Representations of

Fatherhood and Masculinity in Rap Lyrics

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Fatherhood, and its image, have an important bearing on hip-hop's identity. The process of naming confers identity and gives the rapper an aura of authenticity and authority. One has to conform to that name, actualize it, make it real. Just as R&B and blues performers have taken names that give them distinct identities and personalities, so too have rappers. Some rappers have taken the father/daddy title, indicative of lionized strength, virility, authority, and the ability to dispense discipline. "Old school" rappers such as Big Daddy Kane, Daddy O, and Kool Daddy Fresh immediately come to mind, and two of the newest and biggest stars in contemporary hiphop, Puff Daddy and Notorious B.I.G., a.k.a., Big Poppa, conform to that identity. Living up to one's name, as Biggie and TuPac Shakur did in life, gives them a respect that in death is unsurpassed.

Rap, since it is based on all previous musical forms and is rooted deeply in the cumulative African-American musical and verbal tradition, has made male/female relationships one of its foundations. The ways in which male and female artists have lyricized about relationships illustrate how sexual politics have been and still continue to be played out in hip-hop. As the "old school" princesses Salt-N-Pepa have illustrated in a number of their raps, sexuality and sexual expression exercise a profound impact on youth culture. For example in "Let's Talk About Sex" they call for open and frank dialogue:

Let's talk about sex for now to the people or in the crowd It keeps coming up anyhow Don't decoy, avoid, or make void the topic Cuz that ain't gonna stop it Now we talk about sex on the radio and video shows

Many will tell you anything goes

Let's tell it how it is, and how it could be

How it was, and of course, how it should be

Those who think it's dirty have a choice

Pick up the needle, press pause, or turn the radio off

Will that stop us, Pep, I doubt it

All right then, come on, Spin

This rap contextualizes how male/female relationships are explored and constructed within the larger framework of hip-hop, and Salt-N-Pepa have set the tone for many rappers to deal with this subject matter.

In "Tramp," they turn the tables on men, posing the question to men who only want sex from a woman:

On the first date, he thought I was a dummy He had the nerve to tell me he loved me But of course, I knew it was a lie, y'all He undressed me with his eyeballs Trying to change the whole subject Cuz everything he said pertained to sex So I dissed him, I said, you're a sucker! Get your dirty mind out of the gutter You ain't gettin' paid, you ain't knockin' boots

You ain't treatin' me like no prostitute When I walked away, he called me a teaser You're on a mission, kid—yo, he's a TRAMP

In "Chick on the Side," they again neutralize the double standards that men have for women:

Oooo my, oooo my so-called fiance listen to what

1 say

Whatever game you play, I play the same way

So if you wanna go mess around and cheat

And you wanna romance between another girl's

sheets

Go ahead sweetheart, I expected that Cuz you're nothing but a cheap, little, stuck up brat

Wherever you're at you want this and that You dirty rat, I'm not a welcome mat I got another lover, and I know he cares So smile child, but keep your crocodile tears

The game, the chase, the conquest—Salt-N-Pepa provide a feminist reading of sex and sexuality as a substitute for courtship, all the while keeping the men on guard. They have established themselves on formerly male terrain ("Whatever game you play, I play the same way") as a form of empowerment to neutralize men who play the game.

Female rappers like Salt-N-Pepa provide an antidote to the sometimes venomous lyrics written by men, and though some of the female rappers have played into the "bitch and ho" stereotype (most notably the now disbanded Hoes With An Attitude and Bitches With Problems), it is the women rappers who are now ascendant, providing a neutralization of hip-hop's misogyny.

But Salt-N-Pepa possess a romantic side as well, showing that hip-hop is not all social commentary and ghetto reality. In "Whatta Man," they show a little tenderness:

I wanna take a minute or two, and give respect

much due

To the man that's made a difference in my

And although most men are ho's he flows on the down low

Cuz I never heard about him with another girl

But I don't sweat it because it's just pathetic To let it get me involved in that he said/ she said crowd

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I know that ain't nobody perfect, I give props to those who deserve it And believe me y'all, he's worth it And here's to the future cuz we got through I finally found somebody that can make me laugh (Ha ha ha) You so crazy I think I wanna have your baby

In just one of her raps, Queen Latifah also demonstrates the anti-bitch and ho position:

tell me why when I walk past the guys i always hear, yo, baby? i mean like what's the big idea? I'm a queen, nuff respect treat me like a lady and, no, my name ain't yo and i ain't got your baby i'm looking for a guy who's sincere one with class and savoir faire I'm looking for someone who has to be perfect for the queen latifah, me ("Fly Girl")

In a late 1998 release, I'm Bout It, the Ghetto Twinz admonish men for their lack of personal responsibility, opting for making it on their own, using the "rap game" to get paid:

Responsibility have you heard of it baby. I'm a strong chick and you will never worry me baby. I'm out here working it, writing them rhymes I'mtwirkin' it. makin' that green deservin' it. Homeboy I know you heard of it. Your baby son is growin' up, baby's momma blowin' up. If I catch that tail I just might leave it swolled up.

