The Silenced Sound of Drill

The Digital Disadvantage, Neocapitalist Media, and Hyper-Segregation

Alexandra Farje

ABSTRACT

This dissertation contextualises Chicagoan drill lyrics within hyper-segregation to further understand the effects of the digital disadvantage. Chicago has maintained its status as one of the most segregated, major metropolitan cities in the United States by hindering South Side residents from accessing North Side resources, fostering racist social processes, and shattering its imagined identity. With the recent state ordered public housing demolitions, hyper-segregation has further divided the South Side streets. Alongside Chicago's hyper-segregation came the rise of neo-capitalist social media. This paper argues that the intersection of hyper-segregation and the rise of social media generates a new form of structural violence: the digital disadvantage. It contends that the digital disadvantage bi-sects our mediated worlds: while uplifting privileged users, it encourages hyper-segregated artists, such as "drillers," or native South Side rappers, to exploit stereotypical representations that foster racist ideologies and skew power dynamics within our white washed mediated atmosphere.

Through a Faircloughian Critical Discourse Analysis, this study compares mainstream hip-hop lyrics to drill lyrics to answer the research question: What can drill lyrics disclose about the effects of the digital disadvantage on hyper-segregated artists? And how can drill lyrics add to our understanding of segregated peoples' imaginaries?

This study's conceptual framework incorporates theories of Othering, ghettotainment, mobility, and imagined identities to examine the linguistic features employed by drillers. Through its analyses, it situates these features within larger power struggles that foster a greater feedforward loop that justifies segregation. This dissertation's results illustrate how the digital disadvantage influences drillers' imaginaries in ways that further sequester them within the Black Belt. Furthermore, it invites future research to examine hyper-segregation's effects within our growing capitalist and mediated environment.

INTRODUCTION

> Every Black man that goes into the studio goes in with two people: him, who he really is, and the thug he believes he has to project. It's a prison for us. (Hurt, 2006)

A year ago, I helped my sister settle into her new home located in the North Side of Chicago, Illinois. I quickly learned that many privileged people, as well as some of the wealthiest global companies, call Chicago home. Not so obvious was that Chicago is also home to some of the most hyper-segregated Americans. I learned this shortly after hearing the commonly used term, "Chi-raq," a nickname that alludes to Iraq's war-torn portrayals to describe Chicago's violent and poverty-ridden South Side. My learning of this derogatory term inspired this dissertation as I wondered, *how is this violence so adeptly hidden?*

This story begins with the Great Migration, when millions of Southern Black Americans fled to Northern cities, like Chicago, in search of racial freedom. These Americans were met with racist resistance, marginalised in overcrowded land, and deprived of resources; the Chicagoan local government kept minority populations physically, socially, and psychologically distanced (McMillan, 2020). Segregation's effects continue saturating our screens as capitalist media systems silence structural violence through racist discourses that inadvertently justify segregation (Oliver, 2003).

As I learned more about Chicago, I was particularly intrigued by the tabloid coverage of the 2020 Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests. Through research, I examined how tabloids exploit violent, racist discourses in neo-capitalist pursuit. These findings invited a second question: *Is there a platform on which segregated peoples successfully combat racist discourse?* I learned that segregated peoples began challenging racist discourse through hip-hop. American hip-hop, born within the "ghetto" during the Great Migration, serves as an artistic "inter-collective" global "communication" device for segregated populations (Levey, 2017: 53). For decades, hip-hop has not only entertained international consumers, but also functioned as a political tool to tackle racism and tell a bottom-up story of segregation (Rebollo-Gil & Moras, 2012).

Despite reading plenty of literature on hip-hop's power in challenging racism, I frequently encountered research that condemned hip-hop for its spread of direct violence within audiences (Palmer, 2003; Miranda & Claes, 2004). My investigation reached a crossroads: *If one of hip-hop's functions is to counter racism from the perspective of underprivileged peoples, why were researchers invested in consumers, who are already empowered as they employ racist ideologies that manifest structural violence* (Breeze, 2011)? Moreover, as my research surrounded Chicago, I encountered a contemporary form of hip-hop, globally criticised by political systems and researchers for its spread of direct violence and enhancement of racial ideologies: drill music. Drill is a native South Side rap, born in 2010 and recognised for its "hyperviolent" and "hyperlocal" features (Stuart, 2020: 19).

These findings sparked the questions that shape this dissertation: *What 21st century processes may have influenced drill, whose effects are cast similarly to those of racist, capitalist mainstream media? And, if "most" drillers do "not engage" in the "crime" they rap about, why do they cast themselves in such violent light* (Stuart, 2020: 366)?

This dissertation re-directs attention from audiences to segregated artists, from consumers to producers, to learn about and contextualise drill within the digital disadvantage. The digital disadvantage is a contemporary violence that characterises the "inequalities" created at the intersection of neo-capitalist social media and hyper-segregation (Stuart, 2020: 369). Moreover, this dissertation integrates concepts related to media representations, challenging and building upon past theories. It draws upon the association of fear, race, and segregation, challenges the concept of media democracy, examines how Black males cast imaginaries, and contributes to theories surrounding Black male violence in music (Oliver, 2003; hooks, 2004; Beer, 2014; Helland, 2018). I avoid regarding direct violence in drill as a weapon against consumers. Instead, I aim to challenge past findings by discovering how direct violence in drill is a product of structural violence and discuss how discourse "re-produces" social power dynamics (Fairclough, 2013).

Overall, this dissertation builds on Stuarts' complete participant drill research by initiating further empirical work surrounding the digital disadvantage (Stuart, 2020). I aim to contextualise drill within hyper-segregation and deconstruct social media's "democratic" nature as these media do not operate in cultural vacuums (Gayo-Avello, 2015). I hope that readers will approach social media representations differently, examining and acknowledging the violence perpetrated and masked by media processes. Lastly, I ask consumers to critically question their power and role in mitigating violence from behind their screens.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter demonstrates how neo-capitalist social media and hyper-segregation collide to create a contemporary form of structural violence that affects South Side Chicagoans. It argues that drill gives voice to South Side Chicago and illustrates the digital disadvantage's effects. Firstly, I provide an overview of Chicagoan segregation. Secondly, I discuss how segregation is a form of violence aided by media that further divides Chicago. Thirdly, I argue that American hip-hop is a bottom-up resource for broadening knowledge on structural violence. Fourthly, I discuss my decision to analyse drill lyrics. Fifthly, I highlight how differing relationships to violence power a feedback loop that justifies segregation. Lastly, I provide a conceptual framework and state my research objectives and questions.

Chicago

Racist political, economic, and social enactments dating back to the 1900s continue polarising Chicago, persevering it as "one of the most segregated" metropolitan cities in the United States (Levey, 2017: 8; Williams & Emamdjomeh, 2018). As Black Americans fled the Jim Crow South, marginalising policies such as redlining and zoning practices confined them to only "one-third" of "overcrowded" and "overpriced" property in the "city's corner" known as the South Side or the Black Belt (McMillan, 2020: 656–59; Levey, 2017: 9–10). Today, "Black neighbourhoods correlate with low-income neighbourhoods" (McMillan, 2020: 659;

Swyngedouw, 2013: 294). Moreover, Black residents remain hindered from "employment opportunities" and face "health disparities," "educational disadvantages," and higher "crime rates" (Semuels, 2018; Strait & Adu-Prah, 2018: 25). Chicagoan infrastructure, such as its drawbridges, reinforces containment as it "buttresses" the "ghetto's walls," "sequestering" South Siders (Levey, 2017: 16; McMillan ,2020: 655). Spatial segregation also harbours "social isolation" within Black citizens (Stuart, 2020: 28). Citizens socialise with those who seem alike to themselves due to "internalised social norms" (Swyngedouw, 2013: 310). Moreover, the city recently "demolished" many public housing projects and failed to take security measures, aiding the spread of gang violence across the Black Belt (Levey, 2017: 27–28). As smaller gang networks and "extralocal" ties formed, violence hyper-segregated the South Side, restricting mobility across its streets (Levey, 2017; Stuart, 2020: 374). Hyper-segregation's lasting effects transform the Black Belt into a "prison" laden with poverty, crime, and immobility; South Siders feel they undergo a "death sentence without trial" (Levey, 2017: 13; Wright, 2019: 106).

Violence and Media

Per Galtung's theories, Chicago's hyper-segregation presents a form of structural violence. Before differentiating between structural and direct violence, Galtung defines violence as the disruption between the "actual" and the "potential" (Galtung, 1969: 168–69). Direct violence occurs when "an actor directly destroys a means of realisation" (Galtung, 1969: 169). For instance, direct violence occurs when one fatally wounds someone. Contrastingly, society "builds" structural violence into "structures, institutions, and ideologies;" structural violence materialises as "social injustice," "unequal life chances," and power struggles (Dilts, 2012: 191; Galtung, 1969: 171). Chicago's segregation classifies as structural violence against South Siders, who remain deprived of North Side resources.

White Chicagoan media systems catalyse structural violence against South Siders as they Other Black citizens and fracture the city's identity. Othering is a "judgment process" cultivated by fear and employed by "privileged" populations to "socially exercise" their identity (Pickering, 2001: 47–49; hooks, 2014: 22). Othering utilises "stereotypes" to

dehumanise, "distance," and contain the Other within the "periphery" (Pickering, 2001: 47–48; hooks, 2014: 24). Aided by media systems, individuals utilise "binaries of oppositions" to build their "identities" from perceived "differences" between themselves and the Other: we are, and are a part of, what the Other is not (Pickering, 2001: 49; Orgad, 2014: 70). Chicagoan media reinforce the existence of two imagined communities as they fabricate Othering into "entertaining" stories in neo-capitalist pursuit (Pickering, 2001: 49; Oliver, 2003). Through "myths," "discourses," and stereotypes, white mainstream media "homogenise" and "criminalise" Black men into violent aggressors; for instance, during the 2020 BLM protests, Chicagoan tabloids justified segregation, presenting Black men as outsiders who must remain contained to protect the North Side or the imagined "city" (Amin, 2012: 112; Oliver, 2003: 6; Nardini, 2020; Dukmasova, 2020).

As Oliver highlights, these discourses intertwine fear, race, and segregation and filter through binaries of oppositions to construct identities: if a citizen is Black, he is a fearful South Sider; if a citizen is white, he is an innocent North Sider (Oliver, 2003: 8). Levey analyses how these identities materialise into spatial binaries as Chicagoans perceive their respective locations below and above the Black Belt as the "here" and "there" (Levey, 2017: 31). Privileged audiences "enjoy" perceived "racial differences" as they exercise their race and imagine their rightful pertinence to the North Side (hooks, 2014: 21). Thus, Chicagoan media systems power a greater feedforward loop: Chicago's segregation fosters different cultures. White, neo-capitalist media systems recast these differences as discourses that prompt Othering. Othering fractures Chicago's identity and justifies segregation.

