The formation of ‘Hip-Hop Academicus’ – how American scholars talk about the academisation of hip-hop

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Social activism and education have been associated with hip-hop since it emerged in New York City 38 years ago. Therefore, it might not be surprising that universities have become interested in hip-hop. This article aims to highlight this ‘hip-hop academisation’ and analyse the discursive mechanisms that manifest in these academisation processes. The guiding research question explores how hip-hop scholars talk about this academisation. The theoretical framework is informed by the scholarship of sociologist Pierre Bourdieu. Hip-hop scholars were interviewed in New York City during 2010. The results demonstrate themes of hip-hop as an attractive label, a door opener, a form of ‘low-culture’, a trap and an educational tool.

It can be fruitful for music education research to explore how a more recently developed musical genre like hip-hop enters the university. More specifically, considering how hip-hop scholars perceive this academisation can yield insight into how academisation of a music genre occurs. The phenomenon of genre academisation is comparable to other areas of music education research, in particular to jazz music’s establishment as a field of study within music departments.

The academisation of rock music at Swedish music departments has produced music educational discussions concerned with what scholars regard as an absence of authenticity in academic rock (Fornäs, 1996; Gullberg, 1999). Olsson (1993) uses the concept *musicians’ music* when he describes how academic rock music is oriented more towards other musicians than towards a regular rock audience. Previous research that has primarily focused on informal learning within two hip-hop groups and formation of a professional hip-hop musician identity has shed light on the importance of authenticity in hip-hop culture (Söderman & Folkestad, 2004; Söderman, 2010). The results of both studies show how hip-hop musicians have to navigate between being commercial and artistic. Who is regarded as ‘authentic’ and who is a ‘sell out’ has been controversial ever since hip-hop emerged in the 1970s. In this respect, the crux of the issue lies in the fact that commercial success could ruin credibility, limit the options of hip-hop musicians and ultimately result in the loss of their authenticity. The main goal for the actors of the hip-hop scene seems to be to achieve or to construct a sense of ‘realness’ and to navigate seamlessly between authenticity and commercialism.

Petchauer (2009, 2012) describes how hip-hop has recently become an important topic of study for both education and educational research. He describes how hip-hop culture entered the university world through dissertations, academic conferences, courses, and university programmes. For those familiar with the origins of hip-hop, it is perhaps not surprising that academic institutions such as universities, colleges and first- and second-level schools became interested in hip-hop culture. Afrika Bambaataa, one founding father of the hip-hop movement, emphasised knowledge and its emancipatory aspects as one of the cornerstones of the culture. In the 38 years since hip-hop culture developed in New York, social activism and education have been associated with the genre (Toop, 1984/2000; Rose, 1994; Chang, 2005). According to Watkins (2005), hip-hop scholars have to navigate between both the rules of hip-hop culture outside academia and also the expectations of the universities. Furthermore, it appears that authenticity is embraced within hip-hop research, as opposed to other research areas where an outsider perspective is preferable (Stougaard Pedersen, 2011).

This aim of this article is to investigate how hip-hop scholars talk about the ongoing academisation of hip-hop. The purpose of the article is to highlight 'hip-hop academisation' and to analyse the mechanisms of academisation processes as phenomena that were discussed in interviews with American hip-hop scholars.

Background

Even though hip-hop can be understood as inter-aesthetic and containing four main elements – graffiti, deejaying, breakdancing and rapping – it can be described as a movement based primarily in music. Du Bois (1903/1999) stressed the importance of music in African American culture over 100 years ago, as did Gilroy (1993, 2010) in *Black Atlantic* with his writings on the African Diaspora. Unlike jazz, which entered into the academy mainly in music institutions in the 1940s (Watkins, 2005), hip-hop, as the latest form of African American music, has gained interest in various fields of study such as musicology, African American studies, education, sociology and English.

According to the hip-hop archive at Harvard University, in 2005 there were over 300 courses at American universities related to hip-hop in some way. Furthermore, hundreds of dissertations about hip-hop have been written in the past few decades. The first American PhD dissertation about hip-hop was written in 1989 by Tricia Rose. Her dissertation was subsequently published in 1994 as *Black Noise* and is widely viewed as one of the masterpieces of the academic hip-hop genre.

