roots of the culture through a historical lens offers an appreciation for the power that hip-hop continues to hold for youth development today and, through my work, advocates for hip-hop’s authenticity and relevance.

Hip-hop and the Subcultural Code

Embedded within every culture is a long list of objects and ideas with associations and meanings that assist us in understanding another person’s social and cultural alignment. The process of unraveling cultural classification is tainted with judgments, stereotypes, and associations that act as shamans, guiding us through the chaos of our multi-faceted and multi-cultural world. With appearances, the superficial information presented by individuals often signifies, and thus defines, social standing by following the “culture code” of their choice. J. Patrick Williams describes, in his book Subcultural Theory, that any “culture code” is “comprised of ideological, structured, pragmatic representations of everyday life of the people who create
them.” (53). These codes thus involve elements that dictate appearance, demeanor, and lifestyle, generally of a non-normative nature, chosen by members of the group for individuals to follow in pursuit and maintenance of their subcultural membership. Particularly with subcultures, a person’s superficial loyalty to the code of the group requires awareness, intention, and effort. So, in discussing the performance of identity associated with a culture or subculture, it is critical to expose an individual’s efforts towards association to their subcultural group of choice. By doing so, we not only unravel a long-standing code inscribed deep within the culture or subculture, but we are able to get a peek at the underlying truths of individuals and their situations that become masked by the immediate information at their surfaces.

Underneath its rough exterior, hip-hop is a rare space in society that continually offers the opportunity for sincere self-expression and solace to the youth who align their identities to it. Often misunderstood, hip-hop is not simply a style of music or a genre of street fashion. In actuality, hip-hop is a full-blown international culture with its own language and artistic forms for self-expression. This language is spoken through the Five Elements of hip-hop, as laid out by the Universal Zulu Nation: DJ’ing, B-boying, MC’ing, Graffiti Writing, and Knowledge, each element allowing individuals to express themselves through multiple formats and platforms.

In the 1970’s, these elements were culturally unified under The Universal Zulu Nation, an organization of former New York City gang members that came together to end the violence and killings in their neighborhoods through these elements. Headed by the founder, Afrika Bambaataa, they also defined the principles of hip-hop: Peace, Love, Unity, and Havin’ fun. These elements and principles, together, re-routed the fate of countless numbers of New York youths. When hip-hop began to “lose its way” and fall back into gangster rap and gang violence, Bambaataa added the fifth element: Knowledge (Chang 90). His idea was to refocus the hip-hop generation through knowledge of hip-hop’s history and promote integrity and dedication to the elements of principles at the core of hip-hop culture. Craig S. Watkins explains in his book *Hip Hop Matters: Politics, Pop Culture, and the Struggle for the Soul of a Movement*, “Bambaataa
took his vision of unity, anti-violence, and self-help to the streets in an effort to recruit what he called 'warriors for the community'" (23), Bambaataa was determined to save his neighborhood and start a revolution.

When there is a foreseeable profit, advertising, mass media, and popular culture grab a hold of subcultural associations and use them to promote a persona, a lifestyle, or a mode of thinking to the public. There’s no doubt that fashion and entertainment corporations have played an important role in the internationalization of hip-hop and thus its movement from a grassroots subculture into a worldwide culture. As the subculture gained members and grew in numbers in the late 1970’s into the 1980’s, corporations started to take notice of the power hip-hop held for youths. Corporations hardly hesitated to turn hip-hop into a commodity in order to access and take advantage of the novel and powerful consumer group of youths. The commodification of the subculture then birthed the association of hip-hop being current and trendy, a boost to an individual's social standing.

For a subculture to be applicable to the population at large, its code needs to become accessible to anyone that desires membership. This accessibility takes the form of consumer goods, exposed and then widely available after corporate interest and promotion. The greater population can then buy their way into social standing, creating cultural conflict between authenticity and mimicry. These styles become commodities, which are “easily transformed from objects enmeshed in underground practices and ideologies into dislocated symbols for mass consumption.” (Williams 83-84). What is promoted by advertising, mass media, and popular culture at the end of this cycle is a non-authentic version of the subculture adopted by anyone with the means to do so. A thinned out version of a subculture and a social status supported by consumer goods, materialism, and superficiality is then readily available for anyone to consume.

