

*“As soccer and hip-hop are romanticized, they become a means by which the disenfranchised can rise against oppressive power structures and find lasting success, a trope that is reinforced by the traditional ‘rags-to-riches’ stories that they spawn.”*

# MIDFIELDERS, MCs, AND MEDIASCAPES

## *Soccer and Hip-Hop's Global Hope for the Third World*

ALEX BRADY

AS THE WORLD BECOMES INCREASINGLY INTERCONNECTED DUE TO THE CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC TRENDS THAT WE HAVE COLLECTIVELY LABELED “GLOBALIZATION,” VARIOUS LOCALIZED COMMUNITIES AND THEIR RESPECTIVE CULTURAL PHENOMENA HAVE COLLIDED WITH UNPRECEDENTED VIGOR. THIS PAPER EXPLORES TWO SUCH PHENOMENA—THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITIES OF SOCCER AND OF HIP-HOP—AND DOCUMENTS THE ROLE THAT THESE FORMS PLAY IN THE GLOBALIZED WORLD, BOTH IN THEIR MARKETING AND THROUGH THE VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH DIFFERENT GROUPS HAVE INTERPRETED THEM. IF THEY ARE TO BE UNDERSTOOD AS A MEANS BY WHICH THE THIRD WORLD CAN TRANSCEND LONGSTANDING SOCIAL BOUNDARIES, CAN WE TRULY SAY THAT GLOBALIZED MEDIA IS ACCURATELY REPRESENTING THESE IDEALS? DRAWING EXTENSIVELY ON A WIDE VARIETY OF SCHOLARSHIP CONCERNING BOTH OF THESE CULTURAL FORMS, THIS ESSAY ATTEMPTS TO CONSIDER THIS QUESTION.

Consider the following scene: Edward Anyamkyegh, an imposing Nigerian native, walks the crumbling concrete streets of post-communist Lviv, Ukraine, with Franklin Foer, a Brazilian-American journalist. After lunch at the neighborhood McDonald's, they retire to Anyamkyegh's apartment; he boasts "I have satellite and cable," and switches on the television, the centerpiece of his otherwise drab apartment. American rap videos, often with Cyrillic subtitles, blare from the television, in front of which he, his wife, and two-year-old daughter fall asleep every night. What is a Nigerian doing in this former Soviet backwater of Western Ukraine? And what is the significance of his prized television?

Clearly the age of globalization has eroded the cultural boundaries of our recent past, and in the lives of people like Edward Anyamkyegh, star forward of Karpaty Lviv, a popular Ukrainian soccer club, the influence of formerly localized phenomena is explicitly evident. Soccer and hip-hop are both cultural forms that have proliferated in this new era; their mutual popularity speaks to the universal appeal of their romanticized image, namely that of marginalized peoples transcending social barriers through music and sport. Are these phenomena really working towards these ends, or have commodification and resurrected tribalisms perverted their purpose? The answer is maddeningly complex and demonstrates the drastically varied effects of globalization, both in American and "international" societies, and in the respective "First" and "Third" Worlds of each.

As soccer and hip-hop are romanticized, they become a means by which the disenfranchised can rise against oppressive power structures and find lasting success, a trope that is reinforced by the traditional "rags-to-riches" stories that they spawn. In hip-hop, this notion is unavoidable to the point that it has become cliché—every rapper has his respective story to tell about how he "came up" amidst the suffocating environs of his background, which is almost exclusively depicted as the poverty-stricken, black and Latino populated, "ghettos" of America's inner cities.<sup>i</sup> Although soccer's manifestation of this concept is less overt, it exists



THE ROMANTICIZATION OF SOCCER PRODUCES DREAMS OF "RAGS-TO-RICHES" STORIES

on both an individual and national level. Shoeless children in the slums of Rio de Janeiro kick a dusty ball around with hopes of becoming the next Pélé or Ronaldinho, and tiny nations like Togo shed their collective inferiority complex as their native sons compete in the international spotlight of the World Cup. This is the established, idealized image of soccer and hip-hop, a globalized version of the "American Dream," and is thereby the standard by which self-proclaimed purists within these communities measure the "authenticity" of participants.

