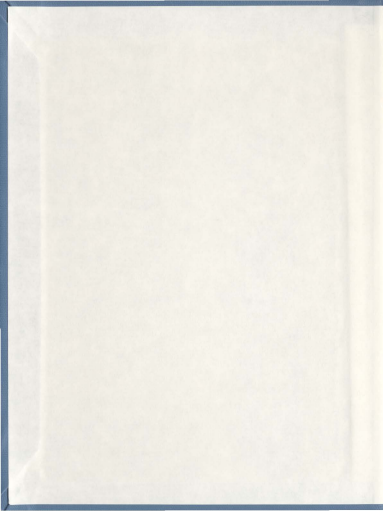


HIP-HOP FOR HEALTH PROMOTION:
AN EXPLORATORY DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF
HIP-HOP BASED HIV/AIDS EDUCATION

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HIP-HOP FOR HEALTH PROMOTION:
AN EXPLORATORY DESCRIPTIVE STUDY OF HIP-HOP-BASED HIV/AIDS
EDUCATION

by

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a critical examination of how music is used in health education interventions dealing with HIV/AIDS. More specifically, this research focuses on the use of hip-hop in educative programs within a North American context. To illuminate in detail how music may be used in a health education program, an exploratory/descriptive analysis of one HIV education program, Taking Action, an arts-based HIV prevention workshop for Aboriginal youth, was conducted. Interviews with the musicians and facilitators involved in this workshop confirmed that hip-hop was thought to be, for multiple reasons, an appropriate strategy for engaging Aboriginal youth in HIV/AIDS prevention. The study raises further questions about the needs of musicians who partner with organizations in this context.

Keywords: Hip-hop, health education, Aboriginal, HIV/AIDS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iii
LIST OF TABLES.....	v
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vi
LIST OF ACRONYMS.....	vii
LIST OF APPENDICES.....	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ix
CHAPTER ONE: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Musical communication.....	9
1.2 Entertainment-Education and Participatory Communication.....	12
1.3 Music-based education strategies.....	18
1.4 Music-based HIV education in North America.....	20
CHAPTER TWO: Evaluations of hip-hop based HIV education.....	23
2.1 Why is music used?.....	39
2.2 Gaps in the literature.....	43
CHAPTER THREE: Hip-hop and Aboriginal cultures.....	49
3.1 Aboriginal hip-hop.....	53
3.2 The fit: hip-hop and Aboriginal culture.....	57
CHAPTER FOUR: Analysis of the role of music in Taking Action.....	62
4.1 Methods.....	65
4.2 The workshop.....	67

4.3 Assessing the youths' connection to hip-hop.....	74
4.4 Belonging to the community.....	89
4.5 Altruism and ethical responsibility.....	91
CHAPTER FIVE: Conclusion.....	96
APPENDIX A:.....	100
APPENDIX B:.....	102
APPENDIX C:.....	104
APPENDIX D:.....	105
WORKS CITED.....	106
DISCOGRAPHY.....	118

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 HIP-HOP HEALTH PROMOTION STRATEGIES.....	38
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LIST OF FIGURES

Model.....	21
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

AIDS.....	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
AOD.....	Alcohol and other drugs
CD.....	compact disc
DJ.....	disc jockey
H2P.....	"Hip-Hop 2 Prevent Substance Abuse and HIV"
HIV.....	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IMB model.....	Information Motivation Behavioural Skills Model
MC.....	Master of Ceremonies
NOL.....	Natural Opinion Leader
PAR.....	Participatory Action Research
PHAC.....	Public Health Agency of Canada
RHAP.....	Reducing HIV and AIDS through Prevention
SCT.....	Social Cognitive Theory
SST.....	Sexual Script Theory
UNAIDS.....	The United Nations Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS
WHO.....	World Health Organization

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix A: Lyrics to "Keep Your Head Up" by Tupac Shakur	98
Appendix B: Lyrics to "The Pain" by the participants of Kettle and Stony Point.....	99
Appendix C: Lyrics to "Do It Right" by the participants of the Toronto workshop	101
Appendix D: "Message in the Music" by Steve Bartlett.....	104

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

My interest in music for health education developed while taking a course in Global Health, with Dr. David Zakus at the University of Toronto, as a culmination of many of my interests and scholarly pursuits. During this time, I stumbled upon some of Gregory Barz's fieldwork with women in rural Uganda who were using song as a vehicle to communicate information about HIV/AIDS.¹ Shortly after this, Barz's book *Singing for Life* (2006) was published.

HIV/AIDS infection trends in Uganda have been atypical with regards to the rest of Africa. Rates of infection were lower there than in other parts of Africa during the early years of the epidemic (Barz 2006). Barz hypothesizes that besides the fact that Uganda's government was one of the first to recognize the existence of HIV, the lower rate of infection may, in part, be a result of informal music-based communication systems. To say the least, I was greatly inspired by Barz's thought-provoking and inspiring look at how music may have contributed to the spread of HIV/AIDS information, resulting in the decline of HIV infections in Uganda. Hence, using Barz's book as a starting point, I began researching the use of music as a strategy for health education all over the world.

¹ See David Glasgow's (2002) article "Singing for Life in the Shadow of AIDS" available at http://explosion.vanderbilt.edu/news/news_barz.htm.

The number of people researching this topic, or similar issues, has exponentially increased since I began my research. In 2006, it was difficult to find scholarly work addressing the use of music for communication around health in the Western world, especially by mainstream health organizations. However, in the past few years, and even months, this topic has gained voice in the scholarly realm (Lemieux et al. 2008; Williams & Noble 2008; Boutin-Foster et al. 2010).

As I formally began this research for my master's degree in ethnomusicology, *The Oxford Handbook of Medical Ethnomusicology* (2008) was published. This publication is a landmark in the field of ethnomusicology and the first introduction to medical ethnomusicology as an exciting new area of research interest. Hopefully, this sudden interest will help to make the distinction between music for health communication (and health education, within a population health and health promotion framework) and music therapy (which is a biomedical application and comes from a biomedical definition of health²).

Initially, my research interest was in investigating how music and song is used in grassroots communication around HIV/AIDS. I wanted to explore how health issues related to HIV/AIDS have been taken up into the everyday singing repertoire in some

² Population health is a paradigm from which to approach health and health care. This framework's understanding of health differs from a biomedical approach. The World Health Organization's definition of health is shared by a population health framework: health is "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (WHO 1948). Working from this definition, population health addresses determinants of health which includes such issues as the interplay of socio-political-economic and cultural factors on health. As well, health education and disease prevention are part of a population health approach. On the other hand, music therapy is used as treatment for ill-health (disease or health conditions) within a biomedical framework. Music therapy is defined by the American Music Therapy Association (2010) as "the clinical and evidence-based use of music interventions to accomplish individualized goals within a therapeutic relationship by a credentialed professional who has completed an approved music therapy program."

areas of the world (e.g. Uganda). Due to time constraints, as well as financial and language barriers, I decided to focus my research within a North American environment. However, I continue to be interested in exploring how health topics are communicated through singing traditions, the impact songs have on behaviour and knowledge in participatory musical cultures, how the information comes to be in song and where that information comes from.

I also continue to be interested in issues around the appropriation of genres by outsiders such as health organizations. In particular, I am interested in how insiders (people who identify as fans of a genre, members of a subculture) react to their music being co-opted (propaganda, manipulation) by institutions. These questions would best be informed by working with the participants of a music-based health intervention³ using ethnographic research methods. Unfortunately, this population was hard to access within the constraints of my research timeline. Therefore, my master's research focuses on exploring how and why music is used by health organizations for HIV/AIDS education in a North American context.

The purpose of this research is to explore how music is being used by health education programs in North America in order to better understand how music is an effective education tool. Something I felt was missing from nearly all the literature I read on this topic (with the exception of Barz's work) was a sufficient description of the music itself and how it was used in a health education setting. I found this particularly troubling considering I was repeatedly reading about the proven efficacy of music-based strategies of education. Yet, I was unable to imagine how the interventions described could be

³ The term *intervention* is used in this thesis to denote an educational program or workshop.

adequately understood or repeated based on the information given. Additionally, I wished to further explore the relationship between musicians and health organizations in this context. This topic, as far as I am aware, has not been addressed in a North American context. Hence, my thesis will include an exploratory descriptive study of one particular intervention, highlighting how music was used and the relationship between health organizations and musicians (from the musicians' point of view).

One of the challenges of conducting exploratory descriptive research is not knowing where the study will lead. The questions I posed to my informants were general in nature. They addressed how music was used in the intervention, Taking Action, in hopes of elucidating the interviewees' experiences with the project. It was hard to predict exactly what kinds of themes would emerge from the data.