Harmanci (2007) suggests that universities may need hip-hop more than hip-hop needs universities. He claims that universities need to reach new groups of students in the increasingly competitive world of education (e.g. Singh *et al.*, 2005). The academisation of hip-hop is also connected to what Watkins (2005) calls the 'cultural wars' which emerged as a result of student frustrations aired in the 1990s. The students, mostly African Americans, asked questions such as: Who will be employed at the university? What topics will be studied? Who gets access to the universities? Furthermore, established African American scholars like bell hooks and Cornel West paved the way for hip-hop in the university and thus contributed to hip-hop becoming 'housetrained' in the 1980s and 1990s. These scholars often referred to struggles expressed in hip-hop music when they spoke of the

tension and injustice in American society. The first generation of hip-hop scholars who grew up with hip-hop (e.g., Tricia Rose, Greg Dimitriadis and Mark Anthony Neal), were inspired by the works of scholars like hooks and West.

A range of academic articles and books on hip-hop has been produced over the past 30 years. For example, a hip-hop 'reader' containing classic hip-hop articles was published by Forman and Neal (2004). There is also a peer-reviewed journal called *Words, Beats and Life* which features academic writers and researchers who focus on different aspects of hip-hop culture. Over the past five years, academic literature concerned with hip-hop has included an increased interest in hip-hop as an educational tool. Some scholars label this phenomenon *critical hip-hop pedagogy* (Runell & Diaz, 2007; Hill, 2009) to emphasise its connection to critical pedagogy (e.g. Darder *et al.*, 2003). Emdin (2010) and Hill (2009) have advocated that hip-hop is a successful and useful pedagogical tool as well as a way to reach urban students in American K-12 schools. In addition, several scholars have suggested using hip-hop to address issues of race, gender and class in American K-12 schools (e.g. Ladson-Billings, 1994; Dimitriadis, 2001; Pough, 2001). Pedagogic hip-hop has been referred to by some scholars as *Hip Hop Based Education* (H2BE) (Hall & Diaz, 2008). Gosa and Fields (2012) recently questioned if H2BE is just another hustle. By calling it a 'hustle', they suggest that educators who have no connection to hip-hop culture are exploiting hip-hop pedagogy.

Finally, hip-hop's presence in the academy has addressed African American nationalism and racial authenticity. Gilroy (1993) asks why Black America's writing elite has to claim diasporic cultural forms like hip-hop in such an assertively nationalist way. Gilroy (1993) writes:

This unlikely convergence is part of the history of hip hop because black music is so often the principal symbol of racial authenticity. Analysing it leads rapidly and directly back to the status of nationality and national cultures in a post-modern world where nation states are being eclipsed by a new economy of power that accords national citizenship and national boundaries a new significance. (p. 34)

Theoretical framework

W. E. B. Du Bois (1973/2001) was interested in German *bildung* theory at the beginning of the 20th century; he advocated a holistic approach to education, which he hoped would lead to the emancipation of African Americans. Du Bois' view on education was in direct opposition to those political leaders who advocated for vocational and practical training for minority youth during the late 19th and early 20th centuries – a position that many of today's political leaders share – offering minority youth vocational and practical training in dilapidated, underfunded urban schools across the USA (Kozol, 2005). Du Bois' scholarship also had much in common with the ideas about education and democracy shared by his contemporary, John Dewey (Dewey, 1916/1999). Interestingly, Du Bois was also a contemporary of Scandinavian 'folkbildning' educators who also argued for the empowerment of marginalised Scandinavian working members by emphasising education as a means to democratise society (Söderman, 2011a; Brändström *et al.*, 2012). Furthermore, Du Bois (1973/2001) defended specific African American universities that

started after the abolition of slavery – the so-called Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCU). Du Bois believed that, like every European country that had its own national universities, African Americans' higher education had to start with an African American view of the world. He resisted the idea that African Americans should adopt the white majority's view of culture and environment. Dewey (1916/1999) also believed that education must differ depending on its context. According to Dewey, it was important for education providers to have knowledge of local communities. Today, many youngsters living in urban environments are surrounded by hip-hop culture, which schools and education must acknowledge if they wish to connect with these young people.