Although both of these phenomena reflect the aspirations of a neglected Third World, their histories are very different, and the enduring effects of this variance are still visible in their current forms. The primary difference is one of origin. Hip-hop is a home-grown, American cultural form that was created by the marginalized people it assumedly represents, utilizing and expanding upon forms of expression associated with their enslaved ancestors; soccer, conversely, was the game of the imperialist English, and after being adopted and indigenized by colonized peoples, it became a means of subversion and a source of pride. Beating the colonizers at their own game was a profoundly symbolic achievement. In their book *FIFA and the Contest for World Football: Who Rules the People's Game?*, John Sugden and Alan Tomlinson attest to the significance of soccer in Africa as a result of this history. Noting that Nelson Mandela, upon his release from prison in 1990, addressed

supporters at Soccer City, a huge new stadium, they propose:

*It was not simply the case that this was the biggest venue available in the vicinity. Football was and continues to be the black people's game, not just in South Africa, but throughout the continent. During times when significant gatherings of non-whites were either banned or heavily policed, South Africa's football grounds were one of the few places where [blacks] could come together to celebrate common causes. . . While the context may have radically differed in earlier periods. . . football had played its part in the struggle against various forms of colonial oppression.<sup>ii</sup>*

Given this trend, the authors explain North America's rather tepid adoption of soccer in the same terms, attributing it to an initial "ambivalence towards embracing the cultural products of the former colonial master."<sup>iii</sup>

Interestingly, hip-hop as an inherently *American* art-form has been received with little of such ambivalence abroad,



even though many consider the United States to be the cultural imperialists of the modern day—conquering not with muskets and cannons but with fast-food franchises and action films. This welcoming reception has much to do with the perception of hip-hop as the voice of the Third World within the U.S., a notion that has inspired people in the furthest corners of the globe to employ this form as a means of addressing their own localized injustices in the same manner as the reigning superpower's most neglected citizens do. A movement that began in an extremely localized setting—the street corners in the South Bronx in the late 1970s—is now “a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world.”<sup>iv</sup> As globalization enabled the unrestrained flow of these cultural forms across borders, however, it also opened the door to the large multinational corporations of global capitalism, which saw the potential financial windfall that these beloved forces could reap when packaged as products.

The commodification of hip-hop and soccer is not a secret, and both communities have come to terms with the necessity of a commercialized aspect. Rapper Cee-Lo recognizes this inevitable reality in his song “I Am Selling Soul,” which concedes

*Everything must go—for a small price you could have  
the heart of me  
There is no part of me that can't be calculated into a  
commodity. . . .  
So don't get mad—everybody's doin' it  
You know you wouldn't mind a commercial with your own  
tennis shoe in it  
Whether you're sellin' a dream, sellin' a scheme, or playin'  
a role  
Like it or not we're selling soul. . . .<sup>v</sup>*

This admission, though tinged with an air of lament, recognizes the compromise of a globalized cultural phenomenon: if it is to be received on a wide scale, it must be assessed and marketed accordingly. Although hip-hop (both its artists and their corporate sponsors) continually cele-

brates its international appeal, there does not seem to be a distinct effort by American record labels to deliberately “sell” certain artists or songs to different international audiences. Instead, they focus upon what will be marketable in the U.S. and let the streams of global capitalism and cultural imperialism work for them, carrying their selections abroad.<sup>vi</sup> This is Benjamin Barber’s “McWorld” in action, a place where corporations’ customers “are not citizens of a particular nation or members of a parochial clan: they belong to the universal tribe of consumers defined by needs and wants that are ubiquitous...A consumer is a consumer is a consumer.”<sup>vii</sup> When Edward Anyamkyegh watches American rap videos on his satellite television, he is consuming them as cultural product in the same way he consumes his lunch at McDonald’s. He is filling a need—not to mention flaunting a Westernized status symbol—and the powerful corporations of the First World are more than happy to supply him.