Why Hip-Hop?

Future research must re-direct attention to Black media for holistic understandings of structural violence. This study analyses hip-hop, a music genre born during the Great Migration when minorities endured segregation's initial effects (Rebollo-Gil & Moras, 2012: 119). Hip-hop artists thread themes such as "misogyny" and "violence," but also "empowerment," "identity," and "solidarity" into their "poetic" melodies and lyrics (Travis

Jr. & Deepak, 2011: 206–7; Bradley, 2017: 16–55). Through these themes, hip-hop voices the "microscopic" effects perpetrated by "larger socio-political" systems that hinder segregated peoples (Beer, 2014: 4).

Researchers must also conceptualise hip-hop artists as "urban researchers," whose art unmasks the ghetto's "extralocal realities" hidden amidst segregation's "cultural vacuums" (Beer, 2014: 1–4; hooks, 1994: 1). Through these conceptualisations, researchers amplify ethnographic methodologies to gain "poetic urban literacy," or understandings of segregated communities' "material, sensory, and emotional" features (Beer, 2014: 1–2). For instance, past lyric analyses reveal how segregated peoples construct "imagined communities," the "here and there," and how these translate into self-identities of "outsiders and insiders" (Beer, 2014: 6).

Over time, hip-hop has become a "global repertoire" or an international vessel on which the ghetto's "collective identity" travels, disclosing structural violence's effects (Osumare, 2016: 1–2; Ko, 2019: 18). It is interesting to analyse hip-hop's modern "relevancy" as it has always been a "socio-political power bloc;" hip-hop has served as a "historic" tool for "youth" communities and "politicians" to respectively counter and instil racist agendas (Rebollo-Gil & Moras, 2012: 122; Osumare, 2016: 7). *Thus, one wonders, why discuss hip-hop today? How does analysing hip-hop within our mediated environment disclose something new about segregated peoples? What has changed?*

Drill

This dissertation argues that many of these answers exist within the world of American drill music, a sub-branch of hip-hop. Drill, a hyperlocal Chicagoan rap born in the Black Belt in 2010, "embraces" the South Side's day-to-day realities (Levey, 2017: 4). "Drill" directly translates to "shooting music" and is characterised by "hyperviolent," "hyperlocal" lyrics, beats, and themes such as gang violence, hyper-masculinity, money, sex, and death (Stuart, 2020: 19). This rap "feels and means differently" as it "sets the tone for local ghetto life" and exposes the poverty, "immobility," and anxiety obscured by hyper-segregation (Stuart, 2020:

19). Unlike mainstream hip-hop genres, drill does not incorporate "metaphors" and "punchlines," but offers a more "deadpan" representation of hyperlocal street life (Wakefield, 2019: 3–6). Through drill analyses, researchers permeate cultural vacuums to achieve bottom-up understandings of hyper-segregation, structural violence, and South Side imaginaries.

Moreover, as Levey argues, drill is more than a form of "inter-collective communication" as it also presents a reaction to structural violence (Levey, 2017: 53). Alongside social media's rise, drill has gained traction in the entertainment industry and now functions as a neo-capitalist lifeboat for South Side artists hoping to escape hyper-segregation's whirlpools of immobility (Stuart, 2020). Leveraging the "proliferation of digital platforms," these artists pave unique, neo-capitalist paths to "financial and personal success;" drillers exercise agency as they independently manage their social media presence, compose songs, film music videos, and upload work on global sites, such as SoundCloud, for audiences within the "there" to hear (Stuart, 2020: 14–22).

The Digital Disadvantage: A New Violence

However, this paper argues that drill researchers are too quick to call social media's proliferation democratic. Drill researchers contend that social media has "democratised the creation" and "means of cultural production" (Stuart, 2020: 21–22; Levey, 2017: 53). While these are significant changes, researchers must critically analyse their effects, considering the structural violence that saturates segregated societies. As Gayo-Avello argues, social media remains a "product of communicative and political capitalism," does not privilege all users, and therefore, does not democratise production; access to social media may be easier, but production methods are not equal (Gayo-Avello, 2015: 10–11). Stuart labels these discrepancies the "digital disadvantage" (Stuart, 2020: 30). The digital disadvantage embodies the inequalities and power struggles surrounding media usage motivation, content, reception, and safety perpetuated by hyper-segregation. Privileged users turn to social media for "praise," posting about "internships, graduations, and vacations," while fellow users greet them with approval (Stuart, 2020: 367-9). Contrastingly, South Side artists utilise media "pragmatically,"

searching for mobility, "dignity, and recognition," while oftentimes receiving "challenges, danger," and "smaller praise" (Stuart, 2020: 367-9). The digital disadvantage fractures media democracy, delegating white users more power, agency, and security within our social world.
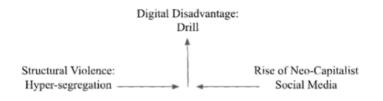

Figure 1. "A visualisation of the digital disadvantage" by the author (Farje, 2021).

In the bi-section of our mediated world, we find the answers to our initial question: what has changed? The intersection of the rise in neo-capitalist social media and hyper-segregation generates a new form of structural violence: the digital disadvantage. These discrepancies force us to rethink "democracy" amidst technological advances; as Stuart highlights, technology is not a "panacea" to structural violence, but instead "reinforces" and "intensifies long-standing inequities" when colliding with segregation (Stuart, 2020: 30). It is important to analyse drill in this context as it exists within the digital disadvantage and unveils how neo-capitalist forces intersect with hyper-segregation to affect segregated peoples. Additionally, drill synthesises contemporary and historic culture; an examination of its content produces relevant results and reveals how our media systems continue disseminating archaic discourses.

Ghettotainment

To succeed within the digital disadvantage, South Side youth must exploit the imaginaries generated by hyper-segregation, those of the Black Other, and recast them as "ghettotainment" (Stuart, 2020: 372). Ghettotainment involves a glamorised "representation of poverty," during which drillers showcase "stereotypes" to "build profitable self-brands;" this concept includes depictions of direct violence such as gunplay, drug deals, probation violations, etc. (Stuart, 2020: 372). Drillers also "react" to the digital disadvantage by employing patriarchal gangsterism (Levey, 2017). Both a form of ghettotainment and "misogyny," patriarchal

8

gangsterism "eroticises violence" to prove superiority and gain reward from "white capitalist patriarchy" (hooks, 1994: 1–5). As "violence sells," drillers leverage "angry and dangerous" stereotypes of Black men, amongst other Othering tactics, to compete with each other, and distinguish themselves from the collective group of aggressors they are perceived to pertain to (Stuart, 2020: 26; Rebollo-Gil & Moras, 2012: 120). Drillers project skewed self-imaginaries and embody the "thugs" they believe are most "profitable" (Hurt, 2006; Stuart, 2020: 377). They perform patriarchal gangsterism through displays of direct violence, such as challenges and the "feminisation" of competitors; these men aim to trade misogyny for fame, hoping to escape segregation's cages: "It's kill or be killed" (Hurt, 2006; hooks, 2004: 2).

Through ghettotainment, white audiences, thirsty for a peek at "gang violence," come into imagined "contact" with the Black Other, step away from imagined white "innocence," and "experience" an "unexplored" "jungle:" the Black Belt (hooks, 2014: 23–24; 1994, 2). As they consume these imaginaries, audiences "eat the Other" and "assert their privilege," easily traveling from "there" to "here," further marginalising Black men into immobile, "entertaining" "fantasy" (hooks, 2014: 36; Pickering, 2001: 49). As Black artists strive for fame and give voice to their communities, their work also uproots society's expectations of them. Furthermore, as drillers employ similar tactics, the genre becomes increasingly "homogenised," paralleling the imagined homogenisation and Othering of its creators (Rebollo-Gil & Moras, 2012: 122). South Side artists must work within the bounds capitalism creates for them; despite the agency it stimulates, drill "remains trapped in a box" (Hurt, 2006).

Lyricism

Past hip-hop research often neglects the contextualisation of drill within the digital disadvantage and focuses on the effects of direct violence in rap on audiences. Thus, there remains a gap surrounding the analyses of drill lyrics within the digital disadvantage and, more specifically, an investigation of how drill lyrics illustrate structural violence's effects on drillers. While lyrics evoke direct violence at first glance, critical analyses of lyrics uncover the digital disadvantage's effects by uprooting subconscious and conscious imaginaries. Although mostly consciously created, some lyrics are "unconsciously selected," often influenced by the

audiences with which they will be communicated (Helland, 2018: 24). Drillers reveal what they perceive audiences in the "there" want to hear; lyrics unveil what drillers believe the audiences' ghetto imaginary is and how they "imagine outsiders" (Beer, 2014: 6). However, as Beer explains, these lyrics blend with portrayals of "reality" to "convince" audiences of their work's "value and authenticity" (Beer, 2014: 3). Lyrics unveil how drillers "imagine" their culture, themselves, and their community, particularly concerning violence; drillers aim to present a "raw, unrehearsed, and homemade" representation of their identities (Beer, 2014: 6; Stuart, 2020: 133). Thus, drill lyrics must be treated as hyperlocal sources that fuse the ghetto's voice with the digital disadvantage's effects, which seep into the deepest, sometimes unconscious levels of the South Side.

The Feedback Loop

Although the ghetto's experience with violence is unique, many violent themes found in lyrics are not. Like Galtung, Ko speaks to how violence exists within our "social systems" as society has inherited a "collective imagination" surrounding "violent masculinity" (Hurt, 2006; Ko, 2019: 14–16). While many men practice violence, Black men "take the heat" due to segregation's effects (hooks, 2004: 1–2). As Black artists speak from the "here," white audiences enjoy but dissociate with violence reinforcing segregation. To understand this process in respect to drill, we must apply Oliver's theories surrounding the association of fear, race, and segregation.

Glassner argues fear is generated in "efforts to protect against it" and not in "danger itself" (Glassner, 1999: 301). Thus, white drill audiences generate fear through Othering. Audiences utilise Othering as a "scapegoat" from their true fear of shared violence with the Black Other and blame him as uniquely fearful and aggressive (Mahiri & Conner, 2003: 121). However, white audiences find drill simultaneously "repugnant and fascinating," as they blame Black men while "enjoying" imagined "racial differences" (Osumare, 2016: 14; hooks, 2014: 21). As drill popularises, the "reproduction" of these processes leads to white "moral disengagement," or detachment from racist guilt (Winter, 2012: 202; Richmond & Wilson, 2008:

351). Per Winter, this reproduction renders structural violence and racist ideologies "invisible" within our social atmosphere (Winter, 2012: 202). White audiences fear, come into fascinating "contact" with, consume, and forget the Black Other, exercising power (hooks, 2014: 23).

