

This article was downloaded by: [University of Hawaii]

On: 10 April 2009

Access details: Access Details: [subscription number 731673578]

Publisher Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: Mortimer House, 37-41 Mortimer Street, London W1T 3JH, UK



Journal for Cultural Research

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title~content=t713684902>

Hip-hop Imaginaries: a Genealogy of the Present

Rohan Kalyan

Online Publication Date: 01 July 2006

To cite this Article Kalyan, Rohan(2006)'Hip-hop Imaginaries: a Genealogy of the Present',Journal for Cultural Research,10:3,237 – 257

To link to this Article: DOI: 10.1080/14797580600848070

URL: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14797580600848070>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.informaworld.com/terms-and-conditions-of-access.pdf>

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Hip-hop Imaginaries: a Genealogy of the Present

Rohan Kalyan

In this article, I track the emergence of Hip-hop imaginaries in the enunciatory present, focusing on three disparate scenes: democratic change in Bolivia, cultural resistance in Hawaii, and the foundations of Hip-hop that emerged from New York City. I position Hip-hop as a mode of cultural expression that gives resistant form to marginalized existences abjected from dominant society through political and economic exclusion. I trace the origins of Hip-hop in New York in order to show how the idea of existential resistance provides a useful interpretive framework in which to theorize the relationships between cultural resistance and political change. I utilize this framework by looking at Hip-hop in two disparate locations, first analyzing the music of Hawaiian Hip-hop group Sudden Rush and contextualizing it within the contemporary Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. Second, Bolivia's newly emergent Hip-hop scene amidst a turbulent culture of political protest provides a useful contrast to that of Hawaii's. In the end, I argue that Hip-hop imaginaries in Hawaii and Bolivia demonstrate inter-related strategies of national and cultural decolonization which carry distinct political implications.

Visualizing the realism of life in actuality

F*** who's the baddest a person's status depends on salary

And my mentality is money orientated

I'm destined to live the dream for all my peeps who never made it

AZ the Visualiza ('Life's a Bitch', *Illmatic* 1997)

Paradise lost was the title of the first theme

But now in a dream, you know I'm dreamin' a new dream

Sudden Rush ('Paradise Found', *Ku'e* 1997)

Introduction: the Sounds of Revolution

Now we are speaking.

Now they will know us.

Now we will rise up.

Abraham Bojórquez ('Jichaw' (Aymara for 'Now', 2005)

Inspiration comes in fleeting glimpses, or perhaps in the case of music, faint echoes. When I returned from Bolivia after spending several weeks in its capital city the summer of 2004, I began to follow Bolivian politics closely from my home in the United States. In our time in La Paz, my Bolivian host and I immersed ourselves in a shrill political landscape as best as we could, delving into everyday political practice, our eyes open and ears pricked. Being a visitor abroad has a way of sharpening one's senses, so that one notices things locals perhaps gloss over in the routinization of the everyday. One not only records the visual with memory, but also the noises that provide a soundtrack for what is seen. Through heightened senses tension was palpable in Bolivia, we could *hear* it: loud mortar explosions; clamorous indigenous miners marching and shouting rallying-calls into megaphones throughout downtown La Paz; embittered *Cholas* camped outside of the Ministry of Mining for days and nights on end, chanting prayers demanding justice, their despondent voices haunting the soundscape. If social unrest has an element of tangibility, a pervasive aura that eerily fills the atmosphere that one can sense, it is through sound that one discerns this best. So many times the politics of what is seen masks what can only be revealed through sound. People resist not only by making their struggles visible, but by making their voices heard, by being loud. The trick is to hear what is being said.

Removed from this soundscape back at home, I followed the news of Bolivia from afar: I read about the forced resignation of President Carlos Mesa Gisbert after massive demonstrations in La Paz and neighboring El Alto, the third tumultuous change in leadership within the past two years. I read about armed indigenous peasants setting up blockades in the mountainous roads to and from La Paz, trapping residents inside the city and keeping supplies out. Ensuing battles between the state and rebels led to violent deaths and brutal retaliations.¹

But again, there is a limit to what can be perceived through reading a text or viewing a picture. It was the sounds of this social unrest that had previously tuned me in to the radical politics of resistance and violence going on in Bolivia. Months later I was re-tuned to these sounds via a mix-tape my friend and Bolivian host Oscar Diaz shared with me. On this tape was the music of young Bolivians rapping revolutionary in Spanish and Aymara about social injustice, historical oppression, and the evils of capitalism - all performed by angry vocalists recorded cheaply over sampled beats. Their sound was raw - at times several vocalists rhymed in angry unison, then calls and responses exploded in succession, reproducing elements of that haunted soundscape of cultural and economic dispossession that festered in La Paz. The emotions it carried were just as palpable as the frustration and rage we had felt months earlier.

Inspired by what I had heard, I was also fortunate enough to come across an article written by Juan Forero published in May 2005 in the New York Times, entitled 'Young Bolivians Adopt US Pose, Hip and All'. This was a feature on young Aymara

1. For detailed accounts of these demonstrations and protests, as well as their causes and effects, see Webber (2005); Barr (2005); Madrid (2005).

Indians, who like on the tape that I had heard, were 'expressing their anger in hard-driving rap, complete with rapid fire lyrics excoriating Bolivia's leaders and venting about the dire social conditions of the country's Indian Majority'. I learned that most of these emcees were from El Alto, the destitute plateau town neighboring La Paz that is home to one of the fastest growing populations (mainly indigenous and young) in the Western hemisphere (US State Department 2005). Having been in El Alto the previous summer, the article put into motion a certain context for me that powerfully connected the resentment and anger felt in these indigenous communities to an emergent social imaginary that called for something different. 'We have lyrics about Black October', 22-year-old rapper Abraham Bojórquez told Forero, referring to Bolivia's recent political history in which over 60 demonstrators were killed by police, precipitating the fall of President Gonzalo Sánchez de Lozada in October 2003. 'We sing about coca, about poverty. Our singing is revolutionary. We protest without marches or strikes. We do it through music, to reach as many people as possible'. In a turbulent political environment typified by daily street protest and often violent demonstrations, Hip-hop had captured a seemingly ubiquitous attitude amongst indigenous peoples in Bolivia, but redirected it musically so as to challenge the status quo through an alternative means. Bojórquez went on to say why Hip-hop has been such a powerful mode of expression: 'When you live in poverty, it creates a spirit of rebellion so you have to speak out. Hip-hop gives us a way to express ourselves. We rap to show our identity and express our culture. We use it as a means to struggle, to educate, to show reasons why we don't have money, the way we are being tricked'.