The marketing of international soccer, largely achieved through The Event Agency Marketing (TEAM) consulting group, was directed in a similar “hands-off” fashion: TEAM recognized the enormity of the potential audience for events such as the Champions League Cup—European soccer’s equivalent of the Superbowl—and merely needed to streamline the broadcast to achieve maximum viewership. If this widespread interest was properly harnessed, the advertisers would approach them on their own.<sup>viii</sup> Sure enough, they did—in droves. The infiltration of major sponsors—most notably Coca-Cola—into FIFA before the globalized age (1974) actually worked in the favor of marginalized soccer communities in Africa and Asia. “Developmental initiatives [that] would not have been pos-

sible without FIFA’s Coca-Cola monies” funded various competitions that would put players from these places “in good stead on the larger world stages of the World Cup and Olympic Games.”<sup>ix</sup>

Corporate reinvention in the age of globalization, however, is a double-edged sword. Some of the same local interests that were furthered as a result of FIFA’s initial commodifications in decades past are today supposedly being stifled by similar reforms. In Franklin Foer’s *How Soccer Explains the World: An Unlikely Theory of Globalization*, the author details the way in which “modernizing” renovations made to the storied English club Chelsea “came at a cost. The new clientele eroded the old, boisterous working class audience.” He summarizes one fan’s lament as such: “multinational capitalism strips local institutions of their localness; it homogenizes, destroys traditions, and deprives indigenous proletariats and peasants of the things they love most.”<sup>x</sup> Foer’s sympathy is limited, however. He notes that since the changes, attending a match has become an infinitely safer and more pleasant experience and suggests:

*To be sorrowful about this old culture [characterized by rampant hooliganism] requires grossly sentimentalizing the traditions and atmosphere that have passed. Indeed, this is an important characteristic of the globalization debate: the tendency toward glorifying all things indigenous, even when they deserve to be left in the past.*<sup>xi</sup>

In this way, soccer’s commodification is a largely passive force, but when intrusive, tends to act in the mutual interests of the owners and fans.

*“ . . . multinational capitalism strips local institutions of their localness; it homogenizes, destroys traditions, and deprives indigenous proletariats and peasants of the things they love most.”*

“...it is through [hip-hop and soccer’s] respective ‘strips of reality’ that these global forces can be adopted, to varying degrees, by the localities of ‘foreign’ places.”

Soccer and hip-hop were not created with the intent of financial gain and their dedicated fan bases understand and respect them as such. Modern-day capitalists who seek economic gain through the marketing of these forces are, therefore, careful not to alter this formula significantly; they merely wish to expose it in a favorable manner to a willing consumer base. This strategy is visible in both TEAM’s focus upon appropriating the largest possible broadcast audience for important games and U.S. record companies’ tendency simply to transmit popular American hip-hop to the rest of the world. In the marketing of both soccer and hip-hop, it seems that corporate sponsors have identified the distinct universal appeal that they so emphatically elicit and, subsequently, have not substantially manipulated this formula.

If these are the established practices of commodification, and the final product still retains some of the authenticity of the “true form” of these forces, why is it such a hotly debated issue? What harm does it pose? The answer is more complex than the mere compromise of artistic or athletic integrity that many derisively term “selling out.” In allowing these phenomena to effectively “sell themselves,” corporations do not actively corrupt their ideals, but by pursuing a strategy based on extensive (and consciously selective) media exposure, they neglect responsibility for the potentially damaging and divisive effects of the images they disseminate. This is the real threat that global capitalism poses to the idealized forms of soccer and hip-hop: misinterpretation.

A fundamental way to understand the commodification of these forms and its ramifications is to frame the exchange of various cultural ideals and images in terms of Arjun

Appadurai’s idea of “mediascapes.” This concept is a valuable model through which the adoption and consumption of soccer and hip-hop into global communities can be understood. In his essay “Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization,” Appadurai presents the idea of “a transnational construction of imaginary landscapes”<sup>xii</sup> as a way to understand the way in which modern social realities occur in the globalized era. “Mediascapes” are described as follows:

*Mediascapes, whether produced by private or state interests, tend to be image-centered, narrative-based accounts of strips of reality, and what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots, and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of others living in other places.<sup>xiii</sup>*

The airwaves of popular media—radio, television, and more recently the Internet—are constantly abuzz in today’s world and have ushered in a digital age that Thomas Freidman terms “the democratization of technology.” This phenomenon is defined by Freidman as the way in which “the potential for wealth creation becomes geographically dispersed, giving all kinds of previously disconnected people the chance to access and apply knowledge.”<sup>xiv</sup> Hip-hop and soccer as cultural products are fundamentally dependent upon the ceaseless communication of mediascapes to be viable, and it is through their respective “strips of reality” that these global forces can be adopted, to varying degrees, by the localities of “foreign” places.

