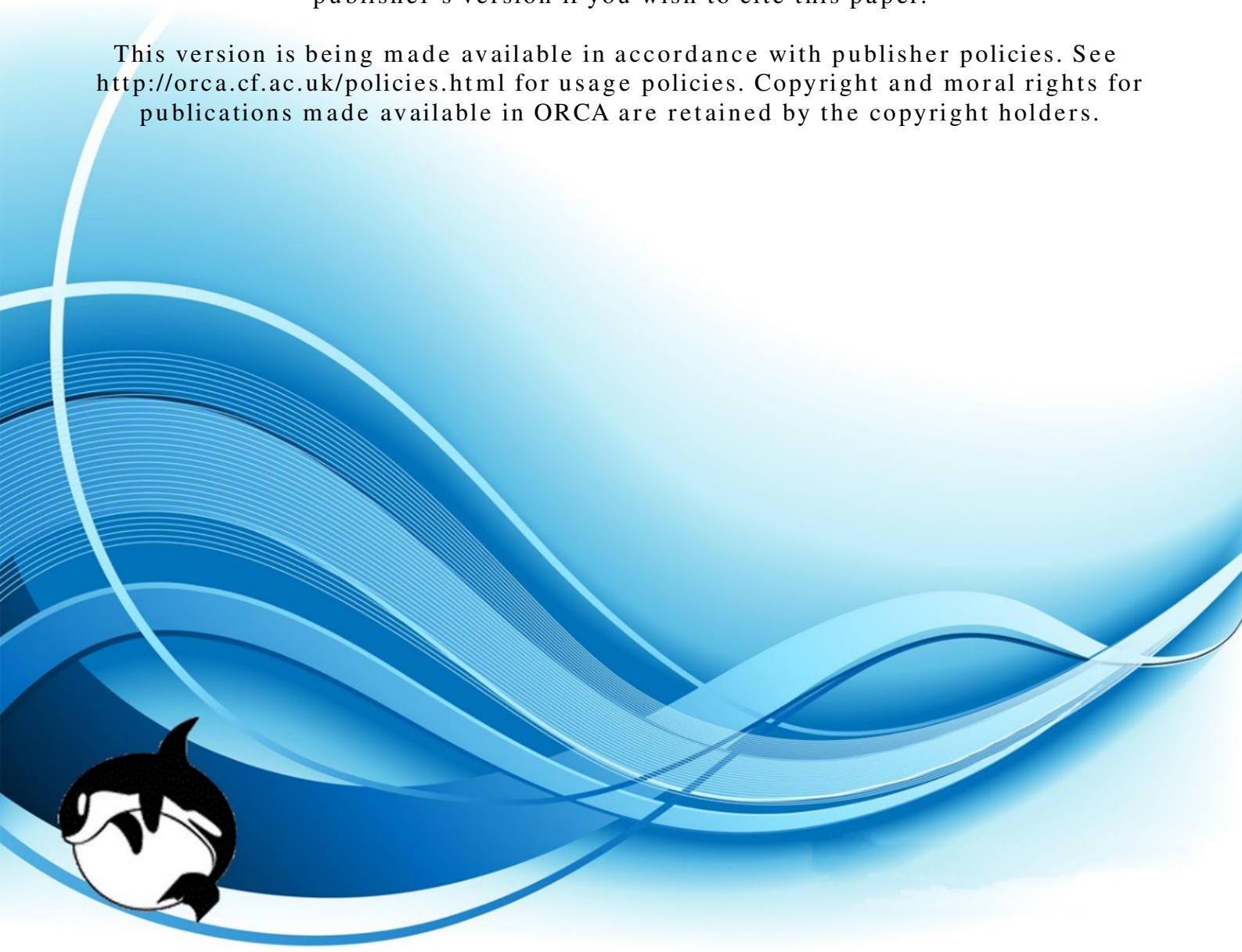

Cultural interventions: Repositioning hip hop education in India

Abstract

In this article we show how subject positions are assumed when hip hop is used by institutions supported by western nation-states as a 'cultural intervention' in the global south. Focusing on the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project 2011-2012, a hip hop educational project sited in several cities in India and sponsored by cultural institutions funded by the German State, we study how actors negotiate between what we identify as a discourse of hip hop authenticity and a discourse of internationalization. Employing a theory of scales allows us to investigate how actors on the ground engage in the semiotic play of repositioning of and in historically situated notions of authenticity and pedagogy. We argue that the findings have implications for future applied and theoretical work on the internationalization of hip hop as an educational and diplomatic endeavor.

Key words: Delhi, internationalization, formalization, authenticity, scales, north-south

Introduction: Rescaling authenticity

'Authenticity' is a buzz word in hip hop studies. While 'authenticity' is used analytically in various strands of the social sciences and humanities to discuss seemingly fixed markers of personhood in domains of socio-cultural and historical life, in hip hop 'authenticity' points to an internal cultural principle that allows actors to perform a version of what it means to be real; to be true to oneself and one's 'hood.[1] An explicit and enunciated authenticity, marked

[1] 'The ''hood' is a central term in hip hop, signifying the importance of the locality from which one produces hip hop's cultural forms. It refers to both a physical place, traditionally the inner-city ghetto, and a discursively produced space of solidarity, authenticity and dangerousness. Taking such a Lefebvrian understanding of space, Forman (2002: xix) explains that 'hood "is literally an abbreviated version of the term 'neighborhood' and, as such, defines a territory that is geographically and socially particular to the speaking subject's social location.

by the phrase ‘keeping it real’, emerged during hip hop’s inception as a framework by which to navigate socio-cultural and historical ideologies of class, race, and gender in North American urban contexts (Forman 2002, Cutler 2003, Judy 2004). As hip hop has spread globally and is appropriated locally, artists, fans and the hip hop industry re-negotiate this principle of authenticity in complex ways (Osumare 2001, Solomon 2005, Omoniyi 2009, Lee 2010, Westinen 2014, Opsahl & Røyneland, this issue, Magro, this issue). Alastair Pennycook (2007b, p. 103) captures this phenomenon as “the global spread of authenticity”, which he thinks of as

> a tension between on the one hand the spread of a cultural dictate to adhere to certain principles of what it means to be authentic, and on the other, a process of localization that makes such an expression of staying true to oneself dependent on local contexts, languages, cultures, and understandings of the real. (Pennycook, 2007b, p. 103)

In this article, which draws on our ethnographic research on India’s hip hop scene, we make two contributions to the study of authenticity in global hip hop. First, instead of considering the tensions that emerge in the local/global binary, or what scholars and mainstream analysts of emerging world systems have dubbed the glocal, we shift our focus to the *internationalization* of hip hop. Utilizing the term ‘internationalization’ we draw attention to the ways in which western nation states, in this case Germany, actively promote hip hop education in nation states in the global south and that such promotion should be understood in international and national terms, rather than in the ecumenical, post-national or transnational terms like the Global Hip Hop Nation (Alim, 2009, for a related distinction between inter-, multi-, and transnationalism see Portes 2001, pp. 186–187). Secondly, we suggest that this

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Quite simply stated, the ‘hood exists as a ‘home’ environment. It is enunciated in terms that elevate it as a primary site of significance.”

sort of internationalization of hip hop education entails a *formalization* of the quintessentially informal pedagogies of hip hop. By focusing on talk centered on the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project, an endeavor sponsored by the German government in several first tier Indian cities, we argue that such formalization leads to the repositioning of local and international actors in ways which require a rescaling of authenticity.