Despite training in ethnographic research methods in folklore and ethnomusicology, there were also other challenges in conducting research in this setting. For instance, this project took considerable time to take shape. One reason for this is that it was very difficult to find a project in the right stage of implementation. Additionally, working with touring musicians presented a challenge in terms of setting up interviews as they had demanding schedules.

Based on my experiences and previous academic studies⁵, I see an intricate fit between folklore/ethnomusicology and health promotion. Dr. Diane Goldstein's course in Applied Folklore allowed me to explore this fit. I am, of course, not the first person to see

⁵ My scholastic background is very interdisciplinary. I have a bachelor's degree in music but also studied political science, sciences, psychology and global health. Within my graduate studies, I supplemented my ethnomusicology and folklore courses with a graduate course in Community Health in the Department of Medicine at Memorial University.

this synergy. Erika Brady (2001), David Hufford (1994, 1998), Bonnie Blair O'Connor (1995), Elissa Henken (2000) and Marianne Whatley (2000) have all written extensively about the Western medical system from a folkloric perspective. My conclusion, by the end of Dr. Goldstein's course, was that many North American health promotion initiatives were in need of folkloric research tools to provide a higher level of comprehension in their research, particularly around issues of cultural appropriateness and cultural sensitivity. One of the assets of this applied folkloric/ethnomusicological perspective is that it welcomes an interdisciplinary approach to research which may overcome some of the traditional disciplinary boundaries that have limited previous research in this area. For instance, this type of research allows for a comprehensive integration of ideas about culture, health and education.

That being said, applied folklore and applied ethnomusicology are relatively new areas of formalized study. David Hufford's concise definition of applied folklore is that it involves "the application of knowledge from folklore studies to the solution of practical problems" (1998, 295). Michael Owen Jones argues applied folklore studies is a distinct field of inquiry shaped by its own theory and methods. To further this point, he states folklorists have been employed by many sectors to address a range of questions, with their understanding of cultures and genres and armed with ethnographic research methods (Jones 1994).

Some folklore scholars are critical of applied folklore/ethnomusicology due to ethical considerations that must be made regarding the outcomes of an applied ethnomusicology or folklore project. One area in which folklorists have worked in the past is in developing nationalism through the protection and production of cultural

products (Jones 1994, 4). An often cited reason for this wariness of applied folklore is the nationalism created in Germany during Hitler's tyranny, through the misuse of nationalistic folksongs, or the use of music for torture purposes (Moreno 2006).⁵ This exploitation of folklore substantiates Richard Dorson's (1971) well-known critique of applied folklore; he does not see the role of the folklorist as existing outside the academy. Applied folklore is also criticized by Dorson for contributing to the development of "fakefolk" (1971, 5).

Fakefolk is a contentious topic and often defined as inauthentic folklore which has been developed for commercial purposes (Dorson 1971).⁶ Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett writes that Dorson's use of the term fakefolk implies the "hapless consumer was duped into thinking he was getting the genuine folklore article, and folklore as an academic discipline was discredited with each new treasure and literary tall tale" (quoted in Jones 1994, 10). However, she, like other folklorists, does not see Dorson's strict dichotomy between the authentic (academic) and inauthentic (applied) in folklore research (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1988).

While applied folklore is slightly more established, applied ethnomusicology is still in its infancy. As a starting point, ethnomusicology, very simplistically, is the study (using ethnographic research methods) of music within culture (Gregory 1997). Providing

⁵ See for instance, Suzanne Cavick (2006) who discusses the use of music for torture purposes in Afghanistan, Iraq and Guantanamo Bay.

⁶ Dorson attacks "fakefolk" claiming that the creators of "fakefolk" do an injustice to the folk, the "creators" of folklore, presenting the folk as " quaint and whimsical." The question of authenticity in folklore is a never-ending discussion of definitions beginning with how "folk" is defined. The "folk" in folklore has evolved to possibly include groups of people based on imagined communities such as members of a chat room in cyber space or people who work at the same occupation. Why then, can marketing, a profession often held responsible for the creation of "fakefolk," not have their own folklore which includes what is deemed "fakefolk." Does this exclusion not romanticize notions of authenticity?

a little more detail, Bruno Nettl (1980) proposes that ethnomusicology is "the study of music in and as culture; the study of how people use, perform, compose, and think about music; and of their general attitudes toward it" (quoted in Gregory 1997, 123). According to the Applied Ethnomusicology Network (AEN), applied ethnomusicology is similar to public sector folklore entailing work in "areas such as festival and concert organization, museum exhibitions, apprenticeship programs" (AEN 2006). Despite the fact that this organization believes that applied ethnomusicology is elusive to define, the members of this network offer a range of its characteristics including terms such as "empower," "communities" and "social justice" (Applied Ethnomusicology Network 2006). Hence, applied ethnomusicology involves applying ethnomusicology (knowledge and research methods) to problems in communities, in the hope of empowering music-makers and receivers.

Jeff Todd Titon (2003), speaking at the first conference dedicated to applied ethnomusicology, describes his vision of applied ethnomusicology and outlines current contributions to the field. For example, much of the research done by applied ethnomusicologists has focused on issues of identity and conflict resolution (Titon 2003). Another example includes how Angela Impey (2005) has taken an applied ethnomusicology approach to address ecotourism in the Dakshukh forest area of South Africa. The newly articulated field of medical ethnomusicology is applying ethnomusicology to questions around health and healing (Koen 2008).

Applied folklorists have investigated a number of issues in health promotion. They have examined cultural beliefs around health, looking at how health and disease are

constructed by cultures including the medical culture; they have examined factors that affect decision-making and perceptions of risk.

Folklorists, for instance, have studied aspects of health communication. They have examined the relationship between folklore genres and health communication. There is a body of research addressing personal narrative and its relation to medical diagnosis, as well as its use in health education. Additionally, some have identified folklore that develops as a result of health education and communication. Folklorists, such as Elissa Henken (2000), have argued that folklore genres, such as legend and riddles, provide feedback on the state of medical knowledge and communication between the medical community and lay people.⁷ Henken and Whatley (2000) argue that these legends are indicative of the ineffectiveness of the medical community's ability to communicate with the general population.

On the topic of health education campaigns, folklorist Diane Goldstein (2004) writes that health educators often view the public as uninformed beings that do the things they do because they are ignorant and need to be filled up with information. O'Connor (1995) argues that many people have knowledge and beliefs about health issues that are not necessarily in congruence with the medical establishment. What constitutes a health issue is typically decided by the medical community. The "conception of patient education thus frequently operates on the basis on an extremely simplistic view of its mission: 'communicate successfully with people so they will understand their health

⁷ One example of this is *Jelly on toast*: a narrative relayed by Henken and Whatley in *Did you hear about the girl who...?: Contemporary Legends, Folklore, and Modern Sexuality* (2000). This narrative describes the plight of a woman who was not informed how to use contraceptive jelly and her doctor who is shocked to learn she has been eating it on toast (Henken & Whatley 2000, 18).

problems [...] and they will want to change their behavior” (O’Conner 1995, 177). This attitude is still quite common although much of the healthcare community is aware that in order to be effective “educational campaigns must include unambiguous information that addresses local issues and is presented in a culturally sensitive fashion” (Goldstein 2004, 55).

I see my thesis as approaching an applied ethnomusicology perspective. I am interested, like David Hufford, Bonnie Blair O’Connor, Erika Brady and Elissa Henken, in communication between medical institutions and the public. While David Hufford and Erika Brady’s research focuses on working directly with medical students in medical schools and Henken and Whatley comment on the lack of effective communication between doctor and patient, my research describes the various ways health organizations are applying aspects of ethnomusicology (with or without knowing it) as a tool for health education.

Musical Communication

Alan P. Merriam claims that music, in cultures worldwide, has a variety of uses that are distinct from their functions. He argues for the study of the functions and uses of music as one of the most important areas of study in ethnomusicology. He states that the uses of music are easily related through descriptive research, while analysis of function builds upon this descriptive research “through deeper comprehension of the significance of the phenomenon” studied (Merriam 1964, 209).

In this work, Merriam proposed that there are ten functions of music within any culture: entertainment, emotional expression, aesthetic enjoyment, communication, symbolic representation, conformity to social norms, physical response, validation of social institutions and religious rituals and contribution to the sustainability of a culture and the integration of society (Merriam 1964, 216-228). Merriam's categories of the functions of music are obviously not discrete. In fact, it is due to music's ability to function in multiple ways simultaneously that music is employed as an educative communication strategy.⁸ However, Merriam also argues that music's role as an agent of communication is the "least understood" (1964, 223) of all the functions.

