

Hip-Hop through the Lens of Madison Print Media

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¹ This project was begun by the fall 2017 Community and Environmental Sociology Capstone class at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, and completed by Mari Verbeten, Aiyana Groh, and Jennifer Holland in the spring of 2018. Randy Stoecker was the professor and managed the project.

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Do local media perpetuate the stereotype of Hip-Hop as a violent genre in Madison?. This paper explores how the Madison media has portrayed Hip-Hop in recent years. At the request of local non-profit Urban Community Arts Network (UCAN), undergraduate students from University of Wisconsin's Department of Community and Environmental Sociology analyzed newspaper articles in an attempt to understand local media portrayals of Hip-Hop.

History of Hip-Hop

The four core elements of Hip-Hop are rapping/MC'ing, DJing, break-dancing, and graffiti. Hip-Hop music emerged in 1973 from the South Bronx in New York City, an area with a large population of Black and Brown people and a high poverty rate of. Clive Campbell, a Jamaican DJ also known as DJ Kool Herc, is one of the founders of Hip-Hop. He organized parties, announced and played music, and was the first to repeat the instrumental breaks in songs for the benefit of the dancers. . In the 1970s, block parties became popular in New York City, and DJs played songs using two turntables to extend the instrumental breaks. The first commercially successful Hip-Hop song is considered to be "Rapper's Delight" by The Sugarhill Gang in 1979. In 1983, the second wave of Hip-Hop, called new school Hip-Hop, emerged, and Hip-Hop became a genre that spread to other countries.² This "Golden Age of Hip-Hop", from the mid-1980s to the mid-1990s, was, a period of innovation and quality. Many see 1994 as the greatest year in Hip-Hop, as there was such a diversity of sound, quality, and creativity. One controversial part of Hip-Hop's overall diversity is "gangsta rap", which expresses, often in harsh terms, the often violent and dangerous realities experienced by Black people in inner-cities.³ Hip-Hop music and culture continue to evolve and grow in popularity, but the media focus on gangsta rap has overshadowed overshadow the many other styles in the genre. There is inherent value to freedom of expression as an artist, apparent in the Hip-Hop community. It is critical as a community for all artists to have a place to feel they are comfortable while ensuring there is not bias. Exposure to all art forms and diverse music genres helps community members grow as individuals while enriching their experiences by attempting to understand others' experiences. Madison has struggled with providing welcoming spaces for Hip-Hop artists. There are concerns that venues discriminate unfairly against the genre. This discrimination becomes all the more important as the population of Madison becomes more diverse. A movement has been growing in Madison to diversify nightlife so all members of the community feel

² Chang, Jeff. 2005. *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip-Hop Generation*. Picador. "BMXE – The History of Hip - Hop Music." Genius . N.p., n.d. Web. 03 Dec. 2017. <<https://genius.com/Bmxe-the-history-of-hip-hop-music-annotated>>.

³ Adaso, Henry. "What Is the Golden Age of Hip-Hop?" ThoughtCo. N.p., 6 Mar. 2017. Web. 03 Dec. 2017. <<https://www.thoughtco.com/what-is-the-golden-age-of-hip-hop-2857347>>.

they have a space where they are welcomed and are free to express themselves, resulting in a city task force on entertainment equity.⁴

Urban Community Arts Network

The Urban Community Arts Network, or UCAN, is local non-profit in Madison that aims to strengthen and unify youth and adults through urban arts, with an emphasis on Hip-Hop. UCAN works to foster creativity and collaboration through organizing live music events and encouraging a diverse local Hip-Hop scene while sustaining safe performance opportunities and highlighting the importance of lyrical artistic freedom. UCAN continues to build their relationship with City officials, the Madison Police Department, and venue owners throughout Madison to aid in creating a flourishing Hip-Hop community. Because of myths about Hip-Hop as a particularly violent genre of music, the development of the genre and its artists have been severely limited and the community has been robbed of the experience of a rich and diverse art form. UCAN continues to work towards encouraging the diversity of Hip-Hop in Madison with equal opportunity for all artists.⁵ The organization formed in response to consistent exclusion of Hip-Hop in nightlife, festivals, etc. Additionally, several venues in Madison have banned Hip-Hop artist performances over the years. One example was on Valentine's Day night in 2009 when the police were called to the scene when two women had an altercation after a Hip-Hop performance. After this incident, the Brink Lounge said they would not book Hip-Hop performances indefinitely, attempting to use Hip-Hop as the cause for the altercation.⁶ Though there is no real evidence that Hip-Hop performances produce more violent behavior than other genres⁷, this stereotype has become common opinion within Madison. After the Brink incident, Top of the Map Entertainment, which included rapper Dexter "Tefman" Patterson and Shah Evans, called a meeting to determine what the Hip-Hop community could do to dispel stereotypes, obtain equal opportunities on stages, and avoid a culturally offensive ban on the entire genre of Hip-Hop in Madison. This meeting consisted of about 30 people including artists, journalists, and promoters, including Karen Reece, a local Hip-Hop fan, now president of UCAN. At this meeting, the group decided that an annual Madison Hip-Hop award show would begin to celebrate the local Hip-Hop scene. UCAN was created to facilitate the Madison Hip-Hop awards and to build other opportunities for Hip-Hop artists in Madison.

The UCAN Partnership with UW-Madison

⁴ Becker, Abigail. February 16, 2017. Task force would address equity in Madison's music scene. The Cap Times. https://host.madison.com/ct/news/local/govt-and-politics/task-force-would-address-equity-in-madison-s-music-scene/article_6218dae8-a085-5fed-8c4c-f5dcb5d0be0a.html

⁵ "Our Mission." Urban Community Arts Network, 2014. <http://ucanmadison.blogspot.com/p/mission-statement.html>.

⁶ Knutsen, Kristian. "Fight Witnesses Condemn Madison Police as Brink Lounge Stops Booking Hip-Hop." Isthmus, 17 Feb. 2009.

⁷ Fearing, Autumn, Taylor Rae Konkle, Jacqueline Laitsch, Hannah Pierce, Claire Rater, Karen Reece, Randy Stoecker, and Theodora Varelis. 2018. "Is Hip-Hop Violent? Analyzing the Relationship Between Live Music Performances and Violence." *Journal of Black Studies*, 49(3) 235–255.

UCAN's relationship with the University of Wisconsin's Department of Community and Environmental Sociology came to fruition through Randy Stoecker's involvement with Karen Reece in Justified Anger, a coalition in Madison that works to empower the Black community while establishing a plan to address harmful racial disparities in social and economic outcomes. Karen suggested to Randy that UCAN would be a valuable partner for research ideas that Randy and his students could help with.

The focus of this research is a follow-up to an analysis done in 2016-2017 by students in the Department of Community and Environmental Sociology at the request of UCAN. At that time, UCAN wanted to study whether Hip-Hop's reputation for violence was accurate. A fall 2016 capstone class analyzed police calls over an eight-year period for all live music events in Madison, WI. Analyses of the data collected failed to support the notion that live Hip-Hop shows draw more violence than other genres of music, including country, rock, EDM, etc.⁸ This was the first time UCAN had hard data to support what the Hip-Hop community has always known: there is no more reason to limit live Hip-Hop performances in relation to public safety than for most other music genres.

After completing this study, Randy and UCAN wanted to further their partnership to continue supporting UCAN's work for entertainment equity in Madison. They discussed a variety of research topics. UCAN had been noticing that there was a pattern of published articles in local newspapers that portrayed Hip-Hop in negative and violent stereotypical terms. Consequently, the group decided that a study of news stories was the most important research to tackle next. This led to our community based research project--to understand how media portrays Hip-Hop in Madison. News media continues to have an influence on its consumers and may have become a tool for misinformation, especially concerning Hip-Hop. At the same time, UCAN has formed valuable alliances with local and independent publications in the city. Thus, there is a need for further research to find out how news media actually portrays Hip-Hop.

Some Background on Print Media

Newspapers have long been a part of our daily life, and play a pivotal role in informing the public. The earliest versions of newspapers were in Ancient Rome, where important information was carved in stone tablets. Since then, innovations including the invention of the printing press, print media has gone through dramatic changes. The perceived widespread bias of journalists and news producers within the mass media referred to as "media bias" has been a part of media since the invention of the printing press. Journalists started to consider unbiased reporting an important part of journalistic ethics in the 19th century.⁹

Media Bias

⁸ Fearing, Autumn, Taylor Rae Konkle, Jacqueline Laitsch, Hannah Pierce, Claire Rater, Karen Reece, Randy Stoecker, and Theodora Varelis. 2018. "Is Hip-Hop Violent? Analyzing the Relationship Between Live Music Performances and Violence." *Journal of Black Studies*, 49(3) 235–255.

⁹ "History of the Printed Newspaper." PsPrint. N.p., n.d. Web. 03 Dec. 2017.
<<https://www.psprint.com/resources/newspaper-history/>>.

One can argue that the media is biased against Hip-Hop culture, and media bias against music is certainly not a new phenomenon. For example, during the 1950s, parents thought that rock and roll music was a bad influence on their children and might cause juvenile delinquency because it used sexual references, and even tried to get radio stations to ban this genre. Older adults referred to rock and roll as “Satan’s music”. And not only is the media often biased against certain cultures and music, but also against certain races and ethnic groups.¹⁰ Media injustice can lead to the criminalization and erasure of marginalized communities. This has been going on for centuries, since the time that newspapers printed lost-and-found advertisements for slaves that had run away. Studies have looked into racial bias in other systems like health care and law enforcement, but media bias, especially against Black people, affects how society perceives that community.¹¹ Such bias can be made worse when, according to a 2016 survey, minority journalists make up only 17% of newsroom employees.¹² An example of blatant racial bias in the media is found in the headlines and stories about crime. White criminals are often portrayed in ways that mitigate their character and crimes,. In contrast, newspapers are typically less sympathetic and even dismissive of Black victims, and sometimes make efforts to assassinate their character.¹³

In Madison, Wisconsin, venue owners generally seem to view Hip-Hop as a violent genre. Along with censoring touchtunes players and posting racialized dress codes, they quickly ban Hip-Hop shows after violence that is common to other music genres but doesn’t result in similar bans. Recall the discussion above about a fight at a Valentine’s Day party at the Brink Lounge in 2009, after which the venue stopped booking Hip-Hop shows. Similarly, the Frequency stopped booking Hip-Hop acts after a fight outside the club in 2013.¹⁴ Other local establishments have dress codes that seem inherently racially biased. An implicit bias towards the Black community and Hip-Hop in Madison seems to exist, and and may be exacerbated by the print media.