While we unpack the term 'scale' in a later section, very briefly, we utilize 'scale' to discuss the ways in which linguistic signs and discourses in a globalized era are always hierarchically ordered. The rules of speaking, the normativities and appropriateness of usage that shape language in use, are always operating simultaneously on 'lower' and 'higher' levels. The here and the there, the now and the then, the local and the translocal, the vernacular and the metropolitan, the contemporary and the historical, all mark different temporal and spatial scales of communicative engagement that are imbued with value judgements (Blommaert, 2007, 2010). Importantly, scales are not fixed but speakers control these hierarchical orders of normativity by repositioning themselves vis-à-vis what is being said; for example they can highlight certain normativities and erase others (ibid.). An analysis of the semiotic play of rescaling provides insights, we suggest, into the complex and entangled positionalities of actors involved in international endeavors like the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project. We also maintain that such an analysis updates our understanding of the continued effects of colonialism in international relations, especially in north-south development work.

In what follows we first provide a brief description of the Delhi hip hop scene and our collaborative ethnographic fieldwork in 2013. We then review the literature on the formalization of hip hop pedagogy and carve out what effects formalization can have on hip hop's discourse of authenticity within national contexts. We then turn to our experiences of doing ethnographic fieldwork in the hip hop scene in Delhi to discuss how the formalization

of hip hop pedagogy becomes a matter of scales when it is being internationalized in cross-border cultural interventions like the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project. We draw from ethnographic interviews with international and Delhi based hip hop practitioners to suggest that a formalization of hip hop pedagogy necessarily positions international actors in ways that force them to rationalize as well as subvert state interests to attempt to maintain authenticity on various scales. We conclude by suggesting that our findings reveal some of the dilemmatic and historically sensitive positionalities assumed by hip hop pedagogues involved in the internationalization of hip hop. Hence, we hope that our discussion contributes to a critical understanding of international development work in general, and hip hop as a site for international pedagogy in particular.

Ethnographic research in the Delhi hip hop scene

The two authors of this article initially envisaged their ethnographic projects independently from each other; however, we co-incidentally found out about each other's research shortly before commencing fieldwork in India. We first met and got to know each other personally in the field and tentatively decided to work together in the following months, engaging with the hip hop community in Delhi and researching hip hop's relations to migration, globalization, media, resistance and pedagogy. Dattatreyan, then a graduate student at the University of Pennsylvania, was trained in cultural anthropology and Singh, a PhD candidate at Cardiff University, was trained in sociolinguistics and linguistic ethnography. Our disciplines, while being mutually informative and to a degree commensurable not least because they both utilize long-term ethnography as ways of knowing, involve divergent epistemologies concerning what could be considered 'empirical evidence', politically-nuanced analysis, and reflexive writing, leading to fruitful interdisciplinary dialogues between the two of us. While we take a more sociolinguistic slant in this article, one that allows us to investigate the micro-

97 argumentative rescalings speakers make in language, a more anthropological account of our
98 collaborative ethnography can be found elsewhere (Dattatreyan & Singh, in preparation).
99 Regardless of our professional differences, we were both 'diasporic returnee researchers'
100 (Dattatreyan 2013), drawn to conducting ethnographic fieldwork in the country that our
101 respective parents had left to make a living in the west. Moreover, Dattatreyan, who grew up
102 in New York City, and Singh, who grew up in Frankfurt, were socialized into aspects of hip
103 hop cultural practices. For all these reasons we became interested in the idea of bringing our
104 academic and personal interests and competences together in researching Indian hip hop.
105 We first learned about the hip hop scene in India through acquaintances and social
106 networking sites, where we started noticing videos of Indian b-boys and b-girls[2] around 2010
107 or 2011. During travels to our parental homeland we began, independently, reaching out to
108 members of the Indian hip hop scene in Mumbai and in Delhi; connections that we could
109 follow up more systematically in our collaborative and individual fieldwork in Delhi in 2013
110 and 2014[3]. At that time breakin, the hip hop dance where b-boys and b-girls get down on the
111 floor to the breakbeat of a funk song, was the most noticeable element[4] of hip hop in India,
112 and our ethnographic interlocutors suggest in several interviews that breakin became visible
113 in India's urban spaces around 2006 or 2007, although many also hinted at the fact that
114 Indian b-boys and b-girls practiced the dance long before this, even if they did not video-
115 record these ciphas (circles of dancers). In any case, we observed how groups of breakers,
116 predominantly young men in their late teens, would meet informally in semi-public spaces,

[2] The exact meaning of the terms 'b-boy' and 'b-girl' is contested. Most commonly it is understood as an abbreviation for 'break boy/girl', which was used to describe dancers who used to go down to the floor during the break of a record in the early 1970s in New York City (Schloss 2009). The term 'breakdancer' is refuted by many breakers who align themselves with authentic hip hop as a mainstream term that emerged in the brief media-hype of the dance during the first half of the 1980s (Fogarty 2012b).

[3] Dattatreyan stayed in Delhi for 18 months, documenting the scene from January 2013 to June 2014. Singh stayed in Delhi for 8 months, from January 2013 to September 2013.

[4] Hip hop is often understood as consisting of four elements (breakin, graffiti writin, deejayin and emceein) (Androutsopoulos 2003; Emdin 2013).

like abandoned monuments or courtyards of shopping malls, to practice their moves. Often a mobile phone was somewhere in the corner playing the breakbeats on repeat and a crowd of hip hop-affiliated and -unaffiliated onlookers watched the breakers move, battle, practice and have fun. These informal ciphas would at times be video-recorded with mobile phones and make their way into the prosumer spaces of Web 2.0 for a wider audience to take notice, like and comment. This was not so much the case for the other elements of hip hop, such as emceein, graffiti writin and deejayin, which were much less visible and were often, if at all, practiced by travelling foreigners in India, or diasporic Indians who grew up in the west and returned to India and practiced these forms there (see Dattatreyan, under review, Singh, in preparation). Gradually, however, during and after our ethnographic fieldwork in Delhi in 2013, Indian emcees, deejays and graffiti writers are beginning to become more visible in virtual and physical spaces. The emphasis on breakin, though, was important in our fieldwork since, as for instance Schloss (2009) and Emdin (2013) also note, breakin is recognized in hip hop connoisseurship as the most authentic and least commercial of the four elements and can thus be understood as a practice that most directly conveys ideological values of the real to hip hop scenes across the world. Within this atmosphere our ethnographic experiences in Delhi were imbued with the global of spread of authenticity (Pennycook 2007b), which this article further explores.