However, hip-hop heads, or enthusiasts, maintain their loyalty to these cultural signifiers, holding them as symbols of authentic alliance that represent their integrity within Knowledge. An extremely relevant example of this alliance can be found in the sneaker. An ever-prevailing
symbol in hip-hop, the sneaker holds much more power than its utilitarian form suggests. In hip-hop, the sneaker is a status symbol as well as an important part of an individual’s style. For B-boy ing, sneakers reach another level of importance with their functional aspects being just as important as their stylistic relevance. As Jeff Chang poetically explains in his extensive book *Can’t Stop, Won’t Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation:*

“Each time a B-boy or B-girl stepped in the cipher, they wrote their own generational narrative. Starting upright in the top-rock, hands up and stabbing like a gang-member in motion, feet moving side to side like Ali in a rope-a-dope, dropping down like James Brown, turning hurricanes of Spy’s Boricua footwork, exploding into a Zulu freeze, tossing in a spin and punctuating it all with a Bruce Lee grin or a mocking Maori tongue-the entire history of the hip-hop body in a virtuoso display of style.” (118).

B-boy ing is a democratic space for self-expression, wherein B-boys battle in the cipher for their place in the culture and for the own expression of self, their sneakers being their tool towards democracy. This is an aspect of the culture that demands authenticity within hip-hop style, a stark contrast to the mere mimicry witnessed in appropriation of the style by fashion and media corporations.

**Swag Studies**

The performance of identity within hip-hop can be understood through the concept of style. Williams references sociologist Michael Brake who “broke style down into three categories: argot, demeanor, and image (i.e. how subcultural members speak, behave, and look).” Williams then continues:

“While this is a good starting point, I find it useful to think about style in terms of cultural objects and cultural practices. Moreover, as we will see, the former is often tied up with the latter in complex ways. In other words, style is about more than just a way of dress. It is about what, in the subcultural argot of hip-hop, is often defined as ‘swagger’.” (66-7).

Swagger, also referred to as swag, is part of the code that distinguishes hip-hop from other subcultures and the rest of the normative population. If swagger is to conduct oneself with “an air
of overbearing self-confidence” (Merriam-Webster), swag is a result of calculated and informed effort.

At the foundation of all of the elements of hip-hop is a principle of originality, with each element existing as a platform for individuals to express their originality while simultaneously challenging everyone else’s. An important factor within swag is the means by which an individual adopts the style code of hip-hop in an original, distinguishing way, particular to his or her own history. Jeff Chang explains how this originality within style arose out of a powerless population striving for their identity to be known:

“But invisibility was it’s own kind of reward; it meant you had to answer to no one except the others who shared your condition. It meant you became obsessed with showing and proving, distinguishing yourself and your originality above the crowd. It put you on a relentless quest to prove to them that you were bigger, wilder, and bolder than circumstances dictated you should ever be, to try to generate something from nothing, something no one else had, until everyone around you had to admit that you had something they might never have, something that might even make other people - big important people - stand up and take notice themselves, offer you money, give you power, or try to crush your very soul. That was the key to having style.” (111).

It is this rawness that situates hip-hop into subcultural theory, wherein subcultures are referred to as resources for youths to develop positive self-identities, to find solace and confidence in non-normative thinking and support within a community to retreat to from an alienating outer world (Williams 2). Non-normativity of hip-hop, thus, demands originality. As long as they maintain their integrity within hip-hop’s code, a person may borrow from other cultures, time periods, or lifestyles. Being original is about the way an individual applies these styles and concepts, incorporating them into their own personal swag. Originality, then, performed in alliance to hip-hop’s cultural code, is expressed through the elements of hip-hop. So, although anyone can mimic the style and apply their own adaptations to it, authenticity derives from cultural activity in addition to argot, demeanor, and image. This idea of the cultural code interests me deeply as a visual artist, exploring the richness and depth of this social construction through my work.
Portraiture not only informs its audience of the appearance of its subject, it provides information and signifiers of the situations and trends associated with a time in history. As such, it is critical that we understand appearance and social conditions in a dependent relationship, continuing to inform a person’s identity throughout history. In a portrait, an individual presents his or her identity to whatever public is intended, acting out of a desire to be seen. Like a first encounter, a portrait is driven by appearance and perception; a person’s dress, body language, facial expression, accessories, and surroundings are critical elements. These factors, situated in the context of the surrounding environment, culminate into a person’s judgment of the subject’s identity.