Music is a communicative form. Music can convey different types of information. In North America, there has been a research focus on the ability of music to communicate emotion and on the controversial question of whether music is a universal language (DeNora 2000; Juslin & Sloboda 2001). For example, Patrick Hunter et al. (2010), following a long tradition in music psychology, investigated the ability of music to communicate and evoke feelings of happiness and sadness. The ability of music to communicate emotion is also related to the idea that music is a universal language. Patricia Campbell (1997) provides an overview of ethnomusicological perspectives on this debate. This debate is highly contentious and is contingent at the outset on how one defines language and music. The definition of music in this argument, that music is a universal language, often reflects non-lyrical music and excludes extra-musical factors

⁸ In her recent master's thesis, Emily MacKinnon (2008) used three of Merriam's functions of music to frame her discussion of how music can be used to reduce HIV infections worldwide. She analyzes music-based initiatives around the world based on their ability to entertain, communicate and evoke/express emotion.

associated with music. Referring to music as a language suggests that it has the ability to communicate information, but the kind of information it communicates is not always clear in this debate. Regardless of whether there are universal elements in music, music does not communicate the same information to everyone who hears it. Music that is used for health education relies on the fact that different types of lyrical music have the potential to communicate information to different groups of people. Being cognizant of the non-universal elements of music allows for the creation of effective and credible music-based health education strategies.

In many parts of the world, music has been used for centuries, as a tool for communication, passing important information from one generation to the next (African HipHop Project 2005). Knowledge and information may be communicated through the lyrics of songs (Barr 2006). Additionally, "political, social, religious, and personal histories are preserved and transmitted through music" (African HipHop Project 2005). In many cultures, music is used to address social issues. For instance, in North American popular culture, folk songs were used during the 1960s in the United States as a commentary on the politics of war. Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan are well known for their songs of protest written during this era (e.g. "Turn, Turn, Turn" by Pete Seeger, "Blowin' in the Wind" and "With God on our Side" by Bob Dylan). These songs lyrically communicated the composers' views that they did not support war.

Due to the ability of music to communicate, it has often been used to influence behaviour. For instance, music is often used in marketing and advertising to influence people into buying particular goods and brands (Huron 1989). In another regard, Steven Brown argues that music can influence behaviour as it can act as both a cohesive and

divisive force in society (2006, 22). As referred to previously, music has been used to increase cohesiveness by encouraging people to be more nationalistic (e.g. in Germany during World War II) (Moreno 2006). It is no surprise then that music may be used to influence behaviour with regards to health and health decisions.

The use of music as a strategy for health communication and education has been discussed in a number of disciplines. Besides discussion in folklore and ethnomusicology, it has been written about from public health perspectives (Lemieux et al. 2008; Stephens et al. 2000, 1998), communications perspectives (Singhal & Rogers 1999), development perspectives (Silver 2001) and psychology perspectives (Sacks 2007).

Scholarly discussion of the use of music for health education often frames the use of music as an entertainment-education strategy or a participatory communication strategy. Yet, as will be discussed below, these strategies are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

Entertainment-Education and Participatory Communication

In their definitive book *Entertainment-Education: A Communication Strategy for Social Change*, Singhal and Rogers (1999) include music as an appropriate genre for entertainment-education strategies. Edutainment or educational-entertainment is a form of entertainment designed to educate. This is achieved by embedding educational messages into culturally established forms of entertainment such as internet, television, radio drama and music. Edutainment exists in mass media forms as well as in more traditional folk media forms. Folk media may be defined as “any form of endogenous communication

system which by virtue of its origin from, and integration into a specific culture, serves as a channel for message in a way and manner that requires the utilization of the values, symbol, institutions and ethos of the host culture through its unique qualities and attributes" (Ansu-Kyeremeh 1998 quoted in Panford 2001, 1560). Historically, edutainment has been used for hundreds of years in the forms of storytelling, music and drama. In recent years, edutainment has developed into a formal strategy of education incorporating aspects of learning and communication theories (Tufte 2001).

The flexibility and accessibility of edutainment allows it to be adopted by many cultures, address many different issues and reach many groups of people in a society. Examples of edutainment are found all over the world, addressing issues from the use of farming equipment (Chapman et al. 2003) to the use of medication (Panford 2001). Often edutainment is used to address social development issues and has been found effective in eliciting behavioural changes amongst its participants (Singhal & Rogers 1999; Panford 2001).

Education-entertainment can bring culturally sensitive topics into a forum for discussion and social acceptance (Panford 2001; Friedman 1992). Education-entertainment programs may also work to reduce stigmas and myths surrounding diseases and viruses such as HIV/AIDS (Singhal & Rogers 1999; Panford 2001). In general, edutainment has the potential to increase community participation and public education regarding health-related issues (Tufte 2001; Panford 2001; Barker 2006).

Education-entertainment strategies are based on Albert Bandura's social cognitive framework of learning (Singhal & Rogers 1999). The social cognitive theory of learning proposes that learning occurs primarily through observing others (Singhal & Rogers

1999). Hence, role modeling plays a major part of learning in this theory. As well, research has shown that informal interpersonal contacts are important in persuading people to adopt or reject new ideas and elicit behaviour change (Singhal & Rogers 1999). One of the most accessible ways these informal interpersonal contacts are made is through folk media (Singhal & Rogers 1999; Panford 2001).

On the other hand, participatory communication developed out of Paulo Freire's (1970) education philosophies. As an approach to education, participatory education redefines the relationship between teacher and student. In this framework, both groups share the tasks of decision-making and programming. The learners are very active in the learning process and developing the content of what is to be learned. Within this paradigm, it is therefore crucial to elicit a dialogue between learners and teachers.

Participatory communication projects are ideal for grassroots programs, which employ music as a strategy for communication and engagement. However, there are also examples of mass media projects that use participatory communication strategies. For instance, there are soap operas or radio dramas that encourage people to call in or write to producers with ideas about what the characters should do next when faced with difficult decisions (sometimes health-related, Singhal & Rogers 1999).

Both entertainment-education and participatory communication strategies may be used in mass media and grassroots contexts. Both strategies rely on developing a dialogue with their target audience. As well, music is a genre of folk media that is suited for use in both of these education frameworks.

Barz (2006) argues in *Singing for Life* that one of the major reasons folk media are used for educational purposes is that folk media are established and credible expressive

forms within a community. These are potentially the most effective media for specific types of communication. This being said, different genres have different potentials for educating.

The concept of genre is foundational to the study of folklore and ethnomusicology. A great deal of folklore literature discusses the concept of genre and its implications. Harris-Lopez (2003) provides an overview of the various conceptualizations of the term held within the discipline of folklore noting that genres are an imposed system of categorization. In some categorization systems there are genus-defining characteristics that are mutually exclusive. However, this is not always the case for genre categories.

Harris-Lopez argues that this bountiful discussion of the concept of genre has aided folklorists in defining their disciplines and maintaining its autonomy from other areas of academia (an ongoing struggle; see also Sparling 2008). According to Harris-Lopez, folklorists have worked hard to maintain a folkloric specificity in defining genres, particularly when other disciplines might use the same terms for similar categories. However, genre classifications systems are continually challenged.

Although maintaining that no genre, itself, has been sufficiently defined, Ben-Amos defines genres as "distinct entities, each dominated by unique qualities that transform all narrative features in accordance with its rules of discourse" (Ben-Amos 1976, xxxi). He continues, "each genre has its own rhetorical features, vocabulary, disposition toward reality, use of descriptive language, types of characters, and symbolic meaning" (Ben-Amos 1976, xxx). Within music, genre classification has also been continually reshaped based on needs (Tuohy 1999; Sparling 2008). Likewise, ethnomusicologist Sue Tuohy (1999) argues that genre categories are socially constructed

and continually changing. With regards to music, genres are often defined based on performer qualities, instrumentation or music industry labels. Tuohy argues that these "genres structure the ways we listen to and evaluate those sounds and the way we view our worlds" (1999, 40; see also Sparling 2008).

Each genre has the potential to effectively communicate a message to a segment of the population; however, one form may be a more appropriate vehicle for education in a given community and on a given topic than another. For instance, some genres may be better at targeting a specific age group, socio-economic group, ethnic group, gender-based group or members of a subculture. Dissanayake writing on the use of traditional forms to convey modern messages states that folk media may be seen as more credible with rural populations in developing countries. Contrastingly, mass media projects may be viewed as "alien and elitist" (1977, 122). Dissanayake argues that genres are not equally capable of carrying modern messages. He cites an example where an organization, unaware of the nuances of a traditional theatre genre used the character of the clown to deliver educative messages (1977, 124). The audience did not learn from the clown as they did not consider him to be a credible source for information. The organization had failed to consider who could say what to whom within this folk genre (Dissanayake 1977, 124).

