DOI: 10.31382/eqol.221205

Hip-hop from dancers' viewpoint: Dance, lifestyle, and/or subculture?

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Received: 4th November, 2022 Accepted: 23rd November, 2022 © The Author(s) 2022. This article is published with open access.

Abstract

The paper presents the results of field research on the population of dancers – members of the hip-hop community who are "contestants" in battles. The field research was carried out in April 2022 on a sample of dancers aged 17 to 40 (N = 31). The research results indicate that the hip-hop community in Serbia is small, but that such battles in specific forms contribute to the community's maintenance and expansion. Battles also play a significant role in the progression and expression of dancers as individuals. Dancers consider hip-hop to be not only an art form but much more, hip-hop is synonymous with a lifestyle and a "way of looking at the world" for dancers. Although the research was carried out on a small sample, it represents the author's pioneering contribution to a deeper understanding of the hip-hop community in Serbian society. It also indicates the need to carry out compatible research in the future.

Keywords hip-hop • dance • subculture • hip-hop battles • lifestyle.

Introduction

Hip-hop, from its origins in the early 1970s to the present day, has come a long way and is widely present in the press, visual media, and scientific research. The essential element of hip-hop is knowledge. Gačić points out that: "In addition to knowledge, dance is also considered as a constituti-

ve element of hip-hop, but little is known about its cultural evolution, both in scientific research and among devotees themselves. Although street dancing has reached worldwide popularity, in Belgrade and throughout Serbia, stereotypes still contradict the real essence of street dance. They are mainly present among older generations" (Gačić, 2021: 3). It is also significant that hip-hop can be observed and explored multidimensionally: as a dance and a subculture. Dance has always been a way of communication between people. It was a way of overcoming any barriers, a language of understanding. Dance is a unique display of physical skills, where a huge amount of energy can be displayed at the same time, as well as elegant movements (Haas, 2010). Haas adds that sculpted poses, innovative choreography, and stunning visuals are the hallmark of dance as an art form. Subotin (2021) stated that dances represent a global language, spoken fluently by dancers all over the world. She described the history of street dance and precisely wrote about hip-hop dance movements.

The anthropology of dance, whose formation can be traced back to the second half of the 20th century, defines dance as a cultural practice resulting from creative processes influenced by the human body, space, time, and music (Kaeppler, 1978). Samantha Rounds defined dance, indicating that dance is a form of communication through physical movements. Music often communicates with the body something that cannot be described in words. Successful dance communication leads to dialogue and cooperation, which enables people to establish and regulate social relationships and identities (Rounds, 2016). If hip-hop is viewed from a sociological point of view, it is a subculture. Albert Cohen introduced

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the term subculture into sociology (Koković, 2005). Koković states that within the whole culture, subculture includes a unique way of life, value system, ideas, norms, and rules of behavior. However, it is not isolated concerning the universal and ruling culture but is only relatively rounded. Koković confirmed that subcultures express peculiarities at the level of rules of behavior, clothing, taste, entertainment, leisure, music, and sports, taking into account age, gender, various professions, and free trades. They arise due to the impossibility of establishing the same way of life for all members of a particular society; they signify the breakdown of consent and announce a symbolic violation of the social order - it is resistance through style. Street dances originated in spaces accessible to the public in large American cities, mainly East Coast cities (primarily New York) and West Coast cities (Los Angeles). Although they originated in that territory, they experienced expansion outside North America throughout Europe and Asia.

