(W)rapped Space: The Architecture of Hip Hop

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My research work is broadly framed around the confluence of contemporary and historical-spatial-theoretical understandings, architecture, the progressive self-defining energy of African-American culture, and the historical legacy of urban spaces in current society. A preeminent principle of this confluence focuses on questions of identity. "(W)rapped Space: The Architecture of Hip Hop" theorizes the development of an African-American spatial paradigm that at once recalls, creates, and deploys a new space of diasporian origin that is predicated on a response to spaces that represent an erasure of identity and, concomitantly, the presence of repressive power.

A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential.[1]

Henri Lefebvre

I read somewhere that writing about music is like dancing about architecture. In this composition, I will illustrate the truth of those words—although I trust, not in the way the author intended—as I identify and analyze the space produced by the hip hop revolution. I plan to argue that hip hop produces a (w)rapped space that is (1) a phenomenon of sonic organization and use, created in and by a distinct social context, (2) dependent on experience and memory, and linked to time in the form of the past, present, and future, (3) defined and communicated by people through *patterns of use in the built environment.*

I will also address a specific spatial understanding of hip hop culture as it reverberates from rap music into the built environment, identifying four primary spatial principles evident in the physical manifestations of hip hop architecture—palimpsestic, anthropomorphic, performative, and adaptive—that are generated in response to spaces that represent the power of oppression. This hip hop spatial paradigm at once recalls, creates, and deploys new spaces that speak to the Africentric Diasporian project of identity embedded in rap music.

Ready for a little sumpin' sumpin' special? I'm 'bout to break you off some (*meaning:* give you something to consider).

Social Formations of Sound

Music both creates and is created by a distinct social context essential to the development of identity and subjectivity. This reciprocal relationship anchors my view of sonic foundations of hip hop that is reinforced by several theoretical claims below and forms the basis of the music/space relationship.

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Some Writings about Music . . .

Simon Frith and Angela McRobbie in their essay "Rock and Sexuality" position rock and pop music as the place where "boys and girls learn their repertoire of public sexual behavior.[2] By drawing on theories that posit sexual subjectivity as a primary element of defining an individual's or a group's identity, and by focusing on music's capacity to construct male and female identities among teenagers through socially sanctioned public sexual expression, they reject the notion of rock music liberating a long-repressed sexuality and instead posit that "the most important ideological work done by rock is the construction of sexuality."[3] They further argue that this construction is controlled by the "'gatekeepers' of the industry, who determine how people listen to [music]."[4] This suggests that those who control the choices and forms of music that become available to listeners have an overdetermined influence on the construction of sexuality and identity of those listeners.

George Lipsitz, in his book *Time Passages*, directly links the (sexual) identity produced by music to the notion of time by applying the concept of dialogical criticism developed by literary critic Mikhail Bakhtin. That concept is defined here as a dialogue with history—critically dependent upon memory—and with the study of music.[5] It is his position that: "one reason for popular music's powerful affect is its ability to conflate music and lived experience, to make both the past and present zones of choice serve distinct social and political interests."[6]

In his analysis, Lipsitz posits that the socially defined public arena—that place where the everyday interactions of society takes place—"is the matrix of production and reception of popular music" and memory is central to the construction of that public arena.[7] In his analysis, Lipsitz argues that not only is memory necessary for the construction of music, it is also central to the construction of social context and thus necessary for the construction of identity.

Finally, in the essay, "The Sound of Music in the Era of its Electronic Reproducibility," John Mowitt takes Lipsitz's position a step further and argues that current technology has separated the production and reception of music, and it has "privileged the moment of reception in cultural experience," further illustrating the social context of music's construction and its influence on subjectivity and identity.[8] Key to this argument is Mowitt's assertion that subjectivity is heavily influenced by the fact that experience "takes place within a cultural context organized by institutions and practices," which in this case are the institution and practices of the music studio. He argues that the experience of hearing—and its concomitant effects on memory—is less influenced by initial production than by technical reproduction done in the studio and this

phenomenon positions memory as both "fundamental to music and profoundly social."[9] Mowitt posits that a primary, if not *the* primary, reason for music's social importance is precisely this organization of sound (noise) around socially sanctioned public structures of listening that define normal, or "proper" ways of making sense of what you hear; it is a "standard of normalcy" that helps to define a social order, or to use a better word, community. "All music, any organization of sounds, is then a *tool for the creation or consolidation of a community*, of a totality."[10] What is critical to understand from Mowitt's argument is the idea that music can create and be created by a community.

To summarize, my project focuses on these central themes: (a) that music creates, and is created by, a distinct social context through experience (interaction with others) and memory (of that interaction and past interactions), and also, (b) that musical experience and memory play an important role in constructing specific identities and, with that, communities. *Sound in space creates identity.* These sonically constructed communities are linked to time through an interactive, reciprocal conversation with history that shapes the socially defined public arena in which music is produced, reproduced, and received. Music, then, becomes integral to a way of life. We live in sound-defined spaces. Albert Murray says as much when, writing on the painting influences of Romare Bearden, he states: "and not only was impeccable musical taste an absolute requirement for growing up hip, urbane, or streetwise, but so was the ability to stylize your actions—indeed, your whole being—in terms of the most sophisticated extensions and refinements of jazz music and dance."[11]

Understanding sound in this fashion is useful in positing the notion of music as an element of individual and collective identity that is:

1. a phenomenon of sonic organization and use created in a distinct social context
2. dependent on experience and memory, linked to the time—past, present, and future
3. defined and communicated by people through patterns of use

Below, we will see similar themes emerge as foundational elements of not only a notion of music, but also for a particular notion of space.

Social Formations of Space

Henri Lefebvre in his book *The Production of Space* posits that space is a social product. He argues against the dominant Western notion of space as posited by Enlightenment figures such as John Locke—that space is pre-existing—and instead proposes that "spaces are produced."[12] For Lefebvre, space is experienced, or more accurately, "lived" by bodies—or people—in motion that constantly intersect, interact, produce, and reproduce, a phenomenon that he refers to as "social space." Social space, as defined by Lefebvre, is both "*work* [the interaction] and *product* [what is created by the interaction]," and can be understood as the social activities that occur in a particular time and place that constitute—and are *specific* to—the establishment of a distinct social context.[13] These social activities—referred to by Lefebvre as the group's *spatial practices*—facilitate the production and reproduction of both the place of, and the characteristics of, the spatial relationships of any particularly defined group of people.