In spite of this, folk media can be effective vehicles for health education as they overcome some of the barriers preventing other forms of media from reaching their intended audiences. Since these activities are already embedded within a culture, they provide a credible and accessible medium to convey information. Performers of these types of media are seen as credible because they are usually respected members of the

community in which they work. Folk media also engage communities and individuals (often interactive), and therefore have a participatory nature.

Each genre of folk media has its own unique way of overcoming the barriers. Puppetry, for example, often targets children as audience members. Puppets may be able to teach children about health messages in cases where adults might not be effective messengers, depending on the child's previous history with adults. Puppets are also able to address issues, such as sexual/reproductive health, gender issues or abuse, which might not be deemed suitable for people to discuss in public due to cultural values and beliefs (Friedman 1992).

Hip-hop is an example of a genre that may effectively target a high-risk segment of the population (mainly teenagers and young adults) to deliver health messages (Hicks Harper & Harper 1999). Hip-hop in Tanzania, for instance, is already very popular with teens and has been used successfully by governmentally funded organizations to educate teens regarding issues surrounding HIV transmission (Eller-Isaacs 2005). "Ishi" is the name of a hip-hop-based HIV education campaign that ran in Tanzania in 2001-2002. The theme song of the campaign was "Usione Soo" ("Don't be Shy") which encouraged youth to talk about sexual health. An analysis of this initiative conducted by Johns Hopkins University found that "youth exposed to Ishi's musical message are more likely to practice safe behaviour" (Eller-Isaacs 2006).

Music-based education strategies

As the HIV/AIDS global pandemic continues to have devastating effects worldwide, entertainment-education strategies have been employed to curb infection rates. Organizations such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS) have recognized music as a powerful tool for education on this topic. Because of its popularity within youth communities, one strategy used by both organizations (and many others) to educate and reduce the incidence of HIV infection is the use of hip-hop music to convey the important health message in high risk populations. Hip-hop music is used around the globe as an edutainment strategy for health promotion (Barrington Research Group 2003: Canada; Stoecken 2005: Tanzania; Lewis 2008, Munoz-Laboy et al. 2008: United States).

Music is used as an education strategy in several different ways. For instance, musicians can write educative messages into their music. Gregory Barz (2006) collected many songs sung by people in Uganda that were lyrically educative. One example he gives is that of a women's group in Bugwe Village whose song implores the members of their community to get tested for HIV and gives the name of a nearby testing centre.

‘Twelife bene’
Let us mourn, let us mourn, let us mourn for ourselves, woooo
Now that we are in hell
Let us mourn, let us mourn, let us mourn for ourselves, woooo
Now that we all have AIDS
Clap and drum
The AIDS disease came to finish us
Let us go to IDAAC⁹
Friends, we need to go for HIV testing
(Barz 2006, 100)

⁹ IDAAC is the name of a facility in their community that has testing facilities.

Famous musicians have also written HIV/AIDS educational songs. For instance, in 2005, Bono and Alicia Keys teamed up to write "Don't Give Up (Africa)," a song to raise money and awareness for AIDS in Africa. Philly Lutaaya, who was an established Ugandan popular musician when he contracted HIV, used his dual status (as a famous musician and HIV positive) to educate people about HIV through his music (Isabirye, 2008). He also used his fame and the lyrics of his songs to fight stigma associated with being HIV positive.

Alternatively, organizations can ally themselves with a well-known artist, tapping into their established fan base. Lady Gaga recently announced that she had been tested for HIV. She encourages her fans to do the same. As well, she encourages women to have condoms and to take responsibility for their sexual health (World Entertainment News Network 2010).

Similarly, some organizations hold benefit concerts to raise awareness and money for a health-related cause (e.g. One World Beat). Many benefit concerts are headlined by famous musicians. As examples, Elton John headlined the "Philadelphia Freedom Concert & Ball" in 2005 and Bono, Beyonce and Peter Gabriel headlined an HIV/AIDS benefit concert in South Africa in 2003. Other benefit concerts are run by communities (not headlined by famous artists). A Google search, for instance, for HIV/AIDS benefit concerts in schools will yield over 80,000 results.

Due to the target age group and popularity of the genre within this age group, many organizations are choosing hip-hop as an appropriate genre of music to educate youth about HIV and AIDS around the world. Hip-hop is a lyrically-based genre which

allows it to very easily deliver health messages. HIV/AIDS education campaigns using hip-hop music as their genre of choice have employed all of the above mentioned strategies to reach their target audiences. Organizations employ established and popular hip-hop artists (e.g. Common, Ludacris, MAGZ) to write hip-hop songs with HIV messages in their lyrics. Some organizations simply use hip-hop artists to endorse their cause to an already established fan base. On the other hand, campaigns that are more grassroots and community-based involve the target community in music making (e.g. Kamamakas Theatre Troupe, Taking Action). Each of these music-based initiatives employs different strategies in order to educate youth about HIV prevention. Although in many cases the lyrics contain educational content, it is ultimately the genre choice that allows for the message to work within the target population.

Music-based HIV education in North America

Although there has been a plethora of research examining the use of music for education in the developing world, there is very little research addressing its use in a North American context (Singhal & Rogers 1999; Silver 2001; Parford et al. 2001; Stroeken 2005; Barz 2006). The research that does exist has found hip-hop to be an effective communication strategy with African American and Hispanic adolescents (Stephens et al., 2000; Lemieux et al., 2008; Turner-Musa et al., 2008). The effectiveness of these programs is typically assessed through a pre-test/post-test design, measuring change in knowledge, attitudes and behaviours. However, none of these studies to date

describes in any detail the creative process, music or music-related decision-making used in their intervention.



This diagram represents the relationships between health promotion organizations, musicians and the youth in music-based HIV interventions. Gaps in this literature include the study of the relationships between health organizations and musicians and the relationship between musicians and the youth/communities in which they work. To gain an understanding of how and why music works as an education strategy, these mechanisms must be more fully understood in order to create effective interventions.

The use of music for health education has been studied and developed from a health promotion perspective; in fact, guides for implementing a hip-hop health promotion initiative for youth do exist (Stephens et al. 1998; Lemieux et al. 2008). Additionally, there is literature examining this topic from a media and communications

point of view (see Singhal & Rogers, 1999, 2004). However, little research has been done to explore this topic from an ethnomusicological standpoint.

Research from an ethnomusicological perspective will allow for a better understanding of the function of health promoting hip-hop within a hip-hop subculture and as well, as a health promotion tool. Additionally, it will allow attitudes towards the music to be expressed and the cultural sensitivity (e.g. Aboriginal and hip-hop cultures) of the intervention to be explored. Describing the process of implementing a music-based intervention will present a clearer picture as to how music is used in health education.

The use of music for health promotion in this context truly illuminates how music is used to meet the contemporary needs of society. This thesis will continue to explore how music is being used in North American HIV education by discussing the existing studies on the topic and providing an exploratory descriptive study of one intervention.

This study may also elucidate how hip-hop can educate and expose new ways to evaluate the effectiveness of this health promotion strategy. To this end, in chapter two I provide a review of the literature evaluating hip-hop-based HIV education programs in North America. Chapter three provides an outline of the development of hip-hop and how hip-hop is viewed as a tool of expression for Canadian Aboriginal peoples. In chapter four, I outline the use of hip-hop in an HIV education program targeted towards Canadian Aboriginal youth. In the final chapter, I draw some conclusions about the use of hip-hop for HIV education in North America and identify some areas for future research.

CHAPTER TWO:

Evaluations of hip-hop-based HIV education

The efficacy of the use of folk media, including music, for health education purposes in the developing world has been the focus of academic studies for many years. This literature generally originates from different academic perspectives than those studies conducted within North America, which have a far more recent history. For instance, literature based in the developing world often refers to the use of music and other folk media genres for education as *edutainment* strategies. On the other hand, the literature addressing the use of music for health education in North American contexts rarely refers to music as an *edutainment* strategy. Perhaps this could be due to the multiple meanings of *edutainment* in North America. For example, in North America, educational computer games are often called *edutainment*. Hence, *edutainment* often refers to commercial enterprises.

Regardless, in the past few years, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of organizations using music for health education interventions in North America. One can even find a guide to creating your own hip-hop intervention on the website for Youth, the Arts and HIV/AIDS (YAHAnet).