Our ethnographic fieldwork in Delhi, which we conducted partly together and partly individually, focused on a few neighborhoods in South and West Delhi, where the hip hop scene was exceptionally visible, with graffiti and street art scattered everywhere in the narrow alleyways and informal breakin ciphas taking place regularly in semi-public spaces. These neighborhoods were urban villages, often with ancient old settlement histories and now supplemented with informal housing and structures, at the fringes of New Delhi, which are now being integrated in the rapidly growing metropolitan area of India's capital (see Kumar,

1999, Batra & Mehra, 2008). These neighborhoods comprise almost exclusively of migrants, domestic ones (e.g. North-Eastern, Bihari, Punjabi) as well as international ones (e.g. Afghani, Nepalese, Nigerian, Somali), who came to the city over the last 65 years, and increasingly so in the last two decades, to find work, refuge or university education (Dattatreyan, under review). Thus, these neighborhoods seemed particularly important research sites, as they allowed us to study the effects multi-layered migration patterns and rapid urbanization have in relation to hip hop.

We conducted participant observation and interviews as our principal ways to elicit ethnographic insights. Moreover, Dattatreyan also engaged in what he calls critical hip hop cinema, a visual anthropological methodology that took our participants' growing interest in hip hop-inspired audio-visual production as a site to create shared anthropological endeavors (Dattatreyan 2015, Dattatreyan, in preparation). Singh also set up a recording studio for b-boys to experiment with producing hip hop music. The studio itself would eventually function as an ethnographic site that provided us with stimulating and reflexive aspects about hip hop in Delhi and the transmission of knowledge and skills, as discussed in more detail elsewhere (Dattatreyan & Singh, in preparation).

Our own positionality as hip hop-affiliated researchers from the west, with parental roots in India, and with first-world accented Englishes and ways of dressing, behaving and moving, as well as our possession of and literacy in audio and video recording devices of course meant that we had a positively valued access to the life-worlds of our youthful participants in Delhi, while our older age and our academic objectives, as well as our relative incompetence of speaking and understanding Hindi also impeded a constant socialization into the community. For example, our conversations and interviews were almost exclusively in English, and while we could certainly understand some of the Delhi-accented variety of Hindi that most of our participants spoke, we were not able to converse with them in the same

variety and certainly not with the same fluency. Although not the focus of this article, our positionality as diasporic returnee and hip hop-affiliated researchers, requires careful consideration and reflexive sincerity. At the very least, our own positionality brings to light the matter of scales that we discuss in this article, given that the global positionalities we assumed upscaled and formalized the informal transmission of knowledge, skills, practices and ideas on the ground.

In/formal hip hop pedagogies

Informal hip hop pedagogies, where practitioners learn from one another the norms and terms of practice, have existed locally and since the beginnings of hip hop in the early 1970s. These informal hip hop pedagogies have their roots in the African-American and Latino musical, movement, and visual cultural forms that have given expression to the struggle for enfranchisement while celebrating Black life in North America. Historically hip hop's cultural forms or elements – breakin, emceein, deejayin and graffiti writin – have developed these sorts of pedagogies through informal channels like the cipha (Mitchell, 2001, Newman, 2005, Alim, 2006). For example the phrase *each one teach one*, which developed as a form of informal education during slavery in the Americas and was later appropriated by Frank Laubach's large-scale Christian literacy program in the Philippines and in over hundred countries later (Laubach & Laubach, 1960), is an oft-repeated axiom in hip hop communities of practice. This axiom reminds each member of the local community of their educational duties to each other and to their 'hood within the larger historical framework of colonial domination. Informal hip hop pedagogy is thus an inter-generational, local, grassroots and historically saturated educational process; a site for the community of practice to engage in situated learning (Wenger 1998). Greg Dimitriadis (2001) argues that hip hop, in this sense, functions as a 'lived curriculum,' what Derek Pardue (2007) has suggested is a "vehicle for

popular imaginations of history and personhood outside of the classroom" (p. 675). They, in effect, suggest that informal hip hop pedagogy is not only a distinctive way of knowing for the teaching and the learning of expertise in and of the forms of hip hop themselves, but it provides an opportunity for historical, theoretical, and political messages to find form and travel (see also Rice, 2003, Pennycook, 2007a). Such processes of informal pedagogy have been documented by scholars in various localized hip hop scenes all over the world (e.g. Nohl, 2003, Schloss, 2009, Beach & Sernhede, 2012, Fogarty, 2012a, Pégram, 2012).

In the last odd 15 years, this informal hip hop pedagogy, one that is rooted in history, practice, experience, and dialogue, has been joined by a more formalized construction of hip hop education. Hip hop has now established itself as a method and perspective within national institutional education settings like schools, universities and community centers (Alim, 2007, Ibrahim, 2009, Petchauer, 2009, Barrett, 2011, Ladson-Billings, 2014, Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2014, papers in this issue). The formalization of hip hop pedagogy by institutional actors transmits more and less of the kinds of explicit messages of liberation and emancipation than hip hop's informal structures of practice. As Pardue (2008, 2011, 2012) argues in his ethnographic work on state-sponsored hip hop pedagogues in São Paulo, Brazil, hip hop pedagogues working in formal institutionally sponsored settings see their dual role as both state-hired professionals and hip hop heads to challenge the inequalities created, in part, by the state while also recognizing and transmitting the ethical possibilities of the state by promoting its liberal discourse on citizenship.

This dual role, of course, creates a complicated paradox of interests. On the one hand, the hip hop educator works to promote an authentic hip hop that is inherently political and that, because of its each one teach one perspective, transgresses top-down models of governance. On the other hand, the hip hop educator, because they work in their capacity as a pedagogue at the behest of state or other national institutional interests, promotes values and ideologies

of the state that may contradict or, at the very least complicate, hip hop's informal processes of transmission. This tension emerges because the state seeks to instrumentalize hip hop pedagogy as a vehicle for governance, turning the pedagogical message of hip hop practice into a medium, which in itself becomes the message (McCluhan 1964). As this medium is infused with signs and representations of the national, or, as in in our case, the international, the message attains degrees of formalization which operate on scales that are not easily reconcilable with the informal scales of hip hop authenticity. It is precisely in this field of tension between medium and message in which hip hop educators funded by national organizations rescale arguments in an attempt to reconcile discourses of authenticity (indexing their role as members of the hip hop community of practice) with discourses of internationalization (indexing their roles as state-sponsored cultural ambassadors).