In their emergence, the music of these Bolivian rappers constituted a kind of newness, a subjectivation into a political field through the articulation of a newly heard voice, one that emerged 'when the natural order of domination [was] interrupted by the institution of a part of those who [had] no part' (Ranciere quoted in Shapiro 2004, p. 24). Through Hip-hop these youths had found a powerful means to break the silence of colonization, enunciating a *political* representation of their existence, a resistance 'that has not been a recognized part of public deliberation'.

In this essay, I track the emergence of such musics as constitutive of Hip-hop imaginaries in the enunciatory present, focusing on three disparate scenes: democratic change in Bolivia, cultural resistance in Hawaii, and the foundations of Hip-hop that emerged from New York City. I position Hip-hop as a mode of cultural expression that gives resistant form to marginalized existences, to social groups abjected from dominant society through political and economic exclusion. The overturning of this abjection through performance, transforming existence into resistance through the poetics of rap music, inaugurates the subversive social and cultural powers immanent in Hip-hop, producing new and powerful forms of cultural identification and giving voice to the multiple realities and histories that are at work in the enunciatory present. Here, the fact of existence - socially surviving under oppressive conditions - itself becomes the primary site of cultural production through artistic representation and performance. I trace the origins of Hip-hop in New York in order to show how the idea of existential

resistance provides a useful interpretive framework in which to theorize the relationships between cultural resistance and political change through the advent of Hip-hop imaginaries. I utilize this framework by looking at Hip-hop in two disparate locations, first analyzing the music of Hawaiian Hip-hop group Sudden Rush and contextualizing it within the contemporary Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. Using Hip-hop as a means for spreading their political message to a wider youth audience, Sudden Rush's re-articulations of Hawaiian history and cultural identity serve as a strategy for mobilizing cultural resistance as a necessary precursor to the political achievement of Hawaiian sovereignty. Bolivia's newly emergent Hip-hop scene provides a useful contrast to that of Hawaii's. In Bolivia, Hip-hop as a strategy for radical class mobilization amongst indigenous youth reveals a more direct connection between an enuciatory present which gives political voice to an already existent/resistant social group, and the strategies of radical democracy which may be on the horizon. Such strategies may have been radically prefigured with the historically unprecedented victory of Aymara leader Evo Morales in the 2005 presidential election in Bolivia. In the end, I argue that Hip-hop imaginaries in Hawaii and Bolivia demonstrate two inter-related strategies of decolonization which carry distinct political implications. The first is the element of existential resistance that is indispensable to the cultural survival of indigenous peoples. The second relates to the more explicitly political arena, in which democratic mobilization takes place. In contrasting these two contexts in which Hip-hop imaginaries emerge, I conclude that Hip-hop invites listeners to enter into potentially liberatory spaces which offer subversive political possibilities and strategies of cultural resistance.

Dwelling in Modernity: The Existential Resistance of Hip-hop

*Broken glass everywhere
People pissin on the stairs you know they just don't care
I can't take the smell I can't take the noise
Got no money to move out, guess I got no choice...
Don't push me cuz I'm close to the edge
I'm tryin not to lose my head*

Grand Master Flash and the Furious Five ('The Message', *The Message* 1983)

*I asked my God how he thought traveling the world sound
Found it hard to imagine, he hadn't been past downtown
Common ('Respiration', feat. on *BlackStar* 1998)*

In his *Methods and Nations* Michael J. Shapiro argues that the force of Hip-hop 'derives from a different approach to the spaces of African American existence' (2004, p. 100). This difference follows from the history of oppression and exclusion that African Americans have faced since being transported to the Americas as slaves, making the experience of being black in America a painfully and profoundly unique one. Specifically, as Tricia Rose points out, 'rap music is a

black cultural expression that prioritizes black voices from the margins of urban America' and that 'for the most part, rappers continue to craft stories that represent the creative fantasies, perspectives, and experiences of racial marginality in America' (1994, pp. 2-3). Hip-hop artists such as Grandmaster Flash and Common in the epigraphs above access this different approach in reiterating the experience of *dwelling* in modernity. The experience of *dwelling* speaks to traces of existential resistance echoed in Nas' lyrical deconstruction of the myth of New York City below:

*Dwellin in the rotten apple/ you get tackled
Or caught up in the devil's lasso/ shit is a hassle*
Nas ('The World is Yours', *Illmatic* 1993)

Nas mocks the dominant understanding of New York as the 'Big Apple', ostensibly a space of grand opportunity and wealth, instead evoking images of a spoiled fruit that diabolically traps residents in its decrepitude. Inaugurating a new and starkly different reality through such an enunciation, Nas invites the listener to commiserate with an already shared understanding amongst African Americans living in New York. Russell Potter usefully reminds us that 'black cultures have inhabited the contradictory space of what [Paul] Gilroy calls the 'slave sublime', have glimpsed the fundamental *rotteness* of European modernism from its very intestines long before Europe noticed any trace of indigestion' (1995, p. 6, emphasis mine). It is not the 'rotten apple' that is new, it is its *enunciation* by an artist like Nas, his reiteration of the spaces and times of existence, dwelling in a modernity that has multiple social realities and histories. Nas' enunciation here reconstitutes these spaces of existence - 'dwelling' in modernity - as central points for cultural *resistance*, where 'the introduction of new voices that are at once expressive and disruptive' challenge dominant myths about the spaces and times of modernity (Shapiro 2004). Such existential resistance as performed by Nas, I argue, gives Hip-hop a distinctive cultural power in the enunciatory present.

In the same way that New York became a scene of violent political upheaval in a post-civil rights landscape that was ferociously cut - its contents and contexts mixed and matched, and its surfaces scratched in the violence of flexible accumulation - the sounds of Hip-hop pieced together material fragments in the production of newness, giving birth to new political subjects, reconstituting identities and rearticulating histories from within the liminal spaces of cultural displacement and marginalization.² Because I do not intend on reproducing a history of Hip-hop here, I submit Tricia Rose's eloquent account below which captures the socio-economic fabrics from which Hip-hop unfolds:

2. There has been much literature written on the history of Hip-hop. For detailed historical backgrounds or analyses of the socio-political contexts of Hip-hop, see Tricia Rose's *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America* (1994); Jeff Chang's *Can't Stop Won't Stop* (2005); Murray Forman and Mark Anthony Neal's *That's the Joint: The Hip-Hop Studies Reader* (2004).