Print Media in Madison, Wisconsin

Madison, Wisconsin currently has one daily print edition city-wide newspaper, the Wisconsin State Journal. The other print newspaper, the Madison Cap Times (also known as the Capital Times) switched from a daily print format to an Internet format, with a weekly print edition focused on the arts called 77 Square. The Isthmus is the other weekly print edition paper,. In addition, there are two

¹⁰ Wing, Nick. "When The Media Treats White Suspects And Killers Better Than Black Victims." The Huffington Post. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 14 Aug. 2014. Web. 03 Dec. 2017. <https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/14/media-black-victims_n_5673291.html>.

¹¹ Wing, Nick. "When The Media Treats White Suspects And Killers Better Than Black Victims." The Huffington Post. TheHuffingtonPost.com, 14 Aug. 2014. Web. 03 Dec. 2017. <https://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/08/14/media-black-victims_n_5673291.html>.

¹² "2016 Survey." ASNE. N.p., n.d. Web. 03 Dec. 2017. <<http://asne.org/diversity-survey-2016>>.

¹³ Johnson, Adam H. Mar 30, 2017. How the Media Smears Black Victims. Los Angeles Times. <http://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-johnson-black-victim-20170330-story.html>

¹⁴ Downing, Andy. "The Frequency Pulls the Plug on Hip-Hop after Gun Incident." Madison.com. N.p., 31 Jan. 2013. <http://host.madison.com/ct/entertainment/music/the-frequency-pulls-the-plug-on-Hip-Hop-after-gun/article_93839fc8-6b13-11e2-8328-0019bb2963f4.html>.

University of Wisconsin-Madison newspapers, The Daily Cardinal and the Badger Herald. The general print newspaper readership has decreased rapidly over the last few years, with revenue of newspapers dropping from “60 billion to 20 billion” between 2000 and 2015.¹⁵ Print newspapers have been on the decline with the rise of technology and digital forms of access to the news or news-like (meaning not online versions of newspapers, but sites with articles and current events updates) sources. Included in these are sites like buzzfeed.com, vox.com, and breitbart.com, just to name a few. While technology and the ability to bring up news articles on the go may increase the number of people searching for a daily update on local, national, or global events, the other consequence of this is a “loss of reliable news and more opportunities for liars and charlatans to sell their wares unconcerned by the likelihood that they will ever be called to account for their deception (whether deliberate or not)”.¹⁶ Additionally, one study looking at the consequences of the decline of print newspapers found that “At the national and local level there is a positive relationship between newspaper readership and civic engagement as measured by contacting or visiting a public official, buying or boycotting certain products or services because of political or social values, and participating in local groups or civic organizations such as the PTA or neighborhood watch”.¹⁷

Demographics in Madison

As our focus is on newspaper coverage of Hip-Hop, a racialized music genre, discussing the racial demographics of Madison is helpful. The population of Madison, Wisconsin is 252,551, according to 2016 statistics. The demographics of Madison are 74.6% non-Hispanic White, 8.4% Asian, 7% Hispanic, 6.7% non-Hispanic Black, and 2.9% multi-racial (Data USA). In 2015, the Department of Education recorded the University of Wisconsin-Madison as having demographics that 80.1% of the students were non-Hispanic white, 5% were Hispanic, 4.2% were Asian, and 3.6% were Black. As of 2016, the median age of Madison was 30.3 years and the median income of Madison was \$54,896 and on average 19% of the Madison population is below the poverty level.¹⁸ Wisconsin’s public flagship university is located in Madison, and exerts a strong influence over the city’s demographics. It is also helpful to understand some more about the dynamics of Dane County, in which Madison, Wisconsin is located. Dane County’s statistics make it one of the worst countries for its Black and Brown residents, despite Madison’s reputation as one of the “most caring” and “most livable” cities.¹⁹ Some statistics from the 2013 Race to Equity report include that African American students were 15 times more likely

¹⁵ Thompson, Derek. “The Print Apocalypse and How to Survive It.” The Atlantic, Atlantic Media Company, 3 Nov. 2016, www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/11/the-print-apocalypse-and-how-to-survive-it/506429/.

¹⁶ Alterman, Eric. “The End of Newspapers and the Decline of Democracy.” Center for American Progress, 22 Mar. 2012, www.americanprogress.org/issues/general/news/2012/03/22/11254/think-again-the-end-of-newspapers-and-the-decline-of-democracy/.

¹⁷ Penn, Joanna. “How Do Newspapers Affect Civic Life? Data and Analysis on Seattle and Denver.” Journalist’s Resource, Harvard Kennedy School Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics and Public Policy, 11, Mar. 2016, <https://journalistsresource.org/studies/society/news-media/how-do-newspapers-affect-civic-life-data-analysis-seattle-denver>

¹⁸ “Madison, WI.” Data USA, datausa.io/profile/geo/madison-wi/#demographics.

¹⁹ “Rankings.” Madison. No date. <https://www.visitmadison.com/media/rankings/>.

to be suspended in school incidents than their white counterparts; Black juveniles in Dane County were arrested at rates 6.1 to 1 of their white counterparts, compared to 2.1 to 1 nationally; Black adults in Dane County made up 44% of the prison population in 2012, despite being only 4.8% of the population between the ages of 18 and 54; and in 2012, the standardized reading assessment revealed that 82.6% of Black Dane County 3rd graders were not proficient in reading, compared to 47.6% of white 3rd graders in Dane County.²⁰ These discrepancies demonstrate how unequal treatment can be seen through a wider lens that affects everything from incarceration to reading scores. These statistics provide context to how prejudice can manifest in ways that lead to societal divisions. Understanding how the representation of Hip-Hop and the lack of Hip-Hop bookings can be part of systemic bias against people of color in Madison can help people understand and confront the lack of live Hip-Hop in Madison.

RESEARCH METHODS

The Community and Environmental Sociology (C&E Soc) 500 class, consisting of 12 students, our professor, and the liaison for UCAN, worked throughout the fall semester to gather data around how local newspapers portray Hip-Hop. To prepare us to properly conduct this research, UCAN leaders asked us to discuss our own experiences with Hip-Hop. All researchers answered this question to have an understanding of where the class was as a whole, as well as reflect individually on our encounters (or lack thereof) with Hip-Hop music and the community. We learned that knowledge varied across the members of our class, from having little to no experience with the genre and/or community to having grown up listening to various Hip-Hop artists and encountering local Hip-Hop artists. It was clear that this project would allow for us all to grow no matter what our Hip-Hop experience was.

After assessing our experiences, we read articles that helped better prepare us in aiding the work of UCAN and data collection. These articles were on topics of Hip-Hop history, UCAN, issues that affect the Madison Hip-Hop community, how to approach community-based research, fundamentals of teamwork and project management, and how to properly report the findings. We also received a presentation on the history of Hip-Hop from UCAN members. All of this provided us with a common framework to support the execution of this project and allowed us to create the coding system that will be presented in this report. With this foundation set, we, the students of the C&E Soc 500 class of the fall 2017 term were charged with the task of collecting news articles related to Hip-Hop in Madison, recording the data, and analyzing the results. A subset of students continued on throughout the spring 2018 term.

Database

To collect all relevant articles, we initially used the *Newspaper Archive* at <http://www.madisonpubliclibrary.org/databases/newspaper-archive> from the Madison Public Library database and the Isthmus website at <https://isthmus.com/>. These databases had the most accurate

²⁰ The Wisconsin Council on Children and Families. 2013. Race to Equity: A Baseline Report on the State of Racial Disparities in Dane County. <http://racetoequity.net/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/WCCF-R2E-Report.pdf>

information and seemed to have access to all articles pertinent to our study. The databases are also free and open to the public and relatively straightforward to navigate. Students were tasked with collecting Hip-Hop articles from January 1, 2008 - September 20, 2017 from The Wisconsin State Journal, The Cap Times (including 77 Square), and The Isthmus. We attempted to also collect online articles from the TV news media, but their online databases were too incomplete to use. We chose to focus on only Madison newspapers as articles in newspapers from around Madison had too little coverage of Hip-Hop. Later in the report, we discuss the search terms we used, but we essentially collected all articles with any mention of or connection to Hip-Hop. Once we identified articles in these databases, we added them to a Google spreadsheet, allowing us to organize and identify how many articles we would be working with.

While we focused on newspapers in the City of Madison, articles with national and international content in our research because the articles were being seen by local readers of the Madison papers, and could still influence a reader's perception of Hip-Hop in Madison.

Coding the newspaper articles

To begin gathering newspaper articles, students worked in two person teams to cover a selected number of years. The following years represent the years covered in our data: 2008-2009, 2010-2011, 2012-2013, 2014-2015 and 2016 - September 201, 2017. Students spent one week exploring the database, testing different phrases to highlight various articles for their selected years. Then students regrouped in class the next week and created a list of search terms to use to ensure that all groups were using the same search terms to cover the most articles. We chose these terms because they seemed to cover all the articles we would be pulling data from. We had to exclude "love" from our search terms because there are many Hip-Hop advertisements that referred to the popular show, Love and Hip-Hop. The following illustration shows the search terms we used in our database.

The image shows a screenshot of a search criteria form, likely from a database. It consists of two identical panels side-by-side. Each panel has a title 'Additional Search Criteria' in red. Below the title, there are four input fields: 'First Name', 'Last Name', 'With all of the words' (which contains the text 'hip hop'), and 'Phrase Search'. Below these, there are two more input fields: 'With at Least One of the Words' and 'Without the words'.