Bourdieu's (1988) study of university rules and logic can be applied to the academisation processes that are presented in this article. Bourdieu believed that the education system contained a hidden system of inequalities, which he refers to in his field theory. Defining a field as a place for games, Bourdieu (1991) described fields as sites of objective relations between individuals or institutions in competition for the same objects. Social interaction can only be understood from the field where it is performed. The particular characteristic of a field is that there exists a *doxa* – a set of rules and attitudes. There is always something on which to agree or to disagree within the field, much like a game between different players. Another key concept from Bourdieu's sociology is *habitus*, which is produced by a person's cultural experience. Nerland (2004) defined *habitus* as a person's cultural personality.

Whether a player is consecrated (embraced and celebrated by his/her colleges and other players within the field) or not depends on the person's *habitus*. One is thus dependent on one's *habitus* in order to both get access to the field and act in the field. An individual's educational background and cultural know-how can briefly define *habitus*. Thornton's (1995) concept of *subcultural* capital, inspired by Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital, is also important to mention in this context. Subcultural capital can mean, for example, knowing the latest youth music and having the right style of clothing. Quite simply, subcultural capital is what is described in the media as being 'hip' and being 'right'. Sandberg and Pedersen (2007) further expanded on the notion of cultural capital by writing about *street* capital, which describes a know-how that deals with how different situations on the street can be interpreted and handled. Bourgois (2003) also describes a know-how from the streets as a complex and contradictory web of the world, symbols, attitudes, and life strategies that arise in opposition to the society in which the average people live yet are simultaneously deprived of. In hip-hop culture, it seems like both 'hip' subcultural capital and 'street-smartness' know-how create the desired authenticity.

Method and design

The methodological approach in this article was inspired by the ethnographic tradition that evolved from cultural studies (Willis, 1977; Back, 1996; Wacquant, 2009) and also by Scandinavian youth culture research (Fornäs *et al.*, 1995; Sernhede, 2002; Ambjörnsson, 2004). Additional data from published books were also used to provide a richer analysis. Ehn and Löfgren (2001) argue that various forms of data make the analysis richer and that the empirical data should be allowed to 'overflow'.

Lalander (2009) states that ethnography is about creating trust and getting 'access to the field'. Trust allowed for contacts to amass via the snowball effect; contact with one hip-hop scholar led to contact with another hip-hop scholar, and so on (e.g. Becker, 1963). In previous studies (e.g. Söderman, 2011b, 2012) I approached the field by participating in academic events concerned with hip-hop, and that participation also benefited this particular study.

The method of data collection for this article was qualitative semi-structured interviews carried out with each informant. The interviews took place in 2010 in New York and occurred in restaurants, university offices and at conferences. Each interview lasted approximately 60 minutes and was recorded with an MP3 recorder and then transcribed verbatim. In the interviews, the informants were encouraged to speak freely, as described by Kvale (1997). The overall focus of the interviews was to explore how hip-hop scholars talk about the ongoing academisation of hip-hop and how a new academic field is being constructed.

In discussing the informants' responses, I decided to give the hip-hop scholars the following pseudonyms: Derek, Michael, Ted, Randall, Alexandra, Tom, Eric and Jennifer. Although I could have used the individuals' real identities as they all approved to participate without being anonymous, I decided to use fictitious names because I would rather that the reader focus upon the collective analysis of the phenomena associated with the academisation of hip-hop. However, a reader with a rich knowledge of the American hip-hop academic world might possibly figure out the real identity of the informants.

The broad approach known as discourse analysis inspired the analysis of the recorded data. Discourse analysis involves theoretical models and methodological outlines that suggest how to approach the topic and how to use different strategies when analysing language. Analytic tools from discourse analysis have been applied to words like *effect* and *function* that appeared in the interview transcriptions. In my analysis, I asked what effect/function the quote had (e.g. Potter, 1996).