Life on the margins of postindustrial urban America is inscribed in hip-hop style, sound, lyrics, and thematics. Situated at the 'crossroads of lack and desire', hip-hop emerges from the deindustrialization meltdown where social alienation, prophetic imagination, and yearning intersect. Hip-hop is a cultural form that attempts to negotiate the experiences of marginalization, brutally truncated opportunity, and oppression within the imperatives of African-American and Caribbean history, identity, and community. It is the tension between the cultural fractures produced by postindustrial oppression and the binding ties of black cultural expressivity that sets the critical frame for the development of hip-hop. (1994, p. 21)

Rose's contextualizing highlights two important things for the discussion of Hip-hop imaginaries that I want to pursue. First, in locating Hip-hop's emergence from the liminal spaces of marginalization within the political economy of urban deindustrialization, she links the strategies of 'black cultural expressivity' to the binding ties of 'history, identity, and community'. In this way, Rose takes us to the idea of understanding Hip-hop as a strategy of existential resistance, which following on the work of cultural/literary theorist Homi Bhabha, gives it a distinct cultural significance, making it 'an uneven, incomplete production of meaning and value, often composed of incommensurable demands and practices, *produced in the act of social survival*' (Bhabha 1994, p. 172, emphasis mine). Secondly, in socially surviving such oppressive conditions, turning marginalized existence into resistance through a creative but often volatile intersection of alienation, imagination and desire, Hip-hop articulates a cultural form that also seeks to exceed these conditions. How such excess will be channeled in terms of political strategies and goals is a central variable that exists between the emergence of Hip-hop imaginaries and radical political change. By looking at two disparate scenes of emergence, in Hawaii and Bolivia, as well as reflecting back on the politics of Hip-hop in the United States, I wish to explore the connections between Hip-hop imaginaries and political change.

The Liminal Spaces of Cultural Difference: The Music of Sudden Rush

*Not 100% Hawaiian, it's the language I be speakin
Hawaiian, Portuguese with a little Puerto Rican...
I got the whole wide world in my hands
Sudden Rush ('Kanakas Unite', Ku'e 1997)*

*Words flow from my mouth as I sing about my paradise lost
What would it cost just to get it back
Anyway what would I pay for what I lack
And what I lack is an ignorance of a generation
Over come with negativity of another nation
Sudden Rush ('Paradise Found', Ku'e 1997)*

Homi Bhabha takes us to the scene of Hip-hop's cultural production in the spaces and times of the enunciatory present, beginning with 'the dialogic, performative

"community" of black music - rap, dub, scratching - as a way of constituting an open sense of black collectivity in the shifting, changing beat of the present' (1994, p. 179). It is within the performative community of Hip-hop that hybrid identities of existence/resistance are emergent. The enunciatory present can be positioned as a strategy for liberatory discourse in that it constitutes the subjectivation of political beings into a discursive field from a position outside of it, from a space of abjection and silence to one of subversive articulation and radical inclusion. Bhabha continues:

What is striking about the theoretical focus on the enunciatory present as a liberatory discursive strategy is its proposal that emergent cultural identifications are articulated at the liminal edge of identity...The contingent and the liminal become the time and spaces for historical representation of the subjects of cultural difference in a postcolonial criticism. (p. 179)

The liminal spaces of cultural difference are posited as resistant to the colonizer's will to mastery through identification, or the naming of the other. It is therefore at the level of rearticulating identity that one strategy of cultural resistance can be pursued in Hip-hop. Listen to the refrain of Hawaiian Hip-hop group Sudden Rush's 'True Hawaiian', where the question is posed in repetition - 'What is a true Hawaiian?' - in each instance eliciting a shifting aspect of identity in Hawaiian language. Hear how the 'true Hawaiian' is enunciated at the liminal edges of cultural difference:

*What is a true Hawaiian? - Mana
Tell me what's a true Hawaiian - Haaheo
What is a true Hawaiian? - Aloha
Tell me what's a true Hawaiian - Ikaika*
Sudden Rush ('True Hawaiian', *Ku'e* 1997)

Sudden Rush leaves the listener with two languages, untranslated. Fay Yokomizo Akindes notes that historically the 'muting of the Hawaiian language and imposing the language of the colonizer was a means of controlling the minds of the colonized' (2001, p. 82), making even cultural resistance speak the language of power, creating an economy of cultural signifiers already somewhat distanced from the enunciatory space of the colonized. Such an economy is indicative of what Ashis Nandy has called 'a culture in which the ruled are constantly tempted to fight their rulers within the psychological limits set by the latter' (1983, p. 3). Sudden Rush articulates a resistant Hawaiian identity by exceeding these psychological limits. The repetition of the English inquisition - 'What is a true Hawaiian?' - its repeated search for a transparent translation of 'true Hawaiian-ness' is met with the opaque resistance of the Hawaiian language, eliciting a sliding scale of untranslated authenticity - *Mana/Haaheo/Aloha/Ikaika*.

In each act of translation cultural difference is negotiated, represented, and reproduced as language's excess, its other. In its excess, linguistic translation

creates spaces for political creativity which Sudden Rush utilizes for the purposes of cultural mobilization. As rapper Don Ke'ala Kawa'ouhau from Sudden Rush tells Akindes, 'when you learn a language, you learn the life-style', including in the Hawaiian context, traditional ways of fishing and interacting socially (p. 83). Language and its excess then help to constitute a Hawaiian identity of resistance negotiated within the liminal spaces of cultural difference.

From the enunciatory spaces of cultural difference, Hip-hop imaginaries are productive of a certain genealogy of the present that seeks to problematize the homogenizing spaces and times of modernity by showing the existence of repressed realities and histories. I will presently explore in detail some of the spatial and temporal contra-mappings of modernity offered by Sudden Rush and discuss the political possibilities that emerge from a Hawaiian Hip-hop imaginary.

