Persuasive Rhetoric of Rap: Relevance in the Indian Context

DEVPRIYA CHAKRAVARTY
Mudra Institute of Communication Ahmedabad, India

Persuasion is broadly used to influence the way the audience feels or thinks about a particular issue. Music like any other art form involves the artists' usage of rhetoric to persuade the audiences' way of looking at things. However, the subject of persuasive strategies in music has received scanty attention. This article picks a specific genre of music, rap and traces its cultural evolution from its origin in 1970s within the popular culture of hip hop in South Bronx, to the present scenario of the music having gained an international audience. An extensive critique of rape exits for its misogynist and violent content. Such attempts, however fail to take under consideration the historicity of the origin of this popular culture. An extensive literature review is conducted on the cultural evolution of the hip hop culture and studies the rhetoric of rap to understand the persuasive strategies employed in it. In order to substantiate the global presence of rap music, contemporary examples from India has been discussed to show how the rhetoric of rap translates to artivism.

Keywords: Hip hop, persuasion, popular culture, rhetoric, rap music

Persuasion is a rhetoric strategy used in human communication which is designed to aim at influencing the "autonomous judgments and actions of others". Although as a strategic form of communication persuasion is aimed at influencing and alter in the way the others' attitude towards a particular issue is shaped, as a technique persuasion is very different from other forms of methods embedded in coercion and forceful extraction of consensus by usage of one's authority and power. Whether the final outcome of altering the way the others feel and think what becomes important to look at are the techniques used to give form to the practice of persuasion (Simons & Jones, 2011). Before moving on to how persuasion as a technique applies to a varied array of fields (Dainton, 2005), what becomes mandatory is to glance upon the historicity of persuasion as a technique. Rhetoric as a mean of persuasively speaking entails within it the modes of persuasion used to demonstrate a subject matter to the listeners to have them in one's confidence. Thus, rhetoric is a "faculty of observation" which unravels three important modes of persuasion or demonstration including the moral character of the speaker, the frame of mind of the audience exhibits or can be put in and the evidence or enthymeme provided by the speaker to validate their claims which lie at the core of their persuasive speech (Aristotle, 2010).

Even before persuasion had become a crucial advertising tool, it had been extensively used for war propaganda with the proliferation of mass media during the

---

Correspondence to: Devpriya Chakravarty, FPM-C (Fellowship in Management and Communication) Mudra Institute of Communication Ahmedabad, Gujarat-380 058, India. E-mail: devpriya_fpm15@micamail.in

socio-political scenario of the World War times. In any form of persuasion the message and the way it is delivered and received are the vital elements that add on to the influencing character of the persuasion. "Persuasion is not accidental, nor is it coercive. It is inherently communicational." (Dainton, 2005). Theories of persuasion deal with elements of both cognitive and affect. Art and music have always worked miraculously in the process of adding the affect component to a cognitive content in a persuasive message. There can be no arguments, given the known historicises informed by socio-political scenarios of the past about how songs, plays, prose, poetry and other works of art have had an important role to play in moulding the attitude of the commons by delivering persuasive messages. Music is not clearly persuasive in nature but intensely so (Bostrom, Lane, & Harrington, 2002). Popular music has always been to carry an "essence" and it has been known as an expression of the times it belongs to. The relationship between popular music and social protest are too diffusive and widespread to be able to pinpoint to a particular point of origin. However, it has been noted how certain discursive traits resonated with certain genres of popular music. Political activism and discourse on protest and their relationship with genres like rock, metal, punk and hip hop for instance reflect on how popular music "reads" the social (Peddie, 2006).

Sell now talks about how music not only persuades but communicates through certain discursive elements present in the songs. In her essay, she offers three means via which persuasive elements in music can be analysed. First, when in a song both contrasting discursive and non-discursive arguments are offered through irony or satire. Second when the artist envelops an "oppositional discursive message" within a "discursive musical form" for the purpose of making the song more palatable to their listeners. The third method is by the embellishment of the chorus with ambiguous messages in order to allow the meaning to surface gradually (1999). The 1960s saw protest music serving as a platform to vent out an artist's views on social inequalities and/or sentiments on war and peace (Kizer, 1983). It was during the same time in the 1970s that hip hop began to evolve as an aftermath of post modernity (Peddie, 2006) deeply embedded in its persuasive rhetoric of ethos logos and pathos (Kizer, 1983). According to Aristotle's Rhetoric, 'logos' is always conceived as enthymematical argumentation in relation to the issues of the subject while at the same time appealing to the rationale of the listeners. While 'ethos' and 'pathos' may also take act as an enthymeme, however, arguments based on these would not directly relate to the issue. With the case of ethos and pathos, the persuasion would resonate with the ethics and empathy of the listener (Braet, 1992). In the protest popular music of the 1960s, the logical element in persuasion was not as necessary as the morally justified content in the rhetoric. Thus, the persuasion of hip hop was more emotional based (Kizer, 1983).