The case of Negu Gorriak, a musical group of Basque nationalists who have modeled themselves on politically

charged hip-hop icons like Public Enemy, is a prime example of the way in which an explicitly African American art-form has become a relevant means of addressing similar issues of marginalization and injustice in very different cultures. Jacqueline Urla describes the band's discovery of this music and the inherent value they collectively saw in it, asserting that, "In militant rap and its denouncement of North American race relations, these young Basque radicals found a new and potent language of protest."<sup>xv</sup> Negu Gorriak's insistence on using only the Basque language in its music is a means of reclaiming their heritage and voice, an effort that they identified with certain black nationalist efforts in the United States. In tribute to this perceived mutual struggle of cultural reclamation, they modify James Brown's famous chorus in their anthem "Esan Ozeki," declaring (in their traditional tongue), "Say it loud: I'm Basque and I'm proud!"

Although members of Negu Gorriak address their experience by mirroring it with African American history, they have conspicuously retained their Basque identity. Urla points out that they "are not pretending they are black. Nor are they saying, Our struggles are identical." Rather, their local subversion is achieved through a "shared identity of passions" with American hip-hop, crafting a "strategic deployment of signifiers that affords youth a window into their own situation and what it shares with that of racialized minorities."<sup>xvi</sup> The songs and videos of the "militant"

strain of political hip-hop that blossomed in the late 1980s and early 1990s were transmitted to the founders of Negu Gorriak as a distinct cultural image, and in applying it to their own causes in their own language (while simultaneously acknowledging its specific origins), they can be said to have indigenized hip-hop wholly as a relevant part of their culture—or as it may be, counter-culture. Negu Gorriak's adoption of hip-hop culture to their own localized issues is a testament to the ability of mediascapes to display cultural forms authentically to the point that these forms



TWO HIP-HOP INSPIRED HOPEFULS IN THE AGEJUNLE GHETTO IN NIGERIA EMBODY THE MUSIC'S UNIVERSALITY

can be absorbed in their "true form" and amended accordingly. In this way, hip-hop as a globalized proponent of Third World defiance is alive and well; when it is understood in its proper context, it can be used effectively as a vocalizing social tool.

Hip-hop's universality, however, has notable limits. The images proliferated by the ever-increasing traffic of global mediascapes is subjective at best—susceptible to the misinterpretations inherent in cultural divides. In her essay "Fetishized

Blackness: Hip Hop and Racial Desire in Contemporary Japan," Nina Cornyetz explores the way in which commodified mediascapes have been received in a nation notorious for its tendency to adopt Western, and especially American, fads voraciously. Some Japanese youths' response to the idealized hip-hop image stands in stark contrast to that of groups like Negu Gorriak. Instead of indigenization based on the recognition of a shared identity, these youths affli-

ate themselves with the hip-hop images presented to them by rendering them as “an African American symbolic presence symbolized by fetishizing black skin and hairstyles.”<sup>xvii</sup> Practices such as the darkening of the face with make-up, using particular slang, and mimicking hip-hop clothing fashion are all means by which this subset of the Japanese hip-hop community identifies its affiliation with this art-form, and in doing so, displays a fundamental ignorance of its true tenets.