Space

As Bhabha reminds us, 'culture as a strategy of survival is both translational and transnational' (p. 172). Culture is *transnational* as a historical legacy of cultural displacement within the colonial context. Culture is *translational* 'because spatial histories of displacement make the question of how culture signifies, or what is signified by culture, a rather complex issue'. We have noted the translational aspect of Hawaiian identity above. Sudden Rush addresses the spatial realm of cultural displacement as transnational by making Hawaiian land a central point of contention in the negotiation of cultural difference. Responding to the (continuing) American policy and practice of seizing Hawaiian lands Sudden Rush urges the listener to:

*Try to understand
Keep Hawaiian lands in Hawaiian hands
But Hawaiian lands being bought by the Other man
Sudden Rush ('True Hawaiian', Ku'e 1997, emphasis mine)*

Significant here is what Bhabha calls the 'inverted polarities of a counter politics' (p. 179) that reiterates the colonizer as 'the Other', actively reversing the hierarchical other-ing characteristic of colonial projects (Said 1979). Within this inversion, then, Hawaiian land is constituted as rightfully belonging to Hawaiians instead of *haoles*, the latter of which historically used the law and the 'free market' to claim possession of land as individual property (Merry 1999; Statham 2002). In urging the listener to 'Try to understand', Sudden Rush is also asking that we step into an alternative way of thinking about the politics of space, contesting juridical frameworks which privilege a regime of possessive individualism. The alterity is heard in the recourse to ideas of genealogy and community ownership - 'Hawaiian lands in Hawaiian hands' - over individual private property.

The spatial dimensions articulated by Sudden Rush go beyond issues of land, towards the realm of cultural signification. Here, the importance of finding and

articulating a 'true' identity becomes paramount towards the political project of decolonization. Sudden Rush discuss the crucial problematic of cultural loss and recovery in the song 'Paradise Found':

*Paradise lost was the title of the first theme
But now in a dream, I'm dreamin a new dream
[Aye Captain, Paradise has been found!] - (sample)
In the people of the Polynesian underground
Sudden Rush ('Paradise Found', Ku'e 1997)*

By mixing media, incorporating a sample from a film about finding paradise (ostensibly on some type of colonizing sea-faring vessel, evoking images of Captain Cook's voyage across the sea and subsequent 'discovery' of Hawaii), Sudden Rush opposes this geographic sense of space and 'discovery' with a more transnational one. Paradise here is constituted by the 'Polynesian underground', an indigenous rap movement to which Sudden Rush belongs. Cultural solidarity hidden from plain sight, quite literally 'under-the-ground', forms one aspect of cultural resistance to the sea-faring colonizer's fantasy of assimilating natives into European culture, or wiping them out entirely.

In addition, finding sources of cultural identity includes re-inhabiting the traditional spaces of *dwelling* that have been victimized through the history of colonization. Ke'ala emphasizes this when he raps:

*When I open my eyes then I see
That I found my paradise inside my family
Sudden Rush ('Paradise Found', Ku'e 1997)*

Family is articulated as a space of cultural survival and dwelling within modernity, and it is a space for re-discovery. It is significant that Ke'ala raps about this, as he grew up in a family where speaking in Hawaiian was strictly forbidden. Learning the language helped him to inhabit a cultural sphere that was closed off to him before, and as he tells Akindes, 'I can talk to my Grandmother now' (p. 83).

Time

In addition to reimagining spatial dimensions of colonization in service of articulating new political identities of resistance, Sudden Rush excavates time in the service of re-historicizing the present. By fragmenting history, breaking down the story of colonization and re-telling it from the perspective of the colonized, an alternative conception of time is articulated, helping to co-constitute social identities and realities that exist/resist in a radically more democratic present. Memory and its relationship with time and history are important here, as Sudden Rush urges its listeners to 'remember that today is the future of yesterday', in the song 'Think About It'. Also, in the song 'True Hawaiian', towards the end of

the track the tempo breaks down and a haunting voice croons the question: 'when will we see a brighter day?' Later, Ke'ala furiously demands an answer to the question: 'tell me why do my people have to wait so long!'

According to Akindes, the Hawaiian concern for time and history - past, present and future - has to do with a particular stance in time, where 'the Hawaiian stands firmly in the present, with his back to the future and his eyes fixed upon the past, seeking historical answers for present day dilemmas' (p. 93). Akindes argues that 'Sudden Rush's reverence for the past problematizes modernity's future and its blind assumptions of progress'. As subjects of colonization in Hawaii, Sudden Rush actively demonstrates the fallacy of this assumption of 'progressive time' in this re-telling of American history, focusing on the violence of colonization and slavery:

*Started with America, built from desecration
Called the Indians savages, put them on reservations
Then they took the African Man from the mother land
To another land put to work for the Master's plan
That wasn't enough they had to cross the big Blue
And when they saw Hawaii yeah they took that too
Sudden Rush ('Paradise Found', Ku'e 1997)*

This powerful re-telling does two things especially well in terms of articulating a radically democratic present. First, it destabilizes narratives which link modernity and progress, America and the idea of freedom, opening up ways of understanding realities that do not cohere with such dominant narratives. Second, it historically links African Americans, American Indians and Hawaiians in solidarity against oppression and colonization, constituting broader social identities of resistance that transcend racial divisions by rearticulating history from positions of common marginalization. Contesting a colonial strategy of divide and conquer, as well as that of putting the history of exploitation safely in the past, Sudden Rush inaugurates a Hip-hop imaginary that not only brings past injustices into a contested present, but uses these injustices as a means for forging creative political possibilities through the formations of new and resistant identities.

*

According to Fay Akindes, the 'hybrid mixing of rhythm and sounds...takes on a decidedly political and resistant turn in Hawaii' (p. 84). Akindes connects *na mele paleoleo* to the Hawaiian musical 'renaissance [that] re-legitimizes the Hawaiian language as an acceptable spoken, written and embodied language' (p. 87). In Sudden Rush's music, there is a sort of two-pronged strategy that is at work. On the one hand, their rearticulations of the spaces and times of Hawaiian modernity have allowed Sudden Rush to present listeners with new ways of forging cultural identities as well as strategies of existential resistance through cultural survival, such as re-inhabiting and taking pride in indigenous traditions

which have been victimized through colonization. On the other hand, there is an explicit political goal of Hawaiian sovereignty that is being pushed by Sudden Rush, as they explained in a 1997 interview to the *Maui Beat*:

We're all part Hawaiian and the sovereignty issue is coming to the forefront, and we felt we could reach people who maybe don't like to read about it through the medium of music...Our favorite music is Hawaiian but we got into rap music because the rhythm and beat moves you, and you can really say what you mean without restriction. There is a lot more you can play with as far as telling a story.

In Hawaii, Akindes notes, 'Sudden Rush's rap music politicized the airwaves of Hawaiian music radio stations...which have station policies restricting DJs from discussing the politically controversial Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement' (p. 90). And in performing abroad, 'Sudden Rush's function as messengers of Hawaiian nationalism extends to the Diaspora on the "mainland"' (p. 94).