Moreover, Black drillers recurrently exploit direct violence within the digital disadvantage while white audiences imagine their "perceived innocence" (hooks, 2014: 23). These coinciding processes filter through binaries of oppositions that justify segregation: if a man is Black, he is naturally aggressive and pertains to the South Side (Oliver, 2003: 8). This Othering, prompted by the digital disadvantage, parallels that of the greater feedforward loop generated by white media: audiences imagine Black violence as natural and reinforce ideologies that justify segregation, render structural violence invisible, empower white systems, and fracture a united identity.

Conclusions

Drill tells a bottom-up story of hyper-segregation. Despite the "liberation" some drillers find through social media, drillers' "odds remain stacked against" them as they compete with each other and endure structural violence; "thousands" of drillers find themselves "in jail, injured, and drawn further" into hyper-segregation due to the digital disadvantage (Stuart, 2020: 36–74). Through drill analyses, we witness how the digital disadvantage seeps into extralocal South Side life as some artists sacrifice their identities, leveraging stereotypes to gain liberation. As drillers search for recognition within "white-dominated media," the digital disadvantage designates white users higher power; white users employ racist ideologies to assess whether Black media is "gangsta" enough to appease their desires thereby reinforcing Chicago's long-standing inequalities (hooks, 1994: 1). Lastly, this study does not condemn social media but urges one to maintain a holistic perspective and consider how structural violence underlies the many processes we are so quick to call democratic.

Conceptual Framework

This conceptual framework surrounds the digital disadvantage and hyper-segregation's effects such as direct violence and immobility. Previous research focuses on the relationship between rap, direct violence, and audiences. I divert from these methods in two ways. Firstly, I contextualise drill within the digital disadvantage; I look at direct violence in lyrics as a reaction to structural violence and neo-capitalism. Secondly, I re-direct focus from audiences to drillers and analyse how their lyrics capture their imaginaries. To accomplish these diversions, this research draws upon three concepts related to the digital disadvantage: ghettotainment and patriarchal gangsterism, mobility, and imagined identities. As these concepts capture how the digital disadvantage influences South Side imaginaries, utilising them as lenses helps measure the gravity of this influence.

Ghettotainment and Patriarchal Gangsterism

This concept helps examine how and to what extent drillers exploit negative stereotypes to compete with each other, achieve fame, and escape hyper-segregation. Past research regards these concepts as unique to Black culture; researchers regard violence as an "outlet" for Black rage and its incorporation in music as integral in the spread of direct violence (Palmer, 2003; Hurt, 2006; Miranda & Claes, 2004). However, these concepts are lenses through which to visualise how direct violence in lyrics is not unique to Black men, or merely an expression of rage, but a product in a greater feedback loop generated by the digital disadvantage.

Mobility

While drillers exercise agency online, they face physical immobility within hyper-segregation. This study aims to identify how immobility also translates to a lack of agency. Levey explains mobility takes multiple forms; while there is physical mobility (i.e. leaving the "here"), rap lyrics also integrate "linguistic mobility," or the incorporation of references and language from outside the "here" (Levey, 2017: 31–32). I combine Levey's framework with Janks' critical discourse work to understand agency as another form of mobility. Through "processes of transitivity," rappers encode their agency in lyrics as "active" (i.e., mobile) or "passive" (i.e.,

immobile or agentless) within the ghetto (Janks, 1997: 355). This concept relates to structural violence as it unveils how drillers imagine their mobility at the crossroads of social media and containment.

Imagined Identities

Beer highlights that lyrics expose how drillers imagine themselves, their communities, the "here," and that of the imagined "outsiders," the "there" (Beer, 2014: 6). However, this study expands this concept to include "extralocal" features that define hyper-segregated communities (Stuart, 2020: 374). In doing so, we gain a deeper understanding of how the digital disadvantage influences drillers' imaginaries surrounding societies beyond the Black Belt, their local communities, extralocal communities, and self-identities.

These concepts co-exist and must be employed simultaneously while analysing lyrics. Moreover, past employment of these concepts reveals a defining aspect in rap: Othering. As discussed, ghettotainment, immobility, and the fracturing of imagined communities Others Black drillers. Overall, I hope this framework provides a foundation for future research surrounding the digital disadvantage.

Research Questions and Objectives

This dissertation aims to explore and stimulate research surrounding the digital disadvantage, a largely neglected violence pertinent to today's mediated social world. My goal is to contextualise drill within hyper-segregation and uncover what drill discloses about the digital disadvantage's influences on hyper-segregated peoples. As such, the primary research questions are:

- *What can drill lyrics disclose about the effects of the digital disadvantage on hyper-segregated artists?*
- *And how can drill lyrics add to our understanding of segregated peoples' imaginaries?*

Moreover, this study aims to discover the extent to which hyper-segregated rappers employ ghettotainment. Black hip-hop artists, unaffected by segregation, still experience structural violence and exploit Black culture for acceptance (Olsen, 2017; McWhorter, 2015). However, these artists do not work within the digital disadvantage as they do not live within hyper-segregation. An aim of this study is to assess how hyper-segregation's *specific* effects, such as immobility, materialise in music when they clash with neo-capitalism. Thus, a sub-question becomes:

- *What linguistic features are specific to drill as a hyperlocal rap genre as compared to mainstream rap?*

To address my questions, I compare the lyrics of a rapper who left the South Side with the lyrics of a driller who worked within the South Side. To assess whether these differences are due to the digital disadvantage, I frame the analysis around the conceptual framework; a higher employment of ghettotainment, immobility, and extralocal linguistic features reveals the digital disadvantage's effects.

I hypothesise that the digital disadvantage affects hyper-segregated artists more than it does mainstream rappers as they do not face spatial containment. I believe these differences will manifest lyrically; drill artists will employ distinct linguistic features related to hyper-segregation, such as representations of immobility and extralocal imagined communities, to a higher degree than the mainstream artists. My broader objective is to instigate further empirical research on the digital disadvantage and assess how it's effects feed into the greater feedforward loop that justifies segregation.

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

This chapter offers a rationale for Faircloughian Critical Discourse Analysis, outlines its sampling and analytical frameworks, discusses limitations and reflexivity, and addresses ethical concerns.

Critical Discourse Analysis

As this study examines lyrics to understand the violence faced by underprivileged Chicagoans, it employs a Faircloughian Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which asserts that "texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by power struggles" (Fairclough, 2013: 93). Critical discourse analysis is an "inter-discursive" "close reading" of a text and a simultaneous examination of its social "context" to uncover the "functions of discourse" (Gill, 2000: 188). Discourse analysts regard "language as constructive of reality," but arrive at these conclusions differently; many discourse methodologies make no "distinction between social practices and language" (Talaat, 2020: 15; Gill, 2000: 172–88; Poole, 2010: 142).

This study employs a Faircloughian CDA for its distinguished recognition of "ideology" as "discursive power" in the relationship between social structures and language; CDA aims to uproot how a discourse's dimensions "exercise" power in the social atmosphere (Fairclough, 2013: 27; Machin & Mayr, 2012: 5). Fairclough defines "texts as oppressive," as ideologies, which operate through discourse, depend on "assumptions" that "legitimise" power struggles; like Galtung, Fairclough contends ideologies "disseminate" structural violence (Ko, 2019: 22; Talaat, 2020: 15). Fairclough, who at times "conflates discourse and language," explains that language "re-produces" power dynamics and thus is constructive of reality (Poole, 2010: 142; Fairclough, 2013: 97). Similarly to Winter, Fairclough argues that this "reproduction" "normalises" power relations; ideologies become "most powerful" when they are "invisible" or "naturalised" through reproduction into "common sense" "practices" (Fairclough, 2013: 26–97; Janks, 1997: 341).

Faircloughian CDA further distinguishes itself as it attempts to "de-naturalise" discursive "strategies that appear neutral" but "could be ideological" from the perspective of "oppressed" groups (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 5; Poole, 2010: 142). Faircloughian CDA researchers critique "knowledge" from a "political" position, examining both what is "said" and "silenced," to offer social injustice "mitigations" (Fairclough, 2013: 7; Gill, 2000: 173; Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 9). Overall, a CDA attempts to uncover meaning from a text's

"linguistic features," uprooting how "social structures operate through discourse" to serve "ideological" purposes (Talaat, 2020: 15; Machin & Mayr, 2012: 5).

Suitability

This study adopts CDA over other methodologies for its applicability to media, its political motivation, and its acknowledgment of socio-economic structures. Talaat highlights that CDA is an appropriate media research methodology as our media systems "largely disseminate ideologies" (Talaat, 2020: 15). Fairclough's approach also parallels this dissertation's objectives surrounding the bottom-up examination of hyper-segregation through drill lyrics; CDA challenges repressive ideology from marginalised people's perspective (Breeze, 2011: 498). Moreover, CDA allows me to "interrogate" "explanations" for violence in drill as past studies overlook the digital disadvantage, failing to provide the contextualisation CDA requires (Gill, 2000: 188–89; Fairclough, 2013: 8). By contextualising lyrics within the digital disadvantage, I uproot ideologies surrounding structural violence that have been naturalised through the reproduction of racist discourse and social processes such as moral disengagement.

Lastly, CDA analyses how "discourses, genres, and styles" interrelate whilst influenced by "social institutions" (Fairclough, 2013: 7). Per Fairclough, CDA examines "language to address its involvement in neo-capitalism" and unveils the "limitations" that neo-capitalist forces induce on "human well-being" (Fairclough, 2013: 1–2). Fairclough further explains that language is "strongly interrelated" with "identity and ideology" (Ko, 2019: 22–23). As mentioned, lyrics are the ghetto's voice or language. Lyrics synthesise ghetto culture and driller imaginaries, which are influenced by ideologies transmitted by discourses surrounding fear, race, and segregation. With the rise of the digital disadvantage, these discourses collide with neo-capitalist forces influencing the "nature" of drillers' identities (Fairclough, 2013: 1). Through a CDA of drill lyrics, we deconstruct this new blend, uprooting "concealed ideologies" and imaginaries so that they become "clear" (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 207). CDA allows this research to begin "mitigating" and de-naturalising social "wrongs," unveiling how drill is constructive of segregation's realities (Fairclough, 2013: 7–8).

Sampling

In selecting songs, I employed purposeful sampling. Future studies should build on this research with larger sample sizes to generate "empirically generalisable" results (Patton, 2014: 401–2). However, through purposeful sampling, this study derives "powerful insights" from a "small" number of "information-rich samples" that produce "in-depth understandings" of the research questions (Patton, 2014: 401–2). Moreover, purposeful sampling allowed for the integration of "comparison-focused sampling," "theoretical construct sampling" and "intensity sampling" to further tailor the selection (Patton, 2014: 422).