Fairclough (2003) stresses that discourse analysis' objective is to show how language figures in social processes. His version of discourse analysis is critical in the sense that it aims to show non-obvious ways in which language is involved in social relations of power and domination. Fairclough (2003) is also preoccupied with current debates and concerns of democracy and the negative effects of globalisation on democracy.

The categorisation of the data was based on certain key themes that occurred in the form of recurrent quotes from the informants. For example, themes that arose were how the academisation of hip-hop can be seen as both a door opener yet a trap, as a label, as part of low culture, as an educational tool, and as a critique of hip-hop intellectualism.

Results

It is possible to see how an autonomous and Bourdieuan field consisting of hip-hop scholars has emerged (e.g. Bourdieu, 2000). Famous scholars and professors such as Marc Anthony Neal, together with Tricia Rose and Michael Eric Dyson, can be regarded as the first generation of this field. These African American scholars are usually described in the American media as 'the new black intelligentsia'.

Consecration and self-representation

Dyson (2007) has named academic writers whom he regards as 'hip-hop scholars'. By conferring this status upon them, Dyson consecrates (Bourdieu, 2000) these scholars. Dyson's consecration, which I interpret to mean that he allowed these scholars to enter the field of hip-hop academia, can be seen as a gatekeeping strategy. Dyson names the following individuals as first-generation hip-hop scholars: Tricia Rose, Todd Boyd, Mark Anthony Neal, Juan Flores, Murray Forman, Cheryl Keyes, Imani Perry, S. Craig Watkins, Gwendolyn Pough, Felicia Miyakawa and Kyra Gaunt. Then he presents 'young researchers' – a term that I interpret to mean currently under negotiation – as the second up-and-coming generation: Marc Lamont Hill and James Peterson.

One of the more famous hip-hop intellectuals from the first generation whom I interviewed is Ted. Ted, an African American, stated that there is a benevolent stereotypification of hip-hop scholars, which means that when a university wants to recruit a hip-hop professor, it is primarily an African American who is preferred, although this preference is unexpressed. Furthermore, Ted suggested that the propensity to hire African Americans for these positions may be connected to university politics concerned with diversity issues. Consequently, hip-hop may risk being reduced to being a tool for greater diversity within the university. It appears important to represent hip-hop culture as African American (Gilroy, 1993). However, it is possible that there is also a need to represent even hip-hop research as African American, which Gilroy (1993) critically refers to as a nationalist stance.

Ted was praised by Derek, one of the up-and-coming scholars in the interview, when he said, 'I like Ted a lot, he's a famous guy and he said something complimentary about a piece I wrote. That was a gracious thing to do, because I'm not famous and he is.' Derek's statement can be seen as an example of ongoing consecration processes and how the first generation acts like gatekeepers within the field (Bourdieu, 2000).

Randall, who is a well-respected second-generation scholar, described Ted as a mentor: 'Ted has made a lot of contributions to the hip-hop scholar field. He is really supportive and he recommends people. He also supports people with other academic approaches; that's very unusual.' Eric, also a second-generation scholar, consecrated up-and-coming hip-hop scholar star Tom, who has appeared in different kinds of media: 'I really like Tom and I think he does an excellent job. He really got into the details of what it actually means to use hip-hop in terms of skill development.'

There is a discussion among hip-hop scholars whether the mainstream media label 'hip-hop intellectual' is a positive term. The first generation feels the need to go beyond that label, while the second generation and the up-and-coming scholars seem to use it more deliberately, seemingly accepting the term. Alexandra, who has been described as one of the 'new black intelligentsia' and is one of the academic stars from the first generation, seems to not want to use or need to use the label. In her interview, which can be interpreted as her self-representation, Alexandra said, 'I see myself as doing African American studies and I avoid hip-hop as a label. I do not see myself as a hip-hop intellectual, I don't even know what that means, actually.' Ted, who is established within the field, said: 'I tell folks that my work is on blackness, gender, race, sexuality and pop culture and I'm also concerned with being a black intellectual.' However, it seems like the second generation

does not resist the label in the same way as the more established scholars within the field. To the second-generation scholars, the label might have functioned like a door opener to the field.