Music has been gaining recognition as an educative strategy due to several factors that make it compatible with North American health promotion approaches. For instance, as Diane Goldstein writes, "today most health educators would agree that educational campaigns must include unambiguous information that addresses local issues and is

presented in a culturally sensitive fashion" (2004, 5). Health organizations must realize that in order to be effective, they must be culturally appropriate and culturally sensitive (Delgado & Zhou 2008, 24).

Health researchers believe that using music as a vehicle for health education is a culturally appropriate way to deliver health messages (Stephens 1998). One reason that music-based education strategies are viewed by health promoting organizations as culturally appropriate is due to their perceived credibility within the target population as they tap into existing channels of communication where other strategies (e.g. print-based campaigns) may not (Lent 1980; Barz 2006). Music is not only a cultural product but also a "form of socialization that can provide cues to understanding what is considered as normative values, what gender-specific behaviors are, and what drives expectations" (Boutin-Foster et al. 2010, 441). Using music as a strategy for HIV education may socialize the targeted population into a culture of HIV prevention.

In general, music is also seen as not only a culturally appropriate method but also an empowering strategy (Flicker & Jackson 2008). Music-based interventions are credited with being able to empower youth. For instance, Wang (2010) found that a hip-hop based intervention was successful in promoting and empowering 'self' with a group of Aboriginal adolescents.

Recently, health research has indicated that one of the most effective ways to educate youth about HIV is through peer-based educative methods (Lemieux et al. 2008). One of the assets of music-based strategies is that they are considered peer education strategies and are, therefore, considered effective communication tools by health promotion organizations (Lemieux et al. 2008). As well, music is viewed as a strategy

that is compatible with participatory action research (PAR), which is currently a popular methodology for work around HIV, youth, and minority populations (Flicker & Jackson 2008).

Besides being lauded as culturally appropriate and peer education, music-based strategies are also praised for their simplicity, comprehensibility, affordability and accessibility (Lent 1980). Music is also an integral component of persuasive communication because it is engaging, repeatable and participatory (Lemieux 2003, 14). Additionally, music is recognized both for its widespread appeal and ability to selectively target certain groups.

Music is repeatable in several ways. For instance, it is natural to repeat lyrics in songs. If key information is written in the chorus of a song, it is likely that a listener would hear several repetitions of the same information within a short amount of time (the length of a song). Messages may be more likely to be remembered due to repetition of information. Repetition often leads to increased familiarity with both the music and its message, which has the potential to increase its influence. The melody may also help memory formation and reinforcement. As well, songs used for educative purposes tend to have short, direct messages aiding their simplicity.

In the age of modern technology, educative songs have the potential to reach many people very quickly and quite cheaply. Music is also repeatable in that a recording (e.g. CD, MP3) can very quickly become accessible to many people through MP3 players and the internet. Repeatability, not only within the song, but the frequency with which the song is played, reinforces memory formation. In the age of new technology, digital recordings make dissemination and repeatability easier.

The method of communication (or genre) used to convey health messages can influence the way the message is processed by participants. Iguarta et al. (2003) argue that because much of musical taste is influenced by extra-musical (social) factors, messages conveyed through music use a peripheral processing route. That is, the content of the message is accepted based on criteria other than the validity of the message. This is in opposition to a message that is centrally processed, which involves a critical engagement with the message (Iguarta et al. 2003). Some music-based education programs use music to engage central processing. This predominantly occurs in cases where the lyrics of the song have educative messages. However, these programs generally also rely on peripheral factors in order to elicit learning and behaviour changes. These peripheral factors include, for example, using idolized artists to deliver music-based messages (Iguarta et al. 2003).

"Evaluations of music are often shaped by the opinions of peers and the popularity of the performer, indicating that musical preference is socially constructed and adolescents are particularly aware of the social implications of music preferences" (Lentieux et al. 2008; see also Gregory 1997). Hence, genre consideration is extremely important in designing an educational program using music. In a North American context, hip-hop music is often the genre chosen for HIV education when working with adolescents. Stokes and Gant argue that hip-hop "can be a useful educational tool since its often controversial content opens the lines of communication for critical discussions with adolescents about sex, substance use, violence, and gender roles" (2002, 74). As well, health professionals recognize that some hip-hop is educational (Yasin 1999). Due to the fact that hip-hop already serves an educational function, some "health professionals

recognize the use of hip-hop culture as a tool for communicating health and other educational messages with young people" (Hicks Harper & Harper 1999, 17; see also Stokes & Gant 2002).

In the past, music has been used to gauge attitudes towards HIV/AIDS. Content analyses of popular songs show that music is a forum for discussion of these issues in several countries (Bastien 2009). Stephens et al. (1998) also believe that hip-hop in North America can provide an indication of the dialogue around HIV/AIDS and sexual health practices for African American youth, assessing social norms. However, at this point there are few research studies that examine the efficacy of using music in a health intervention in a North American context. This literature review seeks to explore the research that currently exists on this topic. In North America, hip-hop music is often the genre of choice for HIV education interventions targeting African Americans, Hispanics and Aboriginal peoples.

Although one study in this review deals with a stroke education prevention program¹⁰, the other studies focus on the use of hip-hop-based HIV/AIDS education interventions in North America. Comparing and contrasting the different ways and reasons why hip-hop is used in each of these studies demonstrates that music is a flexible medium for health communication. Additionally, examining the different ways that music is thought to educate provides insight into what health organizations know about the music they are using. Of note, nearly all these studies discussed below claim to be the first to evaluate the use of hip-hop for health education.

¹⁰ I have included this study although it is not for HIV education because it demonstrates a way of using music that is common in HIV/AIDS education, yet has not been subject to a study at this point to my knowledge.

In their study, Lemieux et al. (2008) used a music and peer-based strategy to attempt to normalize HIV preventive behaviours. Their outcome measure was HIV prevention motivation, which was assessed through questionnaires. They conducted this intervention at an inner-city high school with a large Latino and African American population. Their intervention is rooted in the Information Motivation Behavioural Skills Model (IMB) and the Natural Opinion Leader Model (NOL) of learning.

The Information Motivation Behavioural Skills Model proposes that "HIV risk reduction information, motivation, and behavioral skills are the fundamental determinants of HIV preventive behavior" (Lemieux et al. 2008, 350). Besides having the necessary knowledge and skills to prevent HIV transmission, people also need to be motivated to employ these behaviours (Lemieux et al. 2008). Motivating factors include "attitudes toward prevention, perceived social norms with respect to prevention, and perceived vulnerability to HIV" (Lemieux et al. 2008, 350). Lemieux et al. (2008) believe that using music will illuminate and help internalize the relevance of HIV risk in adolescents' lives, motivating them to adopt HIV preventive behaviours (e.g. to use condoms consistently).

The NOL model suggests that "ideas and behaviors are most likely to spread throughout a population when opinion leaders adopt and reinforce them" (Lemieux et al. 2008, 350). The authors believe that popular students have the potential to motivate their fellow students into adopting HIV preventive behaviour. In this regard, the authors chose to use music because they believe that musicians in schools are influential and well respected by their peers.

The authors found that a music-based intervention was compatible within both these theoretical constructs. Hence, Lemieux et al. recruited popular students (the NOLs)

from the target high school to write and record HIV-themed music operating from the belief that respected peers are effective at communicating messages and influencing behaviours. The authors believe that music is a persuasive form of communication due to its ability to be "engaging, repeatable and participatory" (2008, 14). As well, music is influential in decision-making due to the "social implications" around evaluations of music.

The NOLs produced a song entitled "Life is too Short." The lyrics of the song call for youth to remain abstinent as long as possible and for consistent condom use for youth who are sexually active. The chorus of this 5-minute hip-hop/R&B style song, which addressed the attitudes and social norms of this group, is "Life is too short, to throw it all away, that's why we use a shield or why we choose to wait" (2008, 352). Copies of this song were distributed on CD along with other swag (e.g. t-shirts¹¹) and promotional and educational materials around the school.

The HIV knowledge of the students at the target school was assessed through a pre-test and post-test design. Lemieux et al. (2008) found that this music-based intervention was effective in influencing HIV prevention behaviours including increasing positive attitudes towards condoms. Although Lemieux et al. (2008) state that the music was well received by the youth, they do not provide any indication of how these attitudes were assessed. Gaps in this article include the need to evaluate the impact of musical intervention directly. The authors acknowledge this need, but give no indications as to how this can be done.

¹¹ The swag was branded with the name the NOLs gave to their group SWAAT (Students Working Against AIDS Together) which served as a reminder of their HIV prevention message.