Any boy can make a child takes a man to raise one Boy you just made one too stupid to raise And these youngsters thank you cold let them know you ain't shit, when it comes to this real shit. Responsibility he couldn't take, and that was one of those mean things that made him fake. You really think you's a man hey buster you's a lie. Strong women survive fake playas die (fake playas die).

and the chorus recants:

So many things to do, so many places to be it's my responsibility, responsibility So many things to do, so many place to be It's my responsibility, responsibility. ("Responsibility")

This rap illustrates that these "ghetto princesses" will not wait or beg for their men to take responsibility. They will do it themselves, without hesitation.

Male rappers maintain a more ambivalent pose in their relationships with women as reflected in hip-hop lyrics. Following are a selection of lyrics from a diverse group of male rappers showing their take on women and their own masculinity.

One of the pioneers in establishing the whole male bravado style of rap is the Seattle-based rapper Sir Mix-a-Lot, known for his flashy clothes and cars à la The Mack. In "A Rapper's Reputation," he paints a lyrical picture of conquering groupies:

I'm rollin' in a Nine-Oh Van. California, that's my plan



Life Instructions
Photo by Helen M. Stummer

Got memories Mixalot left in limbo, first stop

Sacramento

Here we go, hit a Club called Bentleys
Want a skirt to git wit me, hit me
There's a girl with a back like a Cadillac
I walked up and got pushed back
Her boyfriend tells her I'm a playa
Dropped salt on a dope rhyme saya
My reputation offends this man

As he continues his road tour, he manages to subdue and conquer a number of female admirers.

The late gangsta rapper Ezy-E was one of the most misogynistic of lyricists. In "My Baby'z Mama," Ezy gives us a portrait of a relationship (in real life, with his girlfriend Michele) that revolves around abuse and irresponsibility; but it is this arbitrary exercise of power from which he derives his manhood:

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Fuck my baby'z mama
The bitch got drama
And I'm not the one
I should just knock her punk ass out
while I'm in court payin' child support
But when I gotta deal with the father and the
steel
and he's the type of nigga that a nigga's
gotta kill
Make me kick up a grip, I don't like her
coz the bitch buyin' skirts instead of diapers
Beggin' so much to hold hands it's startin' to

look like cuffs I wish I never fucked

In this verse, we also get a glimpse of what the term "bitch" means in hip-hop: a woman who shuns what is considered to be her traditional responsibility. In turn, "bitch ass niggaz" are men who are disloyal to the group, to the crew—those who have not earned respect. Feminizing the term "niggaz" indicates that the men are weak, lacking strength and courage.

In "Ruthless Villain," Ezy-E issues a boast on both his sexual prowess and his manipulation of the rap game:

It's Ezy-E in the crowd
But he's not in the 4
I tell his money flow
And he collects from his ho'
All expenses paid
For the rhymes that he made
Got the trophys in the house
For the girls that he laid
Not a wimp he's a pimp
Now of course he's the boss
So keep your bitch out his face
Or else she's gonna get tossed.

In another verse by one of Death Row's last soldiers, Daz Dillinger provides a long soliloquy on having to deal with child support. One of the common perceptions by

young black men is that child support is a woman's vengeance, a retaliation against a male for not committing himself to a woman. He praises himself for trying "to do right" but becomes bitter and angry when child support charges have been filed against him:

As I lay myself to sleep at night,
I pray the lord my soul to keep, so I can try
to do it right.

There's no one else that I can turn to,
I'm askin' a favor, oh just once.
Oh Jesus Christ, Lord I'm askin' you.
Gave to this world a young baby, know
one's life is crazy,

promise to live the righteous life of the path of my babies.

Watch the clouds spread, and it shades my heart.

The relationship fell apart.

Don't know where it ended, sure can tell you how it started,

she filed child support, and it's really cold hearted.