Since 1998, however, it merits notice that the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement has lost much of its political steam, and the radical activism and cultural mobilization that groups like Sudden Rush promoted through their music have similarly lost prominence on the local Hawaiian scene. Not that the sovereignty movement has disappeared, nor has cultural resistance simply vanished in Hawaii. But towards the end of the 1990s, just when it seemed that much progress had been made in the struggle against American colonization and tangible results were beginning to be imagined, the lack of any materialization of such imaginations seemed to deflate the momentum of cultural and political mobilization that had been building. As a people colonized by the United States and subject to its constitutional authority, indigenous Hawaiians have had difficulty presenting the case for sovereignty through judicial avenues.³ The 2000 Supreme Court decision in the case of *Rice vs. Cayetano* was exemplary of the challenges that the idea of Hawaiian nationalism faces when pitted against American constitutionalism. In *Rice vs. Cayetano*, Harold Rice, a *haole* rancher from the big island of Hawaii, sued the governor of the state of Hawaii on the grounds that the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), which was made for 'the betterment of the conditions of native Hawaiians', practiced racism in limiting voting for positions within its office to only 'native Hawaiians...contingent on patterns of kinship and decent by blood' (Statham 2002, p. 136). The Supreme Court ruled in favor of Rice, and 'in deciding whether Rice had a right to vote in the OHA trustee elections...invoked the Fifteenth Amendment of the Constitution, which explicitly states that 'the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude'.

What the case of *Rice vs. Cayetano* showed was that strategies for Hawaiian sovereignty that rested on claims of indigenous Hawaiian ancestry, grounded in conceptions of Hawaiian nationalism historically undermined by American

3. For more about the colonization of Hawaii and resistance against colonization, see Sally Merry's *Colonizing Hawaii* (1999), or Noenoe Silva's *Aloha Betrayed* (2004).

colonization, would be utterly irreconcilable with American constitutionalism, which would always oppose claims of group-based difference (especially those articulated along ancestral or racial lines) in favor of universal individual citizenship. In seeking to maintain a cultural difference from the regime of individual citizen rights drawn from the American constitution, and instead invoking Hawaiian national sovereignty, the movement was declared to be not only unconstitutional, but an 'anti-American' form of 'ethnic nationalism' (p. 138).

After the Supreme Court decision was made, OHA was made to open its voting up to all citizens regardless of ancestry. The underlying message was that Hawaiians must reconcile their cultural difference within the assimilationist frame of American constitutionalism, which allows for equality amongst diversity, but ultimately demands that difference be subsumed under the unitary banner of American national identity, even for those colonized by the United States. In the face of such stern decisions and their legally binding power, the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement faces critically important questions of how to articulate national difference with respect to the United States in politically and culturally subversive ways.

So the question becomes two-fold: one, has the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement failed? And two, has the Hip-hop imaginary inaugurated by the music of Sudden Rush failed to deliver on its promise of decolonizing the past and imagining a radically democratic future of self-determination? The answer to both, I am inclined to think, is no. The reason for this, to invoke the insights of Partha Chatterjee in regards to his work on the Indian nationalist movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, is that in labeling both the sovereignty movement and the Hip-hop imaginary a failure, we would have 'taken the claims of nationalism to be a *political* movement much too literally and too seriously' (1993, p. 5). In his work *The Nation and its Fragments* Chatterjee argues that before political demands could have been made for Indian independence from the British, cultural domains of autonomy had to be erected and articulated clearly in order to establish and preserve the viability and strength of the indigenous culture and its irreducible *difference* from that of the European colonizer. Such an assertion of cultural difference, and the re-articulation of a past that leads to an enuciatory present in which decolonized difference can be imagined and performed powerfully through Hip-hop, is precisely what Sudden Rush accomplishes in presenting its music and message both to native Hawaiians on the islands as well as to those abroad. Using Chatterjee's conceptual framework, we can think of Hawaiians in the midst of nationalist struggle, negotiating a necessary cultural difference that needs to be maintained from American constitutionalism in order to prepare for the emergence of a revolutionary nationalist consciousness. If all this sounds too Fanonian in its absolutism and deterministic tenor, it is perhaps warranted in light of what I want to discuss next, that is, a return to Bolivia and the inspiring emergence of a democratically elected indigenous leader for the first time in that nation's history.

A Soundtrack to Radical Democracy: Bolivian Hip-hop
Goni, inept, the people ask for gas

*the people ask for peace
Goni, understand, the gas is not for sale
Because the people depend on democracy
They demand their rights*
Ukamau y Ke ('The People Do Not Fall' 2005)

In discussing the 'unexpected' emergence of Hip-hop in the plateau town of El Alto, a 'tradition-bound place where the language is Aymara, the women wear derby hats and layer-cake skirts and families relax to centuries-old Andean music', journalist Juan Forero notes that indigenous Bolivian rappers adopt 'the trappings of American hip-hop... wear baggy pants and baseball caps and strike the pose of urban America, hand signs, cocky talk and all'. Giving credence to American urban fashion certainly has cultural connotations that are derived from black youths in inner cities in the United States. But that Forero would consider the emergence of Hip-hop in Bolivia surprising and 'unexpected' might be somewhat naïve in light of both the socio-economic conditions existent in El Alto, a city that he also rightly notes is 'a flashpoint for protest', and the ways in which Hip-hop's music has served as a means for cultural expression that prioritizes voices from the margins of society. Indeed, El Alto has been a central point of political unrest amongst an indigenous population which has 'suffered at the bottom of a wickedly steep social hierarchy that whitens in accordance with class privilege' (Webber 2005, p. 34). Indigenous communities that exist in exploitive conditions are fertile spaces for the emergence of Hip-hop imaginaries, in which not only is a resistant voice granted to those marginalized by the political economy of neo-liberal globalization, but alternative worlds and counter-globalizations can be imagined and spit lyrically, so that audiences can listen, enjoy, commiserate, and partake in Hip-hop's enunciatory present. As Russell Potter usefully notes: 'it is increasingly clear that hip-hop has become a transnational, global art form capable of mobilizing diverse disenfranchised groups...its *locus* is simultaneously local and global' (1995, p. 10).

And yet, as a form of artistic expression, explicitly political strategies cannot exhaust the creative possibilities of Hip-hop. In fact, Hip-hop as a cultural phenomenon, whether treated primarily as American or even globally, is much too varied and diverse in its forms and messages to be tied to a singular political goal or strategy. It would therefore be impossible to attach to Hip-hop imaginaries a determinative political outcome that follows from their emergence. What we can say, however, is that Hip-hop holds a seductive appeal for youth cultures in abjected and marginalized spaces all over the world because it has provided a means for cultural expression in which the enunciative act, that moment in which Hip-hop is performed or heard, can succeed in transforming marginalized existences into creative sites cultural resistance.⁴ The emergence of Hip-hop in Bolivia is therefore not 'unexpected' by any means, but it

4. For a discussion of Hip-hop's globality in places such as diverse as Sierra Leone and South Korea, see Franklin, *Resounding International Relations* (2005).

does provide an intriguing site for analysis in which Hip-hop imaginaries become reflective of radical mobilizations already taking place, actively articulating imaginations of alternative political worlds, and providing a sort of soundtrack to radical democratic change.