Thus, music and especially popular music has proved to be rich in terms of its persuasive elements. In the following sections of the paper, the cultural history and evolution of hip hop as a popular culture is drawn while studying the persuasive nature of the hip hop rhetoric. Within this framework, literature is studied to develop a deeper understanding of the relationship between music and politics. Moreover, like Peddie (2006) says hip hop culture has percolated all over the globe with the shifting mediascapes and had transcended the political protests it had developed within the Black community. Ergo, studying the persuasive capacities of a rap, contemporary examples of rap songs used for a social protest in India show how the musical genre of hip hop is much more than rhythm and rhyme.

Cultural History of Hip-Hop

Under the under term of Hip-Hop as a genre of music rap is one of the four types. The subtypes of hip hop are: 'DJing' which involves a disk jockey using instruments which started from vinyl records, discs and now laptops; 'MCing' or rapping which is rhythm and rhyme based focussed on the vocalists; 'B-Boying' or break dancing and graffiti writing (Borodkin, 2010). The basic beats of rap music are derived from hard funk and the artists are known to 'rap' the lyrics of their songs in a certain rhythmic beat. Varieties of rap exist which include insult raps, party raps, boast raps, news raps and many more. As a genre, rap might be different from the Jamaican form of rhythm based music called reggae but it shares a lot in common with it as well like how both the genres are deeply rooted in the cultural experiences of a particular class or race. What reggae did for the suffrages of Jamaica in the late 1960s is what rap did for the American black communities in the 1980s. Rap comes from the socio-economically deprived blacks of America who were known to be restricted to their ghettos and it gradually became a sense of their communal identity. Started in the slum ambience of South Bronx in the 1970s, rap much like its Jamaican counterpart reggae eventually percolated out of the black ghettos to locate for itself an international audience. Though it began as a communal identity and pride endorsing musical genre, hip hop and rap gradually turned into a culture (Devos, 2006).

Throughout its evolution, hip hop music has had to face a number of obstacles either when initially it was treated like an unimportant whimsical trend among the black teens or when on gaining popularity it was brought to task by both the black and white communities because of its explicit content. Rap not only represented the poor black communities of Northern American cities pushed off to the margins by painting their miserable socio-economical conditions but also helped in striking in them a sense of communal pride and identity. Even thought in its true sense, rap bore the essence of protest popular music; it attracted widespread criticism due to the misogynist and violent content of some of the songs. Though some would argue saying the explicit content was a reflection of the social violence that existed in the ghettoes while there are others who would say that a distinction must be made between the sexist violent messages from the productive ones in the genre as a whole. Rap as a musical form aiding in identity and communal solidarity formation among the blacks must not just be criticised and demeaned but be treated with some seriousness for all its contributions (Dyson, 2004).

Graffiti painting under the hip-hop culture had a massive political impetus. Rage writings on the wall in protest and through hate speech had become a way to express one's deep seated disappointment from the political exploitation of one racial community. As a result of the increasing subway graffiti, the Government spewed out anti graffiti laws and policies dubbing the art of graffiti as a criminal offence (Castleman, 2004). The 1970s saw a tremendous cultural shift with hip hop culture settling in and the proliferation of rapping, break dancing and graffiti art in post industrialist American society affecting and shaping the public discourse on race, youth and culture (Holman, 2004). Soon, rap music broke away from its breeding grounds of South Bronx and crossed the boundaries of New York to reach the other cities of the U.S. In this manner rap soon began to represent race throughout the nation (Forman, 2004). Embellished with "dance, dress, language and wild style graffiti" the hip hop culture and rap music produced by recordings from an audio tape or vinyl records had become the official black music in the 1970s and as the years passed by the music along with the culture with both its representational attributes and explicit content had found itself a global audience (Hebdige, Rap and Hip-Hop: The New York Connection, 2004). The cultural evolution of hip hop culture and rap music are deeply rooted in seeking

a communal solidarity among the blacks, however, the political activism and persuasiveness of rap as a cultural text was yet to be studied. However, before specifically discussing rap ad its rhetoric a larger picture of how music and politics are intrinsically connected must be drawn.