Cornyetz stresses that the comparisons to the infamous “blackface” tradition in the history of American entertainment are unfounded; she claims that these youth “seek to mask the Japanese self with a realistic black visage,”<sup>xviii</sup> rather than caricature or parody African Americans. Although they intend to display an admiration and affinity for hip-hop culture by these practices, their fascination seems to stem from prevailing and ultimately damaging stereotypes, namely the conception that “hip hop style is directly identified with phallic empowerment for both men and women, a consequence of Japanese racial attitudes toward American blacks.”<sup>xix</sup> It is not surprising that hip-hop has not been indigenized in Japan, a society well-known for its extremely homogenous and relatively wealthy population. This is a place in which the conditions that foster “authentic” hip-hop—namely, social injustice perpetuated by racial and class disparity—simply do not exist to a significant extent. The Japanese do not see themselves in the images that the corporate-driven mediascapes deliver to them, and hence consume this product as utterly foreign. Although their disturbing, “fetishized” notions of blackness and the sexual stereotypes affixed to this idea are not intentionally malicious, they do, in effect, work against the social equalities advocated by “true” hip-hop by reinforcing potentially damaging stereotypes.<sup>xx</sup>

Although the Japanese failure to indigenize hip-hop culture certainly has much to do with their demographics and the racial taboos so intertwined with their traditional culture, the deliberate “exoticizing” of commodified American exports like hip-hop imposed by corporate marketing

schemes must also be accounted for as a partial factor. Hip-hop originated under conditions and among people from which a vast majority of its audience are utterly alienated, and marketing has capitalized upon this lack of familiarity as a sales tactic—“selling” various artists via an emphasis of their *differences*, both racial and cultural. Ultimately, it has proven successful. The “exotic” appeal of rappers—imposing physical presences, colorful and sometimes indecipherable vernacular, and flamboyant fashion sense—is especially pronounced outside of the U.S., where this image can ultimately result in the sort of culturally-confused ignorance seen among some Japanese hip-hop communities (and in some of the hateful reactions this same music and style have provoked in White America).

This same marketing tactic is visible in the mediascapes that bring international soccer to an American audience, and that audience’s failure to indigenize this sport is just as evident as the failure to synthesize an authentic strain of Japanese hip-hop. Unversed in the various traditions within the sport, and lacking a significant national history of it (Sugden and Tomlinson’s idea of the cultural rejection of the colonizer’s sport applies here), many Americans can find the chaotic world of soccer to be an utterly bizarre spectacle: wacky celebrations, raucous singing in the stands, the general grandiose pageantry of the game and its fans, and the fervent hooliganism that this zeal sometimes prompts. This inherent “foreignness” causes those Americans who are willing to consume soccer at all to do so on a superficial level, “like a fine slab of imported goat cheese,”<sup>xxi</sup> that is, appreciated in an exoticized sense, but as an entirely foreign phenomenon that is kept at a comfortable distance.

The final chapter of Foer’s book, entitled “How Soccer Explains the American Culture Wars,” portrays participation and support of the sport as another issue through which “the split between ‘red and blue America’”<sup>xxii</sup> is maintained. He elaborates upon this idea in the scope of the broader world of soccer in its romanticized form—Sugden and Tomlinson’s conception of “the people’s game”—identifying:

*...a more fundamental difference between American youth soccer and the game as practiced in the rest of the world. In every other part of the world, soccer's sociology varies little: it is the province of the working class...The United States...inverts the class structure of the game. Here aside from Latino immigrants, the professional classes follow the game most avidly and the working class couldn't give a toss about it.*"<sup>xxiii</sup>

Americans are not merely divided along the cultural lines between supporters and non-supporters; there is also a very vocal faction of non-supporters that, as Foer documents, “actively disdains the game, even campaigns against it.” This virulent strain of anti-soccer sentiment is seen in figures such as former conservative congressman Jack Kemp—a former star Buffalo Bills quarterback—and his public denunciations, such as the 1986 request to the House of Representatives that “a distinction should be made that football is democratic, capitalism, whereas soccer is a European socialist [sport].”<sup>xxiv</sup> Such extreme contempt for the supposed “intrusion” of a foreign cultural form can be read as a verification of a prevailing sense of exception and cultural anxiety in American society; as the administrators of cultural imperialism, we lack the ability to indigenize externally-imposed cultural forms truly.