In Swag Studies, I examine the performance of identity in relation to body language through historical imagery. Art History teaches us to see these portraits as products of historical conditions, with painted portraiture being the result of a commission by the subject of the portrait or of manicured sets and models curated by the artist to create a desired image. Though they are not painted masterpieces to be admired in a grand hall, Jamel Shabazz’s street photography (fig. 1) of the crews and leaders in Brooklyn from the 1980’s is a lens into the birthplace of hip-hop and the generation that fostered it. These photographs are published in his book Back in the Days, with an introduction written by hip-hop pioneer Fab 5 Freddy in which he explained:

“If among the many emotions you feel while viewing these photos, cool comes to mind, here’s why - back then, cool was all about having the right flavor and savoir faire. Such a style blended a certain brand of rebelliousness with a casual nonchalance. It was a cocky confidence of sorts that was meticulously updated by a perpetual pursuit of an alternative, yet distinctive sensibility... But cool back then went beyond the Kangols, Adidas, gold chains, monikers, and the sheer superficiality of our current “bling bling” counterculture. It went much deeper. It wasn’t about being in a fashion show, going double platinum, or selling the next urban brand. Cool was - and in many cases still is - about survival. Like the images Jamel shows us, cool was about strength, pride, courage, and a fierce love for self.” (4).

Shabazz’s photographs are rich not only in their visual language, but in their socio-historical information. Wandering the streets, Shabazz approaches individuals, asks them to pose, and captures whatever they will offer him. In that brief moment, the individuals make a decision; they
have to decide how they want to be portrayed. A quick pose is created, maybe one that’s practiced, and the subject is captured in that moment, frozen in their decision for the rest of time.

What we are presented, as a viewer, is a practiced pose and a chosen angle of perspective from which we observe everything about an individual’s appearance and the culture that they represent.

This process can be observed at a heightened state looking back into history at British portraiture. In 1992, the Tate Gallery exhibited a show they titled *Swagger Portraits*. The show was an attempt to examine the information about social conditions that contributed to Grand Manner portraiture (fig. 2). The Director of Tate Gallery, Nicholas Serota, writes in the forward to the exhibition’s book,

“We are aware that the term ‘Swagger Portrait’ is not necessarily familiar to everyone; it is a phrase that exactly conveys the mood of those Grand Manner likenesses that have always been the greatest challenge to a portrait painter’s imagination, and the most revealing of the social aspirations of his sitters. There is much bombast, glamour and dressing-up, and not a little unconscious humour. The exhibition will, it is hoped, be entertaining as well as instructive, and will carry the visitor with gusto over its three-hundred year span.” (7).

By collecting images from the books *Swagger Portraits* and *Back in the Days*, I created an archive of swagger images. Appropriating these images allows me to re-contextualize portraiture, the process of re-use full of opportunity to create the new work. Ursula Frohne argues:

“As in popular cultural practices, so in artistic methods a paradigm shift has become apparent during the past four decades: economies of reuse, circulation, and transformation of existing artworks have shaped new ideas of creative production. Against the backdrop of a boundless availability of images, this creative production has been increasingly conducted through cooperative thinking and acting. “The cult of the original,” once mandatory for the formation of Western art, has been consequently transformed by recodings of culturally accepted visual formulas.” (1).

I appropriate these images in an act of education, taking advantage of the vast and ever-expanding visual inventory of today’s age to create my own original visual study. By taking artistic liberty with the images and manifesting my thought through the use of my artist’s hand and eye, I create original images to support my intentions of questioning the performance of identity.

Appropriation, however, is a sensitive topic within hip-hop when understanding the process of
corporate appropriation of the culture for economic gain and control over youths as a consumer group resulting in dilution of the culture. Larry Southhall, known as Larry Love in the hip-hop community and a member of my Honors Committee, is a native of the Bronx, New York and began working with hip-hop dance forms in the early 1980’s. Larry is respected locally and nationally as one of the great traditional hip-hop teachers and is a wealth for authentic hip-hop Knowledge. He explained to me, “Hip-hop does not come from appropriation of cultures or ideas. It is original. Appropriation of hip-hop happens with The Suits, The Man trying to grab a hold of the culture.” (Southhall). As a sensitive and relevant discussion within hip-hop, educational appropriation can be enacted for my own artistic use, allowing me to take images that are not my own and transform them for the sake of evolution of thought around identity and portraiture, rather than for the sake of personal economic gain and ownership.