Music and Politics

Music and politics, even though accounted for vastly, continues to somehow receive only a small portion of scholarly attention (Street, Music and Politics, 2012). Studying popular music and its ingrained politics helps in throwing more light on how the dynamics of socio-cultural power play out in the society (Negus, 1997). Though popular music has been rendered to be the carrier of the hegemonic capitalist ideology, having fallen to commodification and fetishism and believed to act more like a reinforcement of the dominant social power structures (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1972), there is also a strong belief as to how popular music has acted a site for resistance and political subversion (Hall & Jefferson, Resistance through Rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain, 1993; Hebdige, Subculture: the meaning of style, 1979; Willis, 1978). Popular music is believed to help in harnessing solidarity and instilling community strength as "rhythm, melody and lyrics shape social relations" (Street, Hague, & Savigny, 2007). Dick Hebdige's (1979) work on subculture talks immensely about how articulation within popular music through its elements of style and aesthetics has caused youth to challenge and disrupt the dominant and normative social order and introduce alternative and subversive politics of identity. A critical element in music both in the contemporary popular form and the classical state has been its ability to instil a sense of solidarity within a community. In helping to foster a sense of collective identity, popular music especially helps in formations of politics of conforming to certain set of ideals (Born & Hesmondhalgh, 2000; Frith, 1996; Frith, 1996).

Music's direct role in shaping youth politics is through the practice of forming a community of people who share the same political ideas and orientations through the discursive and affective musical discourse. Music can locate its political efficacies within social movements through four primary dimensions: social, cognitive, cultural-historical and expressive. In the first dimension, music, as discussed above facilitates a form of communal solidarity. In the second and third, the cohesive capabilities of music can aid in articulation of shared political consciousness and recall past political ruptures in the culture. Finally in the fourth dimension, music becomes both the tool and the platform where political orientations can be expressed (Eyerman & Jamison, 1998). The tensions between politics and music has been evident in protest music (Frith, 1996), mobilising subversive social movements (Peddie, 2006) like the feminist movements in America (Love, 2006), raising a voice against racism and even directly in political campaigning (Frith & Street, 1992). Popular music plays its part in fostering political participation through the component of affective communication and its gives rise to a counter rational form of politics which eventually melts down to public knowledge (Negus, 1997). Conjecturing music and politics thus becomes easy to grasp as in John Street's words, "it is where music inspires forms of collective thought and action that it becomes part of politics. It is where music forms a site of public deliberation, rather than private reflection, that we talk of music as political" (2012).

Within this entire narrative of how music and forms of popular music is intrinsically interwoven with the socio-cultural politics of the immediate milieu, the argument of hip hop having its role to play as a politically charged form of cultural text falls under perspective. In her book, Black Noise, Tricia Rose (1994) argues how the cultural

21

politics of hip-hop locates itself within the lyrical expression of rap as it articulates its knowledge of the community it hails from within the context of how it is received in public. She extends her argument to point out how the politics of rap music encapsulates the essence of expressing meaning of the rhetoric of rap along with its interpretation, contestation over public space and also the speculation of cultural capital. Hip hop formed an important trajectory in the African-American political history as it marked the illumination of black experiences and brought to the fore of the public sphere. Just as Tricia Rose had emphasised on the lyrical expression of rap music, other scholars have time and again spoken about how the rhetoric of rap is shaped around the usage of metaphors, repetition, hyperboles and so on.

This form of interplay between speech and music, gave rap's lyrics a message like quality thus enhancing the persuasive efficacies within the music (Danielsen, 2008; Krims, 2000). What adds significantly to the aptitude of hip hop to be able to transcend to a political public discourse is the interaction between rhythm, rhyme and performance. Through the affective hip hop beats reinforced by the rapper's rhetoric rhymes enhances the role of the rapper, allowing for the amplification of the song's lyrical messages and thus aids in establishing the rapper as a public speaker (Nærland, 2014). Extending this argument, it becomes imperative to explore the persuasive rhetoric of rap and the aftermath of the popular culture on its audience.