I compare drill lyrics to mainstream rap lyrics[1] to identify if differences are products of the digital disadvantage. To select songs, I applied comparison-focused sampling as it identifies "significant similarities and differences between cases and the factors that explain those differences" (Patton, 2014: 418). Specifically, I utilised matched-comparison as it identifies the "differences" between two groups that differ on a specific level such as segregation (Patton, 2014: 424). Through matched-comparison sampling, I searched for 1) a drill artist, who at the time of producing drill, lived within the South Side and was affected by the digital disadvantage and 2) a rap artist, who at the time of producing mainstream rap, had achieved fame, left the South Side, and was unaffected by the digital disadvantage. Moreover, to isolate the effects of the digital disadvantage on drill, I searched for sample's whose variables such as artists' hometowns, race, gender, music release dates, and lyrical themes remained constant, while variables related to the digital disadvantage such as hyper-segregation, fame, and production method varied.

Afterward, through theoretical sampling, I identified songs that "manifest important theoretical constructs" related to my conceptual framework such as imagined communities (Patton, 2014: 437). This layer kept song themes as constant variables and disclosed how artists depict imagined communities differently. I attributed the differences to "factors," such as hyper-segregation, laid out in comparison-sampling. I further narrowed my selection through

---

[1] All lyrics found on: https://genius.com/

intensity sampling to a "small" but rich selection that "manifests" themes "of interest intensely, but not extremely" to rule out "highly unusual cases" (Patton, 2014: 422). As rap songs "rely upon repetition," many songs in the wider selection repeated language "extremely" and did not yield rich data (Bradley, 2017: 91). I selected songs that take an "artful departure from repetition" and integrate relevant theories "intensely" (Bradley, 2017: 91).

Six songs were selected, three drill songs: "Yo Squad," "Dis Ya Song," and "Let's Get Money" and three hip-hop songs: "Homecoming," "Southside," and "Feedback." All drill songs are featured on Chief Keef's first mixtape, "The Glory Road," made in 2011. Chief Keef, a notorious driller, is a native South Sider who began his drill career releasing "The Glory Road" within the digital disadvantage (Stuart, 2020; Levey, 2017). "Dis Ya Song," features two other South Side drillers, Leekeleek and SD. All three hip-hop songs, released within five years of the drill selection, are by Kanye West, a famous Chicagoan rapper who left the South Side after rising to fame in 2004 (Schaller Jr., 2009). In "Southside," West raps alongside Common, another Chicagoan rapper who left the South Side after achieving fame (Schaller Jr., 2009). "Homecoming" features Chris Martin, a white English artist; analytical attention is paid to West's lyrics.

Analytical Framework

This dissertation operationalises Fairclough's three-dimensional approach to analyse the sample. Fairclough's framework acknowledges three "interrelated" dimensions of discourse to acknowledge "individually and intertextually:" textual, discursive, and socio-cultural (Janks, 1997: 329; Talaat, 2020: 16). These dimensions require three methods of analysis to understand the relationship between ideology, discourse, and socio-cultural influences: text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation) (Talaat, 2020: 15; Machin & Mayr, 2012: 5; Janks, 1997: 329).[2]

---

2 Analyses are included in the appendix.

1. **Textual:** This dimension analyses lexicalisation, processes of transitivity, syntax choice, verb tense, the use of active and passive voice, and sentence structure among other descriptive features (Janks, 1997: 335; Talaat, 2020: 16).

   Special focus is placed on transitive processes (i.e. material, verbal, mental, relational, behavioural, or existential processes of action and inaction)[3] as they display an actor's "most powerful conceptions of reality...of what goes on around and inside them" and relate to mobility and agency (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 104; Janks, 1997: 336). Overall, I examine language utilised to describe mobility, agency, lifestyle, imagined identities and communities.

   Figure 2. "Fairclough's dimension of discourse and discourse analysis" (Janks, 1997)

2. **Discursive:** This dimension examines the processes of text "production" and "reception" and the "concealed assumptions, motivations, and objectives" within the text (Janks, 1997: 329; Talaat, 2020: 16). I focus on emotion and tone, specifically regarding violence, anger, power, and intertextuality.

3. **Societal:** This dimension examines the socio-cultural context, dominant representations, and knowledge that "govern all processes" and that are highlighted or silenced by the text (Talaat, 2020; Janks, 1997: 329). This dimension relates all three processes and "situates" the analysis within the broader "theories" (Talaat, 2020; Janks, 1997: 329). Focus is placed on Othering as it relates to ideologies surrounding the digital disadvantage.

---

3 Framework for transitivity processes analysis included in the appendix.

Limitations and Reflexivity

Despite its applicability to this study, CDA is subject to criticism and poses limitations. CDA is mainly criticised for its "unsystematic," "heterogeneous," and "eclectic" approach which "broadens its intellectual base" such that it "lacks sound coherence" (Breeze, 2011: 498–501). CDA's interdisciplinary applicability to a wide range of "social theory" prompts critics to accuse CDA research as motivated "by personal whim" and "un-grounded in scholarly principle" (Breeze, 2011: 498). Critics regard these motivations as "political" biases that affect the selection, interpretation, and explanation of discourse; in other words, CDA research is inherently "subjective" as researchers "find" results they search for by "injecting" their personal biases and "ideologies" "into analyses" (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 208–13; Breeze, 2011: 501; Talaat, 2020: 18).

Critics also argue that CDA overlooks the "social conditions of text production and consumption," disregarding a central factor for critiquing "repressive discourses" (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 211). For instance, critics highlight that CDA ignores "text producers' intentions" and dilutes the power text production maintains in fostering oppression (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 211). Moreover, critics contend that CDA "fails" to adequately "integrate audience and context into its analysis" (Breeze, 2011: 494). For example, critics assert that CDA researchers neglect the interrelationship between cognition and social conditions, overlooking how "the human mind works when engaged in socio-political action" (Machin & Mayr, 2012: 212). These insufficient accounts are said to "privilege particular meanings of texts" as they implicate certain social conditions and result in "naive assumptions" about the relationship between "discourse" and "social systems" (Breeze, 2011: 494; Machin & Mayr, 2012: 210).

However, CDA researchers establish that CDA's "interdisciplinary" and eclectic nature is a "strength" rather than a weakness (Talaat, 2020: 19; Breeze, 2011: 502). They argue CDA should not be constricted to a "particular interpretive school," but should remain inclusive of "theories or constructs gleaned from different" scholars (Breeze, 2011: 502). These theories are "tools" for "analysts" in "any situation" to create a "theoretical conceptual synthesis" (Breeze,

2011: 501–2). These aspects cast CDA as an "alternative orientation to language study" and "not just another approach to language study"(Breeze, 2011: 501–2).

Moreover, this dissertation aims to reverse the power dynamics surrounding text production and consumption. Many studies focus on how violence in rap affects "audiences" who exercise agency through consumption (Breeze, 2011). However, this study analyses underprivileged artists' texts to surface repressive ideologies, discourses, and social systems. It takes careful consideration of the text producer's intentions and builds its frameworks on established research surrounding the South Side's social conditions. Through its contextualisation and analyses of transitive processes, it also mitigates critiques surrounding the absence of socially influenced cognitive analyses in CDA.

Lastly, CDA prompts researchers to acknowledge their inevitable "bias" and embrace it as a "strength" and "focus" (Patton, 2014: 401). As such, Fairclough urges researchers to "self-reflect" upon their position (Wodak & Meyer, 2001: 9). Throughout the study, I acknowledge my estrangement from segregation's realities as I am an educated, economically stable, white female. However, per Fairclough, my "positioning within other institutions and orders of discourse provides" me the "resources" to politically "resist" structural violence (Fairclough, 2013: 27). I divert from pre-existing assumptions and after engaging with courses, readings, films, and more, I attempt to offer an alternative, mostly unexplored perspective. My position drives my dissertation, allowing me to explore neglected discourses surrounding drill and violence. Despite my education, I must reinstate that I will never fully understand segregation. However, I dedicate this study to resistance in hopes of voicing the silenced effects of segregation from the bottom up.

Ethics

This study underwent a three-layered procedure to ensure ethical soundness. Firstly, a research permission form was submitted and approved for meeting LSE's ethical requirements. Secondly, I ensured that all analysed lyrics remained public throughout the study and securely stored data. Thirdly, the well-being of misrepresented populations was

prioritised; this research focused on adequately contextualising South Side drillers' stories within the digital disadvantage to acknowledge the violence they endure.

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents the findings of the CDA to answer the research questions. Overall, the results support the hypothesis: the drill lyrics demonstrate the digital disadvantage's effects to a higher degree than the mainstream rap lyrics. The CDA reached these conclusions by unveiling the differences in drillers' and mainstream rappers' portrayals of three recurring themes: Imagined Agency and Mobility, The Imagined Self, and The Imagined Community. The following sections begin with a summary of the key findings and unexpected results in relation to the themes and the digital disadvantage. To examine the themes' various components, each section is divided into subsections. Each subsection includes quotes from both genres that most accurately capture a theme's portrayals throughout the entire sample. Quote analyses are offered to present how results were produced; the analyses 1) illustrate how the chosen quotes depict rich examples of the themes 2) discuss how linguistic features function within the sample, intertextually, and how they relate to larger discourses that foster segregation and 3) examine interesting results, relate back to the research questions, and discuss future research.

Agency and Mobility

The first recurring result is the distinction in imagined mobility by genre. The mainstream rappers display higher agency in their growth, their futures, and as producers within audience dynamics. The drillers exhibit higher immobility, relying on external factors to dictate their future. Moreover, the mainstream rappers portray imaginaries that challenge racist ideologies, while the driller's lend privileged audiences agency. As structural violence's effects saturate media, the differences in agency imaginaries are afforded to the digital disadvantage (Stuart, 2020: 4–14). These differences are further attributed to the digital disadvantage, specifically to hyper-segregation, as secondary variables, such as race, are held constant.

Imaginaries of mobility depicted through self-growth and time were unexpected results. Although Janks' transitive processes and Levey's discussion of mobility and spatial binaries aided my examination of agency, future research could improve upon this design by expanding conceptual frameworks to identify further portrayals of imagined mobility and agency. Lastly, I discuss this result first as its themes influence results within The Imagined Self and The Imagined Community. Below are the example quotes utilised in subsections 4.1.1. and 4.1.2.