Hip-hop studies originated in the mid-1980s, but their foundation continued a decade later. The first scientific works and books emphasized hip-hop's "positive" aspects – its potential for social change and its importance for African Americans' cultural and artistic heritage (Alridge & Stewart, 2005; Banić-Grubišić, 2013). Hip-hop studies today represent a field of research based on several disciplines: cultural studies, cultural sociology, ethnographic writing, and other social sciences. There are many definitions of hip-hop because the term itself has come up with many interpretations. According to one of the most famous hip-hop activists, KRS-One, the word "hip" stands for knowledge, while "hop" stands for movement. It means "hip-hop" represents a conscious action (Gačić, 2021). Hip-hop permeates many spheres of life (music, dance, drawing, writing, spirituality, history, and making money), which is why it is called culture (Schloss, 2009). It is different from other subcultures in the expression of identity through cultural and artistic forms; among hiphoppers, they are known as elements and they are: DJing, MCing, Graffiti, Rap music, Hip-hop dance (Breaking & Hip-hop freestyle), Knowledge and Hustle (Gačić, 2021). Although the elements were created separately, over time, they were united. The idea of uniting the elements under the term "Hip-hop" was developed by Afrika Bambataa. Hip-hop culture's "birth" date is August 11, 1973. That is when DJ Kool Hertz (Clive Campbell Hercules) organized the first Hip-hop party. Dance is a social manifestation representing distinct aspects of society and can be understood by different aspects of analysis. Dance also represents cultural capital through a series of dominant structures of social conditions (Medina et all, 2008). It can also be understood as a form of elaborate movement that provides elements or an idea of human culture and is considered a manifestation of the habits and customs of a particular society. Chang (2009) writes about the detailed history of hip-hop, from what preceded the hip-hop movement to its creation in 1973 and beyond, dealing with all the basic elements and talking about the hip-hop subculture. The author points out a series of challenges that hip-hop faced, about all the people who were part of this subculture and about the political activism that the members of this community engaged in. Also, the author included all the people who were involved in the creation of the hip-hop movement; giving importance to and authorizing people who made (then) discoveries in the world of music, street dance, graffiti, MCing, DJing, which altogether represents the basis of hip-hop and have remained to this day in some form. Finally, hip-hop subculture has managed to grow out of the restrictive racial and spatial climate of the South Bronx, New York, to touch almost every institution and ethnic group in the United States and to cross the road and spread globally (Persuad, 2011).

Gačić (2021) dealt with the defining real hip-hop by hip-hop freestyle dancers, who are socialized on the hip-hop dance scene. The author pointed out that the notions of identity and authenticity are social constructs that are extremely important in freestyle street dance and they become real only during the social interaction of dancers at their gatherings, such as training, workshops, camps, and competitions (battles), festivals, etc. Dodds (2016) states that a hiphop battle is an organized face-to-face dance exchange between dancers. He claimed that hip-hop battle is a dialogue, i.e., conversation between dancers, and contributes to the area of battle research by studying dancers' facial expressions and describing specific battles. Kurfürst (2021) wrote in detail about hip-hop dance in Vietnam. She listed elements of hip-hop and wrote about each separately. Satos (2022) analyzed systematic bias in judging to evaluate score validity in hip-hop dance competitions by comparing it with competitions of artistic gymnastics, pointing out some omissions at hip-hop dance competitions. Kaeppler (2015) examined dance from an anthropological angle. Much of the anthropologically relevant papers present dance as a reflection of culture, claiming that dance is somehow separate from other parts of culture and can be considered a reflection of it. Although that view is acceptable from the point of view of both dance and anthropology, it tends to "mask" the integral connection of this cultural form with other forms. Hazzard-Donald (2004) wrote on dance in hip-hop subculture. She described her contact with this type of dance and her observations about it. On the subject of subcultures in Belgrade, Prica (1991) wrote that the subculture somehow avoids clear cultural and social determination. The subculture, forming its functional, symbolic systems in those cracks of reality that are not completely designed by the net of the existing culture or where the deep contradiction is covered only by a thin (but effective) mythic layer, shows many things from a completely new perspective. Schloss (2009) wrote about the foundations of breaking, about breakers (b-boys and b-girls), as well as about the entire hip-hop subculture in New York. Rounds (2016) defined dance as a form of communication explained how and people communicate through dance, express emotions through dance, and see dance as a way of communication. Wisner (2006) analyzed what mainstreaming has brought to hip-hop. Many people started dancing in hip-hop precisely because of the popular movies about street dance. Adherents of this subculture were faced with a big task; many of them came into the role of dance coaches; they had a complex task of breaking down hip-hop into

Table 1. Q	uestionnaire	structure
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something that people would understand, finding a way to properly convey the essence of what originally hip-hop is, to teach them not only dance but its (sub)culture as well (Wisner, 2006). In "Hip-hop Dance" Rajakumar (2012) provided detailed foundations of hip-hop dance, as well as the entire history of the subculture bearing the same name.