Scales, in Jan Blommaert's sociolinguistic theory, emphasize that actors navigate worlds of hierarchically ordered contexts, each which require and produce a specific positionality of the speaker (Blommaert, 2007). The notion of scales essentially underlines that speakers are not merely determined by sociolinguistic variation on a horizontal plane (dialect, sociolect, genderlect etc.) but that they show certain amounts of agency of strategically controlling this variation through indexicality. Crucially, this indexical agency is contingent on the speech community's valued arrangement of 'better' and 'worse' or 'higher' and 'lower' variants, which is why every horizontal variation always also has a vertical – scaled – dimension. To make powerful arguments in communication speakers can therefore select variants, as well as discourses, that index contexts which operate on higher levels of normativity and power. This agency is what Blommaert calls upscaling or scale jumping; speakers can move "from the individual to the collective, the temporally situated to the trans-temporal, the unique to the common, the token to the type, the specific to the general" (Blommaert, 2010, pp. 33).

Using Blommaert's theory of scales, Elina Westinen (2014) shows how Finnish rappers construct authenticity by assuming subject positions on multiple scales in the 'ideological topography' of Finnish hip hop. While Finnish hip hop can be regarded peripheral in the Global Hip Hop Nation (compared to more central hip hop scenes, e.g. in the U.S. or in France), Finnish rappers draw on Finland's own centre-periphery ideologies to construct authenticity. Thus Westinen does not regard scales as fixed but as fractal: "when we look more closely into the micro distinctions of Finnish hip hop, we see the same structures (and distinctions) of the 'upper' scale of Finnish hip hop repeated over and over again" (p. 201). Authenticity in hip hop is thus not a simple claiming of realness or an alignment with predetermined subjectivities of the real, but it is rather a complex practice of repositioning that has to take into account both local and global realities and histories.

Whereas most literature on global hip hop emphasizes the localization of hip hop and its fractal scalarity, we take an inverse view in the present article. When nations-states, like Germany in our example, stylize themselves as hip hop nations abroad, negotiations of authenticity enter an international scale. Rather than localizing global hip hop, actors in this scenario internationalize authenticity by intervening in cultures abroad. This complicates a simplistic binary of hip hop as grassroots, counter-hegemonic and historically rooted on the one hand, and the state as the top-down, hegemonic and short-lived on the other. Accordingly, as we will show in this article, actors involved in the internationalization and formalization of hip hop will have to find new ways to construct themselves as authentic.

Here, we are not trying to decide on who is (or should be) authentic, we rather show how the internationalization and formalization of hip hop as a site for pedagogy affords discursive positionalities (Davis & Harré, 1990) that reveal something of the roles, the power structures, the histories and the practices that are assumed in cultural interventions, such as the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project.

Cultural intervention, we suggest, occurs when informal local cultural pedagogies are formalized in international contexts. In this case, the formalization occurs when internationally operating institutions like the Goethe Institute begin to reach out to local scenes and offer them an international stage where hip hop can be performed for both local audiences and an imagined global audience. Such encounters are often framed as a 'cultural exchange', however, we prefer to use the term 'cultural intervention' (for discussions of this term see Kershaw, 1992, Frank et al., 2001) to index that these are curated encounters that are to some degree orthogonal to the informal practices of hip hop pedagogy described above. Importantly, the internationalization and formalization is a matter of upscaling. The encounter involves policy makers, state representatives, NGO workers, volunteers, journalists, researchers, and it often takes place in the clean and neat spaces of national cultural centers, consulates, or on international exhibitions. The institutions that these actors and spaces represent operate on different scales of power than the ones found within hip hop. As Zebster, the lead organizer of the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project, says in an interview with Singh comparing hip hop with European cultural organizations: "they function totally differently." In the remainder of this article we show how Zebster and other actors involved in international cultural interventions rescale authenticity within the seemingly disparate arrangements of hip hop on the one hand and the formal institutions on the other.

The Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project

The Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project was an endeavor sponsored by the Goethe Institute, the German Foreign Office, the German Federal Ministry of Education and Research and the Asia-Pacific Committee of German Business. In the two-year hip hop

project that took place during the Germany + India Year 2011-2012,[5] delegates of the German hip hop scene travelled to India and collaborated with the emergent Indian scene by organizing events, hosting workshops and network meetings in several first tier Indian cities.

The Project is advertised on the website of the German Consulate General in Mumbai. On this website visitors can find a tab on "Culture" under which four further tabs appear: "Film", "Hip-Hop", "Literature" and "Art", placing hip hop in between established and widely accepted arenas of 'high' cultural production. The institution's upscaling of hip hop as a German cultural offering is troubling given hip hop's historical beginnings are in the Black urban communities of North America. What does this upscaling of hip hop mean for the actors involved in such projects on the ground? How do they position themselves authentically in this international formalization of hip hop pedagogy? And what are the implications for our understandings of the continued effects of colonialism in the current stage of globalization?

As highlighted in the following quote taken from the Consulate General's website, the upscaling of hip hop involves western political discourses of development work in the global south, which are surely enmeshed in the history of colonialism. Essentially, this is a pedagogical discourse that negotiates issues of social inequality, poverty and well-being, by referencing the positive socio-psychological effects hip hop can have for underprivileged children and intercultural understandings in India:

Extract 1

Hip-Hop has also established itself in India as a lifestyle with which the children and the youth can relate to [sic]. Values like solidarity and respect convey to the kids, especially

[5] The Germany + India Year 2011-2012 celebrated 60 years of diplomatic relationships between India and Germany. It featured projects, exhibitions and fairs in both nations, where representatives of business, education, engineering, politics and culture convened.

those less privileged, a sense of belonging and esteem and therewith a rising self-confidence. Hip-Hop is increasingly accepted as an experimental approach to educational work because it is a suitable support for back-to-school programms [sic] and the same time has the potential to bridge inter-cultural differences and thereby facilitates conflict-free dealings with one another.

http://www.india.diplo.de/Vertretung/indien/en/05__Mumbai/Departments/Culture__Culture/HipHop__Seite.html

From this section it should perhaps become clear for visitors of the website that hip hop is 'doing good' and is not necessarily something associated with violence, drugs, guns, misogyny or homophobia as it is often represented in mainstream media. Hip hop is depicted as promoting 'good' values like solidarity, respect, belonging, esteem and self-confidence, which seem especially relevant for India's less privileged youth and children. The text further substantiates the institutional upscaling by mentioning that hip hop has already been experimentally applied in educational work in India to reintegrate children and youth in schooling. According to the website, hip hop is a conflict-free, intercultural bridge and should therefore be promoted. This upscales hip hop institutionally through the deployment of a moral framework, which operates on an international scale of socio-developmental education and addresses questions of inequality, poverty and well-being for future generations in nations of the global south.