> I'm the sun that goes down, but I'm still revolving/ while still, you're crawling/ If rap was Harlem, I'd be James Baldwin/...your career is a typo; mine was written like a haiku/ I write to do the rights things, like Spike do. (Common, Southside)

> I'm back from the future, seen it with my own eyes/ And, yep! I'm still the future of the Chi. (West, Southside)

> ---

> Wic City Lamron front street we outside and /that's all I know now I'm back to getting dough/ and I gotta get on right after this song/...need money get a loan/...man what I never had, still tryn' get a bag/...the game ain't the same, but I'm me/ I gotta make it. (Keef, Dis Ya Song)

> ...so I put it on God to get a few stars/...I gotta see a mil/ If I get killed it's a drill/...need that money swear to God/ Chief Keef play his cards. (Keef, Yo Squad)

> Been pushin' since the stroller/...been in it since a youngin'/...Hope God give me that blessing. (Keef, SD, & Leekeleek, Let's Get Money)

Agency and Power

Common and West assert agency as they steer audience power dynamics and challenge racist ideologies. Common addresses his agency through linguistic mobility and material transitive

processes. His mention of James Baldwin and Spike Lee, globally renowned, artistic, race activists, illustrates his intellectual command within the entertainment industry; Common insinuates that he not only "writes" and directs his life, but also influences international audiences. He portrays imagined agency within audience dynamics that typically hinder Black male power as a text producer. His ability to rouse specific audience emotions, similarly to that of "haikus" or poetry, challenges audiences' Othering processes such as moral and emotional "disengagement" (hooks, 2004; Richmond & Wilson, 2008). Moreover, he employs hip-hop as a "socio-political power bloc" in generating just racial discourse (Osumare, 2016: 7). He dismounts ideologies of "homogenised" Black men as he discloses that his Black identity distinguishes him as a leader, such as Baldwin; thus, the "workings" of Common's cognition when "engaged in socio-political action" come to light (Oliver, 2003; Machin & Mayr, 2012: 212). Like Common, West depicts his imagined agency as he challenges discourses of homogenisation. He distinguishes himself as the imagined "future" or face of Chicago; his portrayal contrasts discourses that justify segregation through the exclusion of South Siders, such as those that cast the North Side as the imagined "city" of Chicago (Nardini, 2020; Dukmasova, 2020). He enhances these power reversals through existential and mental transitive processes as he "sees" he is "*still*" the future of Chicago. He conveys to the audience that his agency is both a present and future existential and psychological truth.

Addressing the primary research question and sub-question, a result specific to drill and related to the digital disadvantage is an imagined lack of agency inextricably linked to spatial segregation. Through mental transitive processes, Keef's lyrics uproot how physical immobility translates to mental immobility. Keef discusses the intellectual limitations hyper-segregation fosters as he admits the extralocal streets are "all he knows." Unlike Common's expression of linguistic mobility, Keef's language implicates discourses of the Other too estranged in the "here" to maintain intellectual "commonalities," and who must, therefore, remain "marginalised" (Levey, 2017; Orgad, 2014: 115). His imagined immobility illustrates the association of spatial segregation and social isolation discussed by Stuart and Swyngedouw (Stuart, 2020; Swyngedouw, 2013).

Perhaps the most interesting feature within this result is the form in which Keef's sentence structure unveils the synthesis of physical immobility and powerlessness. In "Dis Ya Song," the immediate "need" for money becomes a product of intellectual immobility, and thus of hyper-segregation. Moreover, the desperate urgency in his repetitive word choices, "now," "gotta," "right after," and "need," unveils his greater dependence on others for "loans," or resources, and on "God" for a "blessing." Keef's rhyme, "stars" and "cards," emphasises the luck that he threads into his imagined future. He further strips his agency as he describes himself in the third person, illustrating a lack of imagined presence within his body, as though watching a "player" in a larger game. His imaginaries reinforce ideologies of Black male homogenisation and illustrate hyper-segregation's effects as he depicts himself as one of many players, reliant on luck for differentiation. While West and Common "write" their future, Keef discloses how external forces decide his. His depictions illustrate drillers' dependency within the entertainment industry, as they rely on hope and privileged audiences for recognition within "white-dominated media" to escape segregation (hooks, 1994: 1).

The Changing Self

The mainstream rappers also illustrate agency through depictions of time and self-growth. In the example, Common's transition from passive, "written," to active voice, "I write," asserts imagined active agency. His use of passive voice illustrates his life as though previously externally controlled. He immediately fractures this ambiguity through his transition to present tense and active voice, "*I* write," stating authorship over his life: his future is ultimately in his hands as a producer. Through a material transitive process, he not only reinstates his active dominant position as "the sun," or the centre star around which others revolve, but also evokes agency over time itself. Moreover, he also depicts his mobility through imagined self-growth. He is "revolving," unhindered by time, growing alongside it. West similarly enhances his agency through mobility as he not only asserts control over his present and future life, but also evokes command over time itself: "back from the future." Like Common, he remains unhindered by time or human restraints as he employs linguistic

command over his time-traversing self-portrayals, informing the audience of his present and future identity.

Contrastingly, the drillers imagine immobility through stunted self-growth. An intertextual analysis illustrates how the drillers and mainstream rappers employ similar linguistic choices to unveil distinctions in imagined self-growth. Common explains he is "still revolving," or growing, while others are "still crawling," or stunted in their growth. Meanwhile, Keef and SD acknowledge the revolving world, "the game ain't the same," but remain the same "selves" as when they were "young," embodying the stunted growth Common references. Moreover, Keef's use of "star" also makes for an intriguing intertextual analysis; while Common imagines himself with agency as the centre star, Keef pleads to the stars for luck. The drillers are not in command of time; their lack of growth and agency are products of time and dependency. These discourses reinforce spatial oppositional binaries and the imagined distinctions between the "here" and "there;" while there is imagined growth opportunity in the "there," the "here" only hinders one's mobility (Orgad, 2014; Levey, 2017).

Keef further enhances his hindered self-growth through depictions of time. While West's exploration of the present and future reassures his agency, Keefs' reinstates his immobility. Through a relational transitive process, he discloses a nostalgia for "what he never had" in "Dis Ya Song;" his past emptiness defines his present "state of being" and "conception of reality" (Janks,1997: 335–6). In "Yo Squad," Keef linguistically travels to the future through material and existential processes, "if I get killed it's a drill." Through passive voice and material processes, Keef lends an external being control, shattering his future agency: he "gets" killed. Moreover, he utilises an existential transitive process, one constructive of reality, to imagine his future death, "it's a drill," and illustrates his imagined permanence within gang violence, a product of hyper-segregation. In his conceptualised past and future, he is immobilised within hyper-segregation; Keef imagines his future as a "trial-less death sentence," one of the forgotten Other (Wright, 2019: 106; hooks, 2014: 23).

Addressing the primary research question, this result discloses that hyper-segregation may affect segregated peoples' present and future imaginaries: that of current agency and self-growth. Moreover, Keef's lyrics disclose the higher power white audiences maintain within an un-democratic mediated atmosphere. These results align with the digital disadvantage's effects as drillers' "motivations, reception, and safety" depend on audiences (Stuart, 2020: 367–9). Drillers imagine their dependency and immobility within the "Glory Road," a narrow road that presents outcomes similar to that of the extralocal Black Belt streets.

The Imagined Self

The second recurring result is the distinction in the imagined self by genre. The mainstream rappers imagine themselves as influential leaders and challenge negative stereotypical portrayals while representing their identities. The mainstream rappers also display a wide emotional range, exposing their vulnerabilities, and internally digesting deeper thoughts. In agreement with the hypothesis, drill rappers leverage ghettotainment to a higher degree while representing their imagined identities. These representations allow for the dehumanisation and Othering of Black men by audiences to justify segregation. Moreover, the drillers display a narrow emotional range and cast their emotions towards other beings. Overall, drillers' identity portrayals illustrate the digital disadvantage's effects as they employ Othering tactics to differentiate themselves and gain audience attention. However, these tactics ultimately reinforce the ideologies that foster segregation.

Identity

> Seem like the more fame, I only got wilder/...Fashion show in Gotham, I need another costume/ ...I made a jacket/… Rich slave in the fabric store picking cotton/... hold up the cops shot at us/ Hold on.../ I'm the ghetto Oprah/...you get a fur!/...Big booty bitch for you! (Feedback, West)

> ---

Big guns on us. (Keef, Yo Squad)

We them creatures in the force/ F*ck 'em to the max/…Talkin' at his body…./ It's
money over b*tches that the dollar I speak. (Keef & SD, Let's Get Money)

West depicts his imagined identity as one of an influential leader, like "Oprah." His
employment of an existential transitive process depicts his imagined leadership as an objective
truth. West also incorporates strife within his identity in his reference to Oprah, a successful
Black television host who endured many hardships. He enhances these imaginaries, alluding
to his renowned clothing line, as he depicts himself as a "rich slave picking cotton." He unveils
how his wealth and identity as a Black leader are inextricably tied to on-going struggle as he
utilises present tense both in his reference to slavery and Oprah. Although he exercises societal
influence as he "makes" and "picks" clothing for his company, he remains a "slave" to
hardship.

In a more interesting vein, West challenges audience power dynamics as he reveals an
awareness of how audiences may imagine his identity. West incorporates Othering through
animalistic discourse as he explains he "only got wilder" (hooks, 2004). However, his
employment of these representations condemns audiences for their racist perception of his
identity; he breaks the fourth wall, insinuating that it "seems" this way to audiences. Through
the song progression, he offers a reason for his "seemingly wilder" identity as he describes his
increasingly objectified self-image within media. He exclaims he "needs" to constantly shift
"costumes," or display false identities, to put on a "show" for audiences. He exposes
discourses of patriarchal gangsterism and the recasting of the Black Other into "entertaining
stories" for audience "consumption" (hooks, 2014: 36; Pickering, 2001: 49). His use of "need"
makes for an intriguing intertextual analysis as it parallels Keef's imagined dependency; West
acknowledges that his imagined identity as an entertainer is not entirely independent, but
reliant on audience consumption. Moreover, his word choice in "Gotham" illustrates how he
imagines the entertainment world as a fictional dimension laden with criminality or
dangerous power dynamics. Within this context, the meaning of "rich slave" adopts a double

meaning: despite his success, he acknowledges that audiences objectify his identity as an entertainment piece: he imagines himself as a slave working for privileged viewers due to his racial association with the Black Other.

He continues condemning racist practices through sentence structure as he interrupts his discussion of police brutality, "hold up." In his interruption, he mocks how media "silence" racial discourses, such as those of Black male struggle, preferring to showcase them as fascinating displays of the Other (hooks, 2014, 36; Pickering, 2001: 49; Fairclough, 2013). Similarly to his use of "rich slave," West proceeds to identify himself as the "*ghetto* Oprah;" his language insinuates how audiences blend "ghettotainment" or "wilderness" into his Black identity despite his successes. He enhances these ideas as he finishes, mockingly selling ghettotainment, "Big booty bitch for you!" His word choice makes for a rich intertextual analysis as drillers employ identical phrases within the sample, leveraging ghettotainment within the digital disadvantage. His mock of audiences' desire for ghettotainment is a result, briefly discussed in section 2.9, that requires further research: although West no longer lives in the ghetto, he acknowledges that audiences expect him to exploit ghetto culture due to his race. West entangles his imagined identity with the one he believes audiences maintain of him. This fusion unveils how West's fame is an integral pillar in his imagined identity; he regards himself as an influential artist, while also unveiling his knowledge of the racist ideologies utilised against him as a Black man. Through linguistic tactics, he blends awareness into his imagined identity, lyrically challenging racist discourse as he condemns audiences and media, voicing their racist ideologies and twisting power dynamics.