Lefebvre's space is reciprocal; it at once recognizes, shapes, and affirms the identity and subjectivity of the people who shape, produce, and reproduce it. According to Lefebvre, because social space is dependent upon people for its (re)production and people are (with apologies to Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*) ever-present in the socially defined public arena, he concludes that "[n]o space disappears in the course of growth and development: *the worldwide does not abolish the local.*"[14] For Lefebvre, there exists at any given moment, a multiplicity of distinctive social contexts, all of which produce spaces which, as opposed to Foucault's heterotopias, "interpenetrate one another and/or superimpose themselves upon one another."[15]

Furthering this spatial theory, Michel de Certeau, in his book *The Practice of Everyday Life,* theorizes the communication and navigation of these multiple, simultaneously socially constructed spaces and demonstrates how Lefebvre's social space becomes legible. De Certeau sees the movement through space as a way of communication with others, consisting of both experience and memory. He posits that movement through space and the memory of experience (movement through the world) constructs a language we use to spatially communicate. He calls this language of movements, "pedestrian speech acts," that, in fact, "secretly structure the determining conditions of social life" by implying interaction between a speaker and observer that communicates meaning.[16] Within a framework of communication that is reciprocally transformed and transforms the elements of language (musical, verbal, and pedestrian) are words consistently chosen, appropriated, adapted, and employed by people to communicate meaning that is unique to that particular group, space, and time.[17] In other words, sometimes "bad" is bad, sometimes "bad" is good. De Certeau describes what this analysis means to the understanding of space: "Thus space is composed of intersections of mobile elements. It is in a sense actuated by the ensemble of movements deployed within it. Space oc-

curs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function. . . . In short, *space is a practiced place*. Thus the street geometrically defined by urban planning is *transformed into a space* by walkers."[18]

In sum, what is vital to understand from Lefebvre's spatial theory is the notion that bodies (people) interacting produce space. This interaction is specific to a time, place, and social formation, but is also historical—it has a memory, a past. Space—like music—cannot be static; it is dynamic, adapted by its user for the communication of specific meanings as illustrated by de Certeau's "pedestrian speech acts." For Lefebvre and de Certeau, the formation of space is dependent on the interaction, the understanding of the interaction in a dialogically critical (reciprocal) way, and the memory of interaction (experience) communicated through the language of the pedestrian speech act. At its very essence, space, for them, is a "performed communication." Lefebvre, de Certeau and others have allowed me to posit the notion of space as reciprocal and as:

1. a phenomenon of spatial organization and use, realized in a distinct social context (people interacting)
2. dependent on experience and memory, linked to time—past, present, and future
3. defined and communicated by people through patterns of use

Bet! (That means: definitely a sure thing.) Check that! (That means: read again.) This hypothesis is almost identical to the previously outlined notion of music and, as such, uncovers a heretofore hidden opportunity for further critical spatial inquiry. If space is derived from experience and memory, whose communication is performed, and music is derived from experience and memory, whose form of communication is performance, then might we not look at sound and space as a similar occurrence, constitutive of each other? If so, then space might be defined more specifically as a:

1. socially constructed phenomenon of sonic organization and use
2. dependent on experience and memory, linked to time—past, present, and future
3. defined and communicated by people through their patterns of use

Rap Formations of Space

More Writings about Music . . .

So, peep that. (Look closer / listen harder.). Sound-mediated or performed space becomes the key to understanding hip hop's cultural creation—rap music—as the principal foundational element of Hip Hop Architecture.[19] How, you say? Bust it! (Explanation to follow.)

Space is

1. socially constructed phenomenon of sonic organization and use . . .

"[R]ap music is a technological form that relies on the reformation of the recorded sound in conjunction with rhymed lyrics to create its distinctive sound."[20] Rap music is unquestionably a music born of technology and is, as Mowitt has concluded previously, socially constructed. The core of rap music lies in the ability of the musical production (DJ, producer, engineer) to manipulate particular sounds, breaks, ruptures in continuity and flow—recalling their existence by their absence—and in the ability to mix several disparate sources of sonic pleasure into the listening experience. With the use of what is termed "sampling"—the digitally enhanced process of transferring a sound, or series of sounds (the sample), from one source to another source—"[r]ap technicians employ digital technology as instruments, revising black musical styles and priorities through the manipulation of technology."[21] The primacy of studio/tech production has been key to the development of the rap genre and the epitome of a musical phenomenon created in a distinct social context—the studio.[22]

Space is

2. dependent on experience and memory, linked to time—past, present, and future . . .

"Music is nothing but organized noise. You can take anything—street sounds, us talking, whatever you want—and make it music by organizing it."[23] As Mowitt has previously touched upon, music's social importance is precisely this organization of noise around socially defined structures of listening. It is our shared understanding of the "correct" way to listen that is embedded in our memory and creates community. What becomes important to discern is: "Which community is forming in the musical technologies of the collective memory, and what is its relation to those technologies that facilitate the exact reproduction of the musician's actions for listeners?"[24]

Black music in general, but rap music's historical connection with the collective memory of the African diasporic community in particular, is complex and varied, and the hierarchy of its components is not at all universally agreed upon.[25] What is generally acknowledged as important, essential, and historical about Black music are: (a) its nature (rhythm, repetition, layering, flow, rupture), which recalls the link to its African origin; (b) its orality (toast, call and response, storytelling griot), which descends from specific African, Caribbean, and American influences; and (c) its content (oppression, segregation, self-determination, self-naming), which is constituted in

part by the postmodern condition of fragmentation and the project of reclaiming the Black *subject* from the "Negro" *object*.[26] These elements help to link the African diaspora over distance and time to a collective memory that is Afrocentric in origin and nature, but is—and this is key—specific to its current locale and defines a particular type of spatial practice, a principal tenet of Lefebvre's social space.

Space is

3. defined and communicated by people through their patterns of use . . .

The identity created by sound is best illustrated and understood by studying the use/influence of music on the lifestyles of the diaspora. As alluded to earlier in this essay by Albert Murray's discussion of Romare Bearden, Black music is really an integral part of the way Blacks live and communicate.[27] At its most basic level, music is for the diaspora an unconscious way of being that informs both the physical and mental response to its call and is acted out in all variety of ways, subtle and not. At its most heightened, it is a recognition and celebration of an Africentric life force. But at all levels, it is important, even essential, to the *performance of life*—Gilroy's "enhanced mode of communication"—for diasporic members.[28] This performance of life manifests itself in a variety of ways in the diaspora, but all are inexorably linked by the project of reclaiming the Black subject from the "Negro" object.

Rap music is clearly a tool to use in the process of redefining self. Whereas Dick Hebdige's analysis of punk culture and music revealed as a central theme punk's desire for an escape from the principle of identity, in hip hop culture and music, identity is paramount. Primary to rap music's significance is that it produces, as Rose phrases it, a style that nobody can deal with, one that is "bigga and deffa."[29] With and within the music, producers express their individual and collective identity—the "who" we are—and, in a confluence of structuralist and Africentric discourses, the music calls upon the listener to express their identity—Are you "who" too? Thus an Africentric spatial practice, and a corresponding community, is at once recalled, produced, and enhanced in the music of the hip hop culture.

Rap Formation of Hip Hop Architecture

Some Dancing about Architecture . . .

So, "G" (partner in common or specific project), what does all this have to do with space, or for that matter, architecture? This next section will specifically address a spatial understanding of hip hop culture that employs this confluence of space and music as a paradigm that recalls, creates, and deploys new spaces that speak to the Africentric diasporian project of identity in the built environment. Hip hop architecture creates spaces that are constructed by the intersections of mobile elements—people (bodies)—but often includes objects of material culture (debris, monster speakers, cars) as well. Hip hop space is made readable by the ensemble and interaction of people and elements engaged in the performance of everyday life. These particular performances are a function of diasporian spatial practices that have survived the Middle Passage and are specifically recalled and enhanced by the music of rap.[30] It is the recognition of, and participation in, specific "pedestrian speech acts" or "performances of communication" that makes the space function and communicate. As such, hip hop architecture is a stage for Africentric identity emergence. The space of hip hop invites us to ask whether it is logical to expect a culture that has been placed on the margin of society's concerns to employ the same language (pedestrian speech patterns or performances) used by those responsible for such marginalization, thereby reinforcing the very practice that is repressing them? Is it logical to expect the response of this community to spaces that represent the power of their oppression to be the same as of those who developed such spaces? The answer that the paradigm of hip hop space provides to these two critical questions, so central to the validity of the discipline and profession of architecture, is a resounding, emphatic, and unequivocal *no*.

