

# Emcee Authenticity and Post-Colonial Consciousness within Filipino American Hip Hop

**Anthony Kwame Harrison<sup>1</sup>**  
**Virginia Tech**

Presented at the 2009 International Association for the Study of Popular Music – U.S. Branch meetings in San Diego (31 May 2009).

*“From the slums to the ghettos from Manila to Soweto, Black music intuitive to the world’s struggle” – Nomi (Power Struggle 2008a).*

On Election Day 2000 I was working at the Amoeba Music record store in San Francisco when I first heard that George W. Bush had been “elected” President of the United States. Naturally, this was an unpopular outcome within the San Francisco music community. That evening a group of Amoeba employees gathered at a city bar to discuss the news and ponder the future. The one point of optimism that resonated among us over the course of that evening was that if nothing else, the next four years would probably generate some good music. While history will decide whether, what turned out to be, the first eight years of the twenty-first century will be remembered as an era of extra-ordinary musical creation, it is possible to examine specific musical developments and to consider the extent to which they were nourished by the political climate of what anthropologist Enoch Page has referred to as the “Second Bush Reich” (2004). This paper goes some way towards doing that. Yet, rather than drawing direct connections between music content and Bush administration (particularly post 9/11) domestic and foreign policies, I mean to introduce the latter as an ever-present backdrop against which young members of an historically marginalized and often overlooked ethnoracial minority (Rivera 2001) began vying for visibility through a combination of hip hop authenticity, socio-political consciousness, and intellectual engagement.

Over the past decade a distinctly Filipino American hip hop music movement has emerged on the West Coast of the United States. From Seattle to San Diego artists such as Blue Scholars, Kiwi and Bambu (formerly Native Guns), Rhapsodistas, and Power Struggle have performed, recorded, and released heralded music infused with a political vitality that both reflects and galvanizes the concerns of twenty-first century minority youth residing in multiracial metropolises. At its core, the political thrust of this music is founded on a critique of U.S. Empire that considers its historical and contemporary implications for people of color and the working class, most specifically the Filipino American community and the Filipino diaspora.

In presenting this here, let me be very clear in specifying that the field of “hip hop music” I am speaking of features rapped lyrics over hip hop instrumentation and is therefore different from Filipino American hip hop musical forays into the arena of deejaying (a.k.a. turntablism) where Filipino American artists have achieved global prominence for the better part of two decades (see de Leon 2004). With this in mind, let me also say that the emergence of Filipino American rappers is notable in that, as compared to hip hop’s other expressive fields (namely deejaying, beat-making, b-boying/b-girling, and graffiti) emceeing has historically been its least racially/ethnically integrated arena of artistic production. Thus considerations of emcee racial authenticity – how it is achieved and maintain – are central to my descriptions and explanations of this movement. Specifically, what are the means through which this

---

<sup>1</sup> Please direct all correspondence to: [kwame@vt.edu](mailto:kwame@vt.edu)

emergent generation of Filipino American rappers establishes credibility and how successful have they been in solidifying this relationship between Pilipino<sup>2</sup> voice and hip hop legitimacy.

Despite a handful of established non-black rappers throughout history, notions of authentic emceeing within American hip hop have been and continue to be constructed around the performance of black, urban, masculinity. It's my contention in this paper that the emergence of Filipino emcees has the potential to disrupt the longstanding association between rapping and (near exclusive) blackness – what Paul C. Taylor (2005) calls the *classical racist* approach to equating racialized bodies with cultural production. I'm not particularly optimistic about this prospect – my fear being that to the extent that Filipino emceeing does get recognized within the popular music arena, it may very well signal yet another promising development through hip hop's revolutionary spark compromised to the corporate demands of commerce.

Of course any claim to authenticity is by nature constructed, contingent, and potentially deceptive (Bendix 1997). Authenticity is never an organic quality naturally found in things, but is rather “a claim that is made” which is “either accepted or rejected” (Peterson 2005, p. 1086). In this sense, authenticity aims to strike an agreement between the presentation of something or someone (as authentic) and the reception or acceptance of that presentation.