- Hip hop
- hip hop rap
- hip-hop-rap-rapper
- hip hop rapper AND NOT love
- hip hop excluding love &
- "phase search "hip hop", with at least one of the words "hip-hop, rap music, rapper" without the phrase "love and""

We used the *Newspaper Archive* database to search for any articles that had a combination of the words or phrases highlighted above. We recorded articles and several basic attributes such as, Newspaper name, Article Title, Source Link, Local or non-local story, Date, and Researcher, onto a Google Sheets spreadsheet that was accessible by the entire class. The student teams connected with each other to ensure that articles were not repeated. The basic attributes allowed students to sort their initial data alphabetically, by date or by newspaper. Students had two weeks to collect all articles that had the agreed search terms and share them on the Google sheet. We want to make sure we used a method that was both reliable and repeatable for the analysis of the newspaper articles.²¹

To create our coding form, first, three students created a rough draft coding form to gather basic attributes of the newspapers, specific ties to communities and words mentioned in the article, and an overall attitude of the article with regard to Hip-Hop. Because we wanted to gauge the overall attitude of the articles towards Hip-Hop, we defined how we wanted to measure attitude towards Hip-Hop. We chose to create a five point scale, ranging from *expanding* to *slightly expanding*, *mixed*, *slightly restricting*, and *restricting*. *Expanding* included articles that were encouraging of Hip-hop, diverse subgenres of Hip-Hop, or of Hip-Hop culture while *restricting* included articles that were limiting of Hip-Hop, diverse subgenres within Hip-Hop, or of Hip-Hop culture. We defined *mixed* as both limiting and encouraging of Hip-Hop, diverse subgenres within Hip-Hop, or of Hip-Hop culture. We also created a *neutral* code, which identified articles that at some point mentioned Hip-Hop, but present no bias either way.

Students created codes based off of their experience from the articles that they initially found that mentioned Hip-Hop. The coding form started off with a number for the person coding the article, which was essential for our class to separate who was coding which article. This also made it easy for partners who coded the same article to compare and contrast their codes. Then the form moved to basic attributes, which included: Newspaper, Date of Article, Title of Article, Page of Article, Location of content/subject. We read test articles, and used them to determine the following attributes: Source, Story Type, Crime, Education, Community (at a local scale), Branding of Hip-Hop, Overall attitude towards Hip-Hop and Comments about overall attitude. Crime was intended to capture negative connotation and violent actions discussed in articles. Education encompassed articles that mentioned universities or schools or the teachings and learning of Hip-Hop. Branding of local Hip-Hop is defined as the expanding or restricting associations between Hip-Hop and other subject matter (i.e. alcohol or social justice). Similar to the way we decided to gauge overall attitude towards Hip-Hop, we coded each of the five categories mentioned above as either neutral, restricting, expanding or mixed. We then tested this

²¹ Lynch, Stacy and Limor Peer. 2002. Analyzing Newspaper Content: A How-To Guide. <http://www.wvdhhr.org/bphtraining/courses/cdcynergy/content/activeinformation/resources/newspapercontentanalysis.pdf>; Pew Research Center. 2017. Content Analysis <http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/about-content-analysis/>; Arnold, R. Douglas. 2003. Coding Newspaper Articles in the First and Second Data Sets Congress, the Press, and Political Accountability. <https://www.princeton.edu/~arnold/research/data/CODEFDS.pdf>

draft coding scheme to assess its difficulty and reliability.²² After testing the first draft, we analyzed and offered modifications to each question. Several modifications were made to the coding form, including changing the words *negative* and *positive* to *restricting* and *expanding*. The class deemed negative and positive to be too subjective to each coder, so restricting and expanding allowed each coder to analyze the author's point of view for the article rather than their own. Students noted articles that had photos could influence a reader's view, so a photo code was added to the form. We added a code to identify articles related to UW-Madison to determine compare those articles to articles about the City of Madison in general. An additional comment question was introduced to capture the student coder's initial thoughts about the article. This comment question made it easier for coding partners to review their differences and pinpoint why they had different codes.

We noted whether the source was from a newswire or staff writer to determine if there were differences between the two. The page number was also important so we could understand where in the newspaper the Hip-Hop articles were being placed. We also pointed out specific key words/phrases to look out for and used those as identifying factors for something being part of Community or UW Madison. You can find the complete coding scheme in Appendix A. We conducted several test trials to ensure we were all coding the same way. First, the entire class, and the instructor, read and coded two articles for each group of years, which totaled 10 articles. We saw the various results from each coder and had a chance to explain our coding method, if there were any discrepancies. Then, we made several other modifications to the form, which highlighted specific words we should look out for when coding. Each set of coding partners then had four weeks to code all of the articles for the specific years they were assigned.

We then reviewed our articles a second time and eliminated those that were not actually about Hip-Hop or the Hip-Hop scene. These included stories and ads that were not about Hip-Hop but only mentioned it in one sentence.

After coding the articles, student coding pairs discussed all articles that had discrepancies in the codes. Students then took a second look at how they coded the article and came up with a final code for the article that would be represented in the final dataset. In rare cases when partners could not agree on a single code, and where the codes were only one category away from each other, the final score was an average of both original scores. At the conclusion of the fall semester, we compiled our results and drafted a preliminary report.

Three students continued the project into the next semester. After reviewing the preliminary report, we noticed that overall attitudes of articles appeared to be influenced by the race of the people that were mentioned in them. To address this observation, we decided to also code the articles for race. We based our coding of race on article content, Google searches of artists, and photos of artists included in the newspaper articles. We coded whether the focus of the article was not a person/people or, if it was, whether the person/people of focus were white, people of color, a combination (meaning that either the article was about a group of people of different races *or* for a person that multiracial), or unknown. For the person of color code, we made a note in the note section of our Google sheet on the specific

²² Suh, Michael. "Content Analysis." Pew Research Center, 29 Jan. 2015, www.pewresearch.org/methodology/about-content-analysis/.

race(s) of the individual(s) addressed in the article.. We decided to use the broader people of color code because a further breakdown would have made the numbers too small to analyze, however, the majority of people of color in the articles were Black. The unknown code was used for cases when articles were written about people that were not famous and there were no photos included within the article, so it was not possible to collect information on their race. In cases where local artists were mentioned in news articles, we based some of our codes on the knowledge of UCAN members, since they knew many artists personally.

Since there were three student researchers, so we divided all of the articles by three--each person read through their dividend of articles and coded for race. Once this was completed, we exchanged articles so that each article in the section was coded for race by at least two people in order to have reliability in the data. After each article had been coded twice, we met to discuss the codes and we reconciled any articles that were coded differently. Coding for race **after** we coded for attitude, though we did not plan it this way, may have helped control for any potential bias that coders may have had if they had done both simultaneously and thus looked harder for restricting attitudes expressed about Black artists, for example.

As part of our expanded research, we then coded articles from The Isthmus to add to the data set. We used the same coding method, making sure all the articles were coded by at least two people, and including the new race coding scheme.

After coding, we again reviewed all the articles and further eliminated advertisements that were not relevant to the research question, and articles where there was only a very brief mention of Hip-Hop in articles that were otherwise about an entirely different topic. We then double-checked and corrected errors in the database, such as duplicate article entries. In the end we had a population of 343 articles for the period from January 1, 2008 - September 20, 2017.

Challenges and Limitations

We faced a number of challenges in conducting this research. The first challenge that we encountered was the fact that some of the articles had pictures that were difficult to code. This included pictures that were ambiguous in their relation to Hip-Hop and pictures that were difficult or impossible to see from poor quality reproduction on the *Newspaper Archives*. It was hard to come up with a code that accurately depicted these two types of situations completely. Most were coded as either no photo or neutral in relation to whether they were expanding or restricting of Hip-Hop. Another challenge that presented itself while we collected data was the limitation of the newspaper website source. We encountered problems with connecting to the site and finding articles that had previously been found. Some of the original links would not allow us to access the articles, so we had to search for them. A few articles could not be found again and were not included in the final dataset.

We maintained communication between our coding partners and the class using the communication app Groupme, email, phone, and meetings outside of class time.

ANALYSIS

Once we completed collecting data and coding all of the articles, we began to analyze the data from a variety of angles. We will begin by looking at the overall attitude expressed by the articles, and then explore the overall attitude by using a variety of other variables.

Overall Attitude

The data table and pie chart below depict the overall attitude of all the combined articles. Figure 1 shows that, of the 343 articles we analyzed, 170 (49.56%) articles were expanding or encouraging of diverse Hip-Hop, 95 (27.7%) articles were restricting or discouraging of diverse Hip-Hop, 43 (12.54%) articles were neutral and 35 (10.2%) articles were mixed, with both encouraging and restrictive messages about Hip-Hop. An article that received a score of 0 was considered neutral, articles that received a score between 0.5 and 2.5 were considered restricting, articles that received a score of 3 were considered mixed, and articles that received a score between 3.5 and 5 were considered expanding (half-point scores were rare and resulted from unresolved differences between coders).

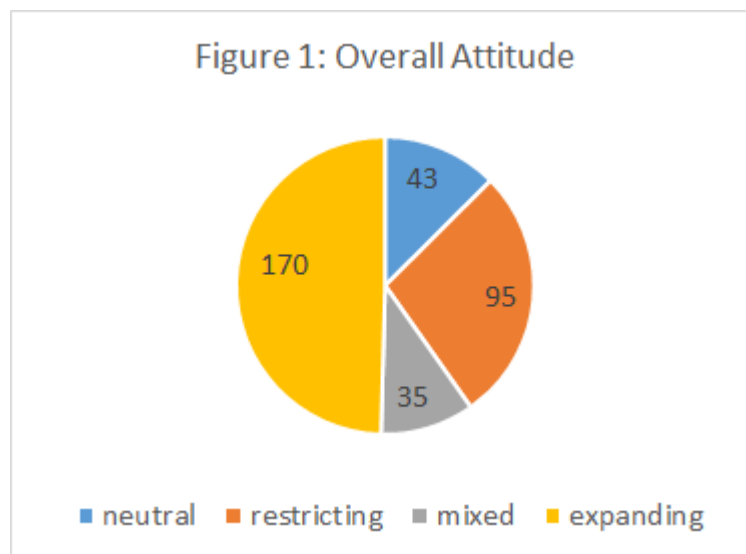


Figure 1 suggests that about half of the news coverage of Hip-Hop in Madison is expanding . However, as we break these numbers down further, different understandings emerge.

Figure 2 shows the overall attitude for articles about white people from all three news sources. Of the 52 articles written about white people, 32 (61.54%) were expanding, 8 (15.38%) of articles were restricting, 9 (17.31%) of articles were neutral, and 3 (5.77 %) of articles were mixed.