Physical Manifestations of Hip Hop Space

More Dancing about Architecture . . .

Below I will outline four primary principles necessary for the physical manifestations of hip hop space. I am certainly not the first to recognize the power for spatial change that rap music provides. Houston Baker, Jr. states:

"It would be salutary . . . if the 'grim neighborhoods' of public housing were to reap the benefits of the type of hearing provided by the Central Park moment. . . . [W]e might also find in our new public concern both exacting and effective ways to channel the transnational capital of everyday rap into a spirited refiguration of African-American urban territories."[31]

I posit that strategies can be adapted from this transnational capital and manifested in built form. The accompanying images are part of a 1994 proposal to develop a Hip Hop Park on the near south side of Chicago. The site is a debris-laden vacant lot in the midst of one-to-three-story warehouses. The most prominent features of the actual site are the two partial facades that remain from the former building—a faux classical coliseum. The project demon-

strates the application the following primary principles of (W)rapped space found below.

Hip Hop Architecture: Palimpsestic. "The power and promise of rap music rests in the bosom of urban America. . . . [Y]ears of degradation, welfare handouts, institutional racism, and discrimination have created a community where little hope, low self-esteem, and frequent failure translates into drugs, teen pregnancy, and gang violence."[32]

The architecture of hip hop is linked to the urban context in which it was born. This is where the call and response for the physical manifestation of this space is strongest. Part of the social context of the inner city—particularly in predominantly poorer African-American communities—is one of disarray and decay. Everyday, intentionally unclaimed, naturally deconstructivist structures are allowed to fall away piece by piece in unattended lots that are typically appropriated by the local residents as places for sundry and nefarious activities. These are the available—and appropriate—sites for the construction of hip hop spaces. The charge here is to remake and reclaim the Black subject from the "Negro" object, and this calls for a remaking of these places, the erasure of the dominant "proper," and the repositioning of these urban spaces as empowering.

Thus, the first, and most basic principle of the physical manifestations of hip hop architecture is that it be *palimpsestic* in nature and intent. It is an erasure of both dominant spatial understandings of "proper" and its hegemonic physical manifestations, while simultaneously—in the same location—the construction of a hip hop spatial consciousness and its physical manifestations. Essential to this consciousness is the recognition that hip hop space flows, ruptures, and intersects with bodies. In hegemonic spatial structures, these things are viewed as discontinuations, accidents that were not planned (both in the architectural and the organizational sense). This spatial perspective is antithetical to the spatial organization inherent in hip hop. As a space formed by sound, such "accidents" are designed and expected, and they are considered not only as continuous, but as invitations to perform.

Hip hop architecture is palimpsestic in the fact that it is engaged in reclaiming the subject from the object. Consistent with the foundations of hip hop's flow, layering, and rupture, the palimpsestic nature of hip hop architecture reorganizes and rewrites the "[v]isible boundaries [of architecture], such as walls or enclosures in general, [that] give rise for their part to an appearance of separation between spaces where in fact what exists is an ambiguous continuity" *in the same location* of the dominant culture's hegemonic definition of "proper" spatial use.[33] This reorganization's primary objective is to recapture the Black subject from the "Negro" object and affirm the body's identity in spaces that have historically done just the opposite.

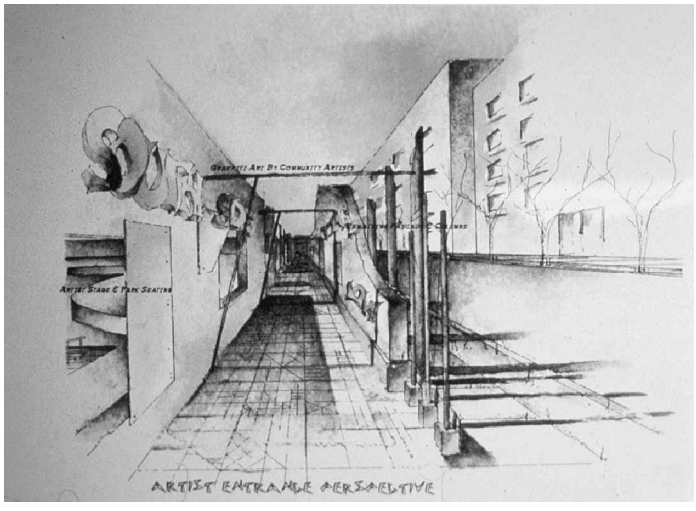
Palimpsestic Application. A specific application of the palimpsestic principle in the Hip Hop Park project is evidenced by the appropriation of space by the local youth as a place of recreation, due to the lack of available open space in their community in the manner of de Certeau. This park would authorize a place for the typical outdoor performances that occur regularly in this community, provide staging space for hip hop dancing, present wall space for graffiti artwork (tagging), and provide portable vendor booths along a "street and corner" within the park to serve as a hip hop community flea market. Providing for the specific spatial practices of this community assists in erasing the notion of this space as a place of vandalism and degradation, and it rewrites it—in the same place—as a place of validation and desire. The object was to approach the design of this space from a hip hop perspective that focuses on the (re)affirmation of identity, incorporating principles of appropriation and adaptation to palimsestically create spaces specific to the needs of the user—the hip hop community. (See Figure 1.)

Hip Hop Architecture: Anthropomorphic. A principal purpose of hip hop architecture is to create a "home place" (as bell hooks has referred to it) or, for the purposes of this essay, a space that engages and employs similar identity (re)construction strategies that take place at various sites within the diaspora. Therefore, another primary principle of hip hop architecture, as it concerns reconstructing a positive Black identity, is that it be *anthropomorphic*, which is *"in many respects, one of architecture's universals . . .* [and] is also a frequently expressed feature of architectural traditions in Africa."[34]

The anthropomorphism in hip hop space is not concerned with typical Western understandings of the concept that focuses centrally on the physical attributes or appendages of the body. It is instead concerned with a holistic understanding of the place the body inhabits. It is similar to the DJ/producers' call of "who we are" and as such, is intimately connected with the identity of the body *within* space. Unlike in the West, where "architectural anthropomorphism had its primary basis in the *valuation* of the human body as an expression of God's creative perfection, African architects more characteristically see in the human a model of life and vitality and an expression of social relationships and values."[35]

Anthropomorphic Application. As a space that is constructed by the bodies of its users, it is critical to consider the body in space and provide for its interaction in various forms and with various objects.