Through this process, I discovered trends of body language in posing and so, I set out to examine the patterns of identity performance in portraiture. Swag Studies consists of three pairs of images from my archive of swagger images. Each pair is made up of a Shabazz photograph and a Grand Manner painting, connected specifically through the chosen pose of the subject. After scanning these images, I empowered myself to manipulate the images. In an effort to maintain my artist’s hand in the images within Photoshop, I equipped myself with only the eraser tool. Rather than utilizing a more advanced tool like the Magic Wand, I used the eraser like a paintbrush, each stroke remaining as important as the one before. I proceeded to remove certain items from the images in an attempt to question what is underneath the performance of identity. In cutting out certain elements of each portrait like jewelry, adornment, and accessories, I allow the viewer to focus on less visual information to create space for cerebral connections between the two images, histories, and constructions of identity. While seeking for the underlying information of social conditions in a portrait, I root body language in deep historical situations and leave the viewer to contemplate patterns in identity performance, questioning originality.
In the Grand Manner portraits, I focused on costuming and props. Master painters of these portraits used “easily understood signposts” of costuming and setting to convey the “dignified status” of their portrait sitters (Wilton 42). Known for its idealization of its subjects represented in life-size and at full length, sitters are placed in surroundings that reinforce their high degree of sophistication and social class from classical architecture to seascapes and pastures. Further signifiers of social class can be found in the objects situated around them representing worldliness, property, and authority. These portraits are particularly theater and performance oriented.

In Shabazz’s photographs, I targeted the icons of hip-hop, the signifiers of an individual’s membership within the culture. Cazal glasses, Adidas sneakers, and gold jewelry are some of these symbols that I cut out from the images to highlight through the removal process. Particularly in hip-hop, these transformed images ask how important these symbols are for the culture. What is hip-hop without Adidas? Can we remove ourselves from the objects that are associated with our culture? If we do, does that dilute our culture? These are important questions that I ask myself as well as direct at the hip-hop community.

In Swag Studies 1 & 2, the sitters are connected by their pose of resting their chins/cheeks in their left hand, their bodies presented at an angle. They also happen to be dressed in the same color scheme of light blues and white. I removed the jewelry from both portraits, taking away the glitz and glamour from their costuming. I also erased the estate in the background of the Grand Manner portrait, Thomas Hudson’s Mary Panton, Duchess of Ancaster (fig. 3), knowing that the inclusion of this was an attempt to show class and property. Notice the direction of the feather, pointing straight at the property. In contrast, Shabazz’s image (fig. 4) is focused solely on the individual without property. Although he is situated within a street environment, the background is blurred out of focus and the viewer is encouraged to focus on just him and his performance.

I examined couples and their performance in Swag Studies 3 & 4. Though they are both situated with the woman on the left and man on the right, there is a difference in body language.
In Shabazz’s image, the man stands next to the woman with his arm around her, his hand resting on her shoulder with his other hand on his hip. The woman stands with one of her arms around his back, the other hand in a fist propped assertively on her hip. In Thomas Gainsborough’s *Mr. and Mrs. Hallet (‘The Morning Walk’)*, the woman stands with her arm linked into the man’s, her other arm hanging down on her side. The man’s hands are both tucked into his jacket, his outside arm much lower than the other. In both portraits, the man’s front foot is slightly ahead of the woman’s, a subtle display of male dominance and leadership. Shabazz’s portrait feels more as if the man and woman are on equal fields, though both portraits are reminiscent of property and ownership in a relationship. I removed the luxurious fabrics and accessories in Gainsborough’s portrait, also removing the dog - yet another symbol of property (fig. 5). In Shabazz’s, I removed the Adidas stripes in the man’s shoes and the Cazal glasses from both individuals as well as jewelry and accessories (fig. 6). When Cazal frames became especially trendy in the 80’s, regular muggings, stabbings, and murders were reported over the glasses, which were sold for $85 to $150 in stores, and $35 for a stolen pair on the street, according to a 1984 article in The Milwaukee Journal. The Cazals in Shabazz’s portrait are just as much of a status symbol as Mary Panton’s estate in *Swag Studies* (2). They distinguish the individual from those around them, inside and outside of the culture. By removing Cazals from the portrait, I remove a powerful signifier of hip-hop from the couple’s performance.

