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Asia Pacific: PERSPECTIVES

an electronic journal

Volume VI · Number 2 15 September · 2006

Special Issue: Research from the USF Master of Arts in Asia Pacific Studies Program

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Asia Pacific: Perspectives is a peer-reviewed journal published at least once a year, usually in April/May. It welcomes submissions from all fields of the social sciences and the humanities with relevance to the Asia Pacific region.* In keeping with the Jesuit traditions of the University of San Francisco, *Asia Pacific: Perspectives* commits itself to the highest standards of learning and scholarship.

Our task is to inform public opinion by a broad hospitality to divergent views and ideas that promote cross-cultural understanding, tolerance, and the dissemination of knowledge unreservedly. Papers adopting a comparative, interdisciplinary approach will be especially welcome. **Graduate students are strongly encouraged to submit their work for consideration.**

* 'Asia Pacific region' as used here includes East Asia, Southeast Asia, South Asia, Oceania, and the Russian Far East.

Hip Hop and Identity Politics in Japanese Popular Culture

by Cary Jackson Broder

ABSTRACT

Hip-hop has emerged in Japan as an artistic and cultural phenomenon, as well as a source of identity and cultural capital for young people. Originating in the streets of the Bronx in the 70's, Hip-hop music and advertising have become entrenched in Japanese popular culture. It has engendered lucrative new economic ventures and inspired new fashion, signs, and attitudes derived from images of African-American rappers.

This paper examines the impact of Hip-hop culture on Japanese identity politics as the movement gains momentum in the Japanese economic and cultural marketplace. By examining each of the four primary "schools" of hip-hop art, the paper illustrates how Japan's encounter with Hip-hop has generated new forms of self-expression, and cultivated new templates of identity for young people.

Implicit in this new form of cultural borrowing is the marketing of signs and signifiers of African-American culture. These often involve the packaging and consumption of stereotyped depictions of African-Americans. Images of gangsters, thugs, hyper-sexualized pimps, and head-wrap-wearing R&B divas found in popular media become templates for identity and fashion choices for many young Japanese people.

Not all hip-hop in Japan is emulative. As the art form expands, it develops its own unique characteristics, addressing topics like nationalism, cuisine and cultural identity itself. The discussion will shed light on the complex transmission of Hip-hop culture into the fabric of everyday Japanese identity through media, and the consumption of stereotyped images of blackness implied in the Japanese adaptation of the art form.

Hip-hop has quickly emerged in Japan as an artistic and cultural phenomenon, as well as an image-based source of identity and cultural capital for young people. Originating in discotheques and in urban park jams in the poverty-stricken borough of the Bronx in New York City in the early 1970's, Hip-hop music, lexicons, and marketing have become inextricably entrenched in Japanese popular culture. It has engendered lucrative new economic ventures for young entrepreneurs, musicians, and young artists, and inspired new fashion, signs, and attitudes derived from images of primarily African-American rappers.

This paper examines the impact of Hip-hop culture on the construction of Japanese identity politics as the movement gains momentum in the Japanese economic and cultural marketplace, as well as the assimilation and reinterpretation of Hip-hop's art and imagery by Japanese young people after its inception in Japan in 1983. By examining the history of Hip-hop's emergence into Japanese daily life, and each of the four purported primary "schools" of hip-hop art in Japan—DJing, MCing (rapping), breakdancing, and graffiti writing—I will illustrate Hip-hop's emergence in Japan from an obscure street phenomenon found in public gathering spaces such as Harajuku's *Hotoken*¹ into a complex, transnational art form where new identities and forms of art are acted out in expensive clubs, art galleries, and on the streets

of Japanese urban centers like Tokyo, Yokohama, and Osaka. I will also examine how Japan's encounter with Hip-hop's artistic and cultural paradigms has generated new, unique forms of high tech artistic self-expression, avenues for consumption and transmission of negative African-American stereotypes, and cultivated new templates of identity for Japanese young people.