1. Typical condition at site and various other sites in urban areas.



2. Park entrance walls allow for neighborhood graffiti artists to express themselves.

The park provides for the specific spatial practices of the hip hop community as these individuals define their space through pedestrian speech acts. Providing for cultural and communal use in this space in terms such as "pleasurable" and "desirable" is what brings the space of hip hop—and its subsequent architectural manifestation—into being. Thus the spaces provide not only for the tangible interaction in various forms of creating and viewing the performance of everyday life (the economic, political, communal, and physical exchanges) by people in motion, but also for the tactile interaction with (im)mobile objects (graffiti walls, speaker stands, vending booths) as well. The park is designed to facilitate this interaction, with the understanding that the more tangible and substantive the interaction, the more valuable and legitimate the architecture becomes. (See Figure 2.)

Hip Hop Architecture: Performative. To paraphrase Shakespeare, if "all the world's a stage, and we are merely actors," then the physical manifestation of a hip hop spatial understanding is this phrase's most recent—and important—connotation. The notion of *simultaneity*—the intersection of body and stage around the construction of identity—communicated through performance is a primary element of the diaspora and must be a part of hip hop space.[36]

The organization of hip hop spatial understanding can be found in the deep call of the diaspora in rhythm and repetition. Hip hop architecture is the emergence—in form—of the base and the beat, the flow and the rupture, the call and response. Consequently, an additional primary principle of hip hop architecture is that it is *performative*. It is about both providing the stage (backdrop) and privileging (inviting) the performance, where space is produced through the conjunction of people within it. The importance of performance—both the everyday and the ceremonial—in the creation of space in the diaspora, "underscores the centrality of architecture itself both as a setting for everyday life and ceremonial action and as a theater for the presentation of dramas for the community as a whole. Through these performances, key aspects of architectural meaning are given expression."[37]

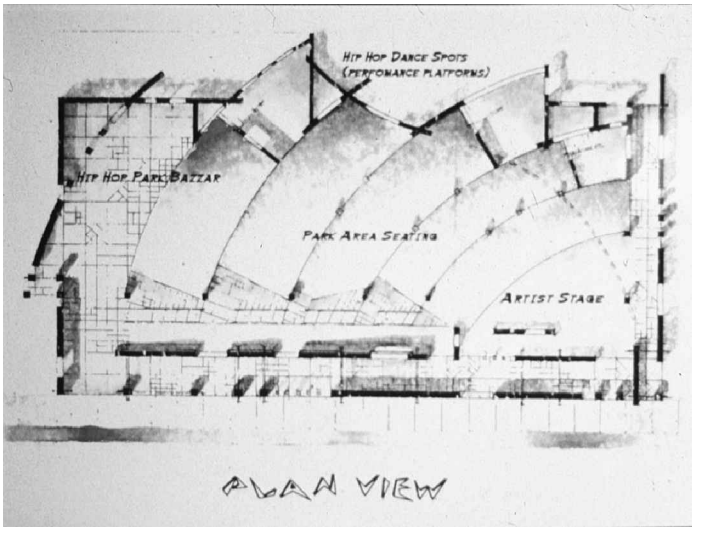
Performative Application. The design of the Hip Hop Park can be viewed as one large stage, a stage for the performance of life for diasporic members—in this case, the hip hop community—that recalls historical spatial practices that are specific to this particular location. Hip hop architecture is concerned primarily with identity, and central to the creation of that identity are patterns of performance that are created by the music, by the musicians, and by the listeners. Each of these activities is suggested (invited) in the design by their location, but they are not fossilized in these locations. Like the transformative

nature of the hip hop culture, these spaces are easily changed (and most likely will be continuously transformed) by the users to meet the complex performance of spatial and identity construction. The spaces suggested for the performance by the musicians (the central stage) and by the listeners (passively in the center grass knolls and actively in the hip hop dance spots and the bazaar area) are designed to encourage their use as currently designed, but also to encourage their reorganization in other ways by the users, as the community continues to write and rewrite its identity in and on this space. (See Figure 3.)

Hip Hop Architecture: Adaptive. Finally, hip hop architecture is *adaptive*. It has to be. The sites that are available for the emergence of hip hop forms necessitate it; the people for whom the structures will be built will demand it; the availability of materials for this (these) project(s) requires it; the assemblage of these structures compels it. Hip hop architecture's diasporic dialectic is inescapable. From its vegetal and mud and clay site-specific African origins, to the design of "shotgun homes" of the late eighteenth-century Caribbean and early nineteenth-century America, to the late nineteenth-century Tuskegee Institute/University project, to the thatched roofs of the early twentieth-century "critter houses" of South Carolina, hip hop architecture is also committed to using and reusing materials transformatively and creatively, removing the hegemonic "proper" not only from spatial communication but from symbol and material communication also. The architecture of hip hop embodies the spirit that architectural professor Laverne Wells-Bowie describes as "architecture as a cultural practice . . . [the] sense of architecture acknowledg[ing] diversity of location, that wherever folks are dwelling in space, they can think creatively about the transformation and reinvention of that space."[38]

Adaptive Application. The current material culture available in the community has been adapted in the hip hop bazaar. Behind the concept of the bazaar is the desire to facilitate the entrepreneurial spirit of hip hop culture and to build on its "power from powerlessness" theme. This space is designed to facilitate young entrepreneurs, street vendors, and small community enterprises that would like to reach a larger and repeat clientele, but who do not have the initial capital investment for renting space for commercial needs, inventory, or storage. These enterprises provide a vital service—the underground economy that sustains many marginalized communities—but live a transient existence within the community.[39]

As such, the hip hop booths are a principal component of the bazaar/marketplace in this design and are designed to be easily assembled, disassembled, and transported. Made from wood, metal, wire, and canvas, they blend perfectly with the materials used in the park design, as the walls, flooring, and booths utilize the materials discarded in the neighborhood everyday—at once cleaning the areas of debris and adapting the discarded into the useful. The canvas covers of differing colors are intended to be utilized by neighborhood graffiti artists to simultaneously display their skills and to announce the various vendors in the bazaar, giving the market a particularly community flavor, creating an "'architecture *of* the site' as opposed to the architectural ideal of 'an architecture *on* the site'" and adding yet another layer to the construction of individual and communal identity.[40] (See Figures 4 and 5.)



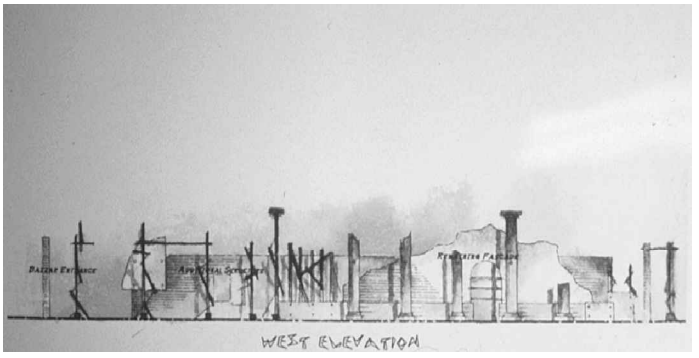
3. Park plan

Conclusion

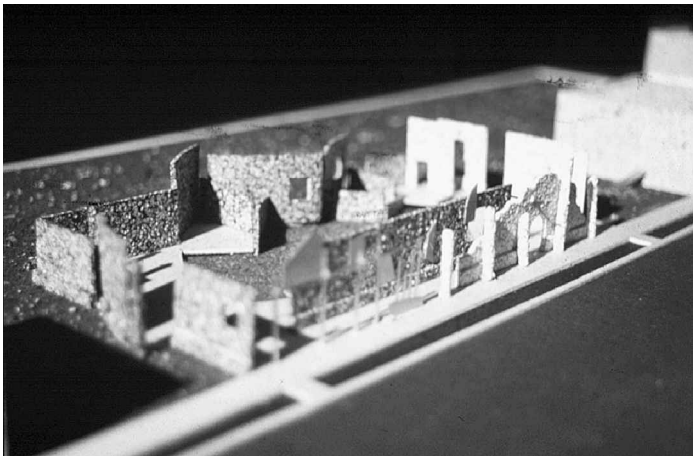
Writing about Music Is Like Dancing about Architecture . . .