Rhetoric of Rap

Culture is a set of shared meanings and codes which is made sense of using language and other forms of rituals and practices of everyday life. From the very beginning a distinction has been drawn between 'high' and 'popular' culture. While both have to do with ideas and practices that shape the shared meaning in a community they bore an evaluative charge. High culture was marked by classic forms of reproduction of cultural texts while the more distributed form of mass culture in the form popular music and art represented the 'ordinary' class of people (Hall, Introduction, 1997). Popular culture often deemed as low or the inferior kind of culture has been looked down upon for many reasons with questions even being raised on the authenticity of popular music as a cultural text (Englert, 2008). Much like how Dick Hebdige talks about how each 'style' in popular culture like punk, rap and so on must be understood with respect to the social class experiences of its perpetuators (Hebdige, 1979), popular music is not bereft of politics (Englert, 2008) and the neither is the rhetoric of rap bereft of persuasion.

Rhetoric as a tradition is known to engage the audience through a simultaneous appeal to ethos, pathos, and logos, which translates to the moral character, empathy through emotional quotient, and logic respectively. Other than the ethos, pathos and logos classic rhetoric draws its persuasive efficacy from disposito, elocutio and imitation. Disposito involves knowing one's audience to make a decision on the points to be made and the most appealing ordering of the same. The order must be so designed that it adds to the argument the audience needs to be persuaded in. Elocutio which is another necessary rhetoric tool concerns with the linguistic style employed that will best suit the persuasive component of the argument. Imitation is yet another crucial rhetoric tactic which involves a thorough knowledge and understanding of the historicity attached with the audience and the topic of concern. Drawing thus from the past, the rhetorician can learn from the past works of persuasion in the same tradition (Corbett, 1963; Corbett & Connors, 1999). In order to understand rhetoric and how it is used in the cultural context of hip hop, two elements within the art of rhetoric must be given emphasis to. First, the art of using the

artists' personal experiences as an impetus to awaken an "idea" in the audiences' mind and second is the process of invoking a response within one's audiences. Rap lyrics draw heavily from these two elements of cultural rhetoric in order to influence its audience to awaken to a certain idea that it wants to propagate (Champlain, 2008).

Developed in the 1970s in the African American communities as the musical component of the hip hop culture, rapping constitutes the artists using poetry to the rhythm of a particular recorded beat. As a culture, hip hop and all its elements has its historicity connected to the struggles of the marginalised black communities and the rap lyrics have been known to be representative of the oppressions of the racial minorities. Marked by counter-hegemonic rhetoric, rap is known for its persuasive themes and messages. Although, it has been highly critiqued for its violent and misogynist tendencies but that is not the entire essence of the rhetoric of rap music (Tinajeroll , 2009). The rhetoric employed in rap lyrics informs itself on certain basic ideas to add to its persuasive efficacy. First, it has to do with the ideas of "space and place" discussing not just the physical location but the psychological implications as well that act as forces at work to marginalise a particular racial community. These ideas involve and complement the relationship between "rhetoric, space and power structures". The hip hop culture draws from the main theme of creation of substructures of a racial minority to survive under the hegemonic ones. Second, the idea of how rap music within hip hop culture acts an identification and unification factor for a community which has been historicised by alienation and marginalisation and helps them feel communal solidarity. Third, there is an element of "symbolic inducement" in which symbols are injected in the rhetoric to change not just the audience but the way they see themselves and others perceive them. Rap lyrics and the hip hop culture aligned itself to the social conditions of the present and past and helped in giving 'blackness' a new direction. Fourth, an element of social response comes attached to the exigency employed in the rhetoric which incites not only response to the situation but also the history of the situation (Champlain, 2008).

As a voice of the marginalised rap lyrics are known to illustrate modes of persuasion and linguistic arrangement justified by the Aristotelian rhetoric. The persuasive oration of rap has not only proved to effectively instil empowerment within the black community but has also been perceived as a universal rhetoric for protest and rebel music (Harris, 2011). Classified by the intention, Aristotelian rhetoric may take any of the following:

(i) Deliberative: which is seen in political speech wherein the audience is urged to either do or do not take some kind of action,
(ii) Forensic: which paints a courtroom scene where the speech will either defend or attack someone, and
(iii) Epideictic or ceremonial speech.

