ARE SOCIAL IDENTITY MARKERS RELATED TO THE UTILIZATION OF HIP-HOP PEDAGOGY?

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ABSTRACT

This research examines whether social identity markers (e.g., the age, gender) of faculty members are related to teaching rap and hip-hop within academia. It is argued that hip-hop pedagogy is not yet widely utilized within academia because of cultural hegemony. Two methods were used to produce the data: 1) a literary analyses and 2) a survey of 107 faculty members. Our principal finding was that nearly 80 percent of the faculty surveyed indicated a willingness to utilize hip-hop texts and media in their classrooms. While social identity markers appear to influence one’s willingness to utilize hip-hop pedagogy, the findings did not indicate that any one social identity marker negates one’s willingness to utilize such pedagogy. Furthermore, we speculate that hip-hop pedagogy will likely support diversity within the academy when used in the classroom by faculty.

The origin of the study can be traced to an undergraduate class where it was stated that the American Dream is a reality that is “alive and well,” welfare is not necessary, teen mothers deserve what they get, poverty is a personal choice, and not attending college is an act of laziness. These claims prompted us to query whether it is possible to reach across differences and to give life to the statistics and theories that are taught within academia? If it is possible, how might the academy begin to tap into unacknowledged privilege when this privilege has become ingrained in our culture and been made invisible through the function of hegemony?

The previous assertions reflect the hegemonic system that Antonio Gramsci (1971) describes. Within this system, hegemony is invisible to those who benefit from it: those who occupy privileged positions. The function of hegemony as a system of oppression relies upon its invisibility. Furthermore, the privileged often unconsciously express hegemony in their use of language and in the social construction of their worldviews.

Theoretically the university classroom is a place where students become critically engaged with what they are learning. However, hegemony functions to determine what is taught within the university, what texts are required reading, and who becomes a member of the professorate. Hegemonic oppression also informs which students are able to attend institutions of higher education. Unacknowledged hegemony is debilitating to critical engagement. Thus, when hegemony is at work, opportunities for criticism of the hegemonic system are diminished.

Within academia, scholars are able to expand their worldviews and knowledge bases through accessing disciplines that focus upon the personal voice of the author along with the message of the text. Hip-hop pedagogy, specifically pedagogy related to rap music, provides access to the voices of marginalized youth because rap music is a medium through which poor mostly African American youth voice their concerns about modern society. As Bakari Kitwana observes, hip-hop music isn’t entertainment alone; it’s also a voice to the voiceless. More than just a new genre of music, hip-hop since its inception has provided young Blacks a public platform in a society that rendered them mute. It has done the same for youth of other cultures as well. (2005 xiii)

In the thirty-plus years that have passed since its inception, rap music has become part of a global dialogue undertaken by youth from varying socio-economic backgrounds. Globalization lies at the heart of this dialogue, for the global dialogue would not exist if hip-hop had not emerged during a “global information-age” (Kitwana 2005). Thru globalization, the voices of rap artists have become vastly more accessible to oppressed and sympathetic groups around the world and contribute to developing cultural bridges among such groups. (Rose 1994 101)
These cultural bridges include the shared experience of social inequalities that have resulted from globalization—such as rising unemployment, the prevalence of the underground economy, and steadily increasing disparities between the have and the have-nots (Kitwana 2002). Essentially, rap music has become, in the words of Rose, “a contemporary stage for the theater of the powerless” (1994 101).

The existence of this “theater of the powerless”—which encompasses stages, studios, and street corners—is vital because it is within this theater that the voices of the oppressed are able to resonate with empowerment, to speak their realities, and to echo resistance to the hegemonic discourse. Thus, even though their voices may be silenced within hegemonic social institutions, rap artists have booked a thriving venue within mainstream society.