In this essay, I have explored a particular relationship between rap music, space, and architecture. Rejecting previous investigative essays that focus on music, space, and architecture as being inadequately probative, I have employed a counterquest for an aesthetic paradigm of architectural and sonic production, one that approaches the question of music and architecture from the inside-out. In this investigation I have positioned rap music as the womb from which hip hop space and architecture are born.

Theory in architecture is all too often discussed only in terms of form. The ideology in architecture that permeates the profession and discipline is rarely analyzed. This piece attempts to open up



4. East elevation showing the community bazaar entrance and tagging wall made from a combination of new construction with existing walls and site materials.



5. Aerial view looking southeast toward downtown Chicago showing the integration of existing and new (appropriated) materials.

that discussion on a number of levels. My primary purpose in engaging in this examination of music, space, and architecture is to begin to explore new paradigms of architectural spatial theory and manifestations that are initiated from the marginalized citizenry—specifically, the African-American community. This search is for a spatial paradigm that resists the power of dominant hegemonic understandings of space embedded and accepted in architecture and creates power for the marginalized from their built environment, primarily by identifying ways they can and do express their spatial practice in physical form to affirm their validity. The revolutionary production of hip hop space—a phenomenon of sonic organization and use created in a distinct social context, dependent on experience and memory, linked to time (past, present, and future), defined and communicated by people through their patterns of use in the built environment—has clearly been identified as a prototype demonstrative of an African-American spatial practice and available for physical expression. In this theorizing, the production of hip hop architecture is an attempt to "recover a sense of community outside the state-regulated and commodified universe" dependent on "a systematic reorganization of space to enlarge the realm of public discourse and physical freedom . . . a new code of space," and it is an attempt to build upon the foundations of "expressive rather than instrumental (institutional) social relations."[41] Hip hop architecture takes as its point of departure a phenomonologist understanding of subjective/substitute images, and combines it with the notion of spatial construction through interrelations, into this "new code of space." And here, you thought that it was only noise.

The preeminent principle in hip hop culture and its music is one of identity. Rap music employs various specific, identity (re)defining strategies developed by the African diaspora as a result of its Black "subject" from Negro "object" reclamation project. The specific spatial understanding of hip hop culture, embodied in the physical manifestations of hip hop architecture is predicated on the response to those spaces that represent an erasure of identity and, concomitantly, the presence of oppressive power. A hip hop spatial paradigm at once recalls, creates, and deploys a new space of diasporian origin and produces an architectural manifestation that is at once palimpsestic, anthropomorphic, performative, and adaptive. Hip hop architecture is engaged in taking existing architecture and transforming it into something that expresses the spatial practices of the residents of marginalized communities, an object that makes sense to them. By making architecture an artifact that is "owned" by reason of individual, community, and/or cultural relevance and reaffirms their identity as a people, the architecture of hip hop strives to make the built environment something desirable and therefore valuable to those inside and outside the community. Corbu recognized the necessity of transformation when he argued that "if we challenge the past, we shall learn that 'styles' no longer exist for us, that a style belonging to our own period has come about."[42] Snap! (Stop, something just clicked.) Check that. (Read again.) Corbu is (subconsciously?) stating that the discipline of architecture *flows*, with periodic *breaks* in its continuity. That it is, in effect, breakdancing. Architecture: hip hop(ing) through history. And all this time you thought you couldn't dance.

We are in one of those moments in time where a "pop" or "rupture" in the performance is necessary. The old solutions (styles) no longer apply. Our concerns, our problems at this time, are different. Architecture should be about that, about responding to society now, with an eye always toward the future. When Bones, Thugs, and Harmony rap about "It's The First of The Month" or Luniz raps that "I Got Five on It," this speaks to the concerns of a broad spectrum of the populace and suggests modes of aesthetic solutions. Where are the structures that reflect these modes? Where is the building about which I can say: "I Got Five on It"? Inner-city design strategies to date primarily have been developed outside of the affected commu-

nity. Strategies developed by "experts"—that look at the architecture of survival, of identity, of erasure and that determine that it is nothing more than vandalism—have emerged. But these strategies have emerged out of (a) a failure to understand what that architecture is really saying about the community that produced it and, (b) a willingness to impose narrowly defined spatial theories that masquerade as "universal" aesthetics upon an "other." Historically, design in these marginalized communities from an universal (read: Euro-American) spatial understanding has not been "universally" successful. I live in a "Boogie-Woogie Bugle Boy" building, but I'd much rather live in a Boogie Down Productions space. Hip hop architecture calls on the architectural "flow" to develop a space "that nobody can deal with—a [space] that cannot be easily understood or erased, a [space] that has the reflexivity to create counterdominant narratives against a mobile and shifting enemy. . . . In the post-industrial urban context of dwindling low-income housing, a trickle of meaningless jobs for young people, mounting police brutality, and increasingly draconian depiction's of young inner-city residences, hip hop style is black urban renewal."[43]

As such, hip hop architecture is one model for halting the destruction and deterioration of African-American urban communities and the best hope to restore their viability as sustainable communities. The architectural entities that evolve from a hip hop spatial paradigm draw on the best of the past and the present. Employed in communities where there is a need and cry for an environment that does not repress but relieves, hip hop architecture replaces the constrictive with the supportive. It defines and asseverates an African-American identity. Like rap music, hip hop architecture reuses and renames space and in the process "render[s] visible 'black' meanings, *precisely because of*, and not in spite of, its industrial forms of production, distribution, and consumption."[44] It nurtures a place where African-Americans can see a positive portrait of themselves in their environment.

To that end, I should mention that I am challenged in my thinking by the theoretical work of the Russian Constructivists in the early part of this century, whose essential task, as argued by one of its leading theorists Moisei Ginzburg, was the: "creation of 'social contenders': buildings, complexes, or even whole cities that could not only perform their immediate functions but also motivate users (or, if necessary, constrain them) to new actions, new habits—and thereby new ways of living."[45]

What the Constructivists identified above as *"new ways of living,"* is more accurately identified in my hypothesis as the specific African-American spatial practices of this cultural moment informed by transnational diaspora spatial practices. I am most intellectually stimulated by their notion of the "new urban design—the purposive production of urban meaning—[as being] productivist (and activist), mobile and demountable and diffuse in its forms and media" that enables structures where "all the accessories that a metropolitan street imposes on a building—illustrations, publicity, clock, loudspeaker, even the lifts inside—are drawn into the design as equally important parts and brought to unity" by "transform[ing] mediating signs, to add new signification to that already existing."[46]

The Hip Hop Park project is an example of this type of effort, an effort to listen to what's on the street and—literally—read the writing on the wall. As Gil-Scott Heron, anticipating Lefebvre while paving the way for this hip hop moment, has so eloquently said: "The revolution will not be televised. . . . It will be live."[47]

Notes

1. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, Ltd., 1995), p. 36.