### **Filipino American Emcee Authenticity**

My explanation of this “raptivist” movement in Filipino American hip hop situates it at the nexus of four interrelated factors: [1] the social location of Filipinos as a marginalized immigrant group within contemporary American urban landscapes; [2] the extent to which this marginalized status involves dimensions of racialization that are derived from a history of American imperial aspirations; [3] the ability of young Filipino American males particularly – in no small part due to their status as urban racialized subjects – to gain a foothold in hip hop's other expressive forms; and [4] Filipino American hip hop's role in a grassroots political consciousness movement that is interwoven into the fabric of a developing scholarly tradition. While my book *Hip Hop Underground* (Harrison 2009) explores the first three of these, this paper is different in that it also introduces the fourth.

### ***Social Location***

At around 3 million strong, Filipinos are currently the second largest ethnic subgroup falling under the “Asian/Pacific Island” umbrella in the U.S. (second only to Chinese Americans). Although an early wave of Filipino immigration occurred during the first part of the twentieth century, the overall Filipino American population has rapidly increased since the 1965 change in U.S. Immigration laws (the same change which brought large numbers of Jamaicans – including a future deejay going by the name Kool Herc – to specific New York City neighborhoods). Many of the West Coast Filipino American youth currently embracing hip hop come from families that arrived in the U.S. as part of this post-1965 immigration wave. While official reports suggest that a high proportion of these families have achieved middle-class status, this class standing is often precarious. Filipino cultural critic Epifanio San Juan Jr. explains that “because of race-biased licensing and hiring practices [the post-1965 contingent of Filipinos] found themselves under employed and marginalized” (2007: 22). Despite their level of education and professional training, having a mastery of English, and residing in large relatively stable families, “Filipinos in general earn less than whites and all other Asian groups except Vietnamese” (San Juan Jr. 2007: 23).

Middle class standing is performed through patterns of consumption and, within intergenerational homes particularly, through appearance and upkeep (having a garden, mowing the grass). Reminiscent of Mary Pattillo-McCoy's (1999) ethnographic study of black middle-class communities in Chicago, within many Filipino American communities, one finds that the young males particularly tend to orient their

---

<sup>2</sup> I use the “P” rather than the “F” to refer to a distinctly politicized voice. The F-sound was foreign to Tagalog and most of the other 170 languages and dialects indigenous to the Philippines archipelago, likewise the ancient Filipino script known as *baybayin* did not have a grapheme equivalent to “F” (Morrow 2007).

behaviors and aspirations simultaneously towards what sociologist Elijah Anderson (1994) calls “street” and “decent” lifestyles.<sup>3</sup> Filipino American emcee Kiwi elaborates on the generational differences associated with this:

Whether [Filipino American youth] are middle class or grew up in the suburbs, what they see out there in the media or at institutions does not reflect their experience. It doesn't give them a sense of dignity. I can say for my mom, she moved to America, she found her sort of American dream, and she was set . . . even though there was shit that she experienced after she got her job, she still felt that I achieved this goal, and I feel dignified. But, for us growing up it's a little different . . . because we had this whole other experience (de Leon 1004: 194).

The lack of representation in U.S. media and culture that Kiwi alludes to is regularly brought up within the lyrics of songs. Filipino American emcee Geo Logic of the group Blue Scholars employs this as a right to hip hop voice when he explains, “this is music made by the people who ain't use to seeing they're face on a page or a stage” (Power Struggle 2008b).

Such invisibility has historically contributed to an ambiguous and at times ambivalent engagement with U.S. popular culture. Yen Le Espiritu describes a connected state of (first and second generation American) “cultural limbo”:

Filipino immigrant children . . . live with paradoxes. They feel strong symbolic loyalty to the Philippines, but they know very little about it and have little contact with their parents or other adults who might educate them. They feel pressured to become like “Americans,” but their experiences as racialized subjects leave them with an uneasy relationship with both Filipino and U.S. culture (2003, 204).