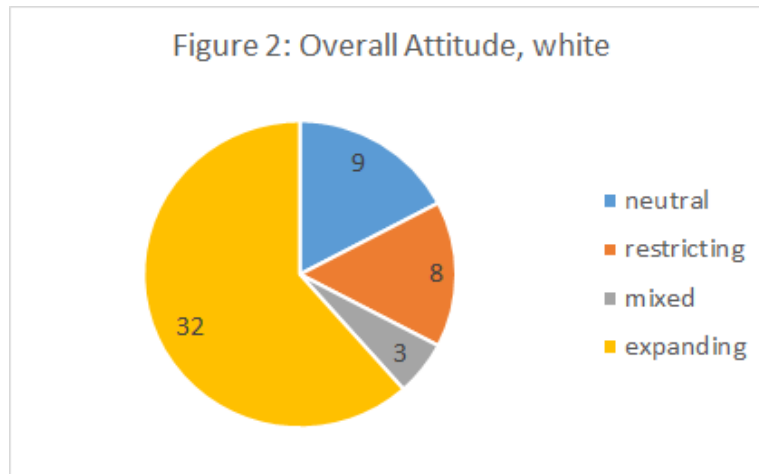


Figure 3 shows the overall attitude for articles about people of color from all three news sources. Of the 159 articles written about people of color, 67 (42.13%) were expanding, 58 (36.48%) were restricting, 15 (9.43%) were neutral, and 19 (11.950%) were mixed.

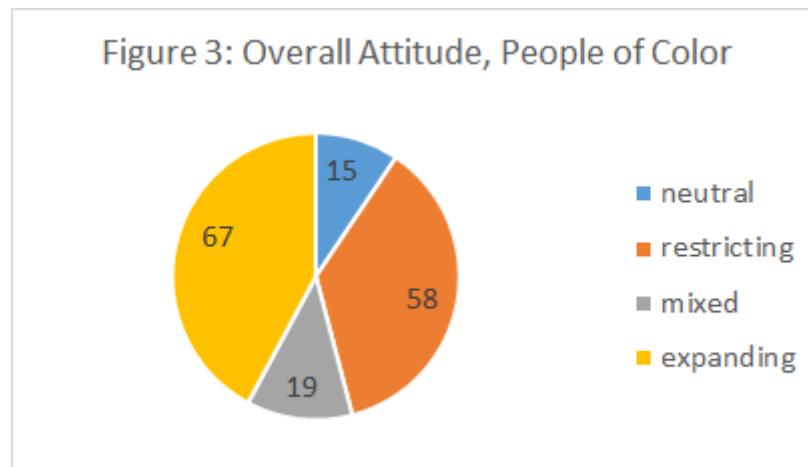
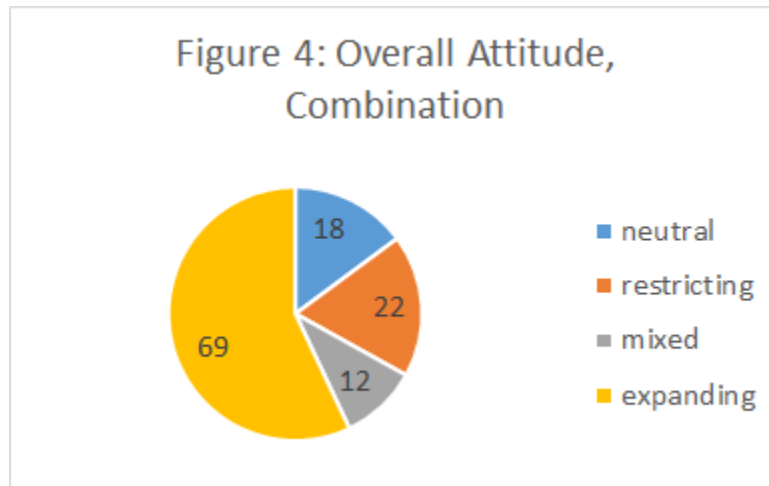


Figure 4 shows the overall attitude for articles with a combination of white people and people of color from all three news sources. Of the 121 articles written, 69 (57.02%) were expanding, 22 (18.18%) were restricting, 18 (14.88%) were neutral, and 12 (9.92%) were mixed.



These statistics show that, in general articles about white people (usually white artists) are more expanding, and less restricting, than articles about artists of color.

To investigate the different ways each publication--the Wisconsin State Journal, the Cap Times, and The Isthmus--wrote about Hip-Hop in Madison, we analyzed overall attitude by each news source overall and for the three different racial groups we identified. The following charts show the analysis for each news source, followed by a breakdown of each racial group in the order of white, People of Color, and the combination of whites and people of color.

Figures 5-8 summarize our findings from the Wisconsin State Journal articles. Figure 5 shows that, overall, articles are divided roughly equally between those that are restricting and those that are expanding. But does that relatively equal division hold when we further separate articles by race?

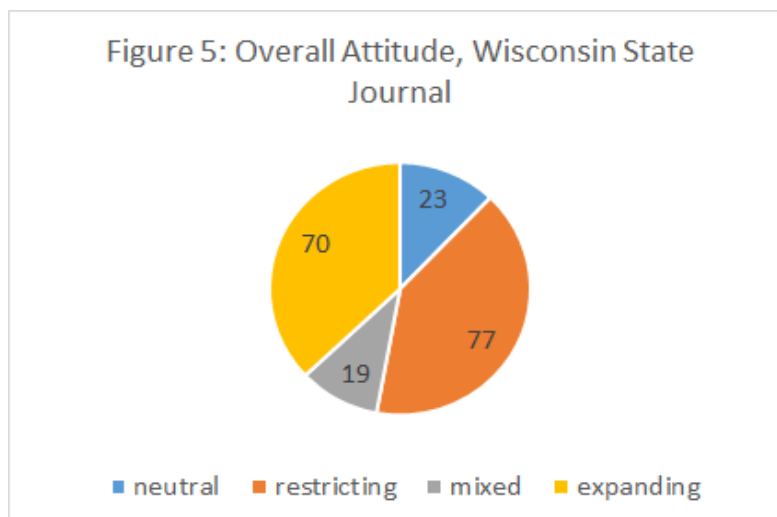


Figure 6 shows that, for articles about white people in the Wisconsin State Journal, nearly twice as many articles were expanding (11) as restricting (6), five articles were neutral, and three were mixed. In other words, about a quarter of the articles are restricting.

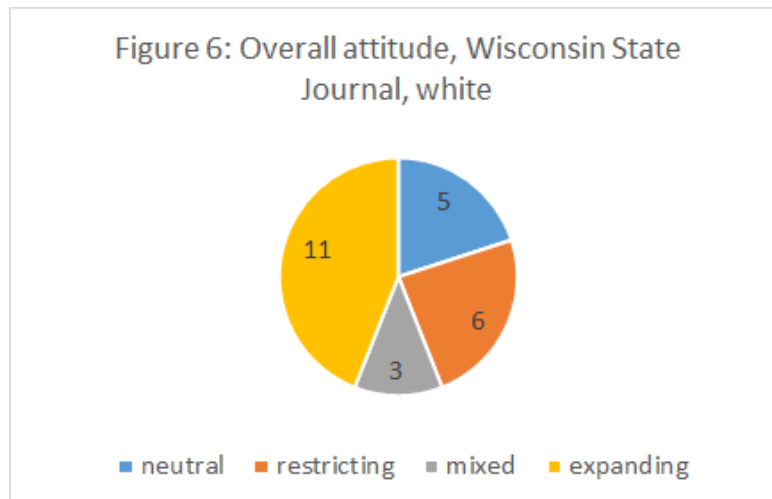


Figure 7 shows overall attitude for Wisconsin State Journal articles for People of Color. Here the situation is nearly the opposite of articles where white people are the focus. There were 31 expanding articles and 50 restricting articles. In this case, nearly half of all the articles are restricting.

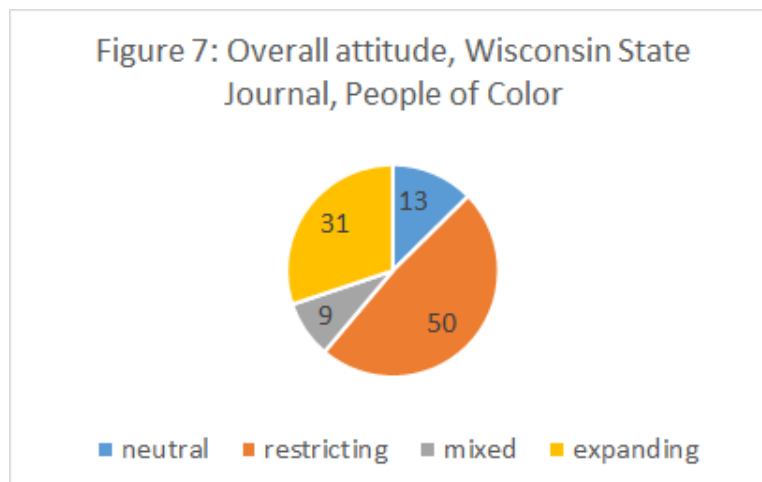
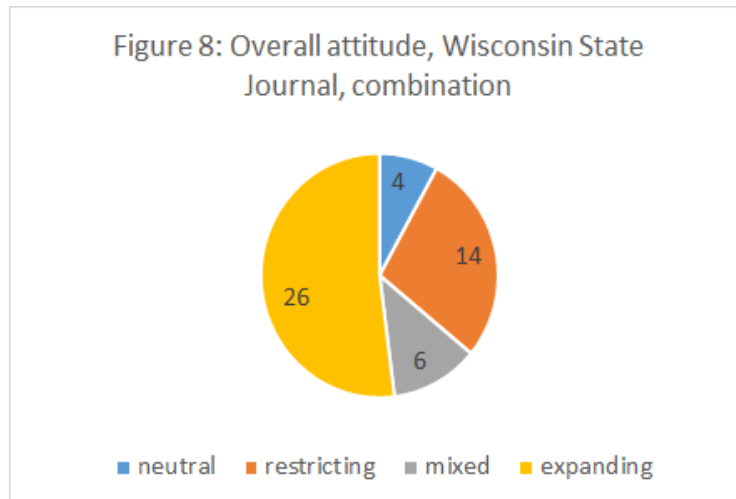
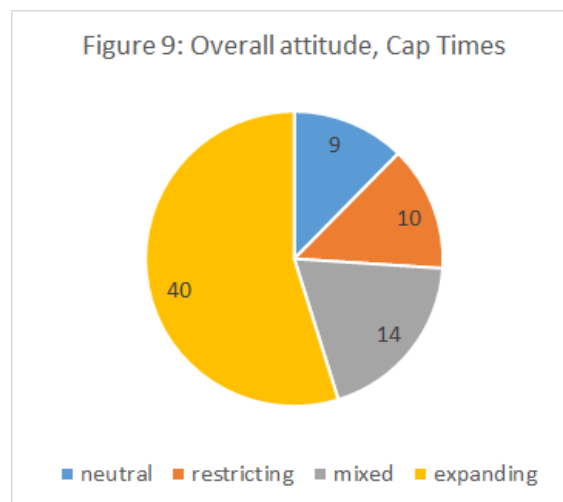


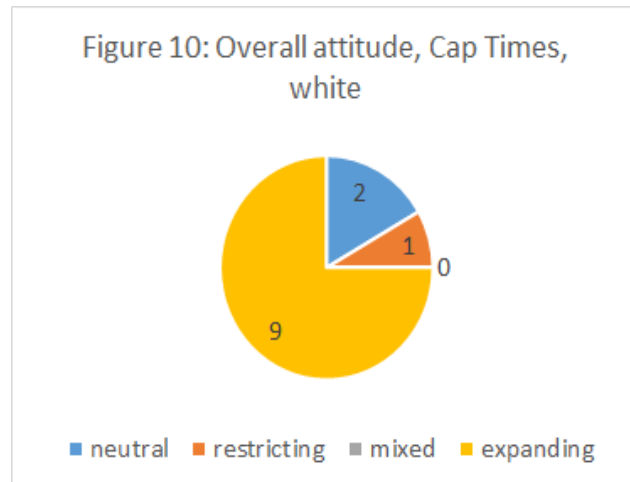
Figure 8 looks at articles focusing on a combination of white people and those of other races. Here we see that the situation is similar to the articles focusing on white people. In this case, less than a third of the articles are restricting.