Contrastingly, the drillers interweave ghettotainment into their imagined identities throughout the sample. Through sentence structure, Keef objectifies himself and imagines violence as innate to his identity. His language integrates discourses of the "fearful" and "naturally aggressive" Black Other (Oliver, 2003: 8). Describing his gang, he begins with "big guns" and finishes with "on us," as if the guns wear the gang. In his sentence structure, Keef dehumanises his identity, as if he were an object functioning for violence. He continues, objectifying his language; patriarchal gangsterism and money become natural communication:

"money over b*tches, that's the dollar that I speak." As discussed, wealth throughout the drill sample depicts dependency fostered by hyper-segregation; the objectification of his communication is prompted by structural violence. Keef and SD continue, "eroticising violence" as they state, "f*ck them to the max." The blend of sexuality and violence further integrates discourses of the "natural aggressor;" violence becomes sexual instinct or nature (Oliver, 2003). Thus, the drillers illustrate an example of Oliver's theories surrounding the association of fear, race, and segregation as segregation ultimately shapes their imagined identities (Oliver, 2003).

Furthermore, Keef integrates discourses of homogenisation as he states, "we them creatures in the force." He repeatedly integrates his gang within his imagined identity, fracturing an independent identity, and revealing his imagined entrenchment within hyperlocal gang life. Keef then dehumanises the homogenised gang as "creatures" employing patriarchal gangsterism as he portrays a fearful identity. His word choice, "in the force," reinstates his natural aggression; he illustrates a "jungle," laden with animals at war (hooks, 1994: 2). Keef applies the same dehumanised identity, Othering his competitor, explaining he "talks" to a mere "body," and referring to the women in his community as "b*tches." His imagined identity parallels that of the dehumanised Others.' All identities are subhuman and characterised by patriarchal gangsterism; Keef can communicate with an object as he imagines his own objectification. Although he utilises patriarchal gangsterism to distinguish himself, he employs Othering discourses that further homogenise him. Addressing the primary research question, Keef's imagined identities illustrate how Black male homogenisation, fostered by hyper-segregation, parallels the homogenisation of driller self-identities and the identities of those around them. Unlike West, Keef recurrently presents one imagined identity: that of the aggressive Other, an identity that "repulses" and "fascinates" audiences (Osumare, 2016: 14).

Emotions

> I met this girl when I was three years old/ And what I loved most, she had so much
> soul/...But if you ever really cared for her/ Then you wouldn't have never hit the
> airport to follow your dreams. (West, Homecoming)

> Know when to use a bible and when to use a rifle. (Common, Feedback)

> ---

> N*iggas better duck/ ...Don't f*ck around and get f*cked/...Man up f*ckboy/ hope
> you learn to duck quick. (Keef & SD, Let's Get Money)

> And he can get hit with a pump in the yard/ Or he can get jumped in the yard. (Keef,
> Yo Squad)

A significant result within identity imaginaries is the distinction in portrayed emotional breadth by genre. The mainstream rappers express distinct emotions including love, guilt, insanity, and confidence. An interesting find is West's ability to challenge racist ideology as he exposes his vulnerability and failure alongside love. In the example, West shatters the notion of the Black Other's natural tendency toward aggression by threading many emotions into his imagined identity. He humanises his identity which, as discussed, is Othered by audiences due to his race. Moreover, West fractures the notion of the Other, too distanced to maintain "human commonalities" and whose "experience is too alien to understand;" he builds "common humanity" between his imagined identity and that of the audiences' as he incorporates relatable emotions (Orgad, 2014: 115; Lorde, 2021: 3). This common humanity begins to hinder racist processes like moral disengagement and the employment of binaries of oppositions as it facilitates an "interconnection" between strangers, who are represented "like us," and to "whom we are committed morally" (Orgad, 2014: 115). Thus, West disbars audiences' employment of Othering as a "scapegoat" from acknowledging similarities with the Other and begins to interrupt the feedforward loop that justifies segregation (Mahiri &

Conner, 2003: 121). Moreover, West displays emotional intelligence as he internally digests his emotions, speaking to himself. He integrates regret and sorrow as he rethinks his past actions, "you wouldn't have never hit the airport." Although his emotions are negative, they remain internal processes.

In support of the hypothesis, the drillers mainly express rage and weaponise their anger against others. As discussed in the conceptual framework, the drillers' rage within the sample is a product of the digital disadvantage. Harkening back to hooks' theories, rage is a form of patriarchal gangsterism; drillers attempt to showcase enough anger for distinction and praise from "white capitalist patriarchy" (hooks, 1994: 1–5; hooks, 2004). These theories are represented through the drillers' use of present or future tense; they imagine emotion, or rage, as a means to move forward, gain reward, and escape segregation. They illustrate competition as their rage is mostly directed externally at another being, "man up f*ckboy." Keef further facilitates ideologies of the Other's innate aggression as his thought processes only lead to violent outcomes, "he can get hit with a pump in the yard/ Or he can get jumped in the yard." His thought processes make for a rich intertextual comparison with Commons,' "know when to use a bible and when to use a rifle." Common remains in control of his emotions, thinking through different emotional outcomes, beginning with a peaceful option. While Keef casts his natural instinct as violent, West and Common interweave different emotions and emotional outcomes into their imagined identities. These emotional "differences" "translate into Otherness" and help justify segregation as audiences dissociate with violence (Pickering, 2001: 49; Mahiri & Conner, 2003).

Addressing the primary research question, the analysis illustrates how the digital disadvantage's effects prompt drillers to repeatedly project violent identities, or the "thugs" they believe are most "profitable" (Hurt, 2006; Stuart, 2020: 377). Addressing the sub-question, the weaponisation of rage is an intriguing result specific to drill. Future research should explore the methods in which hyper-segregated people's process their emotions and how these processes may be defined by structural violence. Lastly, it is interesting to note how

West's lyrics reveal that race, aside from segregation, plays a frontline role in skewed audience dynamics.

Imagined Communities

The last result discussed is the distinction in imagined communities by genre. In support of the hypothesis, drillers reveal their status within the digital disadvantage, referencing extralocal areas while describing their imagined community. The mainstream artists do not include hyperlocal references and cast the South Side as a distant community. An unexpected find within this theme was the distinction in imaginaries of distant communities; the drillers imagine their pertinence to other communities, while the mainstream rappers cast a dissociation with the South Side. Future studies should explore this result, further researching imagined communities and analysing how structural violence affects the imaginaries of artists who have escaped segregation. Lastly, while mostly casting distinct imaginaries throughout the sample, the drillers and mainstream artists share a common imaginary of police as outsiders.

South Side and Imagined Communities

> The broads, the cars, the half-moons, the stars/... We coming from the Southside. (Common, Southside)

> I met this girl[4] when I was three years old/ ... I told her in my heart is where she'll always be/... last winter she got so cold on me/... you left your kids, and they just like you/ They wanna rap...like you/...But they not you/...that's why I'm here and I can't come back home. (West, Homecoming)

> ---

---

[4] Personification of Chicago

> On the block, Chi Town, South Side/ Wic City Lamron front street/...And you know
> how it be got my bros ride with me.../I'm tryna get home. (Keef, Dis Ya Song)

> I gotta dream to live in Miami/ With a night club and my mansion. (Leekeleek, Let's
> Get Money)

The mainstream rappers illustrate their estrangement from hyper-segregation and imagine the South Side as a distant community to which they no longer pertain. Across all samples, the rappers reveal how hyper-segregation does not shape their South Side imaginaries. They reference Chicago as "Chi-town" or the "Southside," excluding references to the extralocal streets and neighbourhoods in which they lived. Moreover, they depict an imagined physical disconnection between themselves and Chicago; as seen in the example, the artists only imagine the South Side through mental processes, "the broads, the cars, the half-moons, the stars," and in the past tense, "I met this girl."

West enhances his dissociation from Chicago through Othering. He begins to dissociate from Chicago, establishing an interpersonal relationship with the city; he does not imagine Chicago as a community, but personifies it as a childhood friend, "this girl." He continues through his mental journey, integrating linguistic features, such as cyclical themes, similar to those utilised to represent his imagined self-growth. Through binaries of oppositions, West imagines himself as mobile and Chicago as immobile. He imagines himself "leaving," while depicting Chicago as "cold" and "in his heart," as though she is frozen or dead. He "distances" himself, Othering Chicago as a past phase he no longer pertains to; he now pertains to the "here" (Pickering, 2001: 48). He enhances this imagined distance as he distinguishes himself from the South Siders or "them" through his natural talent. He explains the Chicagoans are "just like him" and "wanna rap like him" but "they not you." As Pickering states, imagined communities "depend on the differences that are translated into Otherness" (Pickering, 2001: 49). Even while physically in the city, he imagines the impossibility of "coming home" and pertaining to Chicago as its citizens lack commonality; they are immobile, naturally different "strangers" (Orgad, 2014: 115). Although his repetitive use of "home" insinuates his love and past regard

of Chicago as home, he is not, and cannot be a part of, what the Other is due to imagined differences; he must stay "here" and cannot go "back".

West's Othering is thought-provoking as it counters his usual challenge of racist ideology. He integrates discourses of the homogenised Other, associating all of "them," or the South Siders, with immobility and natural difference. His lyrics also illustrate the digital disadvantage's effects, depicting South Siders as hindered in their pertinence to an Othered community. This result reveals how Black artists working outside of the digital disadvantage may contribute to the structural violence endured by those within hyper-segregation and should further researched.

In agreement with the hypothesis, the drillers reveal how hyper-segregation defines their imagined community. Moreover, the driller's contrast West's imagined distance, imagining belonging and brotherhood. In the example, after listing the various extralocal streets that define his "home," Keef states, "and you know how it be got my bros ride with me." The combination of his matter-of-fact tone and relational transitive process projects brotherhood as an integral component of his imagined community. Contrasting West's imagined self-mobility, Keef illustrates how his imagined physical mobility throughout the South Side integrates his "bros" or gang. Through material transitive processes, he explains his "bros ride with" him. Unlike the mental processes employed by the mainstream rappers, Keef's South Side imaginaries are active; his imagined home defines his present state.

The drillers' imaginaries also diverge from that of the mainstream rappers' as they associate with other imagined communities. Like the mainstream rappers, Leekeleek utilises mental processes to imagine other communities: he "dreams" of "living in Miami." Unlike West, Leekeleek imagines freedom and agency as he regards an outside community as home. He associates a unhinged freedom, "night club," with agency, "*my* mansion." Through his ownership, he imagines belonging. Moreover, his choice of "mansion" threads wealth and space into his imaginary. His imagined belonging frees him of the dependency and stunted self-growth that he associates with hyper-segregation. Lastly, Leekeleek remains open to

pertaining to another community as his imaginaries are presented in the future, contrasting Wests' use of past tense, and illustrates Stuart's notions of drillers' "hope of escaping their desperate conditions" (Stuart, 2020: 20).