2. Simon Frith and Andrew Ross, *On Record: Pop, Rock and the Written Word* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1990).

3. Ibid.

4. Ibid. Frith and McRobbie further argue that while music is responsible for constructing gendered identities, rock is essentially a male form that offers a "variety of male sexual poses to young males, but for women in rock "to become hard aggressive performers, it was necessary for them, as Jerry Garcia commented on Janis Joplin, to become 'one of the boys.'" They summarize their position with the assertion that: "[b]oth in its presentation and its use, rock has confirmed traditional definitions of what constitutes masculinity and femininity, and reinforces their expression in leisure pursuits."

Frith and McRobbie's argument demonstrates music's ability to form subjectivity/identity—in this instance, defining sexual positions by way of public activity.

5. Lipsitz posits that every instance of cultural production "is the product of an ongoing historical conversation in which no one has the first or the last word." He asserts that music is produced through, reflects, and affects the social and political context in which it evolves, making it inherently social and its meaning emerges from within the socio/historical context around its production and its reception. In other words, Mozart would have written differently had he lived in modern-day Brooklyn with access to a tape player, MIDI machine, and a microphone—products of this time, this history—and not only might Mozart have produced a different music, music would have greatly contributed to producing a different Mozart.

6. Ibid., p. 104.

7. Ibid., p. 105.

8. John Mowitt, "The Sound of Music in the Era of Its Electronic Reproducibility," *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception,* in Richard Leppert, Susan McClary, eds. (Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1977), p. 173.

9. Ibid., p. 181. To illustrate memory's fundamental and social influence on music, Mowitt gives an example from Maurice Halbwachs's *"The Collective Memory of Musicians"* that posits that when performing, many musicians find referring to the score frequently unnecessary because they know their pieces "by heart," due to

many hours practicing, often with other musicians. This event "by heart" is a memory that is "exerted on a performer's brain by the 'colony' of other brains," those "other brains" belonging to fellow musicians. In other words, musicians play what they "remember" having *heard* being played previously, highlighting "a particular history and technology of reproduction [that] supplements the musician's memory." The sound is memorized by many players until a convention, a "normative" collective memory of the sound is realized. Thus, a collective "memory" defines the proper or "normative" way to listen and a community is produced.

10. Ibid., Jaques Attali, as quoted by Mowitt. (Emphasis mine.)

11. Albert Murray, *The Blue Devils of Nada: A Contemporary American Approach to Aesthetic Statement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), p. 123.

12. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* p. 84. Locke's construction of space and place is crucial to the following discussion about Lefebvre because all other modern notions of space in Western civilization flow as either an acceptance of; a reaction to; or a modification or rejection of Locke's perspective. This is particularly true of Lefebvre's hypothesis of social—and other—spatial production.

Locke argues that space "exists" prior to our knowledge—it is "out there" (essentialized)—discernible only by the relationship (position) of bodies within it. The spot where a body is at rest is called place, discernible only by its relationship (mathematically) to two or more reference bodies (points). Lockean notions of space are held in definitive terms—distance, capacity, extension, and so on—available through the mind by sight and touch and apportionable on an abstracted and mathematical scale (for example, *this* piece is *this* distance from *that* piece and is *this* long, *this* wide).

13. Ibid., p. 102.

14. Lefebvre posits that social space is quite different than Lockean space. It is a relationship between nature and "activit[ies] which involves the economic and technical realms but extends well beyond them," and is built upon a triad of spatial concepts: spatial practice, representations of space, and representational spaces that require intersecting bodies to be produced. In brief:

- *Spatial practices* are understood as the social activities that occur in a particular time and place that constitute—and are *specific* to—the establishment of a distinctive social order. Spatial practices in Lefebvre's conceptual triad are observed or "perceived." Spatial practice "presupposes the use of the body" and presupposes, then, an identity for the body that is being used.
- *Representations of space* are theorized, rational, logical, or "conceived" spatial understandings, informed by a particular world perspective and the place of the subject within it. Representations of space therefore grant a level of reflectiveness to the identity spatial practices presuppose, and in effect recognize, if not bestow, *subjectivity* to the body.
- *Representational spaces* are "space[s] as directly *lived* through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'users.'" As "lived" experience, representational spaces "have their source in history—in the history of a people as well as in the history of each individual belonging to that people." Representational space, which "is alive; [and] speaks," then, *affirms* the body's identity/subjectivity in speaking.

This bodily triad of social space conflates to create a dialogue with history and memory that indicates a spatial application of Lipsitz's earlier posited notion of dialectal criticism.

15. Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diatritics* 16/2 (winter, 1986): 23, 86. In this essay, Foucault argues that "[o]ur epoch is one in which space takes for us the form of relations among sites" and that "we live inside a set of relations that delineate sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely not superimposable upon one another."

Lefebvre's social space challenges that position by positing that the perceived, conceived and lived that make up the space of home and that intersects with the space of yard, penetrating into the space of neighborhood that integrates into the space of city and so forth, ad infinitum, into the space of the everyday. He likens this spatial interpenetration to the principle of superimposition—the phenomenon of motion found in hydrodynamics—where "[g]reat movements, vast rhythms, immense waves—these all collide and 'interfere' with one another; [but] lesser movements, on the other hand, interpenetrate."

16. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), p. 96. To de Certeau, the pedestrian speech act is homologous to the verbal speech act in three ways: as "a process of appropriation" of an existing framework of meaning; as "a spatial acting-out of the place" from the existing framework in order to communicate meaning; and "it implies relations among differentiated positions" by implying interaction between a speaker and listener to communicate meaning.

His initial notion of the "process of appropriation"—*the adaptation of an existing framework of meaning to a heretofore nonenvisioned specific purpose*—has applications in both the sonic and the spatial. As he suggests, language is the framework for speech, without which, speaking to communicate cannot occur. Similarly, sound is the framework necessary for music to communicate, and space is the framework for the pedestrian to communicate. Vocal, musical, and spatial frameworks are consistently employed, discarded, manipulated, and ultimately redefined for the purposes of the ever-changing communication of meaning.

His second notion, concerning the "spatial acting-out of the place"—*the choosing of a series of enunciations (from that existing framework) to communicate meaning*—also incorporates a sonic/spatial correlation. In the sonic, producers of music choose a set of enunciations of music to communicate; similarly, in the spatial, pedestrians choose a set of movements through space to communicate a meaning of space.

Finally, de Certeau's "relations among differentiated positions"—*the communication of meaning in the social through interaction with another*—also holds true for the sonic and spatial. In the sonic, communication of meaning socially through interaction with another through sound occurs between producers and receivers of the music (in terms of it being pleasurable, dangerous, subversive, interesting). Similarly, in the spatial, movement through these spaces constitutes communication with others, as our conscious and unconscious movements are read and interpreted by others (in terms of being pleasurable, dangerous, subversive, interesting), even if no reception is intended.