In response to these dilemmas and difficulties many Filipino American youth have turned to urban subcultural formations as a conduit for fashioning their self-identities through a more American frame of reference (de Leon 2004). Emcee Destined, whose 2000 CD *Port of San Diego* is one of the lost gems of Filipino American conscious hip hop, described how his adolescence brought him precariously close to Southern California gang life:

In the ninth grade, dude I was trying to bang . . . like, my brother was a Crip, and I was getting sucked into that a little too. Like, wearing a lot of blue and even rolling with fools. . . But then I realized, that shit's not gonna get me anywhere. . . And there was another kinda conflict in that, with one of the kids, I used to always fuckin' get in fights with him. Like the kids I used to kick it with. And like, he was kind of one of the main kids. You know wha' I mean? So I just gave that shit up, and like, that's when I started getting more into hip hop getting more hardcore. . . and just like getting real focused (Personal Interview, 28 January 2001).

Similarly emcees Kiwi and Bambu both describe themselves as “gangbangers who got politicized” (Maharaj 2006). “Pretty much everyone I knew ended up joining the same gang in the same neighborhood,” Kiwi explains:

That was the thing to do if you were an adolescent Filipino male back then. I don't think any of us at the time had a sense of ourselves as Filipinos. Being in a gang gave us that sense of belonging to something. (Maharaj 2006)

This involvement with, or proximity to, street life aligns with the ways in which hip hop authenticity, particularly on the West Coast, has been historically legitimized. The extent to which it's viewed as a central criterion for establishing legitimacy is shown in a recent Bambu interview appearing

---

<sup>3</sup> For a discussion of young Filipina Americans see de Jesús 2005.

in *Oh Dang! Magazine* where the line of questioning seems to perpetually flutter around the artist's former gang affiliation. Take for example the first two questions:

Q1: *You're a former gangbanger. In a previous interview you talked about going to jail for armed robbery as a juvenile and dropping out of school. . . What led you down that path?*

and

Q2: *How much of your former life influences your music?* (Maharaj 2008).

### **Racialization**

The racialization of Filipino identities can be traced back to official policies of the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations that used the doctrine of *Manifest Destiny* fueled through the logic of *the white man's burden* to rationalize “the brutal and bloody U.S. suppression of Filipino national sovereignty” (Cabusao 2007). In what came to be known as “the Philippine-American War (1899-1902),” Filipino casualty estimates range as high as one fifth of the total population (“Simply . . .” 1990). Tens of thousands of Filipinos men came to the United States during the first three decades of the twentieth century. The 1930 census reported over 45,000 Filipinos living in this country (Balce 2006). The colonial project of American myth-building beckoned these generations of *manong* laborers to travel to “the land that claimed [their] allegiance and loyalty” (Mariano 1933: 4). Responding to the need for a “foreign” workforce created by the exclusion of first the Chinese and then the Japanese, the mostly single, young, male “stoop laborers” were initially rationalized as superior workers, but later, with the onset of the Depression, stigmatized as economic and sexual menaces (Tapia 2006). According to historian Sucheng Chan, America's “last major round of violence against Asians” was directed at Filipinos (1991: 53). Through the late 1920s right up until 1930, within the state of California there were frequent protests and riots against the local Filipino presence (Balce 2006: see also De Witt 1980). As a means to cooling the “moral and sanitary threat” (Tapia 2006: 65) the 1935 Repatriation Act imposed strict immigration quotas.<sup>4</sup>

Bigotry and intolerance directed against Filipino Americans has continued into the post-1965 era. In a 1995 survey of eight hundred Filipino students attending high school in San Diego close to two-thirds reported experiencing discrimination on the basis of race (Espiritu 2003: 180). Outside of areas (and cultural fields) with sizable Pacific Island populations, the invisibility of Filipino Americans lead them to often be misrecognized as Chinese- or (more generally) Asian Americans, and sometimes Latinos as a consequence of their colonial Spanish surnames (Pisares 2006). This position as racialized colonial subjects encourages Filipino American emcees to initiate dialogues regarding racial identity and discrimination as central themes in their hip hop presentation – indexing race in a politicized manner similar to the Afrocentric hip hop of the late 1980s. They furthermore seek to connect with other racial subjects – most notably in terms of America and hip hop, African Americans whose leading roles in the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements serve as an archetype of oppositional resistance. References to notable black figures like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X, Marcus Garvey, Bob Marley, and Jimmy Hendrix, saturate the music.