As hip-hop became a prominent venue, or “mainstreamed,” within America and the larger global arena, it has taken on a dual existence—that of a

highly commercialized, corporate-sponsored venture as well as an indigenous art form that reflects (on) the brutal realities of black youth culture. (Dyson 2001a 137)

Although in its commercial existence, hip-hop is a multimillion dollar industry controlled by white elites, its message has not been diluted or mitigated; rather, the ever evolving spirit of hip-hop has created

a critical and conscientious forum for visiting social criticism upon various forms of social injustice, especially racial and class oppression. (Dyson 2001b 152)

Thus, we are asserting that the voices of rap artists need to be widely taught since they shed light on the experiences of people who have been systematically oppressed and marginalized within contemporary societies.

HEGEMONY AND ACADEMIA

One of the orienting ideas for this study is the theory of hegemony proposed by Antonio Gramsci (1971), who contends that hegemony is invisible; it is the centralized power in a society, labeling itself ideal and all else inferior. The hegemonic aspects of American society are white, upper class, educated, male, and able-bodied. Hegemony functions through the use of systematic and systemic oppression. These systematic oppressions are interlocking and include race, class, and gender (Collins 1990). Hegemony pervades existing social institutions such as the criminal justice system, education system, political arena, and social programs.

At the institutional level, hegemony is not readily taught or challenged. Because it is invisible, hegemony has a history of being ingrained within academia’s codes and pedagogy. Those who benefit from pedagogy, those who are afforded privileged positions in society, do not question their privilege because they are unaware of it. As a result of the pervasiveness of the hegemonic ideology, and the subsequent status and position in society that the oppressed are afforded, the oppressed are not seen as credible when they question hegemonic privilege and power (Freire 1973).

Within academia, the written word of the educated white male is privileged. The oral transmission of knowledge has been suppressed and seen as an inferior mode of communication. It has traditionally been associated with women and oppressed groups. Rap music emerged from the oral traditions of African American culture. Historically, African Americans have been excluded from academia (Feagin 2001). The exclusion has, to a large extent, been a result of racism, hegemonic oppression, and institutional barriers. The barriers have included slavery, legal and “customary” segregation, and other forms of discrimination. This discrimination includes the absence of African American writers from academic publications, the canon of literature, and ranking as seminal theorists; it also includes the denial of equal educational and employment opportunities.

When African Americans are included in the academy, they are often given token positions—such as being the one African American writer listed in an anthology or text. Cornell West was the victim of such discrimination in 2001. West left his position at Harvard University’s African-American Studies Department after the academic value of the work he produced while on sabbatical—a rap album titled Sketches of My Culture (2001)—was questioned by incoming president Lawrence Summers. Cornell West challenged Summers’ assumption that a rap CD
As Weiger observes,

The course inspired additional instances of hip-hop pedagogy as Leila Steinberg, Tupac Shakur's former manager and guest lecturer for the course, observed and History of Tupac Shakur under the guidance of the late professor Robert Brentano. As reported in Jet in 1997, the course would be taking

a look at the life and death of Shakur with an emphasis on his works... [Arvand Elihu] will make connections between Shakur and politics, society, history, and the soul of the artist. The course will look at the late controversial rapper as a modern contemporary historian of this time. (1997 22)

The course inspired additional instances of hip-hop pedagogy as Leila Steinberg, Tupac Shakur's former manager and guest lecturer for the course, observed

students and universities throughout the country have requested the teaching materials that Arvand compiled to initiate their own Tupac curriculum. Tupac was finally being recognized in academia. (Shakur 1999 xxi)

James E. Newton began teaching an experimental hip-hop course at the University of Delaware in 1999. The course was titled "Hip-Hop Cultural in American Society" and enrolled undergraduate and graduate students. Pamela Weiger reports that

the hodge-podge knowledge inventory Newton created covers the gamut of hip-hop: history, music, players and slang. In addition, Newton quizzes students on their ability to visually identify 50 to 75 slides of hip-hop's big wigs. (2000 2)

As Weiger observes,

while there is still some bias in the academic community about the scholarly value of such studies—as there once was with nascent Black History courses, for sure—hip-hop classes are starting to catch on. (2000 2)

In the fall of 1993, Allen Carey-Webb at Western Michigan University decided to re-formulate one of his literature classes to explore and address America's criminal justice crisis. In doing so, [he] redesigned a conventional 200-level Black American Literature Survey course, restructuring its