I've been taking care of you and your kid, all of my life,

mad at me'cause I wouldn't make you my wife.

Daz continues:

rings.

Now I'm sittin' as she tries to get everything, from my house and my cars to my gold

And he concludes, bitterly:

I did so much, to get so little,
Paid more than the court asked of me.
But loving no more, not even a parlay? And
you want me to pay?
It's not like it's for my baby, it's more like
for you and
your nigga,

Why you have to lie on me, and turn my child on me.

(Day Dillinger and The Gang "Baby Ma

(Daz Dillinger and Tha Gang, "Baby Mama Drama")

This rap summarized a set of dominant male attitudes that rotate around an aversion to accepting paternal responsibility—child support is revenge, it is being used by the mother to support another man, and the mother uses dis to turn the children against the father. Though Dillinger is eloquent in his plea for understanding and forgiveness, he refuses to change his behavior and accept responsibility.

Houston's Geto Boys have earned the ire of the establishment, being cited by both William Bennett and C. Dolores Tucker as instigators of violence toward women. In this verse, from "Gangster of Love," one can see how these rappers fuse the hardcore street sensibility to romance, attempting to establish their own masculinity in the process:

Bitches look at me like I'm a faker
Knowing goddam well
I'm a muthafuckin' heartbreaker!
I'll have them crying for months
Cause I done fucked their best friends
and put a whipping on their cunts
They have their mothers to call
But if you done fucked one mom
Then you fucked them all

Consider also Snoop Dogg's, "Pregnant Pussy," in which Snoop summons a paternal commitment only to have it end up in deviant sex:

I guess you can call me a family man
Cause I kept the bitch's baby every chance
that I can
I don't buy them clothes or diapers and shit
But I like to feed their babies with my big
black dick
Cause I'm a tell you if you didn't know

You ain't did shit till you fucked a pregnant ho

This objectification of women is a major concern in how hip-hop culture presents itself, and though these artists are extremely popular, we must recognize how hip-hop has designed its own internal regulatory mechanism, expressed in raps that represent another side of hip-hop, dealing with issues of sexuality, masculinity, and the relationships between men and women. These rappers, many of whom have a different consciousness, provide lyrical antidotes to the misogynistic lyrics of many so-called gangsta rappers. One of the groups, A Tribe Called Quest, illustrates how rappers can overcome the negative images of women portrayed in a sample of the lyrics I have examined. Their rap, "The Infamous Date Rape," was very popular on college campuses during the late eighties and early nineties. This rhyme provides us with a perfect example of how hip-hop can deal with issues—the very real problem of the sexual abuse of women—the general public claims it refuses to deal with, and do it in an idiom and vernacular that appeals to its audience:

Listen to the rhyme, it's a black date fact
Percentile rate of date rape is fat
This is all true to the reason of the skeezin
You got the right pickin but you're in the
wrong season

If you're in the wrong season, that means you gotta

break

Especially if a squad cries out date rape You be all vexed cuz she got it goin' on You don's wanna fight cuz you know that you're wrong

But instead you rest your on the arm of the couch

Envision in your head a great sex bout

Worth opponent, all you wanna do is bone it

You ask can you kick it, she says you can't

stick

Similarly, there are the philosophical twists and turns in Slick Rick's melodic, "Hey Young World," an old-school meditation on the perils of the street life, with an almost fatherly warning to the young:

This rap here . . . it may cause concern it's broad and deep . . . why don't you listen and learn

Love means happiness . . . that once was strong

But due to society . . . even that's turned wrong

Times have changed . . . and it's cool to look

and be a dumb dummy and disrespect your mummy

Have you forgotten . . . who put you on this Earth?

Who brought you up right . . . and who loved you since your birth?

Reward is a brainwashed child goin' wild Bad company . . . now you been framed Your parents are hurting . . . hurting and ashamed

You're ruining yourself . . . and your mummy can't

cope

Hey little kids don't follow these dopes

Public Enemy's "Revolutionary Generation" summons the warrior spirit I have eluded to, challenging black men to remember the spirits of their mothers:

They disrespected Mama and treated her like dirt

America took her, reshaped her, raped her Nope it never made the paper Beat us, mated us Made us attack our women in black So I said sophisticated B, don't be one Not to heed the warning crack of dawn Or is it the dawn of crack? Stop the talk they say, but

We talk and say what's right or wrong Some way we wastin' time singin' a song You cannot count my Mama's tears It's not the past but the future's What she fears