### **Hip Hop Participation**

As stated earlier, emceeing has been the least integrated arena of hip hop participation. Hip hop's other elements – to the extent that their participation has continued to be recognized – have been engaged by a variety of racial and ethnic groups for well over twenty years. In the 1990s West Coast Filipino deejays such as DJ Q-Bert, DJ Babu, DJ Apollo, and Mixmaster Mike began gaining visibility through their successes in national and global turntablism competitions and music releases (de Leon 2004; Sue 2002). Such unprecedented recognition within the popular cultural terrain – particularly within deejaying: the

---

<sup>4</sup> This was also stimulated by the growing availability of Mexican laborers.

backbone of hip hop – created fertile ground for new hip hop inflected forms of cultural expression to take root among Filipino American youth (de Leon 2004).

Where many white hip hop enthusiasts continue to describe a longstanding involvement in hip hop as something that marks them as exceptional (see Harrison 2009), for most Filipino American youth, hip hop related activities fit seamlessly within their coming of age narratives. In recalling his gradual enculturation into b-boying, graffiti writing, and deejaying between sixth and ninth grade Destined remarks:

See all of this has been around me . . . but at the time, I didn't even recognize any of this as hip hop. . . Just in the last couple of years I've been like, damn! I've been into hip hop for quite a while now, and not even knowing (Personal Interview, 28 January 2001).

When I paused during our interview to confirm that he, in fact, hadn't been the first among his circle of friends to start doing any of these things, his response was, "of course not":

Growing up in San Diego there was a Filipino community and a Filipino hip hop scene and then there was the overall San Diego scene . . . Do you think it's like that for like Mexicans? See I'm not too sure if it's like that with other groups, but it's strongly in the Filipinos. If you grew up in the culture, in a Filipino family you'd know (Personal Interview, 28 January 2001).

### ***Organic Intellectualism***

The fourth factor influencing the rise of Filipino American hip hop, and the one that I want to focus on the remainder of this paper, involves the development of a distinct intellectual consciousness – feeding what some have described as a "Filipino Renaissance" (Barrientos 2000) – among Filipino American youth, particularly on the West Coast. This consciousness movement foregrounds hip hop as a literary tradition through which diasporic experiences are conveyed and people are mobilized. Spurred by the development of Filipino studies as an academic field – marked by the recent founding of the *Journal of Filipino Studies* and student led campaigns to add Pilipino studies to college curriculums (Yuan 2009) – universities have become key sites for generating and circulating discussions regarding the Filipino history, identity, and experiences with discrimination. The failure of traditional disciplines such as history, anthropology, sociology, law, and literature – and even interdisciplinary fields like ethnic studies, American studies, and Asian American studies – to sufficiently represent the Filipino experience in America (Lowe 2006) has created a need for Filipino studies as a defined academic arena coherent in both its agenda and subject matter. In this grassroots intellectual formation, hip hop has emerged as a conduit for circulating meaningful knowledge and information, as well as for continuing dialogues. Kiwi's first solo album *Writes of Passage: Portraits of a Son Rising* has even been included in the curriculum of a San Francisco State's Filipino American Literature class (Shuffled 2007).

One of the movement's most prominent groups, the Seattle duo Blue Scholars,<sup>5</sup> selected a name that quite intentionally straddles the line between proletarian consciousness and academic theory – a musical embodiment of Gramsci's (1971) "Organic Intellectual."<sup>6</sup> The duo, tellingly enough, first got together through their mutual involvement in a student hip hop organization at the University of Washington.<sup>7</sup> The Blue Scholars story illustrates the important role of college campuses in the

---

<sup>5</sup> Comprised of Filipino American emcee Geo Logic and Iranian American deejay/producer Sabzi.

<sup>6</sup> It also resurrects the name of late sixties Detroit poet-activist, and leader of the White Panther Party, John Sinclair's jazz backing band.