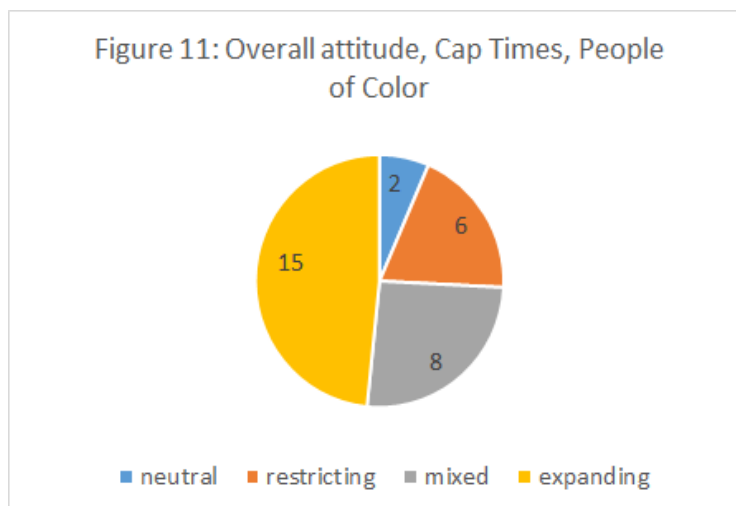
Next, we look at the data for the Cap Times, shown in Figures 9-12. Figure 9 shows that the overall attitude of articles in the Cap Times is positive, with more than half of the articles adopting an expanding attitude. Fewer than fifteen percent of the articles were restricting. Overall, the articles were far more expanding than in the Wisconsin State Journal.



In Figure 10, approximately three quarters of the articles that focus on white people are expanding. However, the numbers are small here, so we need to interpret with caution.

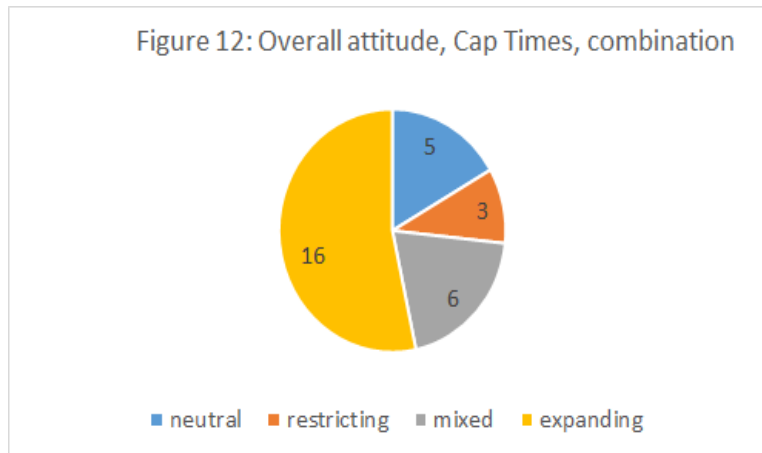


In Figure 11, we see that articles about People of Color in the Cap Times are less likely to be expanding, but the proportions do not differ that dramatically from the overall proportions in Figure 9. The biggest change is in the smaller proportion in the neutral category, and a larger proportion in the mixed category.



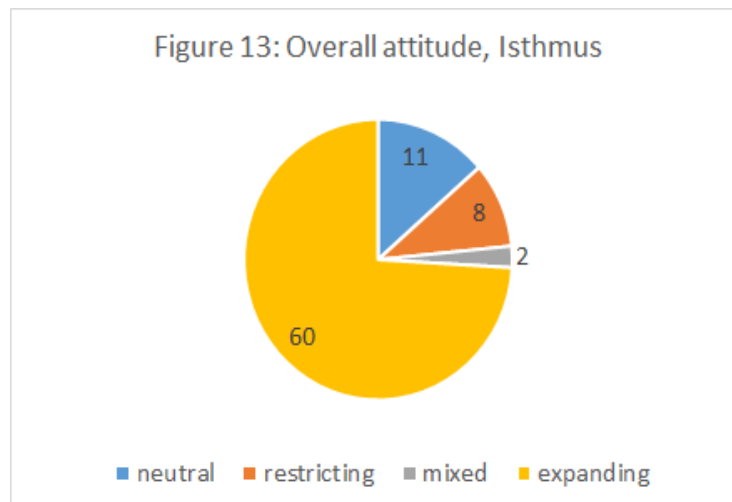
The difference between the numbers in Figure 11 for the Cap Times, and those in Figure 7 for the Wisconsin State Journal, are dramatic. In the Cap Times, nearly half the articles focusing on People of Color are expanding and fewer than a fifth are restricting. In the Wisconsin State Journal, fewer than a third of the articles are expanding and nearly half are restricting.

In Figure 12 we see that just over half of the Cap Times articles that focus on a combination of white people and those of other races are expanding.



In the Cap Times articles, we see a somewhat higher proportion of expanding articles focusing on white people compared to people of color. But the small numbers also suggest caution in drawing conclusions from that. In any event, there are certainly fewer disparities than for the Wisconsin State Journal.

Finally, Figures 13-16 show the analysis for the Isthmus articles. Figure 13 shows that the Isthmus articles are overwhelmingly expanding in their portrayal of Hip-Hop. Just under three-quarters of the articles are expanding. This is a higher proportion than the Cap Times and a far higher proportion than the Wisconsin State Journal.



In Figure 14 we see that the proportion of expanding articles remains similar when the articles are about white people, but the numbers are small and the difference is also small.

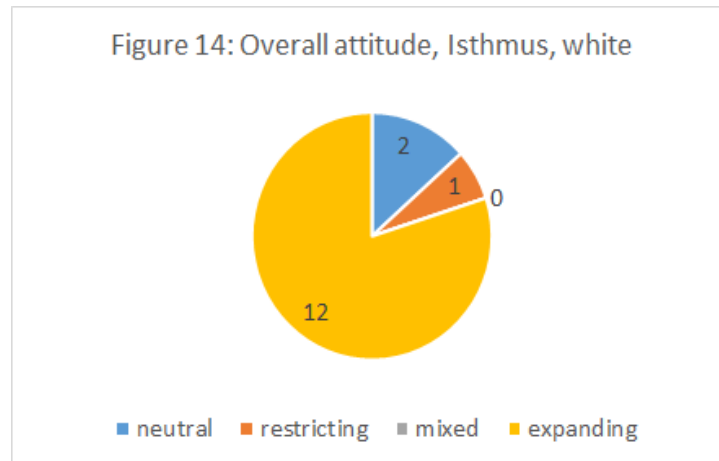
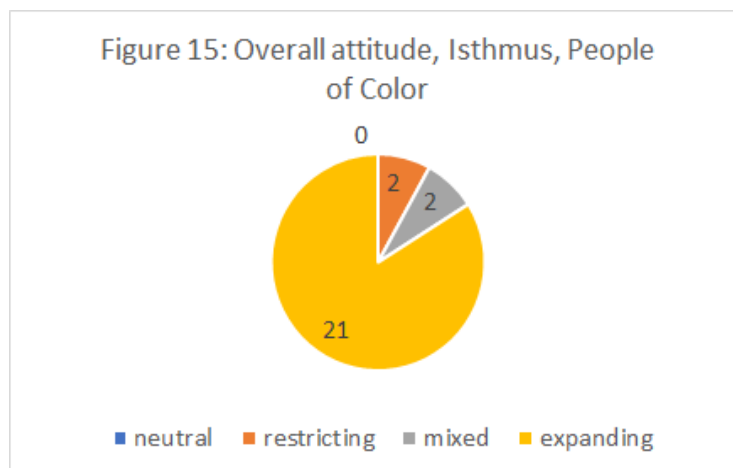
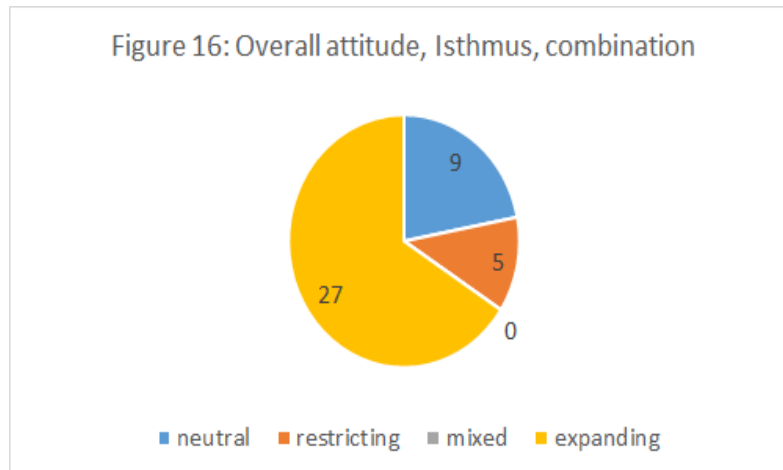


Figure 15 shows that the proportion of expanding articles is even greater for people of color. The Isthmus is the only publication showing a greater proportion of expanding articles for people of color than for white people.