In yet another example of how rappers call on young men to accept responsibility for their children and parenting, Arrested Development penned a wonderful rap, "Mama's Always on Stage." Their repertoire posed a direct challenge to so-called reality rappers in that they summoned up a kind of "family values" restoration, calling on the ancestral past to provide a new cultural context for maturing young people. Though they enjoyed a short time span on the hip-hop scene, their first recording was considered a breakthrough. Notice how "Mama's Always on Stage" issue a call for responsibility:

Hey, let me guess, you're bored Wanna get loose, attack the dance floor Cool, I'll hold her, you have a good time I'll keep your baby awake so baby sleeps after nine

This is reality, we need to turn our minds Brothers talking revolution, but leave their babies behind

Well sister, he's a sucker, just leave 'em be The revolution is now up to brothers like me to step in cause your man stepped out The goal: To raise the children, no doubt

Lead MC Speech raps about the "real" revolution, men acknowledging their responsibility.

Another challenge to that misogynistic and gangsta style was articulated by Paris, who in one of hip-hop's midterm classics meditates on the importance of the past in his "Days of Old":

Or maybe even more of us will blame the white man

Before we understand now the problem's not him

What I'm tellin ya is actual fact
I ain't pro-human cuz all humans ain't problack

Remember in your mind that there still exists a plan to bring down a black fist See the struggle is uphill, life's at a standstill

Jack popped Jill now he don't act real

And every livin' moment got her singin' the

blues

Her sole provider can't afford the baby's shoes

That's the cycle so many of us go through America's black holocaust continues and I just hope we wake up soon before we fold I miss the days of old

Damn . . . I miss the days of old.

Paris's remembrances of the "days of old" center on men accepting responsibility as the foundation of stability, and it is the lack of that responsibility that continues to reproduce that cycle of poverty, sexual abuse, and single motherhood.

Of all the rappers who have become role models, if you will, for young, African-American, inner-city males, none is more important than TuPac Shakur. Defiant rebel. anti-authoritarian outlaw, promoter of the thug life, image translated into reality, TuPac was and remains the essence of hip-hop. Many of his rhymes present listeners with an array of contradictions that have never been resolved, but these raps provide us with some of the most poignant commentary on masculinity and fatherhood ever to be presented to the hip-hop market. In "Papa's Song," Tu-Pac weaves a tale about his absent father and chides him for placing the burden of raising him on his mother. It is well worth repeating for the message it contains:

Moms had to entertain many men
didn't wanna do it but it's time to pay the
rent again
I'm gettin' a bit older and starting to be a
bother
moms can't stand me cause I'm lookin like
my father
Shall I stay or run away
tell me tha answer
moms ignores me and avoids me like cancer
Grow up rough and it's hard to understand
stuff
moms was tough cause poppa wasn't man
enough

Couldn't stand up to his own responsibilities instead of taking care of me he'd rather live lavishly
That's why I'll never be a father
Unless you got the time
it's a crime
don't even bother

TuPac's equation of paternal irresponsibility with "living lavishly" reminds us of how the image of the floundering, pleasure-seeking African-American male wallowing in that pleasure has created the kind of immorality and instability producing Paris's "black holocaust." TuPac has issued a call for young men, especially, to stand up to their responsibilities and repudiate the glamour and excesses of "the life."

In his eloquent rhyme, "Dear Mama," an ode to Afeni Shakur, TuPac again rants on his father's desertion of him:

No ain't nobody tell us it was fair
No love from my daddy cause the crowd
wasn't there
He passed away and I didn't cry, cause my
anger
wouldn't let me feel for a stranger
I was lookin' for a father he was gone
I hung around with thugs, and even though
they sold drugs

They showed a young brother love

TuPac reminds us how joining a posse or krewe functions as a sort of surrogate father for many young black men, and that surrogate paternity in grounded in showing "a young brother love," in a very masculine way, schooling him in the codes and rituals of the street, the cocaine game, and of course how to control and manipulate women.

In "Keep Ya Head Up," a brilliant ode on teenage pregnancy and the young male's role in it, TuPac offers a sagacious assessment of this peril afflicting inner-city African America:

Some say the blacker the berry, the sweeter the juice

I say the darker the flesh then the deeper the roots

I give a holler to my sisters on welfare TuPac cares, and don't nobody else care And uuh, I know they like to beat ya down a lot

But don't cry, dry your eyes, never let up Forgive but don't forget, girl keep your head up

And when he tells you you ain't nuttin don't believe him

And if he can't learn to love you you should leave him

Cause sista you don't need him

And I ain't tryin' to gas ya up, I just call em how I see em

You know it makes me unhappy (what's

When brothas make babies, and leave a young mother

to be a pappy

And since we all came from a woman and our game

from a woman

I wonder why we take from our women Why we rape our women, do we hate our women?