Hip-Hop's storied origins in the late 1970's in the Bronx have been well documented in popular media. The Bronx in the 1970's was a highly visible symbol of urban decay, part of a city that was languishing in debt, all but abandoned by Washington when Gerald Ford "refused [the] cash strapped city...financial support."² Median family income in the Bronx was a mere \$5,200 per annum, and the Bronx was a heroin-plagued borough rife with "police impotence, urban misery, and highly organized drug distribution," urban blight, soaring transit fares, and "miles of burnt out buildings."³ If great art is the product of struggle, then such conditions then were more than ripe for the emergence of a new, frustrated, and energetic artistic movement. Fed up with the glossy, cocaine-based decadence and awful music of the disco era in the 70's,⁴ innovative DJ's like Africa Bambatta and Kool Herc, rappers like Busy Bee (who incorporated aspects of the Jamaican practice of toasting),⁵ breakdancing crews, and graffiti artists such as Lee (who turned subway cars into a living canvas), created a new, vital form of artistic expression that carved out new discursive spaces and alternatives to drug and crime activity for at-risk youth.⁶

Relatively soon after its rise in the states in the 70's, Hip-hop emerged in Japan in 1983, when a handful of young dancers and artists lost their heads over a showing of the seminal, low-budget documentary film "Wild Style."⁷ Soon after that, small groups of breakdancers started gathering in Yoyogi Park, a public hangout for young people in Tokyo situated between Shibuya and Harajuku.⁸ Weekly Hip-hop gatherings quickly became a "*shizen-gensho*," or 'spontaneous natural phenomenon,' inspiring weekly gatherings featuring breakdancers and Hip-hop music blasting from boom boxes, a style copied from the legendary happenings on the urban streets of NY and other East Coast cities.

Dismissed by mainstream American critics as one more passing musical fad and novelty form of fashion and music until as recently as 1993, roughly twenty years after Hip-hop's emergence in the Bronx streets, few could have envisioned that Hip-hop would one day evolve as a recording industry mainstay,⁹ or that both white Americans and Japanese kids from middle-class families would walk around in the trademark baggy jeans, Cazals,¹⁰ and sneakers popularized by rappers like Run-DMC and LL Cool J. Skillfully marketed in Japan by companies like Def Jam Records today, Hip-hop has transformed from an eclectic form of recreation practiced by a few oddballs in Yoyogi Park into a lucrative industry whose drum machines, urban marketing, and break beats dominate the landscape of Japanese popular music and culture. Utada Hikaru, regarded and marketed as the reigning queen of conventional Japanese pop music, features two songs on her most recent album produced by hip-hop mega

producer Timbaland, whose synthesized mechanical twirps defined Hip-hop and pop music production starting around 2000.

In fact, it is no exaggeration to say that Hip-hop fashion among young Japanese people is the rule, not the exception. Even popular music in Japan that does not overtly package itself as such is still undeniably influenced by trademark signatures of Hip-hop music production: synthesized, repetitive loops, drum machine-produced break-beats at 90-110 beats per minute, and catchy choruses mirroring U.S. Hip-hop production are par for the course in most Japanese pop songs. In Tokyo's younger enclaves such as Shibuya, Harajuku, and even in more upscale neighborhoods like Ebisu, everywhere one can see the glossy packaging of stars wearing trademark Hip-hop sneers, loud jewelry ("bling-bling," or *pika-pika*) and expensive brand-named fashion based upon 80's images of the urban street. The images of Japanese stars wearing Hip-hop fashion are broadcast on a daily basis by the "Super Lisa" television screen in Shibuya. It is the panoptic, giant TV monitor overlooking Tokyo's primary youth meeting place, the Hachiko exit of Shibuya station. The Super-Lisa serves as both a five-story giant billboard, but also as a 24-hour barometer of cool (*kakkoii*) for Japanese youth.

Like 'rock' in the 60's, 'existentialism' in post-World War II Europe, or any imported cultural buzzword, the term Hip-hop has become both simultaneously ubiquitous and indefinable in Japan, as the cultural form's tentacles now extend well beyond youth culture. DJ Honda one of Japan's first successful commercial Hip Hop DJs, now owns and operates a clothing boutique in Nolita, New York City's downtown fashionista neighborhood not exactly known for its urban swagger. In Japan, his clothing line targets middle-aged salarymen in unassuming middle-class shopping outlets like Ito Yokado, endorsed by celebrities like Robin Williams and Ichiro Suzuki. Honda's product includes a line of hats, golf shirts, even boxer shorts.¹¹ Trendy, expensive health clubs such as Freizeit and X as feature "Hip-hop" dance classes attended equally by middle-aged housewives, their trainers, and young rap aficionados alike.