Finally, Figure 16 shows a smaller proportion of expanding articles that focus on a combination of white people and people of other races, but again the difference is not large.

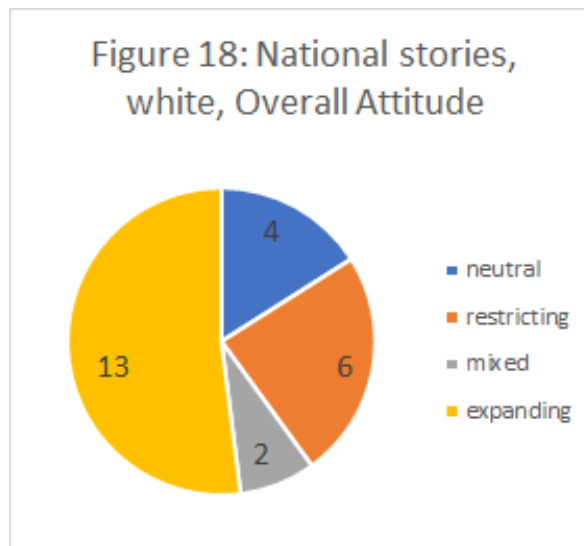
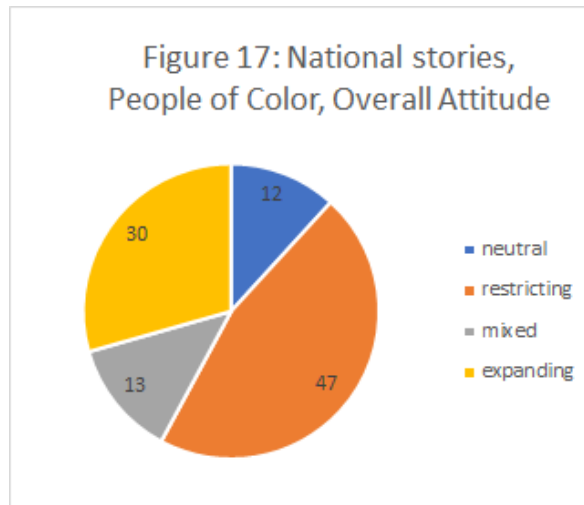


The Isthmus seems to provide coverage that is the most expanding of Hip-Hop, and does so across races. But it is still important to keep in mind that the numbers are not large.

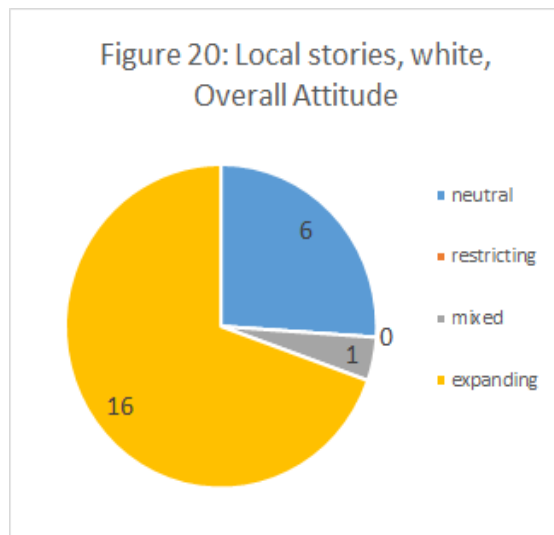
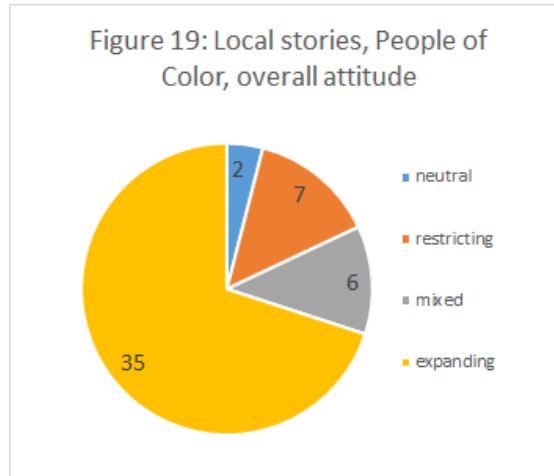
Overall Attitude and Race Comparing National and Local Stories

Race shows up as important in other analyses as well. There are differences between national stories and local stories when comparing overall attitude and race throughout the articles. As we will see in more detail later, when all races are included in the analysis for overall attitude, 35.54% of the national stories were expanding, while 13.86% of the articles were neutral, 40.36% were restricting and 10.24% of the articles were mixed. In comparison, local stories were more often expanding, at 66.23%. Furthermore, 10.39% of the articles on local stories were neutral, 11.04% were mixed, and 12.34% were restricting.

The overall attitude of these national articles can be analyzed further, by breaking down the overall attitude by race, shown in Figures 17 and 18. Figure 17 shows that nearly half of the stories about people of color were restricting, while Figure 18 shows that a little less than a quarter of the stories written about white people were restricting.



Articles covering local stories were generally much more expanding towards Hip-Hop, with less dramatic differences between races compared to those found in the national stories, shown in Figures 19 and 20. One important difference, though, is that there were no local stories written about white people that were coded as restricting, whereas some articles written about people of color and the combination group were restricting.



Comparing Overall Attitude by Types of Content

For this analysis we compared the content of the articles to the overall attitude of the article. We used the mention of crime, education, community, UW-Madison, branding of Hip-Hop, and the presence of a photo for our comparisons. Table 1 shows articles that included a focus on any of the topics and Table 2 shows articles that did not include a focus on them.

The crime category included articles with any discussion of crime, such as an arrest or a crime that was committed or allegedly committed. Of the 126 articles that discussed crime, the majority (63.49%) were restricting 0.79% were neutral, 11.9% were mixed, and 23.81% were expanding. Of the 217 articles that did not mention crime, the majority (64.52%) were expanding, 19.35% were neutral, 6.91% were restricting, and 9.22% were mixed. Crime has a clearly negative association with Hip-Hop.

We considered an article to include a discussion of education if it spoke of Hip-Hop being used in an educational way or if Hip-Hop was being used as an educational tool. Of the 59 articles that

mentioned education a strong majority (77.97%) were expanding, 0% were neutral, 6.78% were restricting, and 15.25% were mixed. Of the 284 articles that did not mention education a little less than half (43.66%) were expanding, 15.14% were neutral, 32.04% were restricting, and 9.15% were mixed. Hip-Hop is portrayed more favorably when it is associated with education.

We coded an article as discussing community if it referred to community groups, such as a local community groups, schools or youth empowerment groups. Of the 110 articles that mentioned community a strong majority (72.73%) were expanding, 6.36% were neutral, 13.64% were restricting, and 7.72% were mixed. Of the 233 articles that did not mention community well less than half (38.63%) were expanding, 15.451% were neutral, 34.33% were restricting, and 11.59% were mixed. Similar to education, Hip-Hop appears in a more positive light when it is associated with community.

Articles that included a focus on UW-Madison could be a discussion of First Wave--a Hip-Hop based UW-Madison scholarship program--or other events sponsored by UW-Madison or a student. Of the 45 articles that include a focus on UW-Madison a strong majority (77.78%) were expanding, 4.44% were neutral, 6.672% were restricting, and 11.11% were mixed. Of the 302 articles that did not discuss UW Madison, 13.76% were neutral, 30.87% were restricting, 10.07% were mixed, 45.37% were expanding. UW Madison is clearly portrayed positively in relation to Hip-Hop.

When we coded articles as discussing the branding of Hip-Hop we looked for discussions of Hip-Hop as a brand. Of the 213 articles considered for this category a majority (57.75%) were expanding, 1.41% were neutral, 32.39% were restricting, and 8.45% were mixed. Of the 130 articles that did not mention branding, 30.77% were neutral, 20.00% were restricting, 13.08% were mixed, and 36.15% were expanding. It is encouraging that Hip-Hop as a brand could be portrayed positively in the media.

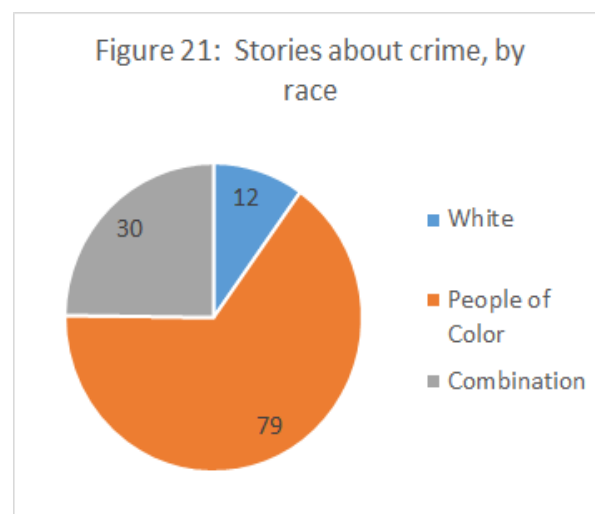
The photo category measured whether or not having a photo was related to the overall attitude of the article. Of the 216 articles that had a photo a majority (58.33%) were expanding, 10.65% were neutral, 21.76% were restricting, and 9.26% were mixed. Of the 128 articles that did not have a photo, 16.41% were neutral, 37.5% were restricting, 11.72% were mixed, and 34.38% were expanding. Photos seem to be associated with more expanding portrayals of Hip-Hop.