The authors also do not identify why hip-hop/R&B was the chosen genre for the song with this population, nor do they give any indication of how the song was written, recorded, what it sounds like, its reception or any lyrics other than the chorus. As well, the genre of music used in this intervention is not identified in the title of this study, nor is it included in the abstract of the article. In fact the only mention of genre in this article is where the authors identify the song as a "Hip-Hop/R&B style song." With little description, it is hard to accept that the authors know what kind of music is produced or the relevance of this music to the community with which they are conducting their intervention.

Williams & Noble (2008) used a hip-hop based intervention with public school students in grades 4 to 6 in Harlem to increase knowledge and action around strokes.¹² They hired well-known hip-hop artist, Doug E. Fresh, to deliver an educational message through rap. The message was written by the intervention team. This track was used as "theme music" during the course of their three-day in-school workshop and to reinforce other information presented during the workshop. The intervention team tested whether the use of hip-hop was effective in increasing knowledge with pre- and post-test surveys assessing knowledge about strokes. They found that the intervention that incorporated hip-hop was more effective in helping the children retain information over time than the intervention that did not use hip-hop.

¹² The adults in the community in which the children in this study lived have a high rate of stroke. Williams and Noble designed this program to increase stroke recognition so that people suffering a stroke could receive treatment more quickly, in hopes of limiting the damage caused by a stroke. They believe educating these children will also stimulate the education of their families at home.

The chorus of this rap emphasized a mnemonic device for stroke recognition, "fast":

"F" is for the Face
"A" is for the Arm
"S" is for the Speech
"T" is for the Time
Time to do what?
"Call 911!"
Time to do what?
"Call 911!"

Williams and Noble claim that "this program is the first to formally evaluate the effect of a health message incorporated into a hip-hop song" (2008, 2813). They also state that "given the adaptability of [the Hip-hop Stroke program] to popular culture, it may be effective among diverse groups" (2008, 2815). This raises the question, which was not addressed, of whether the authors think any type of music has a similar potential to educate or does hip-hop possess qualities that make it more appropriate/effective in an education setting. The impression given by the authors is that this is the most appropriate genre simply based on its popularity with their target demographic not because of any distinctive features of this genre.

Turner-Musa et al. (2008) studied the efficacy of a hip-hop based HIV intervention created for African- American middle-school aged youth in preventing substance use and HIV risk behaviours. Their education program was designed to improve knowledge surrounding HIV, create negative attitudes towards drug use and risk behaviours and improve resistance skills (Turner-Musa et al. 2008, 355). They address HIV prevention through a life course/social field perspective, which states that "success in responding to various social demands encountered during the early life course is linked

to the individual's concurrent and later social and psychological well-being" (Turner-Musa et al. 2008, 354). They see a fit between this perspective and using hip-hop to empowering African American youth. Their study employed "hip-hop as a viable method for transmitting knowledge and behavior change strategies to youth at risk for substance use and HIV/AIDS" (Turner-Musa et al. 2008, 362).

The hip-hop component of their workshop was a commercially available program entitled H2P ("Hip-hop 2 Prevent Substance Abuse and HIV").¹³ H2P "uses a contextual framework of youth popular culture (i.e. hip-hop) exploration to present a prevention curriculum that integrates substance abuse and HIV preventive intervention strategies" (Turner-Musa et al. 2008, 357). This curriculum is based on the cultural competence perspective, risk and protective framework, social learning theory (s-e strategy) and social development theory (Turner-Musa et al. 2008, 357). The program was delivered in ten sessions by specially trained members of the target school's faculty. Participants were provided with "information on how to distinguish between negative and positive characteristics of hip-hop and how this can be used as a tool for peer substance abuse intervention and HIV/AIDS prevention" (Turner-Musa et al. 2008, 358). The facilitators provided "general knowledge about healthful practices & harmful effects of AOD via hip-hop" (Turner-Musa et al. 2008, 359).¹⁴

In addition, the participants had the opportunity to create a 'rap' of their own.

Turner-Musa et al. (2008) found that the hip-hop intervention group did have an increase

¹³ Very little information about H2P is given in this article. This acronym is not even expanded in the article. The H2P curriculum was developed by P. Thandi Hicks Harper. The year of its publication is not given. However, it was accepted by the US DHHS Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration's National Registry of Evidence-based Programs and Practices in 2008. More information can be found on the "Hip-hop 2 Prevent Substance Abuse" website found at www.hiphop2prevent.org.

¹⁴ AOD is not defined in the article but frequently stands for 'Alcohol and other Drugs'.

in HIV, risk and drug knowledge. However, the lyrics are not included in the article. As well, no indication of how the music was received by the participants or any details of the hip-hop used or created during the intervention are indicated in the article. Turner-Musa et al. also claim that their study is "one of the first to examine the efficacy of hip-hop as a substance use and HIV/AIDS preventative intervention among youth" (2008, 362).

Stephens et al. (1998) developed a protocol on how to use hip-hop music for HIV prevention with African American young adults and adolescents. They believe that "an increased understanding of the relationship of hip-hop music as perceived by many [African American] young adults may be used by disease prevention personnel to educate these populations about HIV-protective factors" (1998, 128).

This primary prevention method is based in social cognitive theory (which is also the basis of entertainment-education). The intervention involves a series of sessions and hip-hop music is used in each one. Initially, Stephens et al. (1998) used popular hip-hop recordings as background music in their workshop. As the sessions progress, he uses these songs to facilitate discussions, identifying "bad" behaviours that are normalized in these musical selections. The intervention team proposes that these discussions will create behaviour change in the participants.

In order to choose appropriate music, Stephens et al. (1998) reviewed the content and themes of 179 popular hip-hop songs. This allowed them to assess prevalent beliefs around sexual health and behaviours in hip-hop culture. Each song used in Stephens et al.'s intervention was assessed based on its ability to "reinforce HIV/AIDS risk reduction

messages" (1998, 130).¹⁵ Although Stephens et al. (1998) sought to standardize a protocol for African American youth, they also acknowledge the importance of cultural/group significance. The authors believe that hip-hop conveys messages "unique to the belief orientations that created this musical form" (Stephens et al. 1998, 131). Hence, they suggest that this music is appropriate for use with African Americans. They feel that it is potentially more effective to use materials already established within their target population's cultural context. Stephens et al. do not provide an assessment of the attitudes of the participants towards the music in their intervention. They argue that one of the key characteristics of this music-based intervention is that the participants of his hip-hop protocol will hear the songs used in the intervention outside the intervention setting well after it is done which will reinforce the educational content throughout their lives. As well, Stephens et al. state that "based on a review of the literature, no preventive effort had presented a protocol for using hip-hop music in small groups to reduce the risk of HIV/AIDS" (1998, 129).

Boutin-Foster et al. (2010) used music as a strategy to increase HIV/AIDS awareness with black and Hispanic middle school students in East Harlem. In the authors' view, the use of hip-hop is a teaching strategy that taps into existing modes of communication credible with African American and Hispanic youth. Their use of hip-hop music for HIV/AIDS prevention was based in the framework of social cognitive theory and sexual script theory. Social cognitive theory is the foundation of entertainment-

¹⁵ The songs they use include Rakwon ("Icecream"), Outkast ("Jazzhell"), Common Sense ("Book of Life"), WuTang Clan ("Can It All Be So Simple"), Junior Mafia ("Get Money"), Naughty By Nature ("Ghetto Bandid"), KRS-One ("Higher Level"), Redman ("Can't Wait"), UGK ("Ridin' Dirty"), 2Pac ("Dear Momma") (Stephens et al., 1998).

education (Singhal & Rogers 1999). Youth learn through "expectations, observational learning, reinforcements, and self efficacy" (Boutin-Foster et al. 2010, 443). They argue that music socializes youth and is an informal learning tool that teaches and reinforces the norms of sexual behaviour.

Linking these concepts to the popularity of hip-hop, the authors believe that youth are being taught the negative sexual behaviours portrayed in rap lyrics, music videos and the behaviour of popular artists. In order to challenge these 'teachings,' the authors rely on sexual script theory to provide "a framework for conceptualizing how different perspectives on sexuality and sexual interactions are formed" (Boutin-Foster et al. 2010, 443). During the workshop sessions the facilitators presented material on a sexual health topic and then had the youth listen to a popular hip-hop song and analyze and relate the lyrics of popular rap songs to HIV/AIDS-related behaviours. The focus was on identifying the risky or 'bad' behaviours communicated in the lyrics. The lyrics were used as sexual scripts and provided "a forum for discussion" with the youth.

The RHAP program challenges youth to be critical of the media to which they are subjected. The authors believe that since rappers are of the same racial and ethnic background as the youth, the youth may see them as credible peers, establishing "expectations and norms of sexual behavior" (Boutin-Foster et al. 2010, 443). During the evaluation the youth were asked if this intervention would have an impact on whether they would continue to listen to rap. The authors write that based on evaluations, the "students did not imply that they would stop listening to hip-hop or rap" (Boutin-Foster et al. 2010, 447). Their evaluation also suggested that the program was successful at challenging youth to be more critical of the messages in music.