Japanese rap is booming. At this point, the majority of Japanese Hip-hop lyrics are largely derivative of U.S. Hip-hop, unwittingly yielding a bizarre linguistic fusion of Japanese pop lyrics covering universal themes like love and dancing, interspersed with English sound bites of black, hyper-sexualized masculinity from male rappers like "I'm the smooth operator"¹² and "This ain't no joke, I'm treating you right girl,"¹³ with female singers playing their role as secondary augmenters of the male narrative voice, shaking their booty, professing their dedicated love to their man, or lamenting a broken heart. Contemporary Japanese pop song structures closely follow the commercially viable, conservative lyrical formula of alternating female-crooned R&B opening intros and rapped choruses.

In addition to adhering to often unswervingly formulaic song structures and lyrical imitation and borrowing without creatively embellishing upon the original works, Japanese rapping is also limited in most cases up to this point by other

major factors: the Japanese language's structural parameters, word order, and patterns of articulation and enunciation differ vastly from those of English¹⁴ and cause awkward delivery when integrated with English words. In addition, Japanese rappers' lyrical cadence or "flow," the most crucial element of rapping, is often much too abrasive and aggressive-sounding to international audiences, limiting Japanese rap's appeal abroad.

But can rap be a unique form of Japanese expression? Rappers in Japan often raise interesting issues: who is Japanese? What does it mean to be Japanese today? Not all rap lyrics in Japan are emulative, and many rappers are beginning to deviate thematically from their U.S. counterparts. A select few artists have emerged as social critics with unique artistic voices and highly skilled vocal stylings that originally and creatively address deeper issues in Japanese society such as teen apathy, media paralysis, and ironically, Japan's cultural and economic subservience to the United States. Hip-Hop has given Japanese artists and young people new discursive spaces and voices of questioning of their government, society, and the world around them. In "Bullet of Truth," Rappers King Giddira and K Dub Shine exhort Japanese young people to analyze themselves, using rap as a means of questioning Japan's entrenched materialism, bombardment by western-style marketing, and "heartless commercialism":

"Yo! If you're listening to this take time to analyze yourself Information overload beyond common sense, ads in the subway cars overpowering us, everywhere on TV sex and violence...now chaos reaches beyond borders, Heisei era, what language are they speaking on Wave [Tokyo Radio Super station]... the streets filled with foreigners...everyone can experience the rising sun here, where? Japan a wealthy country?...terrifying business, despoiled environment, heartless commercialism..."¹⁵

To be fair to Japanese rappers, it should also be noted that unlike Hip-hop in the States—where the lyrical content of rap songs is crucial in their acceptance or rejection by critics—Hip-hop in Japan is more visceral, sensual, and based in image; its highest articulation is found in high-priced clubs rather than on recorded albums. Hip-hop clubs in Japan are very much like sonic onsens; hedonistic middle and leisure-class black-themed retreats. Japanese clubs replicate a technologically advanced version of Harlem itself for patrons, replete with graffiti on the walls, with all the fun of participating in the allure of signifiers of black sexuality and powersans the nagging social problems actual African-Americans have to face, such as the glass ceiling for advancement, disproportionate confinement rates in prisons, or continued discrimination in housing practices.

While rappers might provide the face of Japanese Hip-hop, DJ culture is the most widespread and popular facet of the form in the country. Japanese DJ's are remarkably innovative, pioneering new scratching techniques and methods of blending songs. Any nighttime spot in Tokyo invariably has

two Technics SL-1200 turntables and a state of the art sound system. A typical Saturday afternoon for fans in Shibuya, Japan's youth capital, invariably involves 'beat digging,' or the practice of looking for and purchasing rare records that, when owned, serve as an indicator of authenticity and one's long-time dedication to the art form. Giant record stores like Cisco and Manhattan Records are sites of highly competitive consumption by fans of the genre "digging in the crates" for "rare grooves," usually classic Soul or Jazz records from the 60's and 70's that served as the originally sampled sources for rap songs. Mimicking the urban, poverty driven practice of scouring garage sales and junk shops for cheap records, Japanese youth dig through seemingly endless racks of rare vinyl in well organized-record stores, searching for overpriced original sources of Hip-Hop's samples. Unearthing an obscure source of a Hip-hop song grants credibility and authenticity, serving as an expression of one's fidelity to Hip-hop's musical form. Consumers purchase the authentic soulful past of black music as a relic, blackness and hipness reduced to a controllable commodity.