Table 1: Overall Attitude by Type of Content					
Articles Contain	<i>Neutral (0)</i>	<i>Restricting (1-2.5)</i>	<i>Mixed (3)</i>	<i>Expanding (3.5-5)</i>	<i>Total</i>
Crime	1 (0.79%)	80 (63.49%)	15 (11.90%)	30 (23.81%)	126 (100%)
Education	0 (0%)	4 (6.78%)	9 (15.25%)	46 (77.97%)	59 (100%)
Community	7 (6.36%)	15 (13.64%)	8 (7.27%)	80 (72.73%)	110 (100%)
UW Madison	2 (4.44%)	3 (6.67%)	5 (11.11%)	35 (77.78%)	45 (100%)
Branding	3 (1.41%)	69 (32.39%)	18 (8.45%)	123 (57.75%)	213 (100%)

Photo	23 (10.65%)	47 (21.76%)	20 (9.26%)	126 (58.33%)	216 (100%)
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Table 2: Overall Attitude by Absence of Content Type					
Articles don't Contain	<i>Neutral (0)</i>	<i>Restricting (1-2.5)</i>	<i>Mixed (3)</i>	<i>Expanding (3.5-5)</i>	<i>Total</i>
Crime	42 (19.35%)	15 (6.91%)	20 (9.22%)	140 (64.52%)	217 (100%)
Education	43 (15.14%)	91 (32.04%)	26 (9.15%)	124 (43.66%)	284 (100%)
Community	36 (15.45%)	80 (34.33%)	27 (11.59%)	90 (38.63%)	233 (100%)
UW Madison	41 (13.76%)	92 (30.87%)	30 (10.07%)	135 (45.3%)	298 (100%)
Branding	40 (30.77%)	26 (20.00%)	17 (13.08%)	47 (36.15%)	130 (100%)
Photo	21 (16.41%)	48 (37.5%)	15 (11.72%)	44 (34.38%)	128 (100%)

We isolated articles that wrote about crime in either a restrictive, mixed or neutral way while also coding for race of the individual or group in the article. We found that 12 articles written about white people also talked about crime, while 79 articles written about People of Color also talked about crime, and 30 articles written about a combination of people of different races talked about crime. The results are shown in Figure 21.



Local coverage compared to national coverage

Next, we analyzed articles by location. We defined stories as international if they focused on events occurring outside of the United States, national if they focused outside of Wisconsin, Wisconsin if they focused in the state but outside of greater Madison, greater Madison if they focused in the greater Madison region but not in Madison itself, and local if they focused on Madison. In cases where a nationally known artist performing in Madison was interviewed, but none of the interview was about Madison, we coded the article as national. Table 3 shows that the two biggest categories were local (44.9%) and national (48.4%), and the numbers for the other categories were too small to analyze..

Table 3: Location of Articles		
<i>Location</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>
Local	154	44.9%
Greater Madison	10	2.92%
Wisconsin	5	1.46%
National	166	48.4%
International	8	2.33%
Total	343	

We analyzed local and national articles for overall attitude, shown in Table 4. We found that national articles had a higher percentage of restricting articles (40.36%) compared to local articles (12.34%), and local stories in turn had a higher percentage of expanding articles (66.23%) compared to national stories (35.54%). The news media appears to portray Hip-Hop locally in a more expanding light than it does the national Hip-Hop scene.

Table 4: Overall Attitude by Location of Content					
	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Restricting</i>	<i>Mixed</i>	<i>Expanding</i>	Total
Local	17 (10.39%)	19 (12.34%)	17 (11.04%)	102 (66.23%)	155 (100%)
National	23 (13.86%)	67 (40.36%)	17 (10.24%)	59 (35.54%)	166 (100%)

One potential cause for the difference in attitude between national and local stories is that local stories are much more likely to be produced by a local staff writer, while a national story is more likely to be picked up off a news wire. Table 5 shows that articles written by staff writers and articles from newswire sources also had very different overall attitudes. Staff writers for newspapers wrote, overall, more expanding articles about Hip-Hop, while newswire articles were more restricting. Expanding articles accounted for 61.4% of the total articles written by staff writers, whereas expanding articles made up 26.09% of the total articles written by newswire sources. As for restricting articles, 48.70% of the newswire articles were restricting, and 17.11% of the staff writer articles were restricting. This finding corresponds to the results from the location of content analysis. Most of the newswire stories were about national topics, whereas staff writers usually covered local stories.

Table 5: Overall Attitude by Source					
	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Restricting</i>	<i>Mixed</i>	<i>Expanding</i>	Total
Staff Writer	26 (11.40%)	39 (17.11%)	23 (10.09%)	140 (61.4%)	228 (100%)
Newswire	17 (14.78%)	56 (48.70%)	12 (10.43%)	30 (26.09%)	115 (100%)

To focus specifically on the way crime is used in local versus national stories, we analyzed the location of the article's subject compared to the attitude towards crime expressed in it. Of the 343 articles analyzed, 154 focused on subject matter in the city of Madison (classified as local). Of these 154 articles, 113 (73.38%) of them did not mention crime. Of the 42 articles that did mention crime, 20 (12.99%) articles talked about crime in a restricting way, 17 (11.04%) articles in an expanding way, and 4 (2.60%) articles in a mixed way. When looking at the data similarly for national stories, we see a different trend. Of the 166 articles with national subject matter, 90 (54.22%) of them did not mention crime while 76 of them did. Of these, 65 (39.16%) articles talked about crime in a restricting way, only 3 (1.81%) in an expanding way, and 8 (4.81%) in a mixed way. This again shows the negative attitude of stories outside of the local setting.

Table 6: Location of Story and Relation to Crime		
	<i>Local stories</i>	<i>National stories</i>
Local story not involving crime	113 (73.38%)	90 (54.22%)
Local story involving crime in a restrictive way	20 (12.99%)	65 (39.16%)
Local story involving crime in an expanding way	17 (11.04%)	3 (1.81%)
Local story involving crime in a mixed way	4 (2.60%)	8 (4.81%)

Total	154 (100%)	166 (100.00%)
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Local coverage of Hip-Hop in Madison

Of the 154 articles featuring local content, 45 were published in the Wisconsin State Journal, 62 were published in the Cap Times (including 77 Square) and 47 were published in the Isthmus. Given that the Wisconsin State Journal has been the the only daily newspaper for nearly all of the study period, its coverage of local Hip-Hop appears to be relatively weak compared to the Cap Times and Isthmus. Overall, the local Hip-Hop articles contained content that is expanding toward Hip-Hop in Madison. 66.23% of the local content articles analyzed were expanding, 12.34% were restricting, 10.38% were neutral and 11.04% were mixed. This result was interesting because local artists often have a difficult time booking shows in Madison. This begs the question of whether there a difference between media portrayal of local Hip-Hop and the perception of Hip-Hop by the public and venue owners?

Table 7: Overall Attitude of Local Stories				
<i>neutral</i>	<i>restricting</i>	<i>mixed</i>	<i>expanding</i>	Total
16 (10.38%)	19 (12.34%)	17(11.04%)	102(66.23%)	154

The location of the story is also closely related to its source. Local stories are written by staff writers, while national stories are more likely to be sourced from newswires. We a comparisond these two sources by race to see if staff writers and newswires showed different levels of racial bias in their coverage. Tables 8 and 9 show racial differences in coverage for both people of color and white people. Only about 10% percent of staff writer articles about white people were restricting, while more than twice as manyof their stories about people of color (24%) were restricting. Likewise, about 71% of their articles about white people were expanding, while about 60% of articles about people of color were expanding. Newswire articles were more restrictive for both white people and people of color, but there was only a small difference for the expanding category. Overall, however, there are racial differences in both staff writer and newswire coverage.

Table 8: Comparison of Staff Writer and Newswire Articles for white				
	<i>staff writer</i>		<i>newswire</i>	
	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>

neutral	6	14.63%	3	27.27%
restricting	4	9.76%	4	36.36%
mixed	2	4.88%	1	9.09%
expanding	29	70.73%	3	27.27%
TOTAL	41	100.00%	11	100.00%

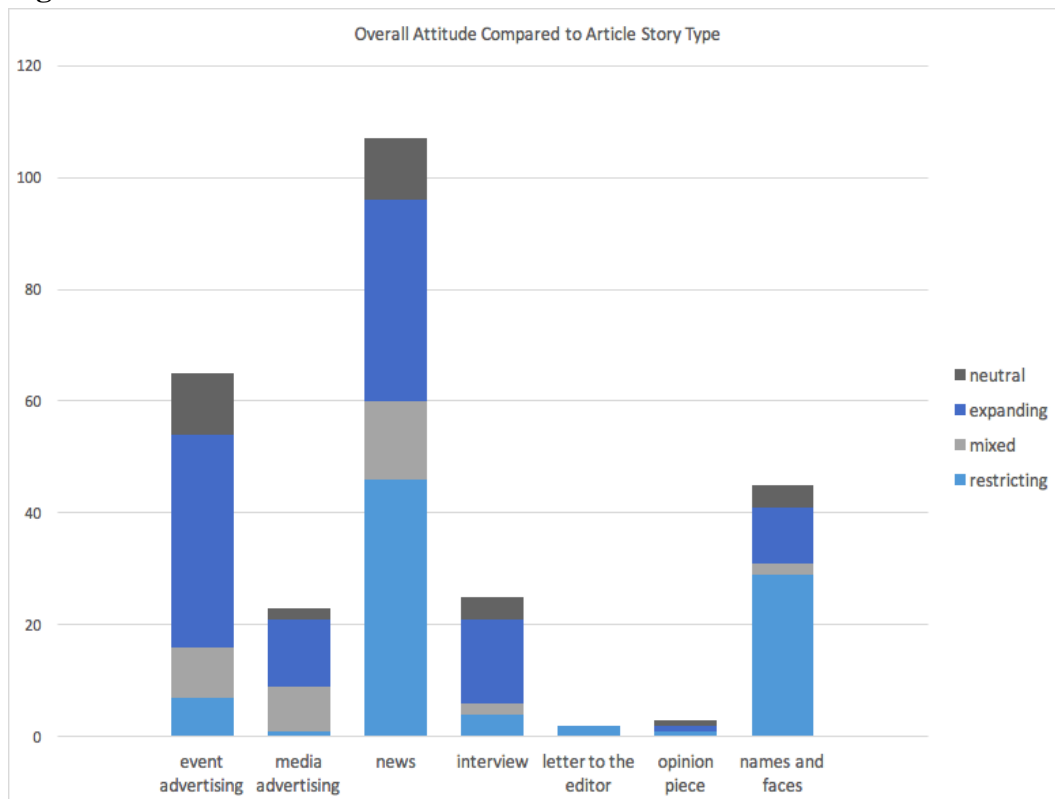
Table 9: Comparison of Staff Writer and Newswire articles for People of Color				
	<i>staff writer</i>		<i>newswire</i>	
	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>
neutral	4	4.94%	11	14.10%
restricting	19	23.46%	39	50.00%
mixed	10	12.35%	9	11.54%
expanding	48	59.26%	19	24.36%
TOTAL	81	100.00%	78	100.00%

Overall Attitude and Story Type

We coded for seven story types: event advertising, media advertising, news, interview, letter to the editor, opinion piece and Names and Faces (which is a newswire section that is specific to the Wisconsin State Journal). We analyzed these story types of overall attitude, shown in Table 10 and represented graphically in Figure 17. A great majority of the event advertising articles were expanding, at 61.63% whereas only 6.98% of these articles were restricting. Similarly, the interview story type had a majority of 72.22% expanding articles. For media advertising, a majority of the articles were expanding (55.17%) while 31.03% were mixed. News had very few neutral and mixed articles compared to the restricting articles that accounted for 35.56% and expanding articles that accounted for 45.93%. There were only two letters to the editor articles, both of which were restricting. Furthermore, there were ten opinion piece articles, two neutral, four restricting, one mixed and three expanding. Of the Names and Faces story type, 64.44% were restricting while only 22.22% were expanding. Overall, the most restricting story types were Names and Faces at 64.44% and news at 35.56%. the most expanding story types were interviews at 72.22% and event advertising at 61.63%. The most neutral story types were the opinion piece at 20% and event advertising at 22.09%.