During the two authors' collaborative ethnographic fieldwork in Delhi in 2013 several of our local interviewees conformed to this pedagogical discourse by reporting that the events produced under the auspices of the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project promoted hip hop in India and even that such foreign intervention is needed to establish sustainable hip hop scenes in India. However, many also expressed discomfort and mentioned that the Project

gave rise to conflicts within the Indian scenes. It was suspected by some of our interviewees that the Indo-German hip hop events excluded some local actors, while it promoted (and funded) others, for reasons that were not transparent to them. Some of our interlocutors, implicitly or explicitly, even connected the Indo-German Hip Hop Project to notions of neo-colonialism, where, under the guise of cultural exchange and development work, India's poverty was exploited by western nations and their cultural ambassadors to actively wield power and accrue wealth in India. Whereas it is beyond the scope of this article to account in more detail for the many voices and positions that our interviewees take in relation to the Indo-German Project (for further analyses, see Dattatreyan, under review, Singh, in preparation), we now turn to an episode that succinctly illustrates the conflictual potential of such cultural interventions.

The death and revival of an 'authentic' jam

Although Delhi is rich of fully independent underground hip hop events, many of the jams (hip hop gatherings and dance competitions) we visited during fieldwork in 2013 were partly sponsored by national institutions like embassies, foreign-nation cultural centers and other non-Indian agencies. These institutions intervene in the cultural production of Indian hip hop by hosting workshops and hip hop jams as well as other events. The institutions have enough resources available to set up a venue with expensive and 'authentic' equipment like turntables, which are not easily available in India, and to fly in hip hop ambassadors from abroad who operate this equipment and do showcase performances at the jam and also judge the battles (dance competitions), as well as to offer prize money to winners of the battles.

These jams create small spectacles in the city. Through the travelling hip hop ambassadors from abroad, these jams are understood by our youthful Delhi based participants as learning spaces. That is, they are pedagogically valuable as they bring older, more experienced hip

hop heads from abroad into contact with younger, less experienced local hip hop heads and expose them to forms of hip hop art from a more 'developed' foreign hip hop scene. Seeing more experienced breakers from abroad perform live in the cipha, taking pictures with them, getting down on the floor to their deejayin, receiving the honor of being judged by them, meant that our participants can experience hip hop on an international scale, or more, poignantly, they can experience themselves as part of a global unfolding of hip hop. However, conflict was not absent.

B-boy Rawdr, a well-known breaker in Delhi, in an interview, narrates how he used to host the underground event Cypherholic several years ago. This was an entirely non-commercial event and it was semi-professionally organized by Rawdr and his crew to promote the breakin scene in the city. Cypherholic, in its early years, was an informal event that emphasized the kinds of real and grassroots transmissions between breakers, which have been the cornerstone of hip hop's informal pedagogies. Rawdr says that Cypherholic became successful over time, whereas the fourth Cypherholic had 45 paying guests, the fifth Cypherholic attracted 150 paying guests.

He remembers that a representative of the Goethe Institute New Delhi attended this fifth Cypherholic and afterwards approached Rawdr and proposed to have the following event at Max Muller Bhavan, the mansion in New Delhi that hosts the Goethe Institute. He accepted her invitation and the sixth Cypherholic was held at Max Muller Bhavan and attracted 350 visitors. However, after the success of the sixth Cypherholic, the representative of the Goethe Institute "changed completely" as Rawdr puts it in the following interview extract. Transcription conventions can be found at the end of this article.

Extract 2

01 Rawdr: She straight up said "they're not supposed to give away our (.) place just

like this." I said "what you MEAN? We had a good jam last time you know now you're changed completely." And then you know "Rawdr there are some terms and there are some you know things you need to watch out and this and that" she told me. "You have changed completely."

Singh: Okay

Rawdr: Alright. "Why why are you doing this SHIT?" And then I got to know there were, there was a thing called Indo-German thing.

Singh: Yeah

(Personal interview, Delhi, May 2013)

When Rawdr wanted to reconnect with her to plan the seventh Cypherholic she was hesitant to give away the Max Muller Bhavan space for free. He did not understand her sudden change of heart, but then soon found out that it was because of the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project. For reasons of confidentiality we do not present Rawdr's further explanations as verbatim quotes here but paraphrase him in the following. He continues to narrate that he later found out that the Goethe Institute's representative was by then conferring with members of the Indo-German Hip Hop Project and that another Indian hip hop activist was nominated by the Germans to become part of the local organization of the Project and accommodate the German delegates while they were in Delhi. This other Indian hip hop activist, according to Rawdr's account, entered into negotiations with the Max Muller Bhavan. Rawdr was very disappointed with this move and relinquished the Cypherholic event to the new organizers. At first he imagined that they could throw the event jointly, but he soon had to find out that the other Indian hip hop activist wanted to promote his own crew

and his own NGO at the event. This was unacceptable for Rawdr and he backed out of the organization.

When the German delegates were in India the Max Muller Bhavan hosted the seventh Cypherholic, organized by the Germans in collaboration with a few local organizers. After the Germans had left, however, Rawdr said that no one felt like they could continue this event. Rawdr is forthright in blaming the cultural intervention for this: "It [Cypherholic] died of Indo-German thing. Straight up man. No hard feelings. No offense. It's true. It's a fact. Alright."

Rawdr, soon after this conflict, revived the jam under a new name: Keep.It.Raw – Ground Zero Battle, now taking place in the Korean Cultural Centre in New Delhi. He emphasizes in a later email interview that this jam is no different from the original Cypherholic jams as it is organized independently by his crew. In an announcement for Keep.It.Raw. on a social media website, he writes:

Extract 3

The Jam is back again with it's authenticity.The first Jam of North India started in 2009 in a gym space & went viral among the youth, teen & adult. Only HipHop Jam in New Delhi which will be paying all the artists involving Judges(Breakin'/Poppng), Mc, On the Music, Winners.

https://www.facebook.com/events/365095483672659/

Authenticity, directly invoked in this extract, is connected to the history of Cypherholic being the first jam in North India, one which started in the modest space of a neighborhood gym and grew into popularity in the scene. The spatio-temporal scales that surface in this extract construct a historicity for Keep.It.Raw through the temporal deictics 'back again',

426 'first' and '2009', and localness through spatial deictics 'North India' and 'gym space'. These
427 points in timespace are upscaled by Rawdr when he reveals that the jam "went viral" among
428 all generations, using a socio-cultural metaphor of the relatively uncontrolled spread of
429 meaning in the techno-systems of Web 2.0 to express the idea of the jam's popularity in the
430 underground. His upscaling is different from the Consulate General's institutional upscaling
431 (Extract 1), we suggest, as Rawdr authenticates the jam by pointing to the informal, organic
432 and grassroots type of popularity the jam has had in the local community, whereas the
433 Consulate General authenticates the employment of hip hop as a pedagogical tool by drawing
434 on a formalized moral framework of international development work.