HIP-HOP PEDAGOGY IN ACADEMIA

In 1997, Arvand Elihu, an undergraduate at the University of California at Berkeley, taught a course titled History 98: The Poetry
curriculum and organization and dedicating it to the theme of ‘Prison, Race, and Social Justice’. (Carey-Webb 1995 2)

The syllabus for the course included texts such as Richard Wright’s *Native Son* (1940), Malcolm X’s, *The Autobiography of Malcolm X* (1965), and Martin Luther King Jr.’s, *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (1967). The course also addressed rap lyrics including “Trapped” by Tupac Shakur and “Welcome to the Ghetto” by Spice I. According to Carey-Webb

> Considering the biting social critique made by many rap artists, it isn’t surprising that powerful groups have made such efforts to suppress it.... Examining these and other rap lyrics showed that the issues that we had been examining from the sixties have by no means gone away, and that the analysis of King, Malcolm X, Davis, and others has more relevance than ever. (1995 15)

Widener University began offering “Freshman Seminar 101: Hip-hop” in the fall of 2002. *Hip-hop* was a one credit course that explores the intricacies of hip-hop on an aesthetic level and examines how it has evolved from an underground sound to a multi-billion dollar industry. (Widener University 2002 1)

Throughout the course, students were asked to critique and evaluate songs and contemporary movies, as well as track trends that are currently being marketed to the hip-hop generation through the print and broadcast media, as well as those societal values and morals that fuel hip-hop fashion and lifestyle, and must acknowledge corporate America’s influence on hip-hop taste. (Widener University 2002 1)

The course also analyzed the surfacing of hip-hop culture and its sociological and historical components of spoken word, graffiti, music, and break dancing. The university planned to expand the freshman seminar into an undergraduate level, three-credit course.

Currently, at the University of Delaware, Shuaib Meacham is researching the use of hip-hop and education. His interest in applying hip-hop pedagogy within education began once he joined the Colorado Hip-hop Coalition while a professor at the University of Colorado at Boulder. Meacham is currently working with youth who aspire to be hip-hop stars, by assisting them with the recognition of their writing and language abilities. As Meacham contends,

> If you listen to a lot of the lyrics, it’s really about people telling the stories of their lives. Because hip-hop is a norm, at least among young people, in order to teach young people effectively, teachers are going to have to not only understand what hip-hop is all about but also use it effectively to teach young people. (U Daily Archive 2003 1)

As the aforementioned examples demonstrate, the inclusion of hip-hop pedagogy within academia has the potential to challenge hegemony and to create a space for critical engagement. The professoriate is in a unique position: one that has the access and the status that allows for the opportunity to challenge hegemony through the utilization of hip-hop pedagogy.

**METHODS**

The purpose of this study is to answer the question: Are social identity markers of faculty members related to utilization of hip-hop pedagogy within academia? Originally a survey packet was distributed to all faculty members in the disciplines of English, Sociology, Music, and Criminology, at two public universities and one public college (N = 428). The participants were provided with a pre-addressed stamped envelope so that handwriting would not be identifiable; 107 respondents or 25 percent of the original population returned the survey. The respondents were asked questions about their demographics, family structure, level of education, as well as their knowledge of, interest in, and willingness to utilize hip-hop/rap music and texts in their classrooms. The variable, race, was not used in the regression model because the total number of respondents who self-identified as people of color (n = 10) was not sufficient for performing any statistically meaningful analysis. The survey results were aggregated so that confidentiality would be maintained.
Table 1 - Regression Coefficients of Independent Variables on the Willingness To Integrate Hip-hop/Rap into the Classroom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Unstandardized Coefficients</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>t-value</th>
<th>Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(constant)</td>
<td>1.042</td>
<td>0.347</td>
<td>3.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 25 and under (a)</td>
<td>0.173</td>
<td>0.175</td>
<td>0.986</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 26-35 (a)</td>
<td>0.272</td>
<td>0.113</td>
<td>2.405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 46-55 (a)</td>
<td>0.150</td>
<td>0.108</td>
<td>1.386</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age 56 and over (a)</td>
<td>0.081</td>
<td>0.111</td>
<td>0.733</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex (b)</td>
<td>0.019</td>
<td>0.076</td>
<td>0.252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social class</td>
<td>-0.132</td>
<td>0.050</td>
<td>-2.637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educational level</td>
<td>-0.066</td>
<td>0.074</td>
<td>-0.889</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st generation college (c)</td>
<td>0.036</td>
<td>0.076</td>
<td>0.475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest in hip-hop</td>
<td>0.182</td>
<td>0.055</td>
<td>3.332</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of hip-hop</td>
<td>-0.124</td>
<td>0.067</td>
<td>-1.852</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R squared = .32
Adjusted R squared = .25
(a) Ages 36-45 are reference group
(b) Women are reference group
(c) 1st generation to attend college reference group