Some of these songs were identified by youth at the school during the formation of the program. In this way, the program may have 'age appropriate' content, using songs that have been identified by youth for their HIV-related behaviours. However, this may be indicative that the authors had a limited knowledge of the kinds of hip-hop in existence. Perhaps, if they were aware of more positive and empowering hip-hop raps, they would have designed a program with a more empowering approach over one that 'attacks' the music to which youth listen. This also raises the question of who has credibility to teach youth these messages. How influential are school teachers if hip-hop artists have such a powerful effect on normalizing behaviours?

In a similar fashion to some of the other studies, Boutin-Foster et al. also claim that "there have been no programs that use hip-hop/rap music in a school-based classroom setting" (2010, 442).

The research studies under review employ hip-hop music in several ways for educative purposes. For instance, Stephens et al. (1998) in their model for using hip-hop to educate African American youth about HIV propose using the music for background ambience during several intervention sessions and then as a way to start discussion about reducing risky behaviors. As stated, each song used in Stephens et al.'s intervention was assessed based their ability to "reinforce HIV/AIDS risk reduction messages" (1998, 130). Likewise, Boutin-Foster et al. (2010) used hip-hop as a way to engage youth in a discussion of negative sexual behaviours portrayed as the norm in hip-hop culture.

Contrastingly, Lemieux et al. used 'opinion leaders,' students from their target high school, to "create, record, and distribute HIV prevention themed music" (2008, 350) and disseminate it to their peers. Williams & Noble (2008) hired a well-known hip-hop

artist, Doug E. Fresh, to composed and deliver educational raps to children.¹⁶ Turner-Musa et al. (2008) used hip-hop for its participatory qualities, having children write their own raps. Additionally, one may infer that Turner-Musa et al. (2008) used the lyrics of popular hip-hop songs for their educational lyrical content.

Although music was employed in different ways and with different theoretical strategies in mind, all of the studies reviewed found that a hip-hop based approach was effective at educating youth. The populations with which hip-hop was found to be an effective strategy for education varied slightly with regards to age and ethnicity.

Stephens et al. (1998) found their hip-hop-based strategy effective with African American adolescents and young adults. Lemieux et al. (2008) conducted their intervention with students from an inner-city public high school. Over 70 per cent of the students in their study were of African American or Hispanic descent. Nearly half the participants were female (49%) and the average age of the participants was 16 years old. The participants in Williams & Noble's (2008) study ranged in age from 9 to 11 years old and were of African American or Hispanic descent. The gender of this study's participants was not disclosed. The participants of Turner-Musa et al.'s (2008) study were predominantly African American (91%). Their average age was 13 years and 66 per cent of the participants were female. The participants in Boutin-Foster et al.'s (2010) study were ages 12-13, of African American and Latino descent and predominantly male (54%).

¹⁶ Example of Doug E. Fresh's educational rap at: www.stoke.org/sto/DocServer/cv_93_45344.svc?docID=3461 Additionally, this song has been turned into a cartoon music video available at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0QD8_B7MDX.

Table 2.1 HIP-HOP HEALTH PROMOTION STRATEGIES

Study	How is music used?	Goals	Strategy	Population
Stephens Et al. (1998)	-point of discussion, -analyze lyrics	-increase personalized risk of HIV	-peer based	-focus groups -African American adolescents and young adults
Lemieux Et al. (2008)	-popular students, write, record rap	-develop HIV preventive behaviour, motivation and skills	-peer based, information motivation behavioural skills model - natural opinion leader model	-mostly African American/Hispanic -average 16 years -female (49%)
Williams and Noble (2008)	-popular hip-hop artist, -education lyrics	recognize the symptoms of stroke and act accordingly	-memory aid	-ages 9-11 -African- American Hispanic -gender not disclosed
Turner- Musa Et al. (2008)	-perform raps -lyrically educational	improve resilience skills and knowledge	-life course -social field	-middle school students (~13 years) -African American(91%) -Hispanic (4%) Female (66%)
Boutin- Foster Et al. (2010)	-method of engagement/discussion -analyze lyrics	-raise HIV/AIDS awareness	-social cognitive theory -sexual script theory	-12-13 years -African American/Hispanic -male (54%)

The participants of Williams and Noble's (2008) study were the youngest in the studies surveyed. Perhaps this is related to the fact that their intervention was about stroke education and not HIV/AIDS education. HIV/AIDS education may not be an age appropriate topic for this younger crowd as it deals with sexual health. The age at which sexual health topics are introduced in schools is constantly changing and a contentious issue within many communities.

This intervention also used hip-hop as a strategy to increase memory retention, as a mnemonic device, about strokes. It did not, in the same way as the other studies, claim to tap into hip-hop culture.

Why is music used?

One of the reasons cited by most of these studies for the choice of hip-hop music was simply that hip-hop is the most popular genre of music listened to by youth in North America (Stokes & Gant 2002, Turner-Musa et al. 2008). A recent study by the Kaiser Foundation found that 65 per cent of youth in grades seven to twelve listened to hip-hop on a daily basis (Boutin-Foster et al. 2010). Of the youth that listen to hip-hop, this study found that 60 per cent were Caucasian, 70 per cent were Latino and 80 per cent were Black. Hence, Boutin-Foster et al., for instance, justify their use of hip-hop music with their target population stating "hip-hop/rap music [...] is the most common genre of music listened to by urban Black and Latino youth" (2010, 441).

Besides being the most popular genre, hip-hop culture and music provide an established "form of socialization of adolescents" that shapes "what is considered as

normative values, what gender specific behaviours are, and what drives expectations” (Boutin-Foster et al. 2010, 441). According to Boutin-Foster et al., hip-hop and rap music also create “a social environment in which music is shared by individuals and thus provides opportunities for sharing of misconceptions and the perpetuation of unrealistic perceptions that may influence sexual behaviors” (2010, 443). Hence, using this music allows the health education team an access point into the lives of hip-hop enthusiasts where it is normal and credible for issues of sexual health to be discussed.

Popular hip-hop music was chosen as a strategy for education in one case because it was expected that it would help youth to personalize the risk of HIV infection. Research has shown that youth rarely feel vulnerable to HIV (Stephens et al. 1998; Lemieux et al. 2008). Therefore, having youth personalize the risk of HIV infection is a common goal of education programs. As a result of Stephens et al.’s (1998) intervention, it was expected that there would be an increase in personalization of HIV infection risks due to the relationship many youth have with their favourite music as well as how it is delivered. Developing effective strategies that increase the personalization of the risk of HIV infection presents a challenge for many health educators. While many youth feel a personal connection to the music to which they listen, one must realize that this personal connection may or may not be towards a whole genre.

Due to the influence that hip-hop has on decision-making and the formation of behavioural norms for many youth, Stephens et al. (1998) believe that using hip-hop as a way to engage youth will increase the chances that its audience will personalize HIV infection risks. As well, Stephens et al. (1998) argue that the popular music they use in their intervention is poor developed content because the performers/composers come from

similar backgrounds as the participants of their intervention. It is acknowledged in much health promotion literature that peer-delivered information is one of the most effective ways to communicate health information with youth (Flicker & Jackson 2008, 12; Majumdar et al. 2004; Steenbeek 2004). Because the music they used was developed by 'peers,' Stephens et al. (1998) felt that 'peer'-developed and delivered content would have an added level of personalization. However, Lemieux et al. (2008) challenge Stephens et al.'s belief that popular music is peer-developed content. The performers of this music come from varying backgrounds. As well, being popular musicians, their life histories are considerably different from those of the youth targeted by these interventions. Often, even the age of the performers is also significantly different from the age of the target intervention group.

One of the goals of Turner-Musa et al.'s (2008) intervention was to use hip-hop in order to "improve youth skills and knowledge about the dangers of substance use and HIV; create negative attitudes towards drug use and risky sexual behaviors; and improve drug and sexual resistance skills" (Turner-Musa et al. 2008, 355). Turner-Musa et al. (2008) chose to use hip-hop for their intervention because, besides being a popular youth culture (in the United States) and the fact that African American youth spend a lot of their time listening to hip-hop music, the authors argue that hip-hop is "influential in decision making and behavioral choices among African-American urban youth" (Turner-Musa et al. 2008, 353). They also chose this music as they believe it to be empowering as it collectively relates messages of the underprivileged and disenfranchised. They see this music as an effective way to promote strength and resilience in this population. On the other hand, hip-hop was chosen by Williams & Noble (2008) due to its proven ability to

aid memory, as a mnemonic device, as well as for its cultural appropriateness for African American and Caribbean-Hispanic populations (2008, 2814).