Academisation as a door opener and a trap

In his interview, up-and-coming hip-hop intellectual and media star Tom said that hip-hop has worked as a door opener to universities for many African American scholars, although once inside they may then choose to do other research. Tom himself is an example of leaving hip-hop academia to do other research, although he is still active in the field by participating in conferences and other academic events concerned with hip-hop. He has also become a well-known media personality in the USA and is often involved in television shows as a professional pundit. It seems like hip-hop at the university shows a paradoxical duality; it can be argued that hip-hop acts both as a door opener and as a trap. Ted said that 'someone like Randall is a good example; people see a body of work that deals with hip-hop and then they think that he is incapable of doing other kinds of work.' Alexandra also talked about this duality and said that hip-hop 'does become a trap and people do isolate you with it and that's really unfortunate, but it's also a gateway for many people.' Accordingly, hip-hop academics do not want to end up in an 'academic devaluation' in regard to personal experiences with hip-hop's lower status within the academy (e.g. Bourdieu, 1988). Fears of being trapped exist in hip-hop scholarship and then being stamped as a second-class scholar. Ted said, 'When I met Alexandra in the 90s, she said something that struck me for years. She said: 'I hope ten years from now that I will not be talking about hip-hop.'"

From the aforementioned examples, one can see how a particular historical context and a certain 'room of possibilities' helped academisation to occur (e.g. Bourdieu, 2000). Ted said, 'If I had come to the academy 20 years earlier I would probably have had to go to a folklore programme.' Well-respected female hip-hop scholar Jennifer said, 'I began my academic career focusing on teaching hip-hop. I never wanted to be an academic. I truly used hip-hop to get into my passion, which is race and racism.' Ted noted that 'It took ten years just to legitimise hip-hop as a research field in academia.' It is obvious that the first generation of hip-hop scholars paved the way for hip-hop at the university.

Hip-hop as an attractive label and as low culture

Hip-hop seems to be viewed as both an attractive label and as popular culture with lower status within the university, according to the interviews. Alexandra argued that this label is trying to signal the 'hip' (e.g. Thornton, 1995). However the attraction to hip-hop is about education policy, according to Randall, who noted that 'Many universities use hip-hop like an avenue to accomplish certain things.' Randall described how he taught at a music department and how he noticed a dual attitude towards hip-hop: 'I had more students than the other professors. OK, they do support it, but under the circle it was clear to me that we were not equal.' Ted said that his department appreciates his hip-hop course because it gives 'great course numbers', namely that it attracts many students. In spite of hip-hop's attraction to students, it might be seen by some traditional and conservative university scholars as a cultural manifestation of how the contemporary university has

lost its former aura, a belief that is in line with Bourdieu's (1988) assumptions concerned with university hierarchies. These traditionalists might see hip-hop as an example of an increasingly devalued educational world where suddenly 'everything goes'.

Derek has noted how universities use hip-hop as a strategy and stressed, 'I do think hip-hop has been extremely powerful in that it has produced people like us who are capable of being manipulated by universities. Nobody became rock 'n' roll professors in the 50s and 60s. Hip-hop does have a particular kind of power that those others didn't have.'