435 At the very least, Extract 1 and Extract 3 are targeted towards different audiences, real or
436 perceived Bakhtinian super-addressees, and they use discursive resources that accommodate
437 to each of these audiences. Whereas we can imagine that Extract 1 is written for real or
438 perceived international stakeholders, policymakers and perhaps tourists, Extract 3 is most
439 probably intended for local hip hop heads and perhaps travelling hip hop heads. Blommaert
440 (2010, pp. 22) understands such Bakhtinian super-addressees as higher-scale centers of
441 normativity and appropriateness. In both extracts hip hop is argumentatively upscaled to
442 become appropriate to the according context. A local, informal, grassroots normativity is
443 contextualized in Extract 3, when Rawdr invokes the historical rootedness of the jam and an
444 organic, uncontrolled going viral, whereas an international, formalized and top-down
445 normativity is contextualized in Extract 1, when the Consulate General lists the positive
446 effects hip hop can have for the socio-psychological well-being of less privileged youth, for
447 interculturality and for schooling.

448 Interestingly, Rawdr also feels that he has to emphasize that Keep.It.Raw. is the only jam
449 that will be paying all the artists and participants that get involved, implying that other jams
450 do not do the same. For Rawdr, in the context of his announcement, fair distribution of

money seems to be an important part of authenticity in independent hip hop. As he also relayed in our interview, when he was involved in organizing jams for big multinational sporting brands he was sometimes not being compensated for his work. These companies, he said, did not even pay the prize money to the winners of the battle. The authenticity that is proclaimed for Keep.It.Raw. on the other hand guarantees that the money is distributed properly and honestly.

A first 'proper' jam

Money, fairness and authenticity were in fact recurring themes also in an interview with Zebster, the lead organizer of the Indo-German Hip Hop Project and an icon in the European hip hop scene. In 1992 Zebster founded the famous German label *MZEE Records*, signing independent and now legendary German rap groups, such as Advanced Chemistry, Stieber Twins and Massive Töne, considerably contributing to shaping the German hip hop music scene in its early years. For over three decades Zebster travelled the world and explored hip hop scenes in Europe and the USA, teaming up with graffiti writers, breakers, MCs, DJs and other hip hop-affiliated artists to produce work and practice hip hop's forms (see Walta & Cooper, 2004, Walta, 2012).

When Singh met Zebster in Berlin for an interview, they were joined by DJ Uri. A veteran deejay born in Birmingham and raised in London, Uri is of Indian descent and he recently settled in Mumbai where he works as a DJ instructor and club DJ. During this summer 2012 he, however, had a residency in a well-known club in Berlin and so stayed with Zebster in the *Hip Hop Stützpunkt* (literally 'Hip Hop Base'), a cultural center initiated by Zebster in 2006. They told Singh that they had met in India, during the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project and since then collaboratively promoted hip hop education in India with the help of the Goethe Institute and other agencies. Because DJ Uri was present we conducted this

interview in English. However, Singh and Zebster liaised in their native language German before and after the interview.

In the following extract Zebster and Uri narrate how they produced the first "proper b-boy event" in India or in Delhi. This of course contradicts with Rawdr's accounts who equally claims to have organized the first b-boy event in North India in 2009. To complicate the picture even more, Zebster upon reviewing this article mentioned in an email to Singh that Cypherholic had in fact been initiated in Mumbai by the breakin crew Roc Fresh and was then adopted by Rawdr in Delhi.

Extract 4

01 Zebster: But till now there is not really a proper understanding how to do a proper
02 b-boy event right. I think the first one (.) we we did
03 Uri: We did it ya
04 Zebster: organize. Where we said "hey graffiti here, DJ there, spin with vinyl."
05 Singh: Yeah
06 Zebster: And help them also with some some some stuff where we made the
07 experience like many years before, where they have no understanding
08 where to put the stage that everybody see, how to organize things that it's
09 a little bit more like in a friendly way.

'(Personal interview, Berlin, August 2012)

Whereas Rawdr's first jams were made possible through his crew's informal kinds of transmission and resources, Zebster's and Uri's event represents the first produced event in India, or at least one of the first ones. Here, hip hop comes in a package, what Nitzsche (2012) calls the 'hip hop manual', a well-codified and historically developed set of things and

practices that make real hip hop recognizable. A proper hip hop jam becomes recognizable when it involves the different elements or pillars of hip hop, b-boyin, graffiti writin and deejayin, and certain dictates of how to authentically practice these elements. In the above extract authenticity is evoked by mentioning that the DJs were asked to spin with vinyl records on turntables (line 04), even if these are not easily available in India, rather than playing CDs in CD players or MP3s on laptops, which is often regarded as less real in the hip hop DJ scene. Zebster's and Uri's extensive experience with organizing jams also made the Indo-German hip hop events in India more democratic, as it was made sure that everybody had a good view on the stage or the dancefloor (lines 07-08). In general they were trying to create a friendly atmosphere (lines 08-09).

It would be a flat analysis to understand the large-scale Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project as a formal, top-down cultural intervention and Rawdr's small-scale efforts of throwing jams an informal, grassroots emergence of culture. This would neglect that both the cultural intervention (as represented in Extract 1 and Extract 4) and the emerging culture (as represented in Extract 2) are claimed to be authentic in three ways: they construct historicity, they promote participation and diversity, and they commit to egalitarian values. Through claiming authenticity, the speakers, rather than assuming singular subject positions, seem to discursively reposition themselves to negotiate meaning in the polycentric and multiscalar context of the internationalization of hip hop pedagogy. To complexify our analysis of cultural intervention, we now further investigate how Zebster engages in the semiotic play of rescaling to position himself and his fellow hip hop ambassadors meaningfully within the two discourses of hip hop authenticity and hip hop internationalization.

Money, sustainability and mobility

Zebster says that while he had been positive in the beginning, he has grown skeptical of the support the formal institutions provide, who he has learned have their "own targets." He even takes up an unmistakably critical position towards the formal institutions when saying that he thinks that "they use hip hop" and that "they're not willing to support it the proper way." The formal institutions seem occupied with self-interests and spectacular "teaser projects", as he says later, and these kinds of spectacles require a lot of work but are not sustainable: "you have the feeling you do something here and there on your own energy but it don't leads to anything." In fact, Zebster even revealed in our interview that he spent considerable amounts of money from his own pocket to make the Project happen. These kinds of personal investments are not uncommon among hip hop ambassadors and pedagogues. Several participants of our respective studies, both internationally travelling and local ones, invested considerable amounts of money and especially time to participate in the each one teach one practices of informal hip hop education, a type of communal work that seems to go unnoticed by and happen irrespective of nationally and internationally operating governance.

In the following interview extract Zebster acknowledges that the formal institutions that supported the Project provided them with money, however, the financial flow was only of short while.