The Variables

Eight variables were used to examine whether social markers of faculty members are related to the teaching of rap and hip-hop within academia. The dependent variable was "willingness to utilize material from rap/hip-hop culture in the classroom." The seven independent variables were: age, class, education level, sex, interest in hip-hop culture, knowledge of hip-hop culture, and whether one was a first-generation college student.

1. Willingness: Willingness to teach/integrate material from rap/hip-hop culture was measured in terms of "yes" which indicated "willing" and "no" which indicated "not willing." This variable was recoded for the analysis as 1 = willing (n=81) and 0 = not willing (n=22) in order to make the discussion of the variables more intuitive. Four respondents did not answer this question.

2. Age: Age of the respondent was coded as a nominal variable with five categories: under 25 years (n=8), 26-35 years (n=28), 36-45 years (n=27), 46-55 years (n=22), and age 56 and above (n=22).

3. Sex: The respondent's sex was coded as 1 = female (n=58) and 2 = male (n=49).

4. Class: Social class was coded on a scale of 1 through 5, with 1 = lower (n=1), 2 = lower middle (working class) (n=18), 3 = middle (n=49), 4 = upper middle (n=34), and 5 = upper (n=5).

5. Education Level: The education variable described the highest level of education attained by the respondents. It was coded on a scale ranging from 1 to 4, where 1 = associate of arts or equivalent (n=0), 2 = bachelors of arts or science (n=9), 3 = masters of arts or science [including MFA or MBA] (n=36), and 4 = doctorate of science [including Ph.D., J.D., M.D., Ed.D., or other doctorate] (n=62).

6. First Generation to College: This variable assessed whether the respondent was a first generation college student. The variable was coded as 1 = yes, meaning that the respondent was a first generation college student (n=38), and 2 = no, meaning that the respondent was not a first generation college student (n=68).

7. Interest in Hip-Hop Culture: This variable measured the participants' level of interest in hip-hop culture. This variable was coded on a scale of 1 to 5 with 1 = no interest (n=12), 2 = minimal interest (n=50), 3 = moderate interest (n=25), 4 = some interest (n=13), and 5 = very interested (n=7).

8. Knowledge of Hip-Hop Culture: This variable provided a gauge of the participants' level of knowledge of hip-hop culture. The variable was coded on a scale ranging from 1 to 5, with 1 = no knowledge (n=13), 2 = minimal knowledge (n=58), 3 = moderate knowledge (n=27),
4 = good knowledge (n=5), and 5 = excellent knowledge (n=4).

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS
The dependent variable in the study was "willingness to utilize texts from rap/hip-hop culture in the classroom." This variable was regressed onto age, class, education level, interest in hip-hop culture, knowledge of hip-hop culture, sex, and whether the respondent was a first generation college student. The regression coefficients for this model are shown in Table 1.

The Multiple $R^2$ squared for this analysis was .32. The analysis revealed no relationship between the dependent variable and a respondent's sex, level of education, nor whether they were a first generation college student. When examining the coefficients for age, some of the anticipated effects were observed. In general, one might expect younger individuals as compared to older individuals to be more willing to integrate hip-hop/rap into their teaching since this is a relatively young musical genre. However, the only cohort significantly more willing to integrate the material into their classes than the comparison age cohort was the age group, 26-35 ($p = .018$). One explanation for why the youngest age group, those 25 and younger, did not have significantly different levels of willingness to utilize this material is the relatively small number of respondents in this category ($n=8$).