17. Ibid. De Certeau further asserts that memory of experience (social interaction/historical dialogue) constructs not only the language we use to communicate but its rhetoric—the way we use the language to communicate: "[I]t is assumed that practices of space also correspond to manipulations of the basic elements of a constructed order [and] it is assumed that they are, like the tropes in rhetoric, deviations relative to a sort of 'literal meaning' defined by the [constructed order]." For example, in verbal speech there is "proper" English, and all other uses are a derivative of that proper form, from dialect to slang. He notes on page 100 that space also lays claim to a "proper" form: "[I]t is assumed that [other uses] are, like tropes in rhetoric, deviations relative to a sort of 'literal meaning' defined by the urbanistic system. There would thus be a homology between verbal figures and the figures of walking (a stylized selection among the latter is already found in dancing) insofar as both consist in 'treatments' or operations bearing isolatable units, and in 'ambiguous dispositions' that divert and displace meaning in the direction of equivocalness. . . . In reality, this faceless 'proper' meaning (i.e., 'proper' sans figure) cannot be found in current use, whether verbal or pedestrian."

Implied here is that the "proper" pedestrian speech act in space is the one intended by the spatial organizer (be it architect, landscape architect, interior designer, or others) and all other uses, from shortcuts to avoidance, are derivatives of the "proper" use.

18. Ibid., p. 117.

19. Trica Rose, *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Cultural Expression* (Hanover: Wesleyan University Press, 1994), p. 2. "Rap music is a black cultural expression that prioritizes black voices from the margins of urban America. Rap music is a form of rhymed storytelling accompanied by highly rhythmic, electronically based music. . . . From the outset, rap music has articulated the pleasures and problems of black urban life in contemporary America."

20. Ibid., p. 65.

21. Ibid., p. 96.

22. Ibid., p. 94. Trica Rose presents a particularly rap version that builds on Mowitt's theory of the social construction of music through technology. In discussing the musical piece "Paid in Full" by the rap duo of Eric B. and Rakim, Rose illustrates the primacy of Mowitt's studio in the production of the music by highlighting the lyrical acknowledgment by the duo of their location in the studio. Also, during the recorded "conversation" between Eric B. (the producer) and Rakim (the rapper), there are specific, identifiable directions to the studio engineer as to the technical manipulation of the music for "effect," now that they have completed the lyrical "performance" portion of the piece. This acknowledgment of the power of studio technology over the music produced in the reproduction of the music itself, "demystifies technology and its production. . . . Eric B. and Rakim suggest that they are *in control* of what technology produces—including its on-site manager, Ely, the engineer," thereby confirming the primacy of the technology and its studio location.

23. Ibid., p. 82.

24. John Mowitt, *Music and Society: The Politics of Composition, Performance and Reception,* p. 182.

25. For instance, Paul Gilroy in the *Black Atlantic* argues that it is difficult, if not impossible, to consider the musical traditions of African Diaspora as unbroken and universally traceable while also positing that in their difference, these various strains of diasporic musics still recall a collective memory. Similarly, Trica Rose in *Black Noise* argues—particularly with rap—that any focus on the possible legacy of the oral traditions of Africa to African-American expressions in diasporic music is to ignore the music itself. Gerald Early in *One Nation Under a Groove* argues that the development of R & B/Soul music—with Motown at its head—was a uniquely Black American experience. There are many more perspectives that at once question and reinforce a direct continuous historical link in the sonic traditions of Black music, but my point here is that there is a common point of departure from which these critics—and others—begin their investigations.

26. The nature of Black music is demonstrated through the music's focus on rhythm and repetition. As it concerns rap music, this focus has much to do with performance. I should make it clear that, in this instance, I am using performance to refer to three individual, but wholly dependent, instances: the performance of the music itself (the production of the sound), the performance of the musicians (when producing the sounds), and the performance of the listeners (the reception of the sounds, as depicted in movement or dance). Paul Gilroy in The Black Atlantic (p. 75) argues for a position where performance is a primary necessity for the emergence of memory in the African diaspora: "[T]his orientation to the specific dynamics of performance has a wider significance in the analysis of black cultural forms than has so far been supposed. Its strengths are evident when it is contrasted with approaches to black culture that have been premised exclusively on textuality and narrative rather than dramaturgy, enunciation and gesture—the pre- and anti-discursive constituents of black metacommunication."

The rhythm and repetition of African music facilitates an invitation to performance. An invitation meant to be extended out in time, to flow beyond its immediate location. As music meant to be performed, it is cognizant of the limitations of the body and so, calls to many performers to participate, creating an additional layer of flow and rupture—sometimes consistent, other times contradictory—to the music itself. These instances of performance illustrate not only the social aspect of music as it relates to the African diaspora, but also the c*onstruction of space by music,* through the performances that are part of the music itself. As described by Lerone Bennett in *Before the Mayflower* (p. 25)*:* "Before the coming of the European, music and rhythm were everyday things in Africa. Music was everywhere and it was grounded in two techniques which survived in the New World: polyrhythmic percussive technique and the call-and-response pattern (leader and chorus alternating). The poetry of tom-toms, the symphonies of synchronized bodies: these ebbed and flowed with the rhythm of life. Men and women danced because dancing had a social and religious meaning and because dancing was meaning, was life itself."

The technical nature of the (re)production of rap music, in particular the use of sampling, allows for an overamplification of the musical focus on performance facilitators, the break or the back beat, to become primary. In rap music, the beat is the king (or queen), and whether it is the beat/rhythm of the music or the voice is, for all intents and purposes, unimportant. The fact that the rapper Guru of Gang Starr has alternately said, "If the beat were a princess, I'd marry it" and "It must be the voice, that gets you up" with equal conviction, illustrates this point. What is important is the memory that this use of rhythm awakens. It awakens the desire to perform—in answer to the call of the music. It is at once, immediate and historical, local and global, American and Diasporic.

As to the Black music's orality, it too, has its presence in the memory of the Diasporian community. Many black cultural critics and historians posit that the vocalese of rap descends directly from the tradition of the storyteller/tribal historian—the griot—in African societies. This perspective rests in the understanding of the primacy in traditional African cultures of the spoken word and all of its communicative allies—dramaturgy and gesture (performance).

Others trace the orality of rap to a type of sonic phenomenon deeply embedded in the African tradition known as antiphony—call and response. Adapted to a specific interaction between two subjects, its appearance in African-American culture as toasting, also known as "crackin'," "boastin'," "playin' the dozens," "snappin'," or "signifyin'" is designed to come to a resolution only when one cannot answer the call of another. This position suggests that the development of the vocal pattern of toasting is, if not constituted by, certainly runs parallel to, the development of similar diasporic musical patterns in Africa and America.

Others still, like Paul Gilroy quoting Cornell West from *Re-Making History*, proposes yet another possibility, positioning rap music as "borrowing from the linguistic innovations of Jamaica's distinct modes of 'kinetic orality.'" This further suggests an interesting "flip[pin'] of the script," that instead of lyrical patterns being either separate from, or influenced by, music patterns, that the vocal framework actually influences the musical patterns. The fact that the Jamaican "patta"—patterns of rapid vocalese bathed in distinct rhythmic tones, inflections, and enunciations—has heavily influenced Caribbean music, supports such a position and suggests further investigation. However, for the purposes of this essay, it is not necessary—even if it were possible—to discern the truth of one perspective over the other. What is important is the acknowledgment by each perspective of its African diasporic foundation and the development of vocal historical frameworks and patterns as independent from the music itself.