*Swag Studies* 5 & 6 demonstrate a simple yet powerful stance of confrontation. Sir William Orpen’s *Mrs. St George* of 1912 presents her draped in furs, luxurious fabrics, and pearls. Her gaze is directed forward, straight at her audience, clarifying her dignified social standing. The same stance is found in Shabazz’s image of three men on the street. Their Adidas outfits are topped with fur coats, adding an extra layer of cool to their iconic outfits. The men hold their ground, their stances wide and their faces straight. Just like Mrs. St George, they assert their social standing for all who will be witness to their performance. Their Cazals and their Adidas symbols were removed, in addition to the fur lapels and trims on their jackets (fig. 7).
Mrs. St. George’s fur scarf, jewelry, and hat feather were removed, leaving her draped in negative space, staring forward, nonetheless (fig. 8).

Printed on 37”x 48” acrylic sheets and hung twelve inches away from the wall, the series of six images work together to exhibit overarching trends in performing identity. Directing their bodies in space for the camera or for the painter, individuals choose how they want to be documented and understood by the world. Although elements of the individual have been removed like costumes and props, they are only replaced with empty space. The forms of these removed objects transform into solid shapes of negative space, transparent via the acrylic sheet. These signifiers, however, remain a part of the imagery and conversation in their ghostly state, just as they cannot ever be fully removed from these histories.

Connections

*Swag Studies* is supported by the evolution of my past work, as well through researching a number of contemporary artists and art work with which I identify. By studying Contemporary artists that also employ these roles in their utilization of historical and cultural imagery as a material, I align my work with individuals aiming to dissect, translate, and challenge cultural notions of identity through history. I have studied the work of Paul Pfeiffer, Adrian Piper, and Ellen Gallagher in support of my visual work.

Paul Pfeiffer situates his creative identity along the lines of a cultural translator rather than an author, examining and exposing the “huge infrastructure that undergirds every image we see on T.V.” (Art:21). In his photographic series, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* (fig. 9), Pfeiffer takes video from televised basketball games and proceeds to remove specific features from the frame in an attempt to urge the audience to consider the realm of sports in a new perspective. By removing familiarizing features like labels off of jerseys, team logos off of the floor, and advertisements from the arena, the images are stripped of most of their context, Pfeiffer leaves the viewer to focus on the relationship between spectator and spectacle within the sport of
basketball. Pfeiffer shows that there is much more lying underneath our superficial representations, claiming that the spectacle is not just visual, but it is psychological (Pfeiffer). By no longer having to focus on the context of the situation presented, the viewer is left with the body language and facial expressions of both players and spectators, intensifying the information buried beneath all of the contextual imagery.

An artist becomes an active player in the process of bringing a culture out of the dark and towards social enlightenment through the act of offering knowledge. Through lectures, dance lessons, and funk parties, Adrian Piper sought to engage the outside population in Black popular culture, addressing the hostilities and misunderstandings of Funk music, dancing, and culture in *Funk Lessons* (fig. 10). Piper offered a population a language, a form of expression, and a history that they had assumed they had no access to through her performance as teacher, or ambassador, of the culture of Funk, creating cross-cultural engagement, self-expression, and active participation of "outsiders" within a culture in which they were previously unassociated with. The Funk Lessons sought to restructure people's identities through "a demonstration of new ways of communicating across boundaries, imagining a collectivity…based on a set of discontinuous histories brought together in a charged, performed present." (Jacob, Luis, Piper, Wendt 63). This ambassador role is one that I discovered in my video *Dancing in Private for Everybody Watching* (fig. 11), a collection YouTube tutorials of the James Brown shuffle, each teacher is self-empowered as cultural advocate in the same manner that Piper exhibited. By collecting these videos and offering them to my audience, I align myself as informant through the process of curating. Further, by focusing on the aesthetics found in these videos- individuals dancing in their sweatpants and socks in their bedrooms and homes- I explore what I have termed the “Aesthetics of Democracy” within hip-hop.