Extract 5

01 It's very very difficult to talk about sustainable development especially with the
02 formal institutions. This is like a private ehm let's say ehm result after after having
03 the experience with all the projects. That the formal institutions they talk about
04 sustainability but in the end they don't care. They say "OH IT'S GERMANY
05 YEAR LET'S HAVE LIKE EVENTS blablabla." And then the most of the events is
06 fun events. Like (.) they go nowhere? and only possible because they have money

07 and after the budget is over, nothing is happening anymore. So like we built like
08 really connections and I think with the German project we helped to bring people
09 together? Because we had some money for like let's say mobility

(Personal interview, Berlin, August 2012)

Zebster describes how he had to experience that the rhetoric of sustainability so often voiced by formal institutions eventually leads nowhere (lines 01-07). Yet, after lamenting this state of affairs he concludes that the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project was eventually successful in bringing people together and building real connections (lines 07-09). This at first sight illogical conclusion becomes meaningful when we consider the shift in agency that occurs in the last two utterances of Extract 5 (on lines 07-09). Using the shifter 'they' throughout this extract to refer to the formal institutions, he now uses the shifter 'we' to directly index the hip hop affiliated people that were involved in the Project. He thereby discursively repositions himself and links the success of the Project to the informal, hip hop and grassroots pedagogies, rather than the formal, state-driven and top-down ones. This move represents an informalization of formal hip hop education, it moves from a type of pedagogy that is a short-lived, spectacular and "fun" intervention to a more serious, real and sustainable exchange afforded by the hip hop heads themselves. However, to operate in an international context, which is contingent on mobility, informal hip hop pedagogy seems dependent on money from the formal institutions (line 09).

Passion

To free themselves from this dilemmatic entanglement, passion, authenticity and esoteric hip hop practices are invoked. Zebster argues that if the hip hop ambassadors only relied on the money and the resources provided by the formal institutions the events would not engender

real cultural exchanges. He says that the events of such international projects are only made possible in a way that is consistent with hip hop's discourse of authenticity because of individual and informal arrangements between hip hop heads. Zebster says that individuals mobilized their private resources:

Extract 6

> most projects work only because people like Uri say 'okay I arrange that five people can stay for two weeks at my friend's place' and stuff like this. 'I come with my own turntables.' So ehm they were all going with a lot of passion.

(Personal interview, Berlin, August 2012)

The travelling European hip hop ambassadors crossing borders to India, and also the few young Indian hip hop artists who received funds through the Project to travel to Germany, were passionate to create colloquial networks and draw on personal resources to transform the short-lived interventions curated by the formal institutions into more informal practices found within hip hop, which were perhaps not intended or even not deemed necessary by the formal institutions. Passion thus seems to provide an 'in kind' provision of networks and resources for formal cultural intervention projects which is ultimately not remunerated or perhaps not even acknowledged by the formal institutions.

Singh asked what kind of infrastructures would be needed in India to build the kind of sustainable cultural exchanges the hip hop ambassadors thrive for. Zebster begins his answer by first regretting that the formal organizations do not acknowledge the effectiveness of informal pedagogies:

Extract 7

01 Singh: What kind of infrastructure would you need to build up something like
02 this in India?
03 […] ((Uri talks about a successful workshop in a school in rural India))
04 Zebster: There's a theory like that if you have passion for something you are
05 willing to learn.
06 Uri: Exactly
07 Zebster: This is something where we ask ourselves why this is not much more
08 used as a method. And like that this let's say kind of interactal learning is
09 like ehm more supported?
10 Singh: Right

(Personal interview, Berlin, August 2012)

Passion results in a willingness to learn and it is therefore a way of knowing that can potentially transform the methods of learning and education (lines 04-05). However, Zebster regrets that the formal institutions don't recognize and support such passionate pedagogies (lines 07-09).

Place

He then directly answers Singh's question:

Extract 8

01 Zebster: So the question is what is needed? Like to be honest there is not much
02 needed. Like there is only a place.
03 Uri: We need a place that's it ((claps hands)).
04 Zebster: Where let's say you have maybe a basic financing. You have maybe a

05 room where people can dance. You have like light. You have like ehm a
06 little office. And you can LEARN the people who then teach the others.
07 Especially in dancing it's pretty easy.

590 (Personal interview, Berlin, August 2012)

591

592 A physical place in this account is a prerequisite for the informal, sustainable and
593 intergenerational each one teach one pedagogies hip hop offers. Especially dancing, he says,
594 is an "easy" (line 07) way to engage people in the practices of hip hop just by providing a
595 place. The place creates a possibility for a cipha, a hip hop inflected contact zone that brings
596 hip hop heads together in a specific locality under the common banner of global hip hop
597 production and veneration. In contrast to the short-lived pop-up workshop at a cultural
598 intervention event produced by formal institutions, the place Zebster and Uri envision here
599 represents a real sustainable cultural exchange, i.e. a localized cipha stable over larger time
600 scales. A hip hop place might be initiated by international development financing but will
601 have to ultimately rely on the each one teach one types of transmission between members of a
602 local scene (lines 04-06).

603 The negotiations around notions of place point at the multiscalar nature of global hip hop,
604 recognized by hip hop scholars as processes of localization, glocalization or transculturation
605 (Mitchell, 2001, Forman 2002, Androutsopoulos, 2003, Pennycook, 2007a, Alim, Ibrahim &
606 Pennycook, 2009). A long-term self-sufficient place can anchor hip hop locally and can act as
607 a physical hub in which an informal inter-generational education and real intercultural
608 exchange can occur. Conversely it can make local hip hop scenes globally visible. The *Hip*
609 *Hop Stützpunkt* in Berlin is such a place, where artists like DJ Uri can stay to pursue his
610 deejayin in the city or where workshops and exhibitions can take place and where Zebster has

611 office facilities to manage the place and develop future projects with similar hip hop inflected
612 places elsewhere or with the formal institutions.
613 The *Stützpunkt* thus exhibits degrees of formalization that are able to operate within scales
614 of bureaucratic orders and planned, international collaboration. This is fundamentally
615 different in the many places that we visited in Delhi during our collaborative fieldwork,
616 where hip hop affiliated youth and their friends would spend their early evenings, informally
617 socializing and practicing breakin. These were public spaces like small neighborhood parks
618 or semi-accessible places like ruin monuments, gym spaces, private flats or open courtyards
619 of malls. Local breakers could claim these spaces to practice and transmit hip hop's forms
620 and ideas amongst themselves. The question then is, why is it even necessary for the young
621 Indian hip hop scene to formalize itself and create a place similar to the *Stützpunkt*? We
622 suggest one answer is the wider scale visibility that such formalization engenders. A more
623 formal place, in the form of a community center for example, with a website, an institutional
624 address, and a contact person, would lead to a higher visibility and could thus attract foreign
625 investment, policy makers, social workers, travelling hip hop heads and people working in
626 the creative industry, such as filmmakers or musicians, as well as journalists and researchers.
627 Whereas it is quite difficult for interested people from abroad or outside the hip hop scenes to
628 find out about the places in Delhi where breakin would take place, which we only gradually
629 and certainly only fragmentarily found out about after months of fieldwork in the urban
630 villages, a hip hop center would be better visible to outsiders and would thus allow and
631 promote cultural exchanges. It would put Delhi on the map of the Global Hip Hop Nation and
632 the cultural and pedagogical networks that hip hop affords.
633 A place is ultimately also more sustainable and promises self-sufficiency of the local hip
634 hop scene, as Zebster says in this last extract.
635

Extract 9

> Because ehm (.) especially like I mentioned before in India when you can show the people "look you have to go this way to build your own structure and not let's say let the business guys take over when like it becomes like interesting. And you can control a little bit the way of the culture." This experience we wanted to share and build up.