Addressing the primary research question, the drill sample illustrates the digital disadvantage's effects as drillers imagine distant communities as home in hopes of achieving freedom and agency. Although in different ways, both the mainstream and drill artists express a desire to distance themselves from segregation; West dissociates from his past home, while Leekeleek dreams of escaping it. However, within the sample, the mainstream artists did not depict their present imagined home. These results invite further questions for future research; *How do mainstream artists, who have achieved mobility, depict their present homes and how do these depictions differ from those dreamt of by hyper-segregated peoples?*

Common Outsiders

> Hands up, we just doing what the cops taught us/... then the cops shot at us. (Feedback, West)
>
> ---
>
> Got my mans looking out just in case the po' coming. (Keef, Yo Squad)

As discussed, drillers mostly imagine other gang members as competitors within their imagined community. Nevertheless, the drillers and mainstream rappers share an imaginary of police as outsiders. West creates a division between police and the Black community to which he imagines his belonging, "us." Moreover, through a material transitive process, he integrates discourses of police brutality, imagining the cops maintaining higher power as they perform direct violence against Black men: the cops "shot at" us (Rebollo-Gil & Moras, 2012: 121). Keef integrates the same discourses as he threads caution into actions, "just in case." His use of "got my mans" makes for an interesting intertextual comparison with his past use of "bros" and West's use of "us." Keef imagines his brotherhood and belonging, "bros" and

"mans," as intertwined with the South Side, while West imagines his belonging solely defined by race. Despite their common association of police as outsiders, Keef's imaginaries are influenced by both his race and hyper-segregation. Addressing the primary research question, this finding reveals how hyper-segregation affects a variety of segregated peoples' imaginaries, even the imaginaries shared by victims of structural violence who live outside of segregation.

CONCLUSION

> It is much easier to attack gangsta rap than to confront the culture that produces that
> need. (hooks, 1994)

This study critically compares drill and mainstream lyrics to deconstruct media democracy, contextualise drill, and reveal the digital disadvantage's effects upon segregated artists by regarding drill as a hyperlocal source. This research studies media representations and racist discourses to understand how they interrelate and foster a greater feedforward loop that justifies segregation.

Through a Faircloughian Critical Discourse Analysis, this dissertation argues that drillers' linguistic features and imaginaries differ from those of mainstream rappers' as they are influenced by the digital disadvantage. This study's results are consistent with past literature and support the argument; drillers demonstrate the digital disadvantage's effects in their imaginaries. Hyper-segregation, the key distinguishing feature between drillers and the mainstream rappers, prompted drillers to: imagine limited mobility and agency; employ higher rates of ghettotainment in casting their imagined self-identities; and illustrate their entrenchment within hyperlocal areas in representing their imagined community. As supported by the literature, these imaginaries blend "fear, race, and segregation" and filter through binaries of oppositions to construct distinct identities and justify segregation (Oliver, 2003: 8).

In my analyses, the aim is not to criticise rap or condemn neo-capitalist media. Instead, I hope to "de-naturalise" the "silenced" and "invisible" power struggles that filter through discourse and appear in social spaces, influencing hyper-segregated peoples and drawing them further into marginalisation (Fairclough, 2013: 26–97; Janks, 1997: 341). Moreover, I wish to instigate further research surrounding the digital disadvantage. As lyrics blend "conscious" and "unconscious" imaginaries, future research should dissect these blends to understand how the digital disadvantage affects both imaginaries. Furthermore, through globalisation, drill music has travelled to international cities, such as London, adopting distinct features from each city (Ilan, 2020). Through cross-border analyses, future research can compare how the digital disadvantage affects international drillers differently due to their geographical location. Moreover, the digital disadvantage is not limited to drill music and characterises all neo-capitalist social media; future research should look at other mediated art forms to uproot how hyper-segregation intersects with globally based social media. Lastly, as explained by hooks, misogyny, a form of patriarchal gangsterism, is an underexplored practice apparent in drill and rap (hooks, 1994; hooks, 2004). Future studies should further investigate the use of misogyny and violence against women in hip-hop and perform comparisons of depictions of women in mainstream rap and drill.

Finally, this study addresses the "rise" of social media, as it seems we have new forms of social networking every day. However, we cannot call these systems democratic if we do not address the violence that characterises them for fear of obstructing entertainment (hooks, 1994). Although hip-hop is a growing political "power bloc," the responsibility of mitigating social wrongs should not fall on oppressed peoples; as argued by Fairclough, it is those "positioned within other orders of discourse" that are responsible for instigating change (Osumare, 2016: 7; Fairclough, 2013: 27). As privileged users, we must acknowledge our roles in perpetuating unequal power dynamics and take a political stance in favour of those oppressed to dismantle the undemocratic nature of the heightening digital disadvantage. Circling back, the term "Chi-raq" makes more sense as it alludes to an American capitalist invasion upon a distanced land

laden with power struggle, so easily ignored by consumers, and so often silenced by our entertaining media systems.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I dedicate this story to the victims of violence. May your truths be unsilenced.

REFERENCES

Amin, A. (2012) *Land of Strangers*, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Beer, D. (2014) Hip-Hop as Urban and Regional Research: Encountering an Insider's Ethnography of City Life., *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38(2): 677–85.

Bradley, A. (2017) *Book of Rhymes: The Poetics of Hip Hop*, New York, NY: Basic Civitas.

Breeze, R. (2011) Critical Discourse Analysis and Its Critics, *Pragmatics* 21(4): 493–525.

Dilts, A. (2012) Revisiting Johan Galtung's Concept of Structural Violence, *New Political Science* 34(2): 191–94.

Dukmasova, M. (2020) Lightfoot Turns City's Infrastructure into Weapons against Protesters. *Chicago Reader*, 18 November: https://www.chicagoreader.com/chicago/lightfoot-bridges-protest/Content?oid=84346254 [14 January, 2022].

Fairclough, N. (2013) *Critical Discourse Analysis*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Galtung, J. (1969) Violence, Peace, and Peace Research, *Journal of Peace Research* 6(3): 167–91.

Gayo-Avello, D. (2015) Social Media, Democracy, and Democratization, *IEEE MultiMedia* 22(2): 10–16.

Gill, R. (2000) Discourse Analysis, pp. 172–90 in M.W. Bauer and G. Gaskell (eds.) *Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound: A Practical Handbook for Social Research*, London: SAGE.

Glassner, B. (1999) The Construction of Fear, *Qualitative Sociology* 22(4): 301–9.

Helland, K. I. (2018) Mona AKA Sad Girl: A Multilingual Multimodal Critical Discourse Analysis of Music Videos of a Japanese Chicana Rap Artist, *Discourse, Context & Media* 23(18): 25-40.

hooks, b. (1994) Sexism and Misogyny: Who Takes the Rap?, *Z Magazine* 7(2): 26–29.

hooks, b. (2004) *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity*, New York, NY: Routledge.

hooks, b. (2014) *Black Looks: Race and Representation*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Hurt, B. (2006) HIP HOP Beyond Beats and Rhymes, URL: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8RE22yV3IGU [14 January, 2022].

Ilan, J. (2020) Digital Street Culture Decoded: Why Criminalizing Drill Music is Street Illiterate and Counterproductive, *The British Journal of Criminology* 60(4): 994–1013.

Janks, H. (1997) Critical Discourse Analysis as a Research Tool, *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education* 18(3): 329–42.

Ko, W.S.B. (2019) The Asian American Voice: A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Approach to Rap Lyrics, paper presented at the 7th Conference on Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis Across Disciplines (CADAAD-2018), Aalborg, Denmark, 4-6/18.

Levey, B. (2017) Music of a Place: Chicago Drill Rap, *Northwestern University*.

Lorde, A. (2021) Age, Race, Class, and Sex: Women Redefining Difference, pp. 191-98 in J. Arthur and A. Shapiro (eds.) *Campus Wars*, New York, NY: Routledge.

Machin, D. and Mayr, A. (2012) *How to Do Critical Discourse Analysis: A Multimodal Introduction*, London: SAGE.

Mahiri, J. and Conner, E. (2003) Black Youth Violence Has a Bad Rap, *Journal of Social Issues* 59(1): 121–40.

McMillan, B. (2020) Richard Wright and the Black Metropolis: From the Great Migration to the Urban Planning Novel, *American Literature* 92(4): 653–80.

McWhorter, J. H. (2015) How Hip-Hop Holds Blacks Back. *City Journal*, 2003: https://www.city-journal.org/html/how-hip-hop-holds-blacks-back-12442.html [14 January, 2022].

Miranda, D. and Claes, C. (2004) Rap Music Genres and Deviant Behaviours in French-Canadian Adolescents., *Journal of Youth and Adolescence* 33(2): 113–22.

Nardini, D. (2020) The Dangerous Possible Reaction. *Chicago Hispanic Newspaper,* 13 August: http://www.lawndalenews.com/2020/08/the-dangerous-possible-reaction/ [14 January, 2022].

Oliver, M. B. (2003) African American Men as 'Criminal and Dangerous:' Implications of Media Portrayals of Crime on the 'Criminalization' of African American Men, *Journal of African American Studies* 7(2): 3–18.

Olsen, M. (2017) Hanging From the Poplar Tree: Kanye West and Racism in Internet Folklore, *All Graduate Plan B and Other Reports* 970.

Orgad, S. (2014) *Media Representation and the Global Imagination*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Osumare, H. (2016) *The Africanist Aesthetic in Global Hip-Hop: Power Moves*. New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan.

Palmer, A. (2003) Violent Song Lyrics May Lead to Violent Behavior, *Monitor on Psychology* 34(7): 25.

Patton, M. Q. (2014) *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods: Integrating Theory and Practice*, Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Pickering, M. (2001) *Stereotyping: The Politics of Representation*. New York, NY: Palgrave.

Poole, B. (2010) Commitment and Criticality: Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis Evaluated, *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20(2): 137–55.

Rebollo-Gil, G. and Moras, A. (2012) Black Women and Black Men in Hip Hop Music: Misogyny, Violence and the Negotiation of (White-Owned) Space, *The Journal of Popular Culture* 45(1): 118–32.

Richmond, J. and Wilson, C. J. (2008) Are Graphic Media Violence, Aggression and Moral Disengagement Related?, *Psychiatry, Psychology and Law* 15(2): 350–57.

Schaller Jr., R. C. (2009) *Kanye West: A Biography*, Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO.