Such a classification makes it easier for the speaker to know what their audience needs to know and for the audience to know the kind of argument it is being presented with (Aristotle, 2010). In his thesis, Harris studies examples of hip-hop artists belonging to its "Golden Age" 1985–1999 to realise how rap bears the ability to "be deliberate, forensic, as well as epideictic and sometimes all three simultaneously" (2011). Also, another way of assuring effective persuasion through rhetoric is by making sure the orator is perceived by the audience to be having a moral character and that the orator must provide evidence through examples and other enthymemes embedded in the speech itself (Aristotle, 2010). When Harris (2011) conducts his analysis of the successful rap artists, he shows how these tactics of persuasion are deeply rooted in the rhetoric of rap.

A research scholar Sciullo (2014) designed an activity module in the form of a study to urge students to explore the ways by which rap song and their music videos illustrate Aristotle's three proofs. The rhetoric employed in rap is highly informed of the past conditions that gave birth to the popular music, however, the persuasion of rap has now located for itself an international audience (Hebdige, 2004) and what must be studied is the modes of persuasion in the music that yields result even without the context it had been known to thrive in.

Hip Hop and Activism—Relevance in the Indian Context

Rappers claim to be 'artivists' who spit out rhymes that mirror the reality they live in and persuade their audiences to not only witness the politics of the times but also strive for an improvement in the situation (Asante, 2008). There lies in hip hop a potential to empower and grant hope to the disadvantaged youth. It initiated a dialogue about race, oppression, culture and politics of colour into the public discourse and transcended its initial label of "black noise" (Rose, The hip hop wars: what we talk about when we talk about hip hop—and why it matters, 2013). There exist in academics a range of debates on the appraisal of hip hop culture. It has been known to be accused of violent and misogynistic lyrics (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009) which far from participating in any form of activism exhibit an apolitical stand (McWhorter, 2008) while it has also been reprimanded for having fallen victim to the culture industry (Asante, It's bigger than hip hop : the rise of the post-hip-hop generation, 2008). However, what is important here to focus on is not how hip hop as a culture and rap as a form of popular music may be flawed but to understand how in many ways in the past and in the present rap music and its rhetoric has yielded in the initiation of social movements (Rose, The hip hop wars: what we talk about when we talk about hip hop—and why it matters, 2013).

In its early days of development, rap artists were quick t realise how the most sane response to oppression was in the form of opposition and how "...socially cognizant art has the potential to not only inform, but transform our reality by raising awareness and exposing inhumanity wherever it dwells" (Asante, 2008). In the last three decades, hip hop and rap has evolved into global cultural movement and artistic phenomenon impacting youth all over the world. Whether they are black or not for innumerable youth, rap speaks to them in a language which is easy for them to understand and relate to and it serves as a mirrored reflection of the socio-economic, political and cultural terrain of their lives (Alridge & Stewart, 2005). An ethnographic study conducted in Havana from 1988 to 2006 posits the hip hop culture as a crucial rupture among the Afro-diasporic community raising their concerns about social equality (Chang, 2005). From giving voice to the voiceless in South Bronx, rap music, hip hop artists of the present times are critically conscious and have taken up the task t be involved in social activism to mobilize their peers (Clay, 2012).

It is not a surprise to see how hip hop has not only travelled but done its part in 'artivism' in India. A (2015) news article informed the nation of the doings of a Chennai based hip hop artist Sofia Ashraf. Using the same beats as the Nicki Minaj song "Anaconda", Ashraf designed a rap claiming "Kodaikanal won't step down, until you make amends now" raising a strong voice against the corporate company Unilever Hindustan Lever which had been known to be dumping of toxic water and mercury in Kodaikanal's water bodies and Pambar Shola reserved forest. The video went viral and garnered the required attention of the youth of the country (Jeelani, 2016) and soon after that the social campaign against the doings of Unilever followed by activists taking it to twitter by circulating hashtags (Princy, 2016). Going viral on YouTube and raising awareness in the nation through her rap, Ashraf's

music has managed to persuade the company to sign a settlement and pay compensation to the affected workers within nine months of the song hitting the internet (Kaushik, 2016). Another incident took place when two women from Mumbai Uppekha Jain and Pankhuri Awasthi posted a video of them rapping a song centered on the issues of women in India on YouTube, along with a hashtag of #Rap Against Rape and it had 1,18,682 views in about two days (HT Correspondent, 2015). Dismantling the patriarchal objectification of women in their rap lyrics they managed to go viral and persuade their viewers to not only watch their video but also to enter into a dialogue on such sensitive issues (Riotta, 2016).