Hip-hop as an educational tool

It is possible to see how the second generation, which is currently in the emergence and negotiation stages, appears to attempt to broaden the field to address the teaching and educational aspects of hip-hop. This extension causes some tensions that may be due to university hierarchies (Bourdieu, 1988). Hip-hop pedagogy does not seem to be considered as 'real hip-hop studies' from several of the hip-hop scholars. One can see parallels with other related university disciplines such as musicology and music education. Musicology is sometimes regarded as a 'real' university discipline in opposition to music education. In the interviews, it was possible to notice symbolic fights occurring concerning whether hip-hop should be regarded as a pedagogical tool or as an art form with its own intrinsic value. Randall, who is critical of pedagogical hip-hop, said, 'There's a lot of people who just say: Let's write a rap song about a subject we're going to teach. To me that's not hip-hop! In 10 years it's going to look a little bit corny.' However, Randall would like to highlight its intrinsic aesthetics, and he states that hip-hop has 'principles, rules for the art, and there are styles of learning and there are ways of debating intellectual issues.' Alexandra stated that hip-hop pedagogy 'is mostly about education policy and a political motivation; it has nothing to do with what hip-hop is.' She described hip-hop pedagogy's emergence in the American school system as 'a distorted thing that you've got to give the poor black and brown kids some hip-hop; it's an unintentional double insult.'

Ted argued in the interview and also in public that hip-hop studies should be viewed as a kind of 'new' sociology, like gender studies, which can be analysed as an attempt to connect hip-hop to an established discipline. However, Alexandra disagrees with this attempt to broaden the definition of what sociology is and says that sociology is a subject that has rarely been particularly beneficial for African Americans, who were often portrayed negatively as subjects in sociological studies. She stated that 'black people are always the problem, they are not the model; they are the problem that needs fixing'.

Hip-hop as critique of hip-hop intellectualism

Thomas (2010) criticises hip-hop intellectualism for nationalist tendencies and for the lack of a constructive critique of hip-hop scholarship. Alexandra, as one of the more established gatekeepers of the field, did not want to respond to Thomas' critique when I referenced it in the interview. In the words of Bourdieu, Alexandra does not want to 'agree to disagree'. If Alexandra responded directly to the critique, she would have implicitly accepted Thomas within the field even though she was strongly critical of his work, and accepting Thomas seemed to be what she wanted to avoid. Accordingly, the following quotation may be

viewed as Alexandra's strategy to keep him out of the field. Alexandra discussed Thomas' critique in more general terms:

It's a question about the critiques that people make, a lot of times it's about people trying to make their own careers by critiquing who they think is a bigwig, instead of really having a strong critique, they mostly are using it as a way to put themselves on the table, instead of just doing their own work. That's something that I would definitely be concerned about.

Furthermore, Eric was critical of academic language used by hip-hop scholars, particularly those within cultural studies:

Another thing I thought about. It gets academised to a point where a lot of people are excluded. It is a very exclusionary language of cultural studies. That is always problematic to me 'cause in terms of understanding the history of our marginalised people to see folks that come from that tradition further isolates themselves I think becomes problematic. I think some of the writing that we've seen in terms of hip-hop studies becomes very filled with jargon, jargon that only people in that field understand. And that was not the intention of the cultural product that we know to be hip-hop.

The critique against academic language as exclusionary also fell upon the so-called Birmingham school in the 1970s (e.g. Hall, 1996). In regard to their political ambitions concerning social justice and equality, the British cultural studies academics were accused of writing just for a bourgeois elite. However, Alexandra confirmed a point that Watkins (2005) has also noted: that the closeness to famous rappers produces non-critical research. She stated, 'I think there's really a lot of very disturbing research going on; I wanna get next to rappers and people don't say anything critical at all.' Eric is also seeing the non-critical approach and said, 'But a lot of times I see people's writings about hip-hop without critique, without any reflective notion of what it actually means to teach in urban spaces and what skills we are trying to communicate.'

Discussion

In conclusion, the hip-hop scholars represent an academic habitus even though personal access to sub-cultural capital and street capital are positive for both their media and university image as hip-hop intellectuals. Like the hip-hop world outside the academy (e.g. Söderman & Folkestad, 2004; Söderman, 2010), authenticity is one important factor of culture; it is important to be regarded as a genuine and a true hip-hop scholar. In other words, it is important to be 'keepin' the academisation real from non-real hustlers' (e.g. Gosa & Fields, 2012).