Semuels, A. (2018) Chicago's Awful Divide. *The Atlantic*, 28 March, https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2018/03/chicago-segregation-poverty/556649/ [14 January, 2022].

Strait, J. B. and Adu-Prah, S. (2018) Neighborhood Dynamics of Race and Ethnicity in the 21st Century: Residential Segregation and Poverty Concentration within Chicago, Illinois; 2000-2010, *European Scientific Journal (Kocani)* 14(SE): 24–47.

Stuart, F. (2020) *Ballad of the Bullet*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Swyngedouw, E. (2013) The Segregation of Social Interactions in the Red Line L-Train in Chicago, *Symbolic Interaction* 36(3): 293–313.

Talaat, N. (2020) Won't Somebody Please Think of the Children?, *Media@LSE MSc Dissertation Series.*

Travis Jr., R and Deepak, A. (2011) Empowerment in Context: Lessons from Hip-Hop Culture for Social Work Practice, *Journal of Ethnic amd Cultural Diversity in Social Work* 20(3): 203–22.

Wakefield, J. (2019) What Is Drill Music, Which Rappers Perform It and Where Did It Come From?, *The Sun*, 6 October: https://www.thesun.co.uk/tvandshowbiz/6922406/drill-music-rappers-where-from/ [14 January, 2022].

Williams, A. and Emamdjomeh, A. (2018) America is More Diverse than Ever but Still Segregated. *The Washington Post,* 10 May: https://www.washingtonpost.com/graphics/2018/national/segregation-us-cities/ [14 January, 2022].

Winter, Y. 2012. Violence and Visibility, *New Political Science* 34(2): 195–202.

Wodak, R. and Meyer, M. (eds.) (2001) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis*, London: SAGE.

Wright, J. K. (2019) How Great: Reflections on Kanye's Best Prodigy, Chance the Rapper, *Journal of Hip Hop Studies* 6(1): 16.

APPENDICES

Appendix C: The System of Transitivity (Janks, 1997). Framework utilised to analyse processes of transitivity.

_____*Types of doing* **Material processes: actor + goal**
Doing—e.g. Parents sometimes hit children. (active voice)
        doing to—e.g. Small babies should not be hit. (passive voice)
Creating—e.g. The investigator does not have to make inferences.

_____*Saying* **Verbal processes: sayer + what is said + (receiver)**
        e.g. One of the workers suggested that I try some shebeen brew.

_____*Sensing* **Mental processes: Senser + phenomenon**
Feeling—e.g. I like that one. The children feel angry.
Thinking—think, know, understand, interpret etc.
Perceiving—saw, noticed, stared at etc.

_____*Types of being* **Relational processes**
Being—x **is** y—e.g. Child abuse is terrible (or a terrible thing).
Having—x **has** y—e.g. This child has a dog.

Types of behaving—**Behavioural processes**
Physiological—breathe, dream, sleep.
Psychological—smile, laugh.

_____*Things that exist or happen* **Existential processes**
        e.g.. The world is round. There was a man at the door.

Figure 3. The system of transitivity in the clause: summary of types with examples.

Appendix D: Sample Texts.

Legend (handwritten):
- O → textual
- — → Discursive
- — → societal
- — → key words/ significant phrases
- — → transitive processes (significant ones)

Dis Ya Song by Chief Keef

[Intro]
→ path to escape
Glory Road, DJ Kenn, Chief Keef. We do this shit man, y'all knew this shit, new to this shit

bitch L's, L's, L's, L's!   [material] — mental] sentence structure places agency on Keef

Degrading, like in all Drill songs → objectification of women

[Hook: Chief Keef]
imagined community
We in the hood everybody got it bad   lack of mobility   * relational / Relational process
→ Perserverance / dedication
Man what I never had, still tryn' get a bag → $$ * relational / material process
→ existential, dreaming   lack of agency
Chi Town; We all about that cash   * Relational process
→ identity becomes $$

We got a lot of swag, servin' bitches they be bad   * Relational / material / Relational
common other-worldly theme   → gender divide w/in the hood   * Relational / material process
I'm outer space, this one got me gone
→ Bigger than boundaries → mobility   material mental
Put ya hands in the air if you know that this ya song, yeah   * Relational / Relational process
↓ Demand   ↓ demand   → asking for
I'm outer space, this one got me gone   acknowledgement   * Relational / material process
& demand
Put ya hands in the air if you know that this ya song   * material / mental process

& effective. doesn't work
when paired w/ extra-local ima-   speaking to Southside
[Verse 1: Chief Keef]   ginaries

Got some bitches my swag on full   * material Relational
→ again women degraded to slang / cure words
Shawty think that I'm cool but I ask Ima' do   * mental / verbal / material

On the block Chi Town South side   in comparison to   * material
→ Kanye / Common →
Wic City Lamron front street we outside and   specific - extra
locality
emphasized
That's all I know now I'm back to getting dough   * mental / material
→ name chicago streets
And I gotta get on right after this song   → Rhyme connects   ↓ interesting   * Relational / material
ideas   use of
word -
immobility: all he knows is   exposed,
his roots/ his community - & references   vulnerability → bravery but
to others/outsiders like common/kanye   also could mean outsiders

Othering: separating / distinenising imagined community

disolving his imagined community

The Silenced Sound of Drill

Alexandra Farje

Need money get a loan put your hands in the sky

Ain't never feelin' down I'm Chief Keef I be high

Now I'm finna batter up and hit it out the park

And the crowd goes nuts when I hit it out the park

Ain't no finish when you start straight down to go to war

For whoever ain't know this is how the story goes like

[Hook: Chief Keef]

We in the hood everybody got it bad

Man what I never had, still tryn' get a bag

Chi Town; We all about that cash

We got a lot of swag, servin' bitches they be bad

I'm outer space, this one got me gone

Put ya hands in the air if you know that this ya song, yeah

I'm outer space, this one got me gone

Put ya hands in the air if you know that this ya song

[Verse 2: Chief Keef]

I'm dedicated watch me and take a seat

And you know how it be got my bros ride with me

When all the shits don't get along

And you got the picture late, too bad, now its gone

Handwritten annotations surround the text throughout the page.

Key (handwritten):
- O → textual
- — → discursive
- ▬ (blue) → societal
- ▬ (yellow) → key words / significant phrases
- ▬ (pink) → Transitive processes (significant ones)

Homecoming by Kanye West ft. Chris Martin

[Intro: Kanye West]

Yeah

And you say Chi city!

Chi city! Chi city!

(annotation) → imagined <u>home</u>; interesting to compare to "home" in "Dis ya song" → kid starts no needs a home

[Chorus: Chris Martin & *Kanye West*]

(left margin) again → ability to move back and forth; agency

I'm comin' home again *(annotation)* → theme of cyclicality seen again like in "South side"

Do you think about me now and then? *(Yeah)* *(mental; you)*

(annotation) → personification: chicago as a person worthy of his thoughts; admiration

Do you think about me now and then?
(annotation) ↳ distinct to keep "no ___ home"

(annotation) ↳ Repeats: re-thinking effect; intensity of emotion

'Cause I'm comin' home again *(Ow!)* *(material)*

(annotation) agency, control → imagined home

-Min' home again

[Verse 1: Kanye West]

existential

I met this girl when I was three years old *(annotation)* → Remembering past

Longful tone ↳

And what I loved most, she had so much soul *(Behavioural / existential)*

(annotation) → Chicago as soulful → Imagined community → kanye remembers chicago as soulful community of competition

verbal

She said, "Excuse me little homie, I know you don't know me *(mental)*

imagined partner to community

(annotation) idea that the relationship grew

But my name is Windy and I like to blow trees." *(mental / material)* → slang for weed / illegality

material

And from that point, I never blow her off

(annotation) ↳ loyalty → play on words; metaphorical

Niggas come from out of town, I like to show her off *(material)*

(annotation) ↳ imagined strangers / outsiders; sense of competition BUT w/ those outside of chicago

They like to act tough she like to toe 'em off *(material)*

(annotation) Gathering: feeding into "Black aggressor" narrative

And make 'em straighten up their hat 'cause she know they soft *(material / mental)*

(annotation) → intelligent / more knowledgeable

(annotation) → hyper-segregation

(left margin) Idea of "story" again

(bottom annotations)
gang affiliation
title hats
→ demanding respect

chicago as a place that is tougher

Alexandra Farje

Then you wouldn't've never hit the airport to follow your dreams

(annotations: makerwill, existential, material, material)
→ tone: guilt, regret: white Keef has no choice for kanye its a decision

Sometimes I still talk to her *(verbal)*

But when I talk to her, it always seems like she talkin' 'bout me *(verbal / choice / Agency / verbal)*
→ imagined pertinence title — south side

She said, "You left your kids, and they just like you *(verbal / material)*
guilt

They wanna rap and make soul beats just like you *(mental / guilt / material / guilt)*
→ play on words w/ beginn's "soul" city — imagined identity full of emotions unlike Keef ⇒ ∅ emotion but anger in "dis ya song"

But they just not you, and I just got through *(Relational / Relational material)*
weight on his shoulders but kanye acknowledges immbility

Talkin' 'bout what niggas tryin' to do: just not new *(verbal / material)*
→ almost accidental → homogenization of Black men: cherry picked myings to gain lmething → discourse

Now everybody got the game figured out all wrong *(Relational / material)*

I guess you never know what you got 'til it's gone *(mental / ↓separating himself / lost something → compound → realizes his)*

I guess that's why I'm here and I can't come back home *(↑ unsure; regretful / → permanent distance & mobility)*

And guess when I heard that? When I was back home *(↑ Realization; ∅ dominant awakening / mental / verbal / literary reference)*
→ ∅ a part of it

Every interview, I'm representin' you, makin' you proud *(material)*
you vs US → he is separated from Chicago → new identity

Reach for the stars, so if you fall, you land on a cloud *(material / material / material)*
→ other worlds / ∅ • killed is be killed there are other solutions ⇒ ∅ limited → ∅ immbole

Jump in the crowd, spark your lighters, wave 'em around *(material / material / material)*
agency to crowds

If you don't know by now, I'm talkin' 'bout Chi-Town *(mental / verbal)*

[Chorus: Chris Martin]

I'm comin' home again

Do you think about me now and then?

Do you think about me now and then?

'Cause I'm comin' home again

-Min' home again

(right side note): ✱ kanye presents 2 identities of who he was + who he is now ⇒ ⊕ a disconnect whereas Keef presents only 1 identity = thug. b/c ∅ other options - his glory is a need

(left margin): dixonnection afterno / Destiny theme → Sentence structure shows that ↓ be made it happen → "not new" / ↘ he was?

Media@LSE MSc Dissertations Series

The Media@LSE MSc Dissertations Series presents high quality MSc Dissertations which received a mark of 75% and above (Distinction).

Selected dissertations are published electronically as PDF files, subject to review and approval by the Editors.