Bolivia's volatile political climate has been weathered by the fronts of domination, resistance, and repression since colonization by Spanish imperialists five centuries ago (Webber 2005). In the middle of the nineteenth century, when Bolivia gained its 'independence' from its erstwhile colonizer, a largely European-descended elite came to dominate politics, leaving the masses of indigenous peoples subservient to its rule. The first signs of hope emerged in 1952, when an uprising of peasants and miners of indigenous origin challenged the state and instituted a revolutionary take-over of the government, but as Robert Barr explains, 'the revolution produced not a socialist system but a state-led form of capitalism that replaced the old elite with a new one...the first revolution [established] a centralized and corporatist state' (2005, p. 78). Since this first 'uncompleted revolution', periods of political instability and military rule alternated until 1985, when democracy was reestablished and three major political parties dominated the scene: Movimiento Nacionalista Revolucionaria (MNR), Accion Democratica Nacionalista (AND), and Movimiento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria (MIR). These three parties, whose names seem to suggest a radical politics, instead largely comprised the political elite which had inherited power from previous regimes. As Barr points out, whereas these parties had 'originally occupied very different points on the political spectrum, they [have since] converged around a general neoliberal consensus' (p. 73). This consensus signaled a failure on the part of the traditional political elite to imagine any alternatives to a Western-imposed globalization which would relegate Bolivia and other South American countries to their historical role as suppliers of raw natural resources to the first world. The neo-liberal hegemony also 'clearly represented a historic defeat of the left and seemed to inculcate profound sentiments of loss within popular sectors that otherwise may have been able to mount some resistance' (Webber 2005, p. 36).

But the hegemony of neo-liberalism in Bolivia began to unravel around the late 1990s, in part because its restructuring programs failed to deliver on their many promises, seen most evidently in 'average annual per capita GDP growth of -0.26 percent from 1980 to 2000' (Barr 2005, p. 77). Instead of leading to overall economic growth, the 15 year period of economic liberalization actually left Bolivians worse off in terms of average income. Diverse groups began to demonstrate against economic policies which were thought to benefit the rich at the expense of the poor, as 'Bolivia's political system had yet to adapt to the increased complexity of the socioeconomic landscape' (p. 71). Part of this lack of adaptability had to do with the ways in which the dominant political parties were uncritically accepting of neo-liberal restructuring programs while being simultaneously unreceptive to the voices of those who had been hurt by such changes, most notably indigenous peoples in places like El Alto

and rural areas of Bolivia. In fact, indigenous peoples were systematically excluded from democratic expression as voting institutions deliberately made voting difficult for the rural poor. Raul Madrid finds that in Bolivia, 'indigenous people have tended to vote at significantly lower rates than nonindigenous people in the region', and that this is in large part due to the fact that 'citizens must obtain identity cards to vote, but these cards are costly and not easily obtained in rural areas' (2005, p. 168). Such practices have produced antipathy among indigenous populations towards democracy as a political system and distrust in the major political parties, so that 'none of these parties have been able to gain the enduring loyalty of a large proportion of the indigenous population' (p. 170).

It was within this credibility gap - between the traditional political elite of Bolivia which dominated the agendas of the three major political parties, and the interests of the indigenous population marginalized by their policies - that the emergence of new populist indigenous parties such as *Movimiento Al Socialismo* (MAS) took place, radically altering the scope and possibilities within Bolivian democracy by speaking for the first time to the specific interests of the indigenous majority. Since the early 1990s political outsiders comprised of parties such as MAS have challenged the oligarchy of Bolivia's tri-party system, 'reflecting the demands of the informal and marginal sectors hit hardest by the economic readjustment' (Barr 2005, p. 73). In recent years MAS 'undertook a variety of efforts to increase turnout in their strongholds...as well as to encourage members of these communities to register to vote' (Madrid 2005, p. 169). The 2002 elections signaled the emergence of a new political reality in Bolivia, as indigenous parties enjoyed unprecedented success. Within the span of five years indigenous legislators in Bolivian government grew from '10 in 1997 to 52 (out of 130) in 2002', giving 'Bolivian legislature an important indigenous presence' (p. 172). These elections compellingly showed how 'a growing segment of the population no longer accepts the direction chosen by the traditional parties' (Barr 2005, p. 75).

This democratic mobilization was co-emergent with a culture of protest which has increased in intensity since the late 1990s and which has also shown increasing impatience with the traditional political establishment. Barr finds that because so many people feel unrepresented in government, and hold a general distrust in democratic politics, the 'expression of societal interests takes place outside political channels...[through] protest aimed at national authorities' (p. 70). Nor are the protests limited only to disparate social groups. In fact, 'the demands of farmers, teachers, miners, police, retirees, and other protests...have reflected very concrete concerns about economic issues and living conditions', so that 'discontent is not confined to a single demographic group but is a widespread phenomenon' (p. 71). The power of protest and demonstrations in Bolivia has been extremely destabilizing for the national government, and has led to volatility and violence in cities and rural areas. I quote at length Raul Madrid's description of Black October in 2003, which led to the overthrow of President Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada:

This uprising began in mid-September 2003, when the main indigenous peasant confederation in Bolivia, Confereracion Sindical Unica de Trabajadores Campesinos de Bolivia (CSUTCB), organized rural roadblocks to protest Sanchez de Lozada's economic and social policies, particularly when decision to export natural gas to the United States. When government troops tried to break a roadblock, four protestors and a soldier were killed. The largest indigenous party, MAS, and the main labor group, the Bolivian Workers' Confederation (COB), then joined in, and with their assistance, protests quickly spread to La Paz and El Alto, the large, mostly indigenous city overlooking La Paz. The government ordered the army to suppress the protests, and in the ensuing clashes, more than 50 people were killed. The repression led Vice President Carlos Mesa and the New Republican Force (NFR), one of the main parties in the ruling coalition, to withdraw their support for the Sanchez de Lozada administration. On October 17, 2003, an increasingly isolated Sanchez de Lozada resigned, leaving the vice president in control'. (2005, p. 174)