Upon examining the coefficients for social class the anticipated relationship was observed. As the respondent's social class increased they were less willing to integrate hip-hop/rap into their classes ($p = .01$). Also, as predicted, as the respondents' level of interest in hip-hop culture increased, so did their willingness to use hip-hop/rap in the classroom ($p = .001$). The final variable that approached significance was level of knowledge of hip-hop culture ($p = .067$). However, the direction of this relationship was in the opposite direction than would be anticipated. The coefficient for this variable suggests that as one's knowledge of hip-hop culture increases, they are less likely to integrate the material into their classes. (This unanticipated finding is discussed below.)

DISCUSSION
The social identity markers that influence the utilization of hip-hop pedagogy are inter-related and build upon one another. As the findings indicate, when the respondent's social class increased they were less willing to integrate hip-hop/rap material. This is consistent with the origins and much of the content of hip-hop culture. Hip-hop culture arose from the African American community—specifically the youth—born of their experiences in American inner-cities such as the Bronx and Compton. Rap music is a medium through which poor, mostly African American youth, voice their concerns about social inequalities and systematic oppression. Thus, the correlation between social class and one's willingness to utilize hip-hop pedagogy may be due to the resonance, or lack thereof, that hip-hop culture has with a person's experiences and cultural background. An alternative explanation for this relationship is that those in the upper classes are distancing and differentiating themselves from an art-form, lifestyle, and culture intricately tied to the lower classes (Bourdieu 2002).

Our findings also indicate that age is a significant social identity marker. Of interest is that the two age groups that were composed of respondents under age 36, tended to more highly rate their level of exposure to hip-hop culture, knowledge of hip-hop culture, and interest in rap music than did members of the other age groups. These ages correspond with the general definition of the Hip-Hop Generation (Generation X) – the generation that came of age when hip-hop and rap were becoming prominent forces of social critique (Kitwana 2002; Chang 2005). If the faculty that are currently teaching, especially those from the baby-boomer generation (1946-1964) are willing to set the ground work for the inclusion of hip-hop pedagogy in academia, then as more members of the Hip-Hop Generation attain their doctorate degrees and become professors, the inclusion of this pedagogy may be well underway. Furthermore, a generation of students will not miss the potential opportunity for critical engagement in higher education through hip-hop pedagogy.

Most of the respondents (nearly 80%) indicated that they would choose to teach/integrate hip-hop texts into their courses in some manner, the most common of which was through class discussion topics or through film or music. If one has minimal knowledge of hip-hop culture, intuitively it makes sense
to integrate/teach hip-hop through the utilization of class discussion topics. This method would encourage students to become critically engaged with what they are learning, while the professor would not have to be "the expert" in the setting of a classroom discussion.

The utilization of class discussion topics could be beneficial if students were asked to critically look at what the artists are addressing within the lyrics they are producing. Hip-hop pedagogy has the potential to engage students with what is being taught and to provide validity for what the faculty are teaching. As Meacham puts it,

> early seeds of suspicion have often bloomed into outright rejection of hip-hop as a vital source of art and imagination for black youth. (2001a 110)

This could account for the prior finding since most respondents (66%) indicated that their primary source of exposure to hip-hop culture was via the media.

**CONCLUSION**

In an age where the disparity between the have and the have-nots is steadily increasing (Kitwana 2005), when youth who are working class, first generation, and/or from various under-represented racial/ethnic backgrounds are being locked out of higher education, something needs to be done. The potential contributions that the aforementioned youth could bring to the academic discourse are being wasted. Thousands of young men and women are in dead-end jobs that barely allow them to make ends meet, thousands more are confined in over-crowded prisons, and still others are engaged in the under-ground economy. How is the academic discourse going to address the absence of the voices of these marginalized, disenfranchised, and disaffected youth? How can the pertinent social issues and crises that America is facing be addressed, if the voices of those most adversely affected are absent?