The final segment of rap music's historical dialectic with the collective memory of the African diasporic social order is its objective content; it highlights rap music's connection with the diasporic collective memory, which is largely influenced by the postmodern condition of fragmentation that has characterized diasporian struggles for identity.

The author/poet David Muria has said that marginalized cultures encounter an almost perpetually deafening silence about their condition and position in the world from the dominant culture. He believes the reason for this is that dominant culture allows only atomized, randomized bits and pieces of marginalized cultures histories to be heard/told. The hegemonic aggressiveness of the dominant culture works not only to silence the dominant culture, but the marginalized culture as well, as its members, in acknowledgment of hegemony, chose those fragments of their culture and history that will facilitate advancement/acceptance within the dominant culture. I would argue that for the African diasporic experience, and for African-Americans in particular, this fragmentation is much worse simply because, unlike many marginalized cultures here in America, there has been a continued negation by the dominant culture of any cultural *origin*—a critical location of historical memory—for African-Americans. In this passage from *Color and Democracy: Colonies and Peace,* W. E. B. DuBois illustrates two aspects of the dominant culture's negation: "[I]n the Immigration and Naturalization Service of the United States Department of Justice passengers arriving on aircraft are to be labeled according to 'race,' and are determined by the stock from which aliens spring and the language they speak, and to some degree nationality. But 'Negroes' apparently can belong to no nation: 'Cuban,' for instance, refers to Cuban people 'but not to Cubans who are 'Negroes'; 'West Indians' refers to the people of the West Indies 'except Cubans or Negroes'; 'Spanish American' refers to peoples of Central and South America and of Spanish descent; but 'Negro' refers to the 'black African whether from Cuba, the West Indies, North or South America, Europe or Africa' and moreover any alien with a mixture of blood of the African (black) should be classified under this [Negro] heading."

This passage points not only to the negation of Africa(n) by replacing it with the all encompassing term "Negro"—not a nation or even a place, but an object; a thing—but also to the erasure of the cultural specificity of each of the diasporic strains now placed under the inadequate term "Negro." It at once removes a culture from its original location, violently strips away the subjectivity of its members, and relocates the objects according to a set of strategic hegemonic rules defined by the dominant culture. "Negroes" now, belong to "no-place." At its most basic level, the lyrical content of rap music engages in the dialectic concerning marginality, location, agency, and the subject/object imbroglio. The lyrics of rap music are a form of aggressive agency, a reinterpretation of those conditions and locations that were stripped away in an effort to reclaim the Black subject (*the person*) from the "Negro" object (the thing). This distinctive Africentric *social practice* is at once recalled, produced and enhanced in the music of the hip hop culture. As Trica Rose points out (*Black Noise*, p. 27: "[H]ip hop has styles and themes that share striking similarities with many past and contiguous Afrodiasporic musical and cultural expressions. These themes and styles, for the most part, are revised and reinterpreted, using contemporary cultural and technological elements. Hip hop's central forms—graffiti, breakdancing, and rap music—developed in relation to one another and in relation to the larger society."

27. Gilroy, p. 76. Also see Bennett, previously noted above. "Music, the grudging gift that supposedly compensated slaves not only for their exile from the ambiguous legacies of practical reason but for their complete exclusion from modern political society, has been refined and developed so that it provides an enhanced mode of communication beyond the petty power of words—spoken or written."

28. Ann Daly, "Conversations About Race In the Language of Dance," *New York Times, Arts & Leisure,* Dec. 7, 1997, Sect. 2, pp. 1, 44. "Choreographers are increasingly exploring the limits and possibilities of existing dance forms to address African-American [identity], as Mr. Lemon is doing with post-modern dance in 'Geography.'"

29. The title of L. L. Cool J's 1987 album on Def Jam records.

30. Mike Steele, "Bring It In," *Star Tribune, Entertainment*, Dec. 14, 1997, Sect. F, pp. 1, 18. "That beat has hung on from minstrel shows to the blues, jazz to rock to rap, ragtime to "Shuffle Along." It all began more than 250 years ago in the feet of [enslaved Africans] who created something out of nothing. Their drums were outlawed after [enslaved African] rebellions, but [they] found other ways to keep the rhythm flowing: They turned their feet into drums, conversing in rhythmic codes. . . . That's history in street rhythm carried by dancing feet."

31. Houston A. Baker Jr., *Black Studies, Rap and the Academy*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), pp. 58–59.

32. Venise Berry, "Redeeming the Rap Music Experience," *Speculations,* Schuster and Van Pelt, eds. (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Simon & Schuster, 1996).

33. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* p. 87.

34. Suzanne Preston Blier, *The Anatomy of Architecture: Ontology and Metaphor in Batammaliba Architectural Expression* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 118.

35. Ibid., p. 119. (Emphasis mine.)

36. The intersection of several subject positions that are part of the world of people of color is discussed by Paul Gilroy when he speaks about the double consciousness of the diasporic experience, while W.E.B. DuBois speaks of a "twoness" and James Baldwin about duality. For simplicity's sake, I have referred to these similar themes as "simultaneity."

37. Suzanne Preston Blier, *The Anatomy of Architecture,* p. 200.

38. bell hooks, *Art on my Mind,* p. 157.

39. Margaret Crawford, "Contesting the Public Realm: Struggles over Public Space in Los Angeles," *JAE*, Sept., 1995, p. 7. Due to the historical and continued obstacles hindering full scale access to mainstream capital markets in marginalized communities, there has always been a need for a secondary economy. In the African-American community, this economy has essentially become institutionalized on the streets of many neighborhoods and in some ways understood as a communal right. As Crawford notes: "Defending their livelihood, vendors are becoming a political as well as a economic presence in the city. . . . In Bladwin Hills, a middle-class African-American neighborhood, a parking lot between a gas station and a supermarket has become a scene of intense, if fluctuating, social and commercial activity. On most days, a van parks in the lot, offering car detailing services. The operators, two local men who are now retired, set out chairs, providing a social magnet for the neighborhood men who pass by. On weekends, a portable barbecue is set up nearby, selling 'home-cooked' ribs and links. On holidays and weekends, a group of middle-aged women joins them, setting up tables to sell homemade crafts and gifts. Mostly grandmothers who work at home, their products represent both hobbies and an income supplement. Replicating the domestic order of the surrounding neighborhood and expanding the private roles of grandparents into the public realm, their local activities provide a focus for the community that is also accessible to anyone driving by. Simultaneously local and public, the activities in this parking lot strengthen the neighborhood while they visibly represent its culture to outsiders."

40. Ismail Serageldin, ed., *Architecture of Empowerment* (Lantham, Maryland: Academy Editions, 1997), p. 43.

41. Carl Boggs, *Social Movements and Political Power* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), p. 49.

42. LeCorbusier, *Towards a New Architecture* (New York: Prager Publishers, 1982), p. 251.

43. Tricia Rose, *Black Noise*, p. 61.

44. Ibid., p. 17, as quoted from Andrew Ross.

45. Ross King, *Emancipating Space: Geography, Architecture and Urban Design* (New York: Gilford Press, 1996), p. 64.

46. Ibid., pp. 61, 62, 69.

47. The title of Gil-Scott Heron's 1974 album on the Flying Dutchman label.