The results show that the most respected scholars act like gatekeepers within the hip-hop scholar field, which is in line with Bourdieuan field theory (Bourdieu, 2000). Furthermore, the hip-hop scholars get consecrated through their writings. Dyson (2007) requires the tributes from famous rappers in the form of a foreword and afterword, which must be regarded as a strategy for one way to achieve attractive street capital to market a book within the commercial publishing market. Consequently, his street capital strategies may work in a counterproductive way within the academy where the book can be seen

as less 'academic' (e.g. Bourdieu, 1988). It is possible that these two worlds, academic and hip-hop, are incompatible, as Watkins (2005) asserted. Hip-hop scholars' attempts to navigate between these two fields have to be considered as a cul-de-sac. However, this tension may also be an important facet within the neo-liberal globalised educational world, which often shows antagonistic dualities (Singh *et al.*, 2005). Within the academic hip-hop field, Dyson appears to be a self-appointed king when he consecrates other hip-hop scholars in his book (Dyson, 2007). When he referred to Tricia Rose as 'the Dean of hip-hop studies' in his review on the cover of Rose's (2008) book, it may be seen as an obvious consecration strategy. In addition, the results of this particular study show the importance of consecration to get access to a cultural production field (Bourdieu, 2000). It is possible to assume that hip-hop scholars within the university exude a particular street capital through their individual university image and their existence. This might seem attractive to university administrators, who can then use these academics as 'living advertisements' in an increasingly market-oriented and globalised educational environment, where hip-hop is a label of success and represents 'hip' sub-cultural capital (Thornton, 1995). In addition, the results also show how the label hip-hop is used as a 'diversity tool' within university politics.

Interestingly, as a consequence of the world of education becoming increasingly globalised, academic labels are becoming increasingly important (Singh *et al.*, 2005). Old educational classes are beginning to 'shed their skin'. One might assume that some African American studies programmes have merely adopted a more attractive title: Hip-hop studies.

For example, traditional critical pedagogy has recently been renamed *critical hip-hop pedagogy* (Hill, 2009). The essence of what is often defined as hip-hop education is similar to what is known as classic American progressive education and as critical pedagogy. That is notable in Emdin (2010), a text that is not really about hip-hop (even though the title implies hip-hop education: *Urban Science for Hip Hop Generation*), but rather acts as an example of what urban students could be interested in. The recommendation from Emdin is to engage with students in their own realities, experiences, and interests, which goes back to progressive ideas of 'classic' scholars such as John Dewey and Maxine Green. It seems as if the label 'hip-hop' sells, whether it is dissertations, textbooks, university courses, conferences or academic books in the neo-liberal educational climate. Sometimes, the content does not match the title which has contributed to the critique against current hip-hop academics and their predecessors (Thomas, 2010; Gosa & Fields, 2012).

It is also important to raise a discussion about what pedagogical research should be. It appears that some of the scholars interviewed in this study see educational research rather narrowly; hip-hop is reduced to just a quest for better tools for teaching. However, it is interesting that the hip-hop scholarship also brings forth the political idea of hip-hop pedagogy, which goes back to Dewey, Du Bois and Scandinavian folkbildning tradition (Brändström *et al.*, 2012). This political idea opens up a great potential for discussions in the music education field. I am convinced that we music educators have to think beyond the classroom to be able to legitimise music in schools in the future. An important question for music education would be: how might music help urban kids to get a voice in society and get them motivated to higher education?

To conclude, what might the academisation of hip-hop culture in the USA teach us as music educators? The results show the antagonistic relationship between hip-hop studies

and hip-hop pedagogy, a finding that is generalisable to other research fields. In regard to Bourdieu (1988), it can be assumed that Western university traditions create antagonism and hierarchies between related disciplines like music education and musicology, or in this case, hip-hop studies and hip-hop pedagogy. Furthermore, the study also shows a double feature within the university, according to the hip-hop scholars: hip-hop is regarded as both an attractive label and as low culture. Finally, if we open Pandora's box and look into the future, it is not the question of *whether* hip-hop is going to end up in the institutions of Western music but rather *when*. In this future scenario, music educators may need to be aware of this double feature within university politics and how it parallels traditions and hierarchies: hip-hop acts as educational bait and as attractive label. Consequently, it must be defended and criticised for its own sake and intrinsic value.

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