The academy, in theory, is an institution that provides for critical engagement and the generation of knowledge. College graduates make up less than 5 percent of the world's population and are granted the greatest access to positions of social and economic power. Thus, we find it extremely discouraging that students can graduate from college firmly believing hegemonic stereotypes.

Humanity pervades the intellectual work that scholars are engaged in. The theories, statistical analyses, and research that are undertaken within academia occur within specific social and cultural contexts. It is im-
operative that scholars are aware of the social and cultural contexts that inform the intellectual work they are undertaking. For instance, discussions of statistics that do not emphasize that the numbers being cited represent men and women, flesh and blood, sever the connection between the statistics and humanity. When the connection to humanity is not acknowledged within academic discourse, the theories, statistics, and research become meaningless.

Currently, there is a class of rap artists – Gramsci’s Organic Intellectuals (1971) – who are engaged in the production of intellectual work. The voices of these organic intellectuals give life to the statistics – making them harder to ignore – providing depth and understanding of poor, African American youth and the current criminal justice system. The personal experiences that rap artists, such as Tupac Shakur, document within their lyrics and texts provide tangible illustrations of the lived realities of systematic oppression and social inequality. Therefore, the inclusion of the voices of rap artists within the academic discourse is vital - their voices must be heard, listened to, and taught if social change is going to occur.

Our findings suggest a strong willingness among faculty to look at a form of teaching that offers a direct critique to the hegemonic forces that are ingrained within the institutional structure of academia. While social identity markers do appear to influence one’s willingness to utilize hip-hop pedagogy, the findings did not indicate that any specific social identity marker negates one’s willingness to utilize such pedagogy. More importantly, hip-hop pedagogy has the potential to instill diversity within the academy that extends beyond a theoretical ideology and becomes practice. If our goal is for academia to be an accessible, inclusive environment that provides a space for critical engagement and actively practices diversity, we must make sure that what is included within the curriculum reflects these goals.

ENDNOTES

1 As Bakari Kitwana (2005) and Raquel Z. Rivera (2003) have written, youth from various racial/ethnic backgrounds have contributed to hip-hop. For example, Kitwana (2005 126) notes that whites and hip-hop enthusiasts in countries such as Japan, Brazil, Indonesia, and Israel have been creating their own "interpretations" of hip-hop, and Rivera (2003) observes that the contributions "New York Ricans" have made to hip-hop culture since its inception, have gone largely unacknowledged.

2 Feminist theorist bell hooks contentiously chooses to spell her name in lower case letters.

3 Over 100 college level courses have utilized hip-hop pedagogy at institutions such as the University of Pennsylvania, the University of California – Berkeley, Davis, Los Angeles, Irvine, and Riverside, Harvard University, and the University of Chicago (Hip-hop Archive 2006a). Furthermore, critical engagement with hip-hop has also begun to take place during professional conferences and symposiums (Hip-hop Archive 2006b). Additional information on hip-hop courses and conferences can be accessed through the Hip-hop Archive.

4 These departments were selected because the study is cross-disciplinary, drawing on both Sociology and English texts and theories (Criminology departments were included since Criminology is a sub-discipline of Sociology). The inclusion of the Department of Music was necessary because hip-hop culture originated with a musical style.

5 The age group 36-45 was selected as the comparison group because they were the least likely to integrate hip-hop material into their classes, thus, the direction of all the age comparisons in the final analysis were in the same direction.

6 A second regression was performed, in part because of the unexpected direction of the relationship as well as the small number of respondents (n=9) that reported good or excellent knowledge of hip-hop culture. This variable was transformed into a dichotomous variable with the 9 subjects reporting good or excellent knowledge of hip-hop culture in one category and the rest of the subjects in the other. The results were nearly identical to what was originally reported. Subjects with good to excellent knowledge were less willing to integrate rap/hip-hop material into their teaching (p = .03). The R-squared for this model increased slightly from the one reported in the paper (R^2 = .33).

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ing for Tupac Shakur. NY: Basic Civitas Books.


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