<sup>7</sup> Similarly Native Guns deejay Phattrick attributes an Asian American studies course he took at UC Berkeley and being involved in the campuses Students for Hip Hop organization as responsible for his linking up with Bambu and Kiwi (Maharaj 2006).

development of independent hip hop (Wang 2007). In addition to political consciousness raising, campus life also brings together young people, with few restrictions on time (Blue Scholars boast of recording their debut album while skipping classes), large sums of money in the form of financial aid checks which can be (mis)used to purchase technology of fund music manufacturing endeavors, as well as initial test markets – college radio and various student forums. Collegiate ties are also cemented through regular participation in college touring circuits that feature performances funded by Filipino and Asian-American student organizations.

The role of Filipino American hip hop music coheres to what Bill Mullen calls “Afro-Orientalism,” and defines as “a signifying discourse on race, nation, and global politics constituting a subtradition in indigenous U.S. writing on imperialism, colonialism, and the making of capitalist empire” (2004: XV). Mullen traces the origins of Afro-Orientalism to the early twentieth century writings of W.E.B. DuBois who even in his celebrated statement regarding “the problem of the color line” was sure to specify “the relation of darker to the lighter races of men in Asia and Africa, in America and in the islands of the sea” (DuBois 1982 [1903]: 54). Indeed following Japan’s resounding victory over Russia in the 1904-1905 Russo-Japanese War, leading African American figures like DuBois, Booker T. Washington and Marcus Garvey promoted the notion of Afro-Asiatic peoples (Wood 1997: 51). Decades later, at the height of the Black Power era, Detroit’s Black Arts Movement (BAM) was influenced heavily from the anti-colonial writings of Mao Tse-tung (Mullen 2004). A prominent Filipino American contributor to this tradition was writer Carlos Bulosan, whose historical materialist perspectives and activist engagements have been resurrected through the work of academics like San Juan Jr. (1995) and Michael Viola (2006a, 2006b). Bulosan’s consciousness was raised between 1936 and 1938 when, while confined to a hospital for tuberculosis and kidney problems, he began a voracious period of reading that included the works of Karl Marx, Nicholas Guillen, and Angés Smedley among others (San Jan Jr. 1995). His awakened “sociological imagination” (Mills 1959) through an immobile period of reading has a notable parallel in Malcolm X, another figure whose Afro-Orientalist position looms prominently in twenty-first century Filipino American hip hop consciousnesses. Malcolm X’s arrest and subsequent transfer to the Norfolk Prison Colony enabled a similar reading binge resulting in the identity alchemy through which Detroit Red transformed himself into a future Nation of Islam minister and civil rights activist.

In much the same way, former gangbangers like Kiwi and Bambu have traded in their lumpenproletariat status to disseminate important perspectives and experiences to Filipino and broader people-of-color youth communities. Bambu credits his own reading of Malcolm X’s autobiography while in Los Padrinos Juvenile Hall as a pivotal moment in his growth as a community leader (Maharaj 2006). This narrative of personal transformation through reading, organic intellectualization through mental and spiritual conditioning, serves as an important ingredient in the casserole of charismatic authority (Weber 1968 [1921]) through which leaders of cultural movements exert influence and inspire others. In the case of Filipino American hip hop, the merger of song and scholarship, and of grassroots and university communities, has allowed the music to develop into a constitutive agent in constructing and spreading this twenty-first century Afro-Orientalist discourse. Nomi of the group Power Struggle discusses his “moment of clarity” when first hearing Kiwi’s music:

It was the first time that I heard a Filipino brother break the shit down. Cause I was hella lost and I heard my brother break it down on some real ass Filipino immigration to the US of A bring it back to the PI shit. And I was lost for words (Kiwi 2007).

This new generation of Filipino American hip hop artists recognize how hip hop music can operate as a form of orature through which to raise the visibility of Filipinos in American culture, to express a distinctly Filipino post-colonial critique of US global dominance, and to situate themselves within an Afro-Orientalist tradition connecting intellectual and proletariat spheres and establishing a basis for

grassroots multiracial coalition building. To those who understand hip hop to have an original emancipatory vision, this organic intellectualism completes and confirms the authenticity agreement.