(Personal interview, Berlin, August 2012)

In this account the place does not represent a formal, top-down imposition, but guarantees independence from the forces of the free market. The independent local structures that hip hop heads create themselves promise to produce a sustainable hub in which the elements and the culture can thrive. This is an experience Zebster made in his own extensive career as a hip hop organizer and practitioner, which he now wants to share and develop in the upcoming scenes around the world.

Zebster's negotiations around money, mobility, sustainability, passion and place point to his polycentric and multiscalar positionality in the twin discourses of hip hop authenticity and hip hop internationalization. The complex image that we get is that global hip hop does not simply emerge in the global south, but that it is also extensively shaped by travelling ambassadors from the west. These do not merely bring in resources, money and structure, but they also promote values like self-sufficiency and passion for hip hop to prosper locally and sustainably. The hip hop travelers are, however, navigating a contested zone as they depend on money, networks and structures that seem to be connected to formalizations, which, as the Cypherholic episode shows, potentially become sources of conflict.

Conclusion: Continued entanglement

As Singh finished his interview in the *Hip Hop Stützpunkt*, Zebster handed him his business card that had the title 'Cultural Ambassador' written under his name. The card also had on its top left corner the official logo of the German Government and its Federal Ministries (a slim vertical bar in the colors of the German flag black, red and gold) but changed the adjacent text to 'Embassy of the Hip Hop Republic of Germany' and substituted the German coat of arms (an eagle) with the silhouettes of three hip hop inflected figures: a breaker, a DJ and a graffiti writer, the logo of *MZEE Records* and Zebster's publishing house *From Here to Fame*. What these appropriations of the national in the semiotics of this business card epitomize, we suggest, are the dilemmatic positionalities hip hop ambassadors who travel and promote educational work in international exchange find themselves in. Yet, the business card also epitomizes the creative ways in which hip hop ambassadors rescale and ultimately reconcile symbols of the national and symbols of authentic hip hop to make them appropriate in an international context.

As this article has shown, in the discursive repositioning an *informal pedagogy* is indexed through discourses of the authentic or the real, a grassroots structure, as well as through passion, sustainability, self-sufficiency, place and each one teach one ways of transmission, while a *formal pedagogy* is indexed through discourses of state-driven, top-down imposition, mobility, certain degrees of control and planning, supra-local and short-term engagements. We have shown that all this indexing essentially works with scalarity; scales of time, space and socio-culturally constructed metaphors that all operate on higher and lower levels of power. We traced how authenticity is evoked when speakers move between scales to make arguments about hip hop as a site for pedagogy.

On, perhaps, a more political level, the analysis pointed to the ways in which hip hop's cultural forms are being utilized by western nation-states as a cultural intervention in the global south in a way that calls for a reconsideration of the continued effects of colonialism,

which, we argue, can include deployments of potentially liberatory popular cultural formations such as hip hop. By employing the perhaps belligerent term 'cultural intervention' we tried to point to the ways in which hip hop's informal pedagogies can, when institutionalized, carry with it conflicted messages that align hip hop with liberal western ideologies concerning 'development' and its concurrent discourses on hegemonic space, time and identity. What a study of the Indo-German Hip Hop & Urban Art Project and the formalization of hip hop pedagogy reveals, are therefore the continued effects of such historical power structures in our contemporary moment that shape how actors are positioned and how they reposition themselves within the globally informed and locally situated Delhi hip hop scene.

While the two authors initially intended to focus on the theme of neo-colonialism in this article, our ethical and political commitments and investments in the hip hop community ultimately led us to re-evaluate the ways we write about our ethnographic interlocutors. We felt that a framing of cultural interventions as neo-colonial endeavors ultimately portrays internationally travelling hip hop educators as long arms of governments and as perpetuating global inequalities. However, as Pardue (2012) makes clear, and we wholeheartedly agree with, we "do not intend to impose monolithic moral judgments on either the state or hip-hop or, for that matter, the 'popular" (p. 94). Rather our discussions show that hip hop informed international pedagogy is complexly intertwined in "power structures and historical dynamism" (p. 95) that need to be appreciated more fully by actors involved in such pedagogy to recognize and possibly subvert, if they wish to, some of the dilemmatic upshots of hip hop as it enters and infiltrates international development work.

This essay, in addition to detailing the theoretical and political treatment of how the discourse of internationalization is interjected within hip hop, thus also serves as a cautionary note to hip hop practitioners who choose to work within institutional settings, particularly

706 those that bring them across national borders. Our reflection and rumination on the
707 complexities of a 'job' that calls for the deployment of a formalized hip hop pedagogy in a
708 relatively new hip hop context like Delhi may help to avoid some of the dangers of such
709 work. Thus hip hop ambassadors need to critically acknowledge their entangled identities and
710 their repositioning practices in international contexts. This we suggest helps to articulate a
711 critical outlook on the discursive repositioning *as* pedagogy that takes into account, and
712 potentially subverts, the twin discourses of internationalization and hip hop authenticity that
713 are at play.

714 We conclude by suggesting that hip hop educators who wish to travel to and teach in the
715 global south, whether under the auspices of a formal institution or by themselves, can begin
716 to develop a critical outlook on their work by acknowledging and possibly subverting the
717 effects of rescaling. An acknowledgement that repositionings are unavoidable when working
718 in international contexts and that the twin discourses of hip hop authenticity and
719 internationalization limit the pedagogues' engagements on the ground, can engender new and
720 creative possibilities for working with these limited resources. Hip hop's cutting and mixing,
721 sampling, juggling and scratching seem appropriate metaphors to think of such possibilities.
722 Just as DJs and turntablists are using the limited possibilities of two turntables and a mixer as
723 an instrument to switch back and forth between records to create new musical patterns out of
724 existing ones, hip hop pedagogues working internationally can use their repositioning
725 practices strategically and creatively, passionately, to create a new form of pedagogy – one
726 that is invested in overstanding the rough and rugged multiscalar context of global hip hop.
727

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Transcription conventions

TEXT	loud, emphatic speech
"text"	Direct speech
(.)	Micropause
?	Rising intonation (question or uncertainty)
.	Falling intonation (end of utterance)
((text))	Transcriber's comments

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