I think it's time to kill for our women Time to heal our women, be real to our women

And if we don't we'll have a race of babies That will hate the ladies, that make the babies

And since a man can't make one He has no right to tell a woman when and where to

create one

So will the real men get up I know you're fed up ladies, but keep your head up

This is an astonishing lyrical melange, combining Malcolm's warrior spirit with a kind of thug-life feminism, and it reveals how much TuPac was concerned with the future of male and female relationships and the responsibilities of fatherhood. It is but one more confirmation of the tremendous diversity in hip-hop, on the one hand, and its fierce contradictions, on the other, and how these contradictions can play themselves out within one artist.

TuPac's sensitivity, eloquence, and quasifeminist consciousness have been overshadowed by the "thug life" persona he created for himself; and his widespread popularity has been cultivated by this thug image. It is essential for us to show this other side of "Pac," the side that has never been glamorized or the subject of extensive media commentary, but one that concerns the everyday reality of men and women in the ghettoes of America.

Now, as hip-hop approaches its third decade, its elder statesman LL Cool J has shown how one can grow, mature, and accept responsibility, all the while remaining "true to the game." His success and the price he has paid for the success are covered in his graphic and steamy autobiography, Make My Own Rules. As reported in The Source, LL's life has come full circle:



Hanging Out Photo by Helen M.Stummer

Ladies Love Cool James. Big American corporations love Cool J. People trying to make a buck love Cool J. Video directors love Cool J. But nobody loves Cool J as much as he loves himself. He wouldn't say so, but he'd be all modest and self-effacing, telling you he's just a family man trying to feed his kids; he's just an ex-player trying to love his wife; he's just a former hoochie-banging, pornlovin', Moet-sippin', cocky muthafucka trying to come correct and set an example for the young kids. . . . "It's not an image. My shit is real. All I'm doing is trying to inspire young people hopefully in a positive direction by letting them know that family is important. . . . " LL is, after all, the closest thing we have to an icon. A stellar example

of how to endure, grow up and become an adult in the perpetually adolescent world of rap.1

LL's ascent and continued success are reflective of the redemptive power of hip-hop. TuPac could not capture that redemption in life, but LL has accepted his role as elder statesman and as father, marrying his longtime "round-the-way-girl" Simone, the mother of his three children, while becoming an advocate for paternal responsibility in the hip-hop nation. Tapping that power should be one of the highest priorities we have in bringing hip-hop to a wider audience. Indeed, LL's appeal could rekindle young men's desire to accept personal responsibility and paternity

as cornerstones of building stable relationships with women and children.

As hip-hop matures, so too do its artists. One of the most important lyricists writing today is Chicago's own Common, who has elevated his lyrical style far beyond the outer reaches of the "reality rap" and "gangsta rap" that have been the most popular genres. In his "Retrospective for Life," he offers a "real" assessment of what fatherhood is and introduces the possibility of a real dialogue taking place between the sexes:

Knowin you the best part of life, do I have the right

to take yours

Cause I created you irresponsibly

Subconsciously knowin the act I was a part of

The start of somethin, I'm not ready to bring into the world

Had myself believin I was sterile

I look into a mother's stomach, wonder if you are

a boy or girl

Turnin' this woman's womb into a tomb

But she and I agree, a seed we don't need

You would've been much more than a mouth to feed

But someone, I woulda fed this information I read

to someone, my life for you I woulda had to

Instead I lead you to death

I'm sorry for takin' your first breath, first step, and

first cry

But I wasn't prepared mentally nor financially

Havin' a child shouldn't have to bring out the

man in me

Plus I wanted you to be raised in a family I don't wanna go through the drama of having a baby's mama

Weekend visits and buyin' jeans ain't gonna make

me a fatha

For awhile bearing a child is somethin' I never wanted

to do

For me to live forever I can only do that through you

Never I got to talk about them niggaz with a gun

Must have really thought I was God to take the life of my son

I could have sacrificed goin' out

To think my homies who did it I used to joke about,

from now on

Ima use self control instead of birth control Cause \$315 ain't worth your soul

\$315 ain't worth your soul

\$315 ain't worth your soul

As the tale moves on, Common continues:

Seeing you as present and a gift in itself

There are more and more positive signs that the hip-hop generation is ready and willing to act in bringing issues of personal responsibility, fatherhood, and masculinity to the fore-

You had our child in you, I probably never felt what you felt

But you dealt with it like the strong black woman you are

Through our trials and tribulations, child's elimination

An integration of thoughts I feel about the situation

Back and forth my feelings was pacin'
Happy deep down but not joyed enough to
have it

But even that's a lie in less than two weeks, we was

back at it

Is this unprotected love or safe to say it's just lust

Bustin', more than the sweat in somebody you trust

Or is it we don't trust each other enough And believe, havin' this child will make us have to

stay together

Girl I want you in my life cause you have made it better

Thinkin we in love cause we can spend a day together

We talkin spendin the rest of our lives
It's too many black women that can say they

but can't say that they wives

I wouldn't choose any other to mother my understanding

But I want our parenthood to come from planning

It's so much in my life undone

We gotta see eye to eye, about family, before we can have

one

If you had decided to have it in the situation I wouldn't

run from

But I'm walkin', findin' myself in my God So I can, discipline my son when I ride in Not have a judge tellin me how and when to raise my seed Though his death was at our greed, with no else to blame

I had a book of Afrikan names, case our minds changed

You say your period hasn't come, and lately I've been sleepy

So quit smokin' the weed and the beadies and let's

have this baby

Common's lyrical painting of a young couple coming to grips with having a child contains the entire universe of what young black people must deal with—their sexuality, birth control, abortion, grappling with making a decision on having or not having a child, gender roles, the huge responsibility of parenting, bucking authority, and finally making the decision.

If there were to be a hip-hop anthem on fatherhood, it would no doubt have to be Ed O.G. and the Bulldogs' "Be a Father to Your Child:"

Be a father, if not, why bother, son

A boy can make' em, but a man can raise one

If you did it, admit it, and stick with it Don't say it ain't yours' cause all women are not whores

Ninety percent represent a woman that is faithful

Ladies, can I hear it? Thank You.

When a girl gets pregnant, her man is gonna run around

Dissin' her for nine months, when it's born he wants

to come mourned

Talkin' that I'm sorry for what I did

And all of a sudden he wants to see his kid

She had to bear it by herself and take care of it

by herself

And giving her money for milk won't really help

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Half of the fathers with sons and daughters don't even wanna take 'em
But it's so easy for them to make' em
It's true, if it weren't for you then the child wouldn't exist
After a skeeze, there's responsibilities so don't resist
Be a father to you child

This should be our call to arms, the message behind the madness, what we should use to summon our young men to the table.

In concluding, we would do well to heed the warning issued in the MEE Productions (Motivational Educational Entertainment) report *Reaching the Hip-hop Generation*. The authors found, after conducting a number of focus groups with hundreds of young people all over the country, that messages must be targeted to men, since they are the foundation of hip-hop culture:

... central to this audience is the centrality of male culture to set trends and influence behavior. Hip-hop culture is heavily male oriented. The music of rap, the characters portrayed as role models, fashion styles, and even interactive methods are heavily geared to males within the culture. As a result, dramatic themes that depict male-oriented sce-

narios were most accepted. Even when we pushed in our sample on sexist depictions of male dominance, they were not offended. More surprisingly, in many instances, they agreed with the depictions. As a result, messages targeted to males often had a much wider appeal.²

There are more and more positive signs that the hip-hop generation is ready and willing to act in bringing issues of personal responsibility, fatherhood, and masculinity to the forefront. More and more signs abound. In the September 1998 issue of Sister-2-Sister magazine, the featured segment focused on hip-hop fathers. The headline read, "Don't Call Them Baby Daddies, They're Proud Fathers." The segment shows how these men can be sensitive, loving, and compassionate fathers, without compromising their massmarket, masculine personae.³

Notes

All lyrics have been taken from the web site, Original Hip-hop Lyrics at http://www.ohla.com/

- 1. Jeannine Amber, "I Need Love," *The Source*, No. 100 (1998), pp. 156-157.
- 2. Reaching the Hip-hop Generation (Philadelphia: MEE Productions, 1994), p. 25.
- 3. "Don't Call Them Baby Daddies, They're Proud Fathers," Sister-2-Sister (September 1998).