## Works Cited

- Anderson, Elijah. 1994. The Code of the Streets. *Atlantic Monthly* 273: 80-94.
- Balce, Nerissa S. 2006. "Filipino Bodies, Lynching, and the Language of Empire." In *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, edited by Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Richardo V. Gutierrez, 43-60. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Barrientos, Darleene. 2000. "Students Pour Out Hearts at Open Mic." *The Daily Titan* (California State University Fullerton), October 31. Available online at [http://dailytitan.fullerton.edu/issues/fall\\_00/10\\_31/news/studentspour.html](http://dailytitan.fullerton.edu/issues/fall_00/10_31/news/studentspour.html). (accessed July 16, 2004).
- Bendix, Regina. 1997. *In Search of Authenticity*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Cabusao, Jeffrey Arellano. 2007. "Confronting U.S. Empire: Reviewing Filipino Insurgent Intellectual Production in the United States." *The Los Angeles Independent Media Center*. <http://www.la.indymedia.org/news/2007/07/203138.php> (accessed April 28, 2009).
- Chan, Sucheng. 1991. *Asian Americans: An Interpretive History*. Boston: Twayne.
- de Jesús, Melinda L. (ed). 2005. *Pinay Power: Peminist Critical Theory*. New York: Routledge.
- de Leon, Lakandiwa M. 2004. Filipinotown and the DJ Scene: Expression and Identity Affirmation of Filipino American Youth in Los Angeles. In *Asian American Youth: Culture, Identity, and Ethnicity*, edited by Jennifer Lee and Min Zhou, 191-206. New York: Routledge.
- De Witt, Howard A. 1980. *Violence in the Fields: California Filipino Farm Labor Unionization during the Great Depression*. Saratoga, CA: Century Twenty One Publications.
- DuBois, W.E. B. 1982 [1903]. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Nal Penguin Inc.
- Espiritu, Yen Le. 2003. *Homebound: Filipino American Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Gramsci, Antonio. 1971. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. Edited and translated by Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International.
- Harrison, Anthony Kwame. 2009. *Hip Hop Underground: The Integrity and Ethics of Racial Identification*. Philadelphia PA: Temple University Press.
- Kiwi. 2007. "Moments of Clarity" (featuring Nomi). *The Summer Exposure Mixtape*. Rusty Bolo Music.

- Lowe, Lisa. "Forward." In *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, edited by Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Richardo V. Gutierrez, vii-ix. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Maharaj, Zoneil. 2006. "Reinventing the Steel." *Oh Dang! Urban Culture Magazine*. [http://www.ohdangmag.com/archive/features/reinventing\\_the\\_steel.html](http://www.ohdangmag.com/archive/features/reinventing_the_steel.html) (accessed May 20, 2009).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008. "Youth Media Blog-a-Thon: L.A. Emcee Bambu Speaks on Violence." *Oh Dang! Urban Culture Magazine*. <http://www.ohdangmag.com/archive/features/bambu.html> (accessed May 20, 2009).
- Mariano, Honorante. 1933. *The Filipino Immigrant in the U.S.* Eugene OR: University of Oregon Press.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1959. *The Sociological Imagination*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Morrow, Paul. 2007. "The Basics of Philippino Filipino." *Pilipino Express* 3 (15): <http://www.pilipino-express.com/history-a-culture/in-other-words/127-the-basics-of-philippino-filipino.html> (accessed August 15, 2009).
- Mullen, Bill V. 2004. *Afro-Orientalism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Page, Enoch. 2004. "The Magical Mask of Whiteness: Disguising Racism and Doing Whiteness Studies Under the Second Bush Reich." Panel Proposal for the American Anthropological Association 2004 Meetings in San Francisco.
- Pattillo-McCoy, Mary. 1999. *Black Picket Fences: Privilege and Peril Among the Black Middle Class*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Peterson, Richard A. 2005. In Search of Authenticity. *Journal of Management Studies* 42 (5): 1083-98.
- Pisares, Elizabeth H. 2006. "Do You Mis(recognize) Me: Filipina Americans in Popular Music and the Problem of Invisibility." In *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, edited by Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Richardo V. Gutierrez, 172-98. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Power Struggle. 2008a. "Peace to Freedom Fighters All Over the Globe." *Hearts & Minds*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2008b. "Komrades" (featuring DJ Todda/I Self Define/Geo Logic/Saico). *Hearts & Minds*.
- Rivera, Raquel Z. 2001. "Hip Hop, Puerto Ricans, and Ethno- Racial Identities in New York." In *Mambo Montage: The Latinization of New York*, ed. Agustín Laó Montes and Arlene Dávilla, pp. 235–261. New York: Columbia University Press.
- San Juan Jr., Epifanio (ed.). 1995. *On Becoming Filipino: Selected Writings of Carlos Bulosan*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2007. *On the Presence of Filipinos in the United States and Other Essays*. Salinas, CA: SRMKN Publishers.
- Shuffled. 2007. "Kiwi." *Boston Progress Radio*. <http://www.bprlive.org/2007/12/06/shuffled-kiwi/> (accessed August 12, 2009).
- Shusterman, Richard. 1991. "The Fine Art of Rap." *New Literary History* 22: 613-632.