While these are examples of artists who used rap as a tool to make a point to spread awareness in a one-time/one-shot format, there exist hip hop artists who have been consistent in their work of blending their music and its rhetoric in spreading political awareness. Active for the past six years now, Kashmiri lad Roushan Illahi was 20 when he started his career as MC Kash. He started his rapping journey with the song 'I protest' in which his poetry ran I protest/ Against the things you've done/ I protest/ For a mother who lost her son/ I protest/ I'll throw stones and never run,". He raps about the state of Kashmir and aims to bring to the forefront the struggles of his community and build up a cohesive force in order to instil solidarity in his community. He started off with 2,000 followers on Reverb Nation, a site where he used to post his music (BBC , 2010) and in 2016, has over 46,000 followers listed in his Facebook page alone. Since the inception of his career, MC Kash has made it a point to center his rap on the human rights violations and contemporary political issues of Kashmir and he claims to depict the reality of Kashmir through his music. Being a cult figure, his work has not only awakened a part of the nation to the crisis but also inspired a number of young artists from Kashmir to follow his footsteps. In June, 2016, he released another song titled 'Like a Sufi' which has gone viral over the internet (Saha, 2016).

Having begun with his rap about the civil unrest in Kashmir, Kash continues to rap about the grotesque and grim political conditions of his community in Kashmir and continues to give people the hope as to how battles can be fought beyond streets and through components of affect like music. His work has persuaded other artivists, and not just rappers, but painters like Masood Hussain to paint portraits on the reality of Kashmir, political cartoonists and even poets to begin to feel united in the act of challenging the dominant political power structures in place (Sadiq, 2016). Kash has his own current active website (www.mckashofficial.com) where all his activities are posted and his rap is yet another contemporary example of how the hip hop culture in India has translated his persuasive rhetoric into a form of artivism.

Conclusion

Any form of art has its own modes and inspirations to persuade its audience. While this has stood true for paintings and films it also stands true for music. Persuasion is act of influencing the way the audience feels or thinks about a subject and any form of art is bound to strike a component of affect in the audience to persuade them. Music is no exception. Any form of music comes with its own history. The hip hop culture which resulted in the lyrical outcome of rap music arose from the marginalisation of the black community to give voice to the voiceless. Acting as an unifying code, helping in igniting pride in identity and aiding in forming communal solidarity rap has always been persuasive in nature with its rhetoric coloured with the urge to spread awareness of the hegemonic politics that surrounded the lower class blacks reduced to ghettos in America. Acting as a

mirror to the reality and helping the community to rise up to the situation has always been the historical cultural roots of hip hop.

Hip hop has been labelled for its misogynist content which endorses violence; however there is no denying that rap music has also been known to bear within its community a set of artists who involve their art in activism. In its own unique way, rap music shares a common ground with the protest music of the 1960s in America in terms of the political discourse involved and the usage of persuasive strategies. Much like protest music, rap informs its persuasive efficacy with deliberative and epideictic forms of rhetoric. The rhetoric of rap draws heavily from ethos, pathos and logos to persuade their audience in realising the alarming condition of the issue being talked about. Hip hop in the present day is not limited to the black community but has become an outlet for the youth and grants to them a form of popular culture with the capacity to garner social capital given its persuasive capabilities.

References

Adorno, T., & Horkheimer, M. (1972). The Culture Industry: Enlightenment as Mass Deception. In T. Adorno, & M. Horkheimer, *Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments* (p. 304). Germany.

Alridge, D. P., & Stewart, J. B. (2005). Introduction: hip hop in history: past, present, and future. *The Journal of African American History , 90* (3), 190-195.

Aristotle. (2010). *Rhetoric.* (J. Manis, Ed., & W. R. Roberts, Trans.) Pennsylvania: Electronic Classic Series Publication.

Asante, M. K. (2008). By any medium necessary. In M. K. Asante, *It's bigger than hip hop : the rise of the post-hip-hop generation* (pp. 199-205). New York: St, Martin's Press.

BBC . (2010, December 20). *South Asia: MC Kash raps for Kashmir protest victims.* Retrieved August 22, 2016, from BBC News: http://www.bbc.com/news/world-south-asia-11928968#page

Born, G., & Hesmondhalgh, D. (2000). *Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music.* USA: University of California Press.

Borodkin, L. (2010, September 3). *What is the difference between rap and hip hop?* Retrieved April 20, 2016, from Quora: https://www.quora.com/What-is-the-difference-between-rap-and-hip-hop

Bostrom, R. N., Lane, D. R., & Harrington, N. G. (2002). Music as persuasion: creative mechanisms for enacting academe. *American Communication Journal , 6* (1), 1-10.