Breakdancing is now Japanese Hip-hop's crown jewel. A perfect example of cultural borrowing, breakdancing incorporates elements of the Brazilian martial arts/dance form *capoeira*¹⁶ and also Kung Fu films imported from China and Hong Kong. Hip-hop dance influenced by breakdancing is an everyday occurrence in Japanese culture, not only amongst initiates. Nearly every sports gym in Tokyo offers some form of Hip-hop dance classes. Outside of suburban malls in Tokyo suburbs like Tama Center and Atami, young kids form breakdancing crews modeled after The Rocksteady Crew, and practice elaborate, unique synchronized routines in public spaces.

Like breakdancing, graffiti, traditionally linked to Hip-hop culture in media, has assumed its own identity in Japan and taken on characteristics of its own. In Japanese urban centers like Yokohama, Shibuya, and Osaka, graffiti exists in mural form mostly on storefronts, legal walls, and in art galleries, spaces American writers tend to decry as illegitimate—most 'real' graffiti artists in the States consider the transgression of writing on public space as intrinsic to the art itself. However, given the primacy of the aesthetic qualities of written Japanese language forms of *kanji*, *katakana*, and *hiragana*, and of their prominence in Japanese visual art (and written communication in general), graffiti 'tagging' (artistically scrawling one's name) seems like a both natural jump to make for young Japanese visual artists, and a means of forging a form of art unique to Japan.

Like Japanese rappers and breakdancers, many of Japan's foremost graffiti artists first became interested in the form after seeing "Wild Style". In an interview with well-known Osaka Japanese graffiti artist Very in *Air Magazine Japan*, he mentions that

"I saw that documentary "Wild Style," the one about the New York rap and early Hip-hop music scene in the '80s, and that really inspired me. The day after I watched that movie, I did my first tag. It was the first time I had ever done graffiti. Also I wanted to see something like that in Osaka."¹⁷

Graffiti in Japan also serves as a lucid illustration of how hip-hop culture imported from abroad can be combined in creative ways with Japanese 'traditional' art forms to create new forms of art, blurring the lines between what is imported and what has sprung from indigenous sources. Art gallery curator Kenji Kubota, who put together a gallery show featuring the works of prominent Japanese graffiti artists, noted that Japanese writers and muralists' works differ from Western writers':

"Some do graffiti in Japanese characters, Kanji or Katakana mixed with influences from manga or anime. If you look at their letters, you can tell that some of them are really influenced by Japanese pop culture and I think the way they create their letters is somehow different to [sic] western graffiti. It feels more like craftsmanship than normal [graffiti] writing".¹⁸

While creating new and unique discursive spaces, Hip-hop also has its negative side in Japan, operating at times as an unwitting site of transmission of essentialized depictions of African-Americans, some egregious, some more subtle. Hip-hop is marketed in Japan in major record stores such as Tower Records and Tsutaya in the "Black" music section of the store—black cool distilled into another entrée' in the vast panoply of consumer choices available to young Japanese with disposable income eager for the next big thing. Directed at consumers of hip-hop are billboard advertisements reading "Be Real Black," featuring sneering African-American rappers flashing weapons. Young Japanese men and women periodically tan their skin "black" to emulate the skin of 50 Cent, Lauryn Hill, or other African-American stars. In the end, the ideas of Hip-hop and blackness are often interchangeable and entirely conflated in the realm of marketing, advertising, and promotion of the art form.

According to John Russell, a cultural anthropologist at Gifu University in central Japan, those costumes often portray African-Americans in their typical caricatured roles in media:

"Demeaning caricatures of blacks still invade television programs, commercials, manga and gift shops," Russell said. "For cosplay" - costume play - "participants, there are 'Rasta Man,' 'Soul Man' and 'Afro Man' blackface kits, and Tonga Bijin ('Tonga Beauty') masks, the last little more than a gorilla mask with golden hoop earrings. Only a few months ago, a TV commercial for facial wipes featured a group of Rastafarians and, inexplicably, a chimpanzee, lounging in a dimly lit room."¹⁹

Adding fuel to the fire of these enactments of essentialized blackness by middle-class Japanese kids during a night of clubbing is that Hip-hop is rooted in the language of authenticity, which encourages close adherence to and reduplication of existing patterns of 'black' fashion depicted in media. Japanese young people have historically striven to emulate and reproduce foreign modes of fashion and behavior presented as authentic, from 1950s rock 'n roll culture to

today's representations of African-American Hip-hop. However, Hip-hop, more than other forms of popular music—perhaps due to racial dynamics and the dynamic of authenticity at play—demands personal sacrifice in the name of the assumed historical origins of the art. This limits original thought and interpretation, and the tacit agreement is that obedience to Hip-hop's cultural ethos and codes of behavior, available for purchase, can negate the lack of street credibility inherent in middle-class consumers who grew up far away from the gunplay and mean streets of 1970's New York City.