- “Simply . . . The Philippines: A History . . .” 1990. *New Internationalist* 205 (March).  
<http://www.newint.org/issue205/simply.htm> (accessed May 20, 2009).
- Sue, Jennie. 2002. Itching to Scratch. *AsianWeek.com*, July 12-18.  
[http://www.asianweek.com/2002\\_07\\_12/arts\\_dmc.html](http://www.asianweek.com/2002_07_12/arts_dmc.html) (accessed April 28, 2006).
- Tapia, Ruby C. 2006. “‘Just Ten Years removed from a Bolo and Breech-cloth’: The Sexualization of the Filipino ‘Menace.’” In *Positively No Filipinos Allowed: Building Communities and Discourse*, edited by Antonio T. Tiongson, Jr., Edgardo V. Gutierrez, and Richardo V. Gutierrez, 61-70. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Taylor, Paul C. 2005. Does Hip Hop Belong to Me? The Philosophy of Race and Culture. In *Hip Hop and Philosophy: Rhyme 2 Reason*, edited by Derrick Darby and Tommie Shelby, 79-91. Chicago: Open Court.
- Viola, Michael. 2006a. “Filipino American Hip-Hop and Class Consciousness: Renewing the Spirit of Carlos Bulosan.” *MR Zine* (April 15). <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/viola150406.html> (accessed August 12, 2009).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 2006b. “Hip-hop and Critical Revolutionary Pedagogy: Blue Scholarship to Challenge ‘The Miseducation of the Filipino.’” *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies* 4 (2).  
<http://www.jceps.com/index.php?pageID=article&articleID=71> (accessed February 21, 2008).
- Wang, Oliver. 2007. Rapping and Repping Asian: Race, Authenticity, and the Asian American MC.” In *Alien Encounters: Popular Culture and Asian America*, edited by Mimi Thi Nguyen and Thuy Linh Nguyen Tu, 35-68. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Weber, Max. 1968 [1921]. *Economy and Society*. Totowa, NJ: Bedminster Press.
- Wood, Joe. 1998. The Yellow Negro. *Transition* 73: 40-63.
- Yuan, Christine. 2009. “UCLA Students Granted Pilipino Studies.” *Daily Bruin* (21 May).  
<http://dailybruin.ucla.edu/stories/2009/may/21/students-granted-pilipino-studies/> (accessed May 24, 2009).

### **Suggested Listening:**

- Power Struggle – “Komrades” (feat. DJ Todda/I Self Define/Geo Logic/Saico). *Hearts & Minds*. 2008.
- Power Struggle – “Deport the Pilgrim.” *Hearts & Minds*. 2008.
- Bambu – “Chairman Mao.” . . . *i scream bars for the children . . .* 2007.
- Blue Scholars – “Wounded Eyes.” *The Long March EP*. 2005.
- Destined – “Dreaming.” *Port of San Diego*. 2000.
- Native Guns – “Agitation Propaganda” (featuring Geologic). *Stray Bullets mixtape volume II*. 2007.
- Blue Scholars – “Evening Chai.” *Blue Scholars*. 2004.
- Blue Scholars – “Life and Debt.” *Blue Scholars*. 2004.
- Native Guns – “Promise” *Barrel Men*. 2006.
- Kiwi – “One, Continued” (feat. Golda Supernova). *Writes of Passage: Portraits of a Son Rising*. 2003.