The above account also highlights the ways in which leftist indigenous parties such as MAS have been able to capitalize on social unrest and turn frustrations into political momentum by rearticulating these into political demands (Webber 2005, p. 37). Building on their successes in the 2002 elections, MAS' leader Evo Morales won the presidential election in 2005 by the largest margin in Bolivia's short democratic history, taking 54 per cent of the vote. The historic significance of the election should not be underplayed: Morales succeeded in becoming the first Aymara Indian to lead the Bolivian government, reflecting the fruition of efforts and strategies of democratic mobilization amongst indigenous Bolivians and others who wanted something different from the neo-liberalism paradigm. Coming from the coca growing communities of rural Bolivia, Morales' rise to presidency has also signaled the emergence of a counter-globalization movement grounded in the interests of those most adversely affected by neo-liberal economic policies. Morales' background in coca farming emphasized the changing direction of the leadership of the leftist movement in Bolivia, as Jeffery Webber explains:

The vanguard of the left moved to the *cocaleros*, coca growers, who, because of constant harassment and repression from the US-led 'drug war', developed an impressive anti-imperial ideological orientation, imbued with the revolutionary Marxism of the relocated miners and the indigenous resistance politics of Chapare's [a region in Bolivia] peasants'. (Webber 2005, p. 36)

This mixing of revolutionary Marxism and indigenous resistance that Webber foregrounds in contextualizing the rise of leftist political parties is reflected in the music of Bolivian Hip-hoppers, rapping that 'the revolution has started, against the system and the state' (Forero 2005). The songs of Bolivian Hip-hop groups such as Lyrical Urban Movement express strong feelings of cultural nationalism mixed with anger towards those who have oppressed indigenous peoples and sold out their interests to capitalists, heard in the following lines translated from Aymara: '“Proud to be born in my Bolivia, though a land wounded by oppressors who call themselves defenders of my land”.' Echoing the demands of

protesters and demonstrators who, through sheer numbers and volume, have forced an elitist state to hear the voices of the masses and take their demands seriously, their songs make demands for a radically democratic present, arguing, for example, for the nationalization of natural gas, 'the demand around which a wide array of diverse struggles [have] united' in protests and demonstrations (Webber 2005, p. 47).

Through the emergence of Hip-hop imaginaries which have in effect served to channel the expression of a social group displaced by the political economy of globalization, these rappers speak to an alternative counter-globalization prefigured in the electoral victory Evo Morales and presently materializing in political alliances being formed amongst leftist South American leaders, aimed at challenging US hegemony of the Americas.⁵ Such an imaginary is embedded with anti-capitalist ethics: "'I do not live off hip-hop, and I did not plan to', said Grover Canaviri, 23, who sings for the [rap group] Clandestines. 'I do not care if my music is pirated. The money is not important. What we want is to send out our lyrics so they can influence'."

Conclusion: The Politics of Hip-hop Imaginaries

Hip-hop has always been about having fun, but it's also about taking responsibility. And now we have a platform to speak our minds. Millions of people are watching us. Let's hear something powerful. Tell people what they need to hear. How will we help the community?...This culture was born in the ghetto. We were born here to die. We're surviving now, but we're not yet rising up.
(DJ Kool Herc)

The emergence of Hip-hop in Bolivia reflects the agitation and promise for change that took place through democratic mobilization and resulted in the electoral victory of Evo Morales in 2005. Hip-hop imaginaries, in part, helped to constitute resistant identities that mobilized oppressed and exploited peoples to radically change political realities in Bolivia. In Hawaii, Hip-hop imaginaries have played a slightly different role, serving to culturally mobilize dispersed people in Hawaii and abroad by rearticulating cultural identities and histories of displacement which have victimized indigenous communities. Hip-hop imaginaries in Bolivia can be considered more politically empowering because of the context out of which they have emerged, that is, an active culture of protest in which an indigenous majority was effectively mobilized to take democratic control of the national government, constituting a form of decolonization through self-determination and the election of an indigenous leader. This dynamic political context allows Bolivian Hip-hop imaginaries to provide not only a narrative for the

5. Alliances between the likes of Morales, Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez and Cuban President Fidel Castro have been observed by Americans with much trepidation, see for example the Washington Post article found at: <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/05/26/AR2006052600216.html>

changes taking place, but also a viable means in which to articulate the desires of young Aymara Indians.

In contrast, Hawaiian Hip-hop imaginaries face a more daunting task, as seen in the analysis of Sudden Rush's music within the context of the Hawaiian Sovereignty Movement. Faced with an increasingly powerful and imperialistic-minded United States government, groups like Sudden Rush perform cultural resistance by negotiating their difference from their colonizer in lieu of the possibility of forcing change either through democratic mobilization or violence. It is within this negotiated space of cultural difference that conceptions of Hawaiian identity, politics of land and space, as well as alternative historical narratives emerge in an empowering Hip-hop imaginary.

In the United States, Hip-hop has had such a varied politics that it is problematic to assign a singular imaginary to its diverse cultural forms. Radical groups such as Public Enemy in the late 1980s to early 1990s pushed an agenda of Black Nationalism, prefiguring and, no doubt, influencing the style of Sudden Rush a decade later in Hawaii. One hears a radical political imaginary at work in Public Enemy's 1989 song 'Fight the Power':

*Elvis was a hero to most
But he never meant shit to me you see
Straight up racist that sucker was
Simple and plain
Mother fuck him and John Wayne
Cause I'm Black and I'm proud
I'm ready and hyped plus I'm amped
Most of my heroes don't appear on no stamps
Sample a look back you look and find
Nothing but rednecks for 400 years if you check....
What we got to say
Power to the people no delay
To make everybody see
In order to fight the powers that be*

Public Enemy ('Fight the Power', *Fear of a Black Planet*, 1989)

Present in these lyrics are many of the strategies for cultural resistance that were at work in Sudden Rush's music: a rearticulation of history (Elvis and John Wayne as not heroes, but racists), a redressing of a history of wrongs (no black heroes celebrated on stamps), an assertion of identity ('I'm Black and I'm proud') and a call for something different ('Power to the people with no delay').