In a 1996 interview in Japanese music publication *Front 9*, rapper Zeebra, probably Japan's most well known M.C., audaciously declares that

"... it is not the case that "black" equals Hip-hop. There are many blacks, so-called "house negroes," who despise hip-hop's message. For blacks in the American Hip-hop community...in some ways, these people are the enemies, and us Hip-hoppers living in Japan are the allies. It may be going too far to say so, but I have black "Hip-hop friends" (emphasis mine) who feel this way. To fight the chaos together, and with all of our hearts spread to Hip-hop, I am certain that this is the greatest respect that can be paid to the originators."²⁰

The possible consequences of Zeebra's observation are profound: blackness itself is no longer inherent in skin color but is found in devoted observance of male-dominated, violent commercial street mythology now available to anyone who can play the part, white, black, or Japanese. Apparently a middle-class African-American accountant who dislikes rap constitutes a "house negro" in Zeebra's mind, while a Japanese suburban teen dressed in baggy pants, spending disposable income on expensive records qualifies, due to his allegiance to the movement's original principles. One would also have to ask Zeebra if the African street vendors commonly found in Tokyo's streets selling bootleg Rockawear²¹ jump suits would also qualify as race traitors if they were wearing Kufis or other traditional African garb, rather than b-boy attire.

Interestingly enough, while CD's by Caucasian Hip-hop artists like Eminem are found in the 'black' section of most Japanese record stores, works by African-American classical musician Wynton Marsalis or famed African-American soul singer Etta James are not. Such merchandizing strategies beg the question: who is Hip-hop? And who, after all, is "black"? In a 2005 MSNBC interview with pioneering Hip-Hop journalist Sacha Jenkins, editor of Hip-Hop journal *Mass Appeal* and co-editor of the *Ego Trip Big Book of Racism*, a scathing parody of race in the United States, he notes that:

"[Emulation of African-Americans by non-African-Americans under the presumed guise of a universal Hip-hop culture] is like the ultimate Halloween costume. It's fun when you're rockin' the costume for a couple of months but then you can be white again, and what could be better than that?"²²

Despite Jenkins' cynicism towards the emulation of Hip-hop culture by both Japanese and Caucasian youth, many famous Japanese Hip-hop stars such as Club Harlem's DJ Hasebe attempt to transcend the merely imitative aspects of the art form, drawing influences from their own culture. In an interview conducted via telephone, DJ Hasebe, producer for Japanese group Sugar Soul, asserted that one of his unlikely heroes and icons as a teenager was Sakamoto Ryoma, a Meiji-Era hero who ran guns and led gangs of *ronin* (renegade samurai) against the Tokugawa shogunate to help establish democracy in Japan.²³ Hasebe well summarized the complex dynamic of cultural transmission at play in Hip-hop when he remarked:

"A lot of Japanese young kids, they just want to imitate American rap fashion because that's what's cool. I don't like [copying] like that. I try to draw on a whole host of influences. Just like American Hip-hop stars name themselves after cowboys and Italian mobsters, I'm heavily influenced by Japanese samurai... I try to be true to myself when I DJ and not just copy or imitate American artists. A lot of kids in Japan, they just watch MTV and copy what [rapper] Nelly is wearing. But that goes on in America too, white kids copy black fashion.... A lot of us, we've been doing this rap s—t for a long time, we've developed our own style."

Hip-hop has evolved in Japan from a passing fad into a prominent source of cultural capital, fashion, and artistic innovation that has assumed its own identity in Japan despite its derivative qualities. It has also emerged as a complex but often problematic site of cultural exchange that brings up the question: What is it to be young and Japanese, when identities are chosen from the 'cultural supermarket' of Hip-Hop? The future will determine whether or not the art form will mature and follow artists like VERY, DJ Hasebe, and King Giddira into places of unique expression of a new Japanese identity, or if it will simply exist as a means of regurgitating black stereotypes in the name of profit for the amusement of middle-class kids on a quest for coolness and authenticity. One thing is certain: If the 'Super Lisa' has anything to say about it, Hip-hop in Japan isn't going anywhere.