Throughout this paper, two street dances are presented: hip-hop (also called hip-hop freestyle) and breaking (breaking), from the point of view of battles and competitions of street dancers. The abovementioned research provided a frame for the implementation of field research, which is exploratory (and to some extent pioneering). The paper aims are to look at the competitive form of street dance – battles – and determine the importance of it as an element of the hip-hop subculture.

Method

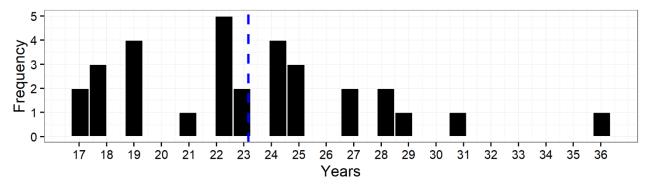
Serbian hip-hop community members, who are competitors in battles, were surveyed for field research. The sample consists of men and women. The dancers included in the field research are persons from 17 to 40 years old. The research was carried out using a survey questionnaire, which consisted of several parts, shown in Table 1.

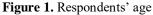
The socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents:	Questions about dance experience:
Gender	Which dance do they primarily practice
Age	Which dances they have danced throughout their lives
Place of origin	At what age did they start dancing
Place of residence	How many years of dancing experience do they have
Profession	In which place and in which club do they train
	Do they attend events
	Does preparing for battles affect their training
	Do the clothes they wear affect their dancing
	What does the slogan "Peace, Love, Unity and Having Fun" mean to them
	Do they think the battles contribute to the unity of hip-hop community

In the first part of the (statistical) interpretation of data, descriptive statistics of socio-demographic variables are presented to gain insight into the characteristics of the sample of respondents. Google questionnaire, Excel, and the statistical program SPSS 20 were used during the processing of the obtained data.

Results

Initially, 50 survey questionnaires were distributed. The survey questionnaire was filled out by 31 respondents, of which 8 were male and 23 were female. At the moment mostly female dancers appeared in battles, and at the moment we conducted field research. Additionally, women were more willing to fill in the questionnaire. The second question was about the age of the respondents.





At the moment we conducted field research, dancers of various ages were engaged in this specific form of hip-hop. The youngest dancer is 17 years old, while the oldest dancer is 36 years old. The average age of the dancers examined by this questionnaire is 23.16.

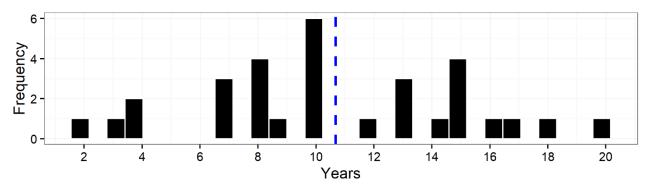


Figure 2. Years of dance experience

The results we obtained, showed that there are no rules when someone is going to start dancing. The age range is from the age of 4 to the age of 27 when the dancers started dancing. The following years stand out: 5, 8, 9, 10, 13, and 16, the average year is 11.68. Results showed that some respondents did not have a (proper) dance club in their place of origin, or maybe they practiced some other sport at a younger age. As for the years of dance experience, the situation is also

diverse, from 2 to 20 years, with an average of 10.68. Dance coaches continue to improve through battle appearances, as all the other dancers. There is no moment in mastering the discipline. Someone can always find something new that already exists, learn from someone else and invent something new.

First contact with hip-hop	Ν	%
Through music, music videos, movies, and culture in general	12	38.71
Through some kind of presentation of dance	6	19.35
Through friends/relatives/acquaintances/family members	6	19.35
Through starting practicing at some dance school	5	16.13
Through the internet	2	6.45

Table 2. When and how the dancers met hip-hop

The answers are classified into 5 categories. Most of the respondents met hip-hop through music, music videos, movies, and culture in general (graffiti and gathering of the dancers outside) (38.71%). Afterward, this way of the meeting comes meeting kind through some of dance presentation (performance, promotional classes, shows, concerts...) and through friends/relatives/acquaintances/family members (mostly brothers were listening to hip-hop music) (19.35% each). It turned out that 16.13% of respondents met hip-hop when they started practicing at some dance school, which would mean through training, while 6.45% met hip-hop through the internet.