In the globalized dichotomy evident between the U.S. and the rest of the world's respective capacities and willingness to adopt and indigenize cultural forms native to other places, a partial affirmation of Barber's concept of cultural imperialism can be seen through the “McWorld” phenomenon. Many parts of the world are indeed becoming standardized and Americanized by the powerful winds of global capitalism, but the mediascapes that market their commodified images are not necessarily working exclusively against local interests. As examples of successfully indigenized hip-hop groups such as that of Negu Gorriak show, American cultural exports can, in fact, work *in favor* of the localized cultures and interests that Freidman collectively terms the “olive tree.” The assumed direction in which cultural imperialism flows—from the U.S. to the

rest of the world—is also challenged by these forces. Although this unilateral American exportation does seem to be the case with hip-hop—Mitchell concedes that its “flow...continues to proceed hegemonically, from the USA to the rest of the world, with little or no flow in the opposite direction”<sup>xxv</sup>—the American adoption of soccer (by a certain class) as a foreign product demonstrates that corporate-driven cultural imperialism, though certainly more inclined toward Americanization, does indeed work both ways.

The same mediascapes that disseminate the romanticized images of soccer and hip-hop sometimes display a much darker side of these cultural forms, namely perversions of their respective ideals by the reemergence of traditional hatred and tribalisms played out through these phenomena. American mainstream hip-hop is certainly no stranger to violence, as sometimes its depiction of the depraved life of the marginalized is understood as an advocacy and celebration of such a violent lifestyle. The responsibility of the rapper for a certain extent of this tribalistic bloodshed is undeniable, but it also speaks to the often tragic consequences of misinterpretation. Tupac Shakur, himself a victim of the violence he so often depicted, explains his lyrics' actual intent as follows in an interview featured in the documentary *Tupac: Resurrection*,

ANTI-RIOT POLICE LINE THE FIELD AT A CHAMPIONSHIP FOOTBALL MATCH IN FRANCE



*It's like you've got the Vietnam War, right? And just because the reporters show us pictures at home of the Vietnam War, that's what made the Vietnam War end when it did, or the shit probably would have lasted longer . . . But because we saw the horror, that's what made us stop the Vietnam War. I thought, "That's what I'll do as an artist, as a rapper. I'm gonna show the graphic details of what I see and my community, and hopefully they'll stop it—quit.*

Misunderstanding of hip-hop's true objective continues, however, and is not confined to American borders. Even Negu Gorriak, despite their evident zeal for their cause, are unabashed separatists who share an ideology and sympathize with militant Basque terrorist groups such as ETA, who until a supposed "ceasefire" enacted this year, routinely carried out assassinations and car bombings. In this way, the usually metaphorical militancy of hip-hop's imagery can be brought to fruition in a literal sense, and this art-form can serve not only to organize defiance but to resurrect tribalisms.

One does not have to dig very deep to witness the same resurrection of tribalisms in international soccer; the lunacy and hateful implications of hooliganism are all too familiar to both U.S. and foreign audiences. Anti-Semitism, racism, and any and all subsets of ethnic and religious tensions are continually visible in the actions of hooligans, considered by some to be the sport's biggest fans and advocates. Perhaps the most memorable and chilling story of tribalisms absorbed by soccer rivalries is that of Red Star Belgrade, whose fan clubs were organized under Zeljko Raznatović—known widely as Arkan—into the Serbian paramilitary forces that slaughtered thousands of Croats and Bosnians in a genocidal attempt at "ethnic cleansing" throughout the 1990s. Many times, tribalized hatreds are the means by which such intense rivalries and their constituent fan bases are maintained, as can be seen in the case of the storied Rangers/Celtics rivalry in Scotland, where, Foer explains, "the clubs stoke ethnic hatred [between Protestant Rangers fans and Catholic Celtics fans], or make

only periodic attempts to discourage it, because they know ethnic hatred makes good business sense."xxvi The "hands-off" corporate approach, therefore, is not always taken in recognition of the inherent appeal of these cultural forms, but also as a way of ensuring continued tension—and thereby sales. In the same way that soccer and hip-hop can reflect the beauty of the world's underclass struggle for social equality, they can also be a window to the more damaging and tragic elements of these communities. In the new tribalisms that these forces have resurrected we see an inevitable consequence of their mass proliferation and another means by which the "authentic" achievement of their social aims can be suppressed.