Table 10: Overall Attitude by Story Type									
	<i>neutral</i>		<i>restricting</i>		<i>mixed</i>		<i>expanding</i>		Total
	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>	<i>count</i>	<i>percent</i>	
event	19	22.09%	6	6.98%	8	9.30%	53	61.63%	86
ad	3	10.34%	1	3.45%	9	31.03%	16	55.17%	29
news	11	8.15%	48	35.56%	14	10.37%	62	45.93%	135
interview	4	11.11%	5	13.89%	1	2.78%	26	72.22%	36
letter	0		2	100.00%	0		0		2
opinion	2	20.00%	4	40.00%	1	10.00%	3	30.00%	10
Names and Faces	4	8.89%	29	64.44%	2	4.44%	10	22.22%	45

Figure 22



Names and Faces, Race and Overall Attitude

Because its content is by far the most restrictive story type, we further analyzed the Names and Faces section of the Wisconsin State Journal by looking at race, shown in Table 11. A majority of the Names and Faces articles, 35 out of 45 (77.8%) were written about people of color. A majority (62.9%) of the Names and Faces articles that were written about people of color were restricting. In comparison, 33.3% of the Names and Faces articles written about white people were restricting and 83.3% of the articles that were coded as “combined” were restricting.

Table 11: Names and Faces, Race, and Overall Attitude					
	<i>Neutral</i>	<i>Restricting</i>	<i>Mixed</i>	<i>Expanding</i>	<i>Total</i>
White	1 (33.3%)	1 (33.3%)	0	1 (33.3%)	3 (100%)
POC	3 (8.6%)	22 (62.9%)	2 (5.6%)	8 (22.9%)	35 (100%)
Combination	0	5 (83.3%)	0	1 (16.7%)	6 (100%)
Unknown	0	1 (100%)	0	0	1 (100%)

Cover Stories and Overall Attitude

Of the 348 that articles we analyzed, 15 (4.31%) were either an article on the cover of the newspaper or an article on the cover of a section within the newspaper. For the sake of the analysis, we combined both forms of “cover story” together to analyze their overall attitude. Of these 14 articles, 3 were neutral, 4 were restricting, 2 were mixed, and 6 were expanding. Since the Isthmus articles were gathered from an online archive, we determined that articles were a cover story by reviewing the links of the Hip-Hop articles within our data. In the Isthmus online archive, if a story was a cover story, it had “cover story” written within its link. All three newspapers had very few cover stories on Hip-Hop.

Important Hip-Hop incidents in Madison

Our group learned that there were two significant events in the last nine years that could be damaging to the Hip-Hop scene in Madison. On February 14, 2009 a fight broke out at the nightclub The Brink Lounge during a Hip-Hop Valentine’s Day party. A few years later, on January 27, 2013 there was a shooting outside the nightclub The Frequency during a Hip-Hop performance. Both of these incidents received a lot of negative attention from the media. We decided to examine whether these incidents influenced later press coverage. So we compared the articles published one month prior to each incident and one month following each incident, and then one year prior to and following each incident.

The small numbers make the analysis difficult to interpret. One month before the Brink Lounge fight there were two articles written about Hip-Hop in the local newspapers; both were expanding.

Interestingly, all four of the articles written the month following the incident were expanding. A month before the Frequency shooting, four articles were written, and all were expanding. There were six articles in the month following the incident. Two of these articles were unrelated to the incident and were expanding. The other four were about the shooting, and one was mixed, two were restricting, and one was expanding. One of the restricting articles was a very negative letter to the editor. The negative reaction seemed to be coming more from the public than from the newspapers. The proportions of restricting, mixed, and expanding articles in the year before and the year after the 2009 incident, shown in Table 12, also showed little difference from each other. Similarly, the proportions of restricting, mixed, and expanding articles in the year before and the year after before the 2013 incident, shown in Table 13, also showed little difference from each other.

Table 12: The Brink Lounge Incident (Feb 14, 2009)				
	Restricting	Mixed	Expanding	Total
One year before	4 (17.39%)	6 (26.09%)	13 (56.52%)	23 (100%)
One year after	6 (24.00%)	5 (20.00%)	14 (56.00%)	25 (100%)

Table 13: The Frequency Incident (Jan 27, 2013)				
	Restricting	Mixed	Expanding	Total
One year before	11 (26.83%)	4 (9.76%)	26 (63.41%)	41 (100%)
One year after	10 (25.00%)	4 (10.00%)	26 (65.00%)	40 (100%)

DISCUSSION

This study of Madison print media coverage of Hip-Hop offers some surprising, and some not so surprising findings.

The surprising finding is that, overall, the coverage is not as negative as we expected, given the discrimination against Hip-Hop practiced by many bar owners and managers. Overall, nearly half of the articles were expanding, while only about a quarter of the articles were restricting, and the rest split between neutral and mixed portrayals of Hip-Hop. We were also surprised to find that two of the major

historical incidents at Hip-Hop events did not seem to affect news coverage in either the month or year following each incident.

When we looked deeper at these findings, however, we were less surprised. First, we saw that the statistics supported the historical reputations of the three publications—the Wisconsin State Journal, the Cap Times, and the Isthmus. The Wisconsin State Journal has generally been perceived as the most conservative of the three, and the Isthmus as the most progressive or alternative. And, indeed, when we examined the overall attitude presented by each publication's coverage of Hip-Hop, the Wisconsin State Journal had the highest proportion of restricting articles, the Isthmus had the highest proportion of expanding articles, and the Cap Times was in between.

We must add some important nuance to the analysis of the three newspapers. One of our other important findings was that national news stories, especially those coming from newswire sources, were more restricting than local stories written by local staff writers. The Wisconsin State Journal had the most national stories from newswires, especially its Names and Faces column, which we analyzed separately because it was so overwhelmingly restricting of Hip-Hop, and because the racial disparities in the type of coverage were so pronounced with nearly two thirds of articles about people of color being restricting and only one third of articles about white people being restricting.

It was our analysis of variations by race that, in some ways, seemed to be the most important. People of color in Hip-Hop, primarily Black in our study, were portrayed less positively than white people overall. When we broke this down by publication, we found this to be true of both the Wisconsin State Journal and the Cap Times, but not the Isthmus. We also found that both newswire and staff writers portrayed white people more positively than Black people, though it is important to note that staff writer stories were far more expanding for all groups than newswire stories. So race still matters in Madison print news, but Hip-Hop as a local genre is treated more positively than we expected.

As we did not analyze coverage of other music genres, we cannot draw any conclusions on the question of whether there are disparities in coverage between Hip-Hop and other genres. It is possible that other genres are treated with even more generosity, but such an analysis will have to wait until another day.

What are the implications of this research? One interpretation of our results is that the relatively positive media portrayal of local Hip-Hop means that the discrimination local artists face isn't even supported by most of the local media. Another interpretation is that the media still have work to do in addressing the racial disparities in their coverage. This is particularly the case for the editorial choices made about what newswire stories to print. In particular, the strong racial disparities shown by the Names and Faces column undermine its legitimacy as a news source. We don't know how much the news-consuming public might read newswire stories about events outside of Madison and then generalize their more restricting portrayal of Hip-Hop to the local scene. It is worth the efforts of the

local media to consider ways they might draw on their own coverage of local Hip-Hop to distinguish it from the coverage of the genre in other places.

Appendix: Codebook

Question	Variable	Value
Q1	Coder	1-14: Coder Value*
Q2	Newspaper	1: Wisconsin State Journal** 2: The Cap Times** 3: The Daily Cardinal 4: The Badger Herald 5: Isthmus 6: Middleton Times Tribune 7: Fitchburg Star 8: Daily Citizen 9: Wisconsin Dells Event
Q3	Date of Article	--
Q4	Title of Article	--
Q5	Page of Article	--
Q6	Location of Content/subject	1: Local (Madison) 2: Greater Madison 3: Wisconsin 4: National 5: International
Q7	Source	1: Staff Writer 2: Newswire

Q8	Story Type	1: Event Advertising 2: Media Advertising 3: News 4: Interview 5: Letter to the editor 6: Opinion Piece 7: Names and faces
Q9	Photo	0: Neutral 1: Negative photo 2: Positive photo 3: No photo
Q10	Crime	0: Doesn't fall in category 1: Falls in this category, restricting 2: Falls in this category, expanding 3: Falls in this category, mixed
Q11	Education	0: Doesn't fall in category 1: Falls in this category, restricting 2: Falls in this category, expanding 3: Falls in this category, mixed
Q12	UW-Madison	0: Doesn't fall in category 1: Falls in this category, restricting 2: Falls in this category, expanding 3: Falls in this category, mixed
Q13	Community (at a local scale)	0: Doesn't fall in category 1: Falls in this category, restricting 2: Falls in this category, expanding 3: Falls in this category, mixed
Q14	Branding of Hip-Hop	0: Doesn't fall in category 1: Falls in this category, restricting 2: Falls in this category, expanding 3: Falls in this category, mixed

Q15	Overall Attitude	0: Neutral 1: Very restricting 2: Somewhat restricting 3: Mixed 4: Somewhat expanding 5: Very expanding
Q16	Race	0: Focus of the article was not a person/people 1: White 2: Person/People of Color (specify in the comment box) 3: Combination 4: Unknown
Q17	Comments	--

*Each student in the course was assigned different number values to keep track of articles they coded. This value was used to separate student's articles and compare them with their partners.

**For this study we only coded articles from Wisconsin State Journal and The Cap Times.