The next question was: "In what ways are you involved in hip-hop?" The goal was to examine how much dancers are aware of the hip-hop subculture elements and which elements they actively apply. The question was open-ended and answers varied. Sublimation of answers indicates that respondents are divided into those who are:

 involved in hip-hop subculture by dancing, visiting, and supporting events related to hiphop; 2. respondents who, in addition to dancing, organize dance events, know the basics of dance and its origin, dressing, music, self-development, promoting subculture, DJ-ing, researching about culture...

As many respondents indicated their profession as a dance coach, we tried to determine whether the answers of regular dancers and dance coaches differed. It turns out that besides a couple of regular dancers, most of the coaches belong to the second category, which deals with hip-hop to a much greater extent (not only through dance). Dancers whose profession is not related to a dance coach generally choose just to support events and dance. The answer that stands out is more complex:

Hip-hop is primarily an entire culture (except for breaking, which is the first dance of hip-hop culture which was not danced to hip-hop music from the beginning) - from that, over the years, social stand-up dance was born, which was danced exclusively to hiphop music - hence the name "hip-hop". We can rather say that hip-hop is lived - as part of that - we can deal with DJ-ing, dancing, graffiti, MC-ing, fashion, knowledge (history, etc.), music, beatboxing, etc...

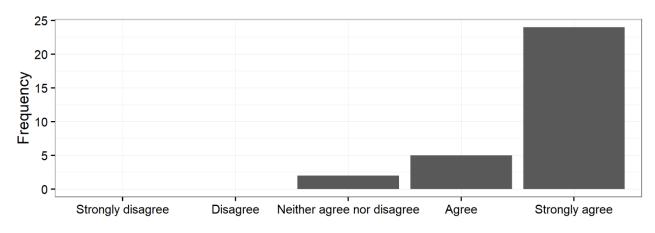


Figure 3. "Peace, Love, Unity, and Having Fun" are the backbone of the hip-hop subculture

The results indicate the familiarity of the respondents with the primary slogan of hip-hop (average value is 4.71), which was the motto with which Afrika Bambata once managed to establish his organization "The Universal Zulu Nation" (Chang, 2009). It means that "Peace, Love, Unity and Having Fun" are the backbone of the hip-hop subculture. To the greatest extent, the respondents agree (22.6%) or fully agree (58.1%) with the statement that the dance scene in Serbia is not sufficiently developed. Although the information was published on the Instagram page of the Serbian Dance League that a large number of dance events were organized in Serbia in 2022, much higher than in previous years, dancers believe that the dance scene is not developed enough. It can also be compared to dance scenes in other countries, where the scene is extremely developed and these events are attended both by the dancers and by the audience, not only people from a certain country but also people from all over the world who come to exchange contacts and knowledge. Results of the responses of agreement (average value 4.03) with the statement that the street dance scene is developing more and more from year to year, largely confirm what was stated in the previous comment on the question about the dance scene, namely that the dance scene in Serbia tends developing from year to year. For the scene to grow, people interested in the street dance subculture need to get involved, get out of gyms where they train, and introduce themselves to the rest of the hip-hop community. It is noticeable that all respondents agree with the statement (only one person does not have an opinion about it), which is also a conclusion: battles as a form are significant for respondents/dancers in expression and their progress. Additionally. respondents answered the question about which dance they primarily practice.

Table 3. Which dance do dancers primarily practice

Dance	N	%
Hip-hop freestyle	17	54.8
Breaking	4	12.9
Popping	1	3.2
Combination of dances	9	29.1

As expected, most of the respondents are primarily dancing street dances which are represented at events: battles. The first place comes hip-hop freestyle (54.8%), afterward breaking (12.9%), then popping (3.2%), and lastly combination of dances (combination of hip-hop freestyle and house dance (9.7%); hip-hop freestyle, house dance and voguing (3.2%); hip-hop freestyle and krumping (3.2%); hip-hop freestyle and krumping (3.2%). One person stated that he/she is engaged in "all style" which would refer to practicing all the street dances (one type of battle is "all style battles", where DJs are playing all musical genres while the dancers are improvising with their freestyle dance on in).