From the radical politics of Public Enemy to even commercially successful and decidedly apolitical rappers such as Brooklyn's Jay-Z, we can read hints of existential resistance that point to the hidden realities of the inner-city, the performance of which on the public stage of Hip-hop can nevertheless be understood as a *political* act of representation. One hears testimonies of the lives of young

black males trapped in the public housing projects and ghetto's of urban America in Jay-Z's song '99 Problems':

*If you grew up with holes in your zapitos
 You'd celebrate the minute you was havin dough...
 Rap mags try and use my black ass
 So advertisers can give em more cash for ads
 I don't know what you take me as
 Or understand the intelligence that Jay-Z has...
 D.A. tried to give the nigga the shaft again
 Half-a-mil for bail cause i'm African...
 I'm from rags to riches nigga i ain't dumb
 I got 99 problems but a bitch ain't one...
 Jay-Z ('99 Problems' The Black Album 2003)*

The Hip-hop imaginary here speaks to the doubled reality of being a young black male in America: going from 'rags to riches' through selling his 'black ass' to advertisers and rap magazines, relating knowledge of how district attorneys set impossibly high bails for African Americans who commit even minor misdemeanors. Though no explicitly political message is tied into Jay-Z's music, if we read such imaginaries as testimonies to diverse realities which exist in the enunciatory present of Hip-hop, such music can indeed be culturally resistant as well as politically subversive. The newness of Hip-hop, its inaugurating of newly enunciated realities through performance, creates spaces in which marginalized voices can speak for themselves, and much of the significance of Hip-hop in the United States has been in the fact that such marginalized voices have now come to occupy a central place in American culture, for better or for worse in the minds of conservative Americans. As Hip-hop scholar Bakari Kitwana reminds us:

Think back for a moment about the period between the mid-1970s and the early 1980s, before rap became a mainstream phenomenon. Before MTV. Before BET's Rap City. Before Fresh Prince of Bel Air. Before *House Party* I or II. It is difficult to imagine black youth as a nearly invisible entity in American popular culture. But in those days, that was the case. When young blacks were visible, it was mostly during the six o'clock evening news of crime in urban America....Because of rap, the voices, images, style, attitude, and language of young Blacks have become central in American culture, transcending geographic, social, and economic boundaries. (Forman and Neal, 2004, p. 341)

Whether such a central position in American pop culture has had any effect on the ways in which young African Americans are empowered politically is, of course, another question. That much popular Hip-hop today, such as the music of Jay-Z, lacks any explicit political message even as it testifies to the marginalization blacks still face in urban America speaks to the disjuncture that exists between culture and politics in the United States. In this way, Hip-hop on the mainland faces the same problems as Hip-hop in Hawaii, that of negotiating

cultural difference and addressing historic wrongs in ways that can politically mobilize disenfranchised groups.

On possible direction for hope might be found in what rappers such as Chuck D from Public Enemy have said about Hip-hop's radical potential even in commercial venues, 'that hip-hop is at its most revolutionary when it enters the ears of white teenagers' in the suburbs (Rose 1994, p. 16). The transmission of testimonies from inner-cities to suburban areas through the sound waves of Hip-hop might be one radically democratic way in which Hip-hop imaginaries can have profound political implications. Inherent in the emergence of Hip-hop imaginaries, whether in Bolivia, Hawaii, or the United States, is its enunciatory present which speaks to the multiplicity of realities and histories that haunt modern existence. By speaking and listening to these hauntings, these multiple realities and doubled existences, Russell Potter sees in black arts and even global Hip-hop a 'signal site for the return of repressed realities' (1995, p. 7). The presence and articulation of repressed realities in Hip-hop imaginaries are consistent with an ethics of radical democracy which seeks to make all social realities and identities contingent on ideological exclusions and abjections, so that the radically democratic present is one of multiplicity and unforeseen possibility. In Bolivia, we saw this possibility emerge in the election of Evo Morales, while in Hawaii and the United States, cultural mobilization through Hip-hop was seen as a strategy of cultural resistance which spoke to the multiplicity of existences inherent in the enunciatory present. In these varying contexts, Hip-hop imaginaries can be understood as playing important and interesting cultural and political roles towards the advancement of radical democratic change.

References

- Akines, Fay Yokomizo (2001) 'Sudden Rush: *Na Mele Paleoleo* (Hawaiian Rap) as Liberatory Discourse', *Discourse*, vol. 23, no. 1, 82-98.
- Baker, Houston A. (2001) *Critical Memory*, The University of Georgia Press, Athens
- Barr, Robert R. (2005) 'Bolivia: Another Uncompleted Revolution', *Latin American Politics and Society*; vol. 47, no. 3, 9-90.
- Bhabha, Homi K. (1994) *The Location of Culture*, Routledge, London.
- Chang, Jeff (2005) *Can't Stop Won't Stop*, St. Martin's Press, New York.
- Derrida, Jacques (1994) *Specters of Marx*, Routledge, New York.
- Forero, Juan (2005) 'Young Bolivians Adopt Urban US Pose, Hip-hop and All', *The New York Times*, 26 May.
- Forman, Murray (2002) *The 'Hood Comes First*, Wesleyan University Press, Middletown.
- Forman, Murray and Neal, M. A. (eds) (2004) *That's the Joint! The Hip-Hop Studies Reader*, Routledge Press, New York.
- Franklin, Marianne (ed.) (2005) *Resounding International Relations: On Music Culture and Politics*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York.
- Kitwana, Bakari (2002) *The Hip-Hop Generation*, Basic Books, New York.
- Madrid, Raul L. (2005) 'Indigenous Parties and Democracy in Latin America', *Latin American Politics and Society*, vol. 47, no. 4, 161-179.

- Merry, Sally Engle (1999) *Colonizing Hawai'i*, Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Nandy, Ashis (1983) *The Intimate Enemy*, Oxford University Press, Oxford.
- Potter, Russell (1995) *Spectacular Vernaculars: Hip-Hop and the Politics of Postmodernism*, State University of New York Press, New York.
- Rose, Tricia (1994) *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America*, University Press of New England, Hanover.
- Shapiro, Michael J. (2004) *Methods and Nations*, Routledge, New York.
- Said, Edward (1979) *Orientalism*, Vintage Books, New York.
- Silva, Noeoe (2004) *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism*, Duke University Press, Raleigh.
- Statham, Robert (2002) 'Ethnic Nationalism versus American Constitutionalism', *World Affairs*, vol. 164, no. 3, 135-144.
- U.S. State Department. (2005) 'Background Note: Bolivia'. Available online at: <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/35751.htm> (11 November, 2005).
- Webber, Jeffery R. (2005) 'Leftist-Indigenous Struggles in Bolivia: Searching for Radical Democracy', *Monthly Review*, vol. 57, no. 4, 34-48.
- Woodhouse, Jon (1997) 'Sudden Rush Makes Mark with Ku'e', *Maui Beat*, 26 June.