ENDNOTES

1. *Ibid.*, 229.
2. Jim Fricke. *Yes Yes, Y'all: The Experience Music Project Oral History of Hip-Hop's First Decade* (Cambridge: Da Capo Music Press, 2002), introduction.
3. *Ibid.*, introduction.
4. *Ibid.*
5. Toasting is the Jamaican art of "chatting" over records dating back to Kingston in the 1960's, in which competing groups of mobile sound-systems playing reggae music would feature an emcee (ironically known as 'DJ' in Jamaica) talking over records and taunting members of rival groups in notoriously fierce competition. The current art of emceeing in hip-hop is heavily influenced by this Jamaican legacy.
6. Despite revisionist historical depictions in media of Hip-hop as an all-inclusive, pan-African political phenomenon, NYC crews such as

- the Zulu Nation were more likely to be feared than revered.
7. Ian Condry. "The Social Production of Difference: Imitation and Authenticity in Japanese Rap Music," *Transactions, Transgressions, Transformations: American Culture in Western Europe and Japan*. U. Poiger, H. Fehrenbach, eds. New York: Berghan Books, pg. 170.
 8. Ian Condry. "The Worlds of Japanese Hip-Hop: Street Dance, Club Scene, Pop Market," *Global Noise: Rap Outside the U.S.* T. Mitchell, ed. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press/University Press of New England, 2001, pg. 228.
 9. According to RIAA statistics from 2003, Hip Hop and R&B accounted for 13.3% of all record sales worldwide. *RIAA 2003 Consumer Profile*. Recording Industry Artists Association. 19 Dec. 2003. <www.riaa.com/news/marketingdata/pdf/2003consumerprofile.pdf>.
 10. Squarish, thick-framed eyewear popularized by Hip-Hop super group Run-D.M.C.
 11. "Superfuture Urban cartography for global shopping experts." 19 Dec. 2005. www.superfuture.com/city/reviews/review.cfm?ID=994.
 12. "M-Flo Lyrics – Astromantic Album Lyrics". 19 Dec. 2005 www.geocities.com/ojochan/m-flo/m-flo-astromantic.html.
 13. Ibid.
 14. For an astoundingly detailed analysis of Japanese hip hop's phonetic expression, see: Kawahira, Shigeto. "Aspects of Japanese Hip-Hop Rhymes: What They Reveal about the Structure of Japanese." International Christian University /University of Massachusetts, Amherst. 19 Dec. 2005. http://people.umass.edu/kawahira/hiphop_prose.pdf
 15. King Giddira, "Bullet of Truth." From the Album "The Power from the Sky" 1995; Blues Interactions/P-Vine PCD-4768. Cited in Ian Condry. "Japanese Hip Hop." MIT. 19 Dec. 2005. <http://web.mit.edu/condry/www/jhh/>.
 16. A Brazilian martial arts form practiced by Brazilian slaves imported from Africa during the middle passage, *capoeria* served as a means of resistance to slave ownership, practiced in the form of dance in order to deceive European slave owners.
 17. Ken, Taniguchi. "Who in the World is "Very"?" *Air Magazine Japan*. 19 Dec. 2005 <www.airmassive.com/whoisvery.html>.
 18. "X-Color: Graffiti in Mito." *Ping Mag-the Tokyo-based magazine about Design and Making Things*. 19 Dec. 2005 <www.pingmag.jp/2005/10/17/x-color-graffiti-in-mito/>.
 19. Solomon, Charles. "The Newest Stars of Japanese Anime, Made in America." *New York Times* 24 2005. 19 Dec 2005. <www.nytimes.com/2005/07/24/arts/television/24solo.html?ex=1279857600&en=bdea31e9f553b788&ei=5088&partner=rssnyt&emc=rss>
 20. Zebra, "For the B-boys Only:" *Kagai to onaji kankaku motteru nara jikoku no shijin ni sanko shiro*. *Front* 9, no. 15 (1996): 90. Cited in Ian Condry. "The Social Production of Difference: Imitation and Authenticity in Japanese Rap Music," *Transactions, Transgressions, Transformations: American Culture in Western Europe and Japan*. U. Poiger, H. Fehrenbach, eds. New York: Berghan Books, pg. 170.
 21. Clothing line established by Brooklyn-born rapper Jay-Z.
 22. Juarez, Vanessa. "Let's Talk About Race." *Newsweek*, vol. 25, 2005. 19 Dec 2005. www.msnbc.msn.com/id/7025562/site/newsweek/

23. (2003). *Sakamoto Ryoma (1835-1867)*. In Ridgeback Press. Pinole, California: Ridgeback Press. www.ridgebackpress.com/heroes/sakamoto.htm

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