Furthermore, answers to whether battles as a form help the expression and advancement of the dancer as an individual and whether battles as a form contribute to the spread of hip-hop culture are very similar. In the most significant number of agreements, dancers consider that battles as a form are a significant factor in the expression and advancement of the individual and the spread of the hip-hop subculture. "The battles are hip-hop," said one respondent. For the hip-hop community in Serbia to expand, and not just maintain it, it is necessary to open the door to the people who are not part of that community yet but may have an aspiration towards it. To a large extent, dancers consider this to be the case (average is 4.71). However, if we are taking to account whether the dancers consider the battles as a commercial event, a somewhat different situation can be seen. No respondent believes entirely that this is impossible, but some believe it to a certain extent (12.9%), while 22.6% do not have a specific opinion. In comparison, 35.5% confirm this statement to a lesser extent and greater than 28%. While social media is a great way to keep the hip-hop community going, live, face-toface events take precedence. This is confirmed by 80.6% of respondents to the greatest extent, 12.9% to a slightly lesser extent, and 6.5% are neutral.

As with the previous question regarding community maintenance, some disagree that, although social networks are good in this matter, the original form of dancing, namely live socialization through dance, should not be neglected. That socialization is an essential part of every dance is confirmed by the average value of 4.52. As many as 71% completely agree with this statement, 12.9% agree to a large extent, the same percentage is undecided, and finally, there is 3.2% somewhat disagree with this statement. No person completely disagrees. Dance is one of the ways of communication between people and, therefore, socialization. Through dance, people who do not speak the same language can get to know each other and communicate non-verbally, which often happens. Dancers often bond, apart from through the dance itself, both before and after dance. 67.7% agree with this statement, 19.4% agree to a certain extent, and only 12.9% are neutral. There is no person whose attitude is negative towards this statement. Although they have lost their former useful connotation of conflict resolution, it is precise because of socialization that battles still survive as a form of hiphop.

Dance has a prominent role in expressing emotions. The average value of 4.94 for the statement that emotions can be expressed through dance and 4.84 for the statement that all emotions can be acted out are truly recorded figures in the paper. There is not a dancer included in this research who disagrees to any extent with these statements. So, apart from simple communication with other people through dance, we can learn much more about a person than we think. Respondents mostly agree that hip-hop is an art form (average value is 4.65). No person completely disagrees with this statement. However, when it comes to adding one word, it makes a big difference. Hip-hop is not "just" an art form (the lower average value indicates that: 1.90).

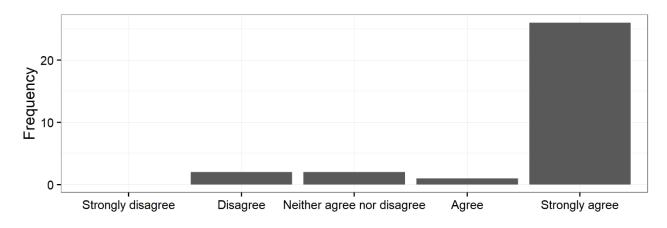


Figure 4. Hip-hop is just an art form

Hip-hop is more than an art form - it is a way of looking at the world, a statement that was confirmed to the greatest extent (with an average score of 4.39).

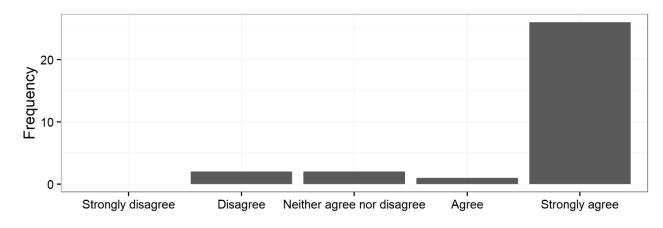


Figure 5. Hip-hop is more than an art form – it is a way of looking at the world

Results presented in Figure 4 and Figure 5 significantly show that respondents consider hip-hop to be much more than art: a way of looking at the world. The respondents themselves support this statement with examples of "use" of hip-hop in their daily lives, throughout listening to the music, a specific style of dressing, using slang, dedicating free time to elements of hip-hop, or doing it as a job (coaches, DJs...), talking about hip-hop with their friends in the hip-hop community and outside and imparting knowledge.

Discussion

The paper contributes to understanding hip-hop dance, its forms, and its existence, as well as the "visibility" of the hip-hop community in Serbian society. In the first part of the paper, we pointed out the chronology of the hip-hop origin and previous (primarily) foreign research on hip-hop. The second part of the paper contains the results of empirical research on dancers and trainers – members of the hip-hop community in Serbian society. More specifically, we tried to look at the competitive form of street dances – battles – to determine the importance of battles, as an element of the hip-hop subculture.