Braet, A. C. (1992). Ethos, pathos and logos in Aristotle's Rhetoric: a re-examination. *Argumentation , 6* (3), 307-320.

Castleman, C. (2004). The Politics of Grafūti. In M. A. Neal, & M. Forman (Eds.), *That's the joint! : the hip-hop studies reade.* USA: Taylor & Francis Books, Inc.

Champlain, K. (2008). Hip Hop is Dead: The Rhetoric of Hip Hop. USA.

Chang, J. (2005). *Can't stop won't stop: a history of the hip-hop generation.* Paperback.

Clay, A. (2012). *The hip-hop generation fights back: youth, activism and post-civil rights politics.* Paperback.

Corbett, E. P. (1963). The usefulness of classical rhetoric. *College Composition and Communication , 14* (3), 162-164.

Corbett, E. P., & Connors, R. J. (1999). *Classical Rhetoric for the Modern Student* (Fourth ed.). London: Oxford University Press.

Dainton, M. (2005). Explaining theories of persuasion. In M. Dainton, & E. D. Zelley, *Applying communication theory for professional life: a practical introduction* (pp. 103-131). Thousand Oaks, California, USA: Sage Publications.

Danielsen, A. (2008). The Musicalization of "Reality", Reality Rap and Rap Reality on Public Enemy's Fear of a Black Planet. *European Journal of Cultural Studies , 11* (4), 405-421.

Devos, J. (2006). The evolution of Hip Hop culture.

Dyson, M. E. (2004). The Culture of Hip-Hop. In M. A. Neal, & M. Forman (Eds.), *That's the joint! : the hip-hop studies reader.* USA: Taylor and Farancis Books Inc.

Englert, B. (2008). *Popular music and politics in Africa – some introductory reflections.*

Eyerman, R., & Jamison, A. (1998). *Music and Social Movements: Mobilizing Traditions in the Twentieth Century.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Forman, M. (2004). "Represent": Race,Space,and Place in Rap Music. In M. A. Neal, & M. Forman (Eds.), *That's the joint! : the hip-hop studies reader.* USA: Taylor & Francis Books, Inc.

Frith, S. (1996). Music and identity. In S. Hall, & P. D. Gay (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 108-127). London: Sage.

Frith, S. (1996). *Performing Rites: On the Value of Popular Music.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Frith, S., & Street, J. (1992). Rock against racism and red wedge: from music to politics, from politics to music. In R. Garofalo, *Rockin' the boat: Mass music and mass movements* (pp. 67-80). New York: Southend Press.

Hall, S. (1997). Introduction. In S. Hall (Ed.), *Cultural Representation and Signifying Practices* (pp. 1-12). London: Sage Publications.

Hall, S., & Jefferson, T. (Eds.). (1993). *Resistance through Rituals: Youth subcultures in post-war Britain* (Vol. Second). London and New York: Routledge.

Harris, E. J. (2011). It's tricky is the title: hip-hop as rhetoric. California, USA: UMI.

Hebdige, D. (2004). Rap and Hip-Hop: The New York Connection. In M. A. Neal, & M. Forman (Eds.), *That's the joint! : the hip-hop studies reader.* USA: Taylor & Francis Books, Inc.

Hebdige, D. (1979). *Subculture: the meaning of style.* New York: Methuen & Co.

Holman, M. (2004). Breaking: The History. In M. A. Neal, & M. Forman (Eds.), *That's the joint! : the hip-hop studies reader.* USA: Taylor & Francis Books, Inc.

HT Correspondent. (2015, March 8). *On a song: Mumbai girls' rap against rape gets them praise, flak.* Retrieved April 22, 2016, from Hindustan Times: http://www.hindustantimes.com/india/on-a-song-mumbai-girls-rap-against-rape-gets-them-praise-flak/story-WCf353qvAK8cmZiyaRguPK.html

Jeelani, G. (2016, April 18). *Consumer complaint? Courts aside, social media's the new activism forum .* Retrieved April 22, 2016, from Hindustan Times: http://www.hindustantimes.com/analysis/consumer-complaint-courts-aside-social-media-s-the-new-activism-forum/story-dJTur1wy8Osx9feWa9gW4L.html

Kaushik, T. (2016, March 10). *Never Thought 'Kodaikanal Won't' Video Could Make Unilever Settle: Rapper Sofia Ashraf.* Retrieved April 22, 2016, from The Indian Express: http://www.newindianexpress.com/states/tamil_nadu/Never-Thought-Kodaikanal-Wont-Video-Could-Make-Unilever-Settle-Rapper-Sofia-Ashraf/2016/03/09/article3318386.ece

Kizer, E. J. (1983). Protest song lyrics as rhetoric. *Popular Music and Society , 9* (1), 3-11.