How exactly are we to understand these cultural forms? What is the reality that exists between the extremities by which soccer and hip-hop can be construed simultaneously as a means for the Third World to transcend social barriers and a modern-day forum through which ancient hatreds are perpetuated? Ultimately, the answer seems to involve the various manifestations of the "First" and "Third" Worlds that have surfaced. In the age of globalization, forces like soccer and hip-hop have enabled people to mobilize between social classes, but the same mediascapes that have made this proliferation possible have padded the pockets of the First World's global capitalists, ensuring that the power structures defied through these forms remain firmly in place. This is the compromise and paradox of contemporary globalization. The interests of localized places and marginalized peoples can be furthered by the accessibility of cultural forms and ideas that may benefit them, but the providers of this accessibility are working toward contrary ends; consequently, these movements are inherently crippled by the financial potential of their own disseminations. The "olive tree" of the Third World has found a way to survive amongst cultural imperialism and American exceptionalism, but unless its mediascapes are appropriated by the people they represent, the romanticized dream of soccer and hip-hop will remain exactly that: a dream.

## ENDNOTES

- i. This established cliché is being increasingly challenged in contemporary hip-hop, as groups such as Nappy Roots, Cee-Lo, and Cunninlynguists, and many others—all of whom are from Southern rural backgrounds—continually remind listeners that such blight is not relegated to urban centers.
- ii. Sugden and Tomlinson (127)
- iii. Sugden and Tomlinson (11)
- iv. Mitchell (2)
- v. Green
- vi. This is not to say that they do not consider what will be popular in certain places and modify their releases there accordingly; this practice is very common. Rather, there is a primary concern for what American audiences want to hear and a prevailing assumption that it will thereby have global appeal (which is more often than not the case).
- vii. Barber (23)
- viii. Sugden and Tomlinson (76)
- ix. Sugden and Tomlinson (88)
- x. Foer (96)
- xi. Foer (98)
- xii. Appadurai (31)
- xiii. Appadurai (35)
- xiv. Freidman (51)
- xv. Urla (175)
- xvi. Urla (181)
- xvii. Cornyetz (113)
- xviii. Cornyetz (114)
- xix. Cornyetz (115)
- xx. It is important to note that the following depiction of Japanese interpretations of hip-hop is not representative of all Japanese youth—merely a significant portion. In Ian Condry's essay "A History of Japanese Hip-Hop: Street Dance, Club Scene, Pop Market," he acknowledges that the commercialized, party-centered "J-rap" that Cornyetz studies is a dominant force, but he also credits more indigenized subsets of this movement, who condemn the way in which many youths "forsook the oppositional stance at the root of hip-hop culture in favor of a superficial pop song with a distinctive rap style" (233). Despite the existent of such sentiments, however, Japanese hip-hop can certainly not be considered to be indigenized; the mere existence of the practices described above demonstrate that hip-hop is still largely consumed as a foreign product, with some notable exceptions.
- xxi. Foer (246)
- xxii. Foer (240)
- xxiii. Foer (238-239)
- xxiv. Foer (241)
- xxv. This idea is particularly visible in Urla's description of Negu Gorriak's disenchantment with their former idols Public Enemy upon attending a concert in Bilbao in which they proclaimed "Hello Spain!" and failed to address the struggle of Basque nationalism. This dismay was heightened with the

group's comments that they would have rather played at the U.S. army base in Madrid in front of what they would perceive as a less "white" audience. Urla notes the remaining cultural disparities that are illustrated by this incident, arguing that "For Public Enemy, race solidarity proved to be the stronger of the bonds. For Negu Gorriak, it was hard to understand or sympathize with the race and class politics that drive many African Americans into the enlisted ranks of the army" (188). Despite a shared affinity for social protest through their musical genre, it can be seen that these groups were still largely divided by their respective cultural scopes.

xxvi. Foer (39)

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