Results of the field research confirmed that the battles are a significant part of the hip-hop subculture. Respondents claim that the dance scene in Serbia is not fully developed yet, although it has great potential. The existence of the hip-hop community in Serbia, which is far away from its roots, is a good indicator of Persuad's (2011) claim that hip-hop has managed to grow, touch almost every institution, and spread globally. As Wisner (2006) analyzed, many people started dancing in hip-hop precisely because of the popular movies about street dance. Apart from movies, street dancers in Serbia have met hip-hop through music, music videos, and culture in general, through some of the presentations of dance, through close people, dance schools, or the internet. The presented results are in line with previous research, which showed that dance is extremely important as a way of communication and socialization (Haas, 2010; Subotin 2021). It has not the only role of connecting people, but also understanding each other and, more important, themselves while dancing. Results that we obtained, confirm the claims that dance is an art of expression, that every single emotion could be presented through dance, while freestyle dance gives space to be authentic and to be in the moment with music and current emotions at the same time (Rounds, 2016; Gačić 2021). The regular dancers mostly deal with only one element of hip-hop subculture, which is dance, while the dance coaches include other elements of hip-hop in their lifestyle. It is confirmed that street dance coaches, who were our respondents, are trying to complete their task, although it is complex because, as Wisner (2006) claimed, they have to find a way to properly convey the essence of what originally hip-hop is and to acquire knowledge and skills about hip-hop, not only as a dance but also as a subculture. Our respondents recognized that knowledge is the basis of hip-hop, which is in line with Gačić's claims (2021).

There is room for community development through support and participation in this specific competitive form of street dancing. In according to expand and not just maintain community, it is necessary, to open the door to the people who are not part of the hip-hop community but may have an aspiration towards it. No dancer believes entirely that hip-hop dance battles could be a commercial event. Additionally, while social media is a great way to keep the hip-hop community going, live, face-to-face events take precedence. As Gačić (2021) pointed out, dancers verify that social gatherings are undeniably crucial for freestyle dancers, especially in according of becoming genuine. Bearing in mind the specificity of the topic and the hip-hop community size in Serbian society, the field research was exploratory, and the manuscript is to a certain extent pioneering, from which it follows that the conducting of further research is necessary.

It is necessary to point out several limitations of this research. Although the hip-hop community in Serbia itself is not large, the sample should have been bigger and therefore more representative. With such a small sample, there is no room for generalizing the results. Bearing in mind the specificity of hip-hop dance, as well as hip-hop subculture, the implementation of qualitative research would provide deeper insights into the characteristics of the mentioned subculture. Such research would also be a basis for potential comparisons of hip-hop with other dances. On such grounds, researchers could validly investigate the characteristics of the audience that follows the hip-hop scene, regarding the degree of motivation for following that musical and subcultural direction. Even though we are aware of mentioned research limitations, we believe that the presented results can be valuable as a valid basis for further, compatible research whose goal would be to look at the characteristics of hip-hop subculture "from below" – from dancers' viewpoint. Our belief is based on research results that show multiple answers to the question from the manuscript title: is hip-hop from the dancers' viewpoint a dance, lifestyle, and/or a subculture? Hip-hop turns out to be a sublimation of those responses, which once again points to its complexity which should be examined more deeply.

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How to cit	e this article:
APA:	Damjanović, S., Popović, B., Milovanović, I., & Šćepanović, T. (2022). Hip-hop from dancers' viewpoint: Dance, lifestyle, and/or subculture? <i>Exercise and Quality of Life</i> , 14(2), 41-49. doi:10.31382/eqol.221205
MLA:	Damjanović, Snežana, et al. "Hip-hop from dancers' viewpoint: Dance, lifestyle, and/or subculture?" <i>Exercise and Quality of Life</i> 14.2 (2022): 41-49.
Chicago:	Damjanović, Snežana, Boris Popović, Ivana M. Milovanović, and Tijana Šćepanović. "Hip-hop from dancers' viewpoint: Dance, lifestyle, and/or subculture?" <i>Exercise and Quality of Life</i> 14, no. 2 (2022): 41-49.