Kohli, A. (2015, August 3). *27-Year-Old Indian Raps Against Unilever, Nicki Minaj Loves It.* Retrieved April 22, 2016, from NDTV: file:///C:/Users/Tina/Desktop/Term%203/Term%203/Subjects/Theories%20of%20Persuasion/Term%20Paper/Indian%20Context/27-Year-Old%20Indian%20Raps%20Against%20Unilever,%20Nicki%20Minaj%20Loves%20It.htm

Krims, A. (2000). *Rap music and the poetics of identity.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Love, B. J. (2006). *Feminists who changed America, 1963-1975.* Illinois: University of Illinois Press.

McWhorter, J. H. (2008). *All about the beat: why hip-hop can't save black America.* London: Gotham Books.

Nærland, T. U. (2014). Rhythm, Rhyme and Reason: hip hop expressivity as political discourse. *Popular Culture , 3* (3), 473-491.

Negus, K. (1997). *Popular Music in Theory: An Introduction.* USA: Wesleyan University Press.

Peddie, I. (Ed.). (2006). *The resisting muse: popular music and social protest.* Farnham, England, UK: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd.

Princy, J. (2016, April 20). *Activists attack Unilever on social media again, with Twitter storm over mercury mess.* Retrieved April 22, 2016, from The News Minute: http://www.thenewsminute.com/article/activists-attack-unilever-social-media-again-twitter-storm-over-mercury-mess-41937

Riotta, C. (2016, April 13). *How These Four Hip-Hop Artists Are Shutting Down Rape Culture Through Their Music.* Retrieved April 22, 2016, from Music.Mic: http://mic.com/articles/140790/how-these-four-hip-hop-artists-are-shutting-down-rape-culture-through-their-music#.NipOYUhNx

Rose, T. (1994). *Black Noise: Rap Music and Black Culture in Contemporary America.* Long Island: Wesleyan University Press.

Rose, T. (2013). *The hip hop wars: what we talk about when we talk about hip hop—and why it matters.* New York: Basic Civitas Books.

Sadiq, R. (2016, August 27). *Kashmir: resistance beyond streets.* Retrieved August 29, 2016, from KashmirDispatch: kashmirdispatch.com/2016/08/27/kashmir-resistance-beyond-streets/145698

Saha, A. (2016, June 26). *Kashmiri rapper who shot to fame during 2010 unrest breaks the internet again.* Retrieved August 20, 2016, from Hindustan Times: http://www.hindustantimes.com/music/kashmiri-rapper-who-shot-to-fame-during-2010-unrest-breaks-the-internet-with-sufi-rap/story-i89BNs2EdlzoRiaLemtbDO.html

Sciullo, N. J. (2014). Using hip-hop music and music videos to teach Aristotle's three proofs. *Communication Teacher , 28* (3), 165-169.

Sellnow, D. D. (1999). Music as persuasion: refuting hegemonic masculinity in "He Thinks He'll Keep Her". *Women's Studies in Communication , 22* (1), 66-84.

Simons, H. W., & Jones, J. (2011). *Persuasion in Society* (Second ed.). (J. Morreale, & B. Gronbeck, Eds.) London: Sage Publications.

Street, J. (2012). *Music and Politics.* Cambridge, USA: Polity.

Street, J., Hague, S., & Savigny, H. (2007). Playing to the Crowd: The Role of Music and Musicians in Political Participation. *The British journal of politics and international relations , 10* (2), 269-285.

TinajeroII , R. J. (2009). Hip hop rhetoric: relandscaping the rhetoric tradition. EL Paso, Texas, USA: UMI.

Weitzer, R., & Kubrin, C. E. (2009). Misogyny in rap music: a content analysis of prevalence and meanings. *Men and Masculinities , 12* (3), 1-28.

Willis, P. E. (1978). *Profane Culture.*

Devpriya Chakravarty is a doctoral student at Mudra Institute of Communication Ahmedabad, India. She works in the area of cultural studies.