In regards to portraiture, I find a connection with Ellen Gallagher and her connection of modern ideals with their historical roots. Gallagher’s historical lens allows her to understand her
identity and her place in society while creating works that stand as narratives to be deciphered through lenses of history and modern society. As she explains:

“There is the material and it has historical implications, but it is also about my own intervention in that material, my present day reading of the material - my selection and editing. The invention occurs through the selection of fragments. The edit foregrounds my own (mis)readings of the historical materials. This falsification creates friction and energy. Maybe this is not a reliable archive, as densities and expansions get created through the selection and cutting and additions. Some readings get closed down and hopefully some readings become more visible, more open.” (Qtd in Wilmes 203).

In *Preserve* (fig. 12), Gallagher takes advertisements from African American beauty magazines from the 60’s and 70’s, manipulating them using pencil, oil paint, text, and plasticine. The work takes on a new life after being manipulated through Gallagher’s modern consciousness, with the historical imagery as its conceptual and physical foundation. Gallagher’s concept of moving forward by looking is essential to understanding the importance of layers in identity performance, and to appreciate the process of deconstructing these layers and their associations.

Similarly, this notion of reading historical material through one’s own individual lens is an important aspect of hip-hop culture and the expressions found in my work. In *Swag Studies*, the series blends history with present day societal thinking in the same manner of Gallagher, offering the support for manipulation of images and ideas through my personal “modern consciousness”. In *Finding Balance* (fig. 13), I document the process of creating my own B-girling freezes through photography. A B-boy’s or B-girl’s individual style is a direct result of a process of innovation that results out of Knowledge and foundation in the dance and culture. Breaking four of my own freezes down into four steps from start to finish, the photographs testify to the process of originality that roots hip-hop in a realm of self-expression and self-discovery.

Though my work is inspired by the work of these artists, it is culturally relevant to my own history and identity through its processes, content, and concepts. Through critiquing the culture that I so passionately align my identity with, I strive to understand my role while
respecting the history of hip-hop, defending its authenticity, and advocating for the progress that can be made within it as a force for global change.

**Advocating for Change**

We arrive at the present only on the foundation of history. The concepts we depend on to perform our identity are results of moving forward from history by adapting or rejecting constructions from the past. With any subculture, there is a strong sense of rebellion, of the defined other compared to the self that motivates performances of identity and cultural activity. Through Knowledge, the Fifth Element of hip-hop, we understand the role of hip-hop throughout history and are self-aware and self-critical of the place we situate ourselves in society and the power we can play in global change.

In the search for power and the action of defining one’s social standing, individuals use portraiture as a means to their ends. By understanding portraiture as a theatrical performance with props and costumes contributing to the character the portrait sitter desires to portray, the viewer becomes empowered and aware. What is lying beneath these performances is the truth of a culture and a time in history. The social conditions that contributed to Grand Manner portraiture acted in the same way as those that contributed to the development of hip-hop style. In *Swag Studies*, the two previously unconnected histories are brought together to create a macro understanding of the human condition in its quest for recognition and power. It is critical that an understanding of the history of hip-hop is reached, one that strays from the misconceptions created by corporate appropriation, and one that acknowledges the power in hip-hop for self-development and self-expression. After getting below the superficial information in the performance of identity in hip-hop, I advocate for the importance of Knowledge in the culture and expose the responsibility we have as a force for global change.
Works Cited


Southhall, Larry. "Discussion with Larry Southhall." Telephone interview. 1 Apr. 2014.


Reference

Figure 1

[Image of Untitled photograph from Back in the Days, Jamel Shabazz (1980-89)]

Figure 2

[Image of Captain Coram, William Hogarth (1740)]
Figure 3

*Swag Studies (1)*, Sarah Touslee (2014)

Figure 4

*Swag Studies (2)*, Sarah Touslee (2014)
Figure 5

*Swag Studies (3)*, Sarah Touslee (2014)

Figure 6

*Swag Studies (4)*, Sarah Touslee (2014)
Figure 7

Swag Studies (6), Sarah Touslee (2014)

Figure 8

Swag Studies (5), Sarah Touslee (2014)
Figure 9

*Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse (6)*, Paul Pfeiffer (2001)

Figure 10

Still from *Funk Lessons*, Adrian Piper (1983)
Figure 11

Still from *Dancing in Private for Everybody Watching*, Sarah Touslee (2014)

Figure 12

*Preserve*, Ellen Gallagher (2001)
Figure 13

*Finding Balance (1 & 2), Sarah Touslee (2013)*