Stephens et al. state that hip-hop is a culturally relevant strategy for reducing HIV infection with African American adolescents. They state "one cannot over-emphasize the effectiveness of using mediums that are developed within the cultural and environmental influences of the target audience" (Stephens et al. 1998, 135). They argue that using music may make participants more likely to change their behaviours than other strategies would (Stephens et al. 1998, 129).

Stokes & Gant (2002) discuss the feasibility of using hip-hop as a promising strategy for HIV education with African American adolescent girls. African American adolescent girls are disproportionately affected by HIV and health professionals continue to develop effective strategies for HIV education. One of the reasons these authors see hip-hop as an effective strategy for HIV/AIDS communication with African American adolescent girls is because the messages delivered through hip-hop are in the vernacular of this population.

Hip-hop opens lines of communication about sexual health with African American adolescent girls. Stokes & Gant (2002) argue that there is a dialogue around sex and sexuality already established in hip-hop. Although there are many negative sexual health-related messages in hip-hop, the authors feel that hip-hop lyric -based HIV/AIDS prevention messages can compete with these to reach African American adolescent girls. They believe that hip-hop can be used to challenge the gendered (and potentially risky) roles that are being enforced in hip-hop culture.

They also choose this medium because they see it as relevant in the lives of this target population. As well, they see a correlation between marginalization and oppression and risk for HIV. They state that hip-hop is "an appropriate cultural framework for exploring HIV risk [...] since the experiences of marginalization and oppression are expressed through this medium" (Stokes & Gant 2002, 74).

While Stokes and Gant (2002) see hip-hop as an effective strategy with this population, they also argue that hip-hop culture is dynamic and always evolving. They warn that not all hip-hop is created equal and that hip-hop music can become dated and lose its credibility within this population. They contrast hip-hop artist L'il Bow Wow with Salt N' Pepa, stating that although Salt N' Pepa's track "Let's Talk about Sex" has been used in HIV education materials, it is now dated and perhaps lacks the credibility that a more contemporary artist such as L'il Bow Wow, may have (Stokes & Gant 2002, 75).

Gaps in the Literature

Using media that are specifically developed within a culture may contribute to the effectiveness of an intervention. There remains, however, a question that has not been assessed in the health literature about who can use the genre. Does everyone have the same potential to work with African American teen girls, for instance, using hip-hop? In the above outlined studies, the interventions were implemented by people outside the target communities. In most cases, the intervention was run by teachers or health professionals. In the one case where a hip-hop artist delivered a message, via rap, the message was written by the intervention team. Further investigation is required into the

impact that program deliverers have on the effectiveness of health communication in order to better understand who is a credible source of health information for youth and how this interacts with the use of music as a health communication strategy.

Additionally, there is a call for more collaboration between researchers and the populations with which they work. "Although HIV/STD prevention programs for adolescents have traditionally considered adult researchers and public health practitioners as the 'experts,' successful interventions have included components of peer-based strategies. However, many programs are developed by adults, and incorporating youth into collaborative research is still considered novel" (Stokes & Gant 2002, 76).

Gender and sex were not highlighted as factors of assessment in any of the studies of the effectiveness of the music-based education programs. This is highly problematic and makes one question whether children/youth are thought of as genderless or sexless by program designers. When dealing with sexual health topics, one would expect that gender would be a focus in these studies, especially due to the gendered differences of sexual health responsibility and sexual health decision-making recognized by the health community (Stokes & Gant 2002). More specific to gender and the use of music for health education, there is research to support that adolescent girls are more influenced through music than adolescent boys (Stokes & Gant 2002; Lemieux et al. 2008). Likewise, sexuality was not a factor discussed in any of these studies.

In their work on the use of hip-hop for health education, Stokes & Gant (2002) raise several questions about gender, sex and the use of hip-hop for HIV/AIDS education. Does hip-hop have the same meaning for males and females? While during hip-hop's genesis the roles for men and women were much more equitable, commercial hip-hop has

created gendered roles for males and females. If hip-hop-based programs continue to prove successful in HIV/AIDS education, could they be made more effective by designing them differently for male or female populations? Of the studies reviewed, only Stokes and Gant (2002) had designed their intervention to target a population based on their sex (adolescent girls). None of the reviewed articles commented on whether they expected there to be a difference in outcomes depending on whether the participant was male or female.

Stokes and Gant also call for more research to disentangle “interactions among race/ethnicity, gender, class, culture, and age” (2002, 71). Such research would provide a much more comprehensive view and holistic picture of how hip-hop-based HIV/AIDS education works within the population being studied.

Although hip-hop is proving to be an effective strategy to address HIV/AIDS prevention amongst a variety of populations, there is a danger of romanticizing the power of hip-hop culture. At the same time, there is also a danger of incriminating hip-hop culture. The tendency towards incriminating hip-hop culture can be seen in some studies and literature where it is viewed as a determinant of health. For instance Hicks Harper & Harper (1999) believe that hip-hop youth culture is a “public health issue” and that the focus by health professionals up to now has been on reaffirming “youth culture as a risk factor” in health.

Another issue that requires further investigation is what it means for youth to have ‘their’ music co-opted. Of the studies reviewed, only Boutin-Foster et al. (2010) indicate that they surveyed the youth in their study about their attitudes towards the music used in the intervention. Since the research team was using popular music texts to identify “bad”

behaviours, they assessed whether this would deter youth from listening to hip-hop music in the future. According to their findings, the intervention would not impact the enjoyment of music but may create more critical listeners.

A common usage of music for health education that was not discussed in the literature is employing an artist to ally him/herself with a cause, thereby addressing his/her pre-existing fan base. An overview of this strategy is discussed by Singhal and Rogers (1999). This strategy is problematic for assessment. It is hard to quantify the effects of this type of intervention on knowledge/behaviour change as there are many interfering factors that may influence outcomes.

In many ways these HIV/AIDS education interventions use hip-hop music without understanding hip-hop culture. For instance, Bostin-Foster *et al.* claim that "hip-hop or rap music has become by far the most widely celebrated expression of the hip-hop culture that transcends race, ethnicity, and gender" (2010, 441). This belief that hip-hop has the ability to "transcend" factors such as race, ethnicity and gender is problematic from an ethnomusicological or cultural studies standpoint and demonstrates a limited understanding of hip-hop culture, unless this statement is further qualified. Hip-hop does not exist as a unified whole nor does it exist outside factors such as race, ethnicity and gender. It is the flexibility of hip-hop as a genre to be adapted to different cultural/socio/political/gendered contexts that has allowed it such popularity amongst diverse populations. An understanding of hip-hop culture by the HIV/AIDS program developers may lead to more effective communication strategies. However, if health organizations are content with the results they achieve through their interventions (such as a measurable increase in knowledge or change in behaviour), there is no incentive to learn

about the culture that they are 'tapping' into. This could result in interventions that only seem to be 'tapping' into hip-hop and hip-hop culture when in actuality the learning that may or may not occur might not have anything to do with the medium which was chosen.

Hicks Harper & Harper, speaking about mass media and social marketing campaigns, warn that "preventionists should be cautioned not to attempt to use youth popular culture for prevention if their understanding of the phenomenon is limited [...]. The context and message delivery *have got to be real* and contain elements, such as the culture's formal features, which show authenticity" (1999, 64). This sentiment is equally appropriate for small-scale participatory projects.

All of the interventions under review were targeted toward African Americans or Hispanic youth. There are however, many ethnic differences within the epidemiological category 'African American' or 'Hispanic.' These differences seem to be accentuated (hip-hop is for African Americans) and then ignored (implying that African American is a homogenous group). Whether hip-hop-based interventions could work with a white middle-class population has yet to be explored. Their efficacy has not yet been assessed in the literature.

Further research is required to assess attitudes towards the use of hip-hop by the audience, both prior to the education initiative and after the completion of the project. Although acknowledging that music is an effective tool for health education, health educators still have little understanding as to how they may work. Pretest/posttest assessments of knowledge change have demonstrated the effectiveness of music as a communication strategy. However, there has been little evaluative research on the response of youth to the use of music and the extra-musical factors that influence

learning. Further research is also required to continue evaluating how use of hip-hop compares to other educational strategies.

As well, defining 'cultural appropriateness' and 'peer' continues to present a challenge in the literature. Additionally, there is very little description of how hip-hop is actually used in any of these interventions. Few studies include the lyrics of the songs used, the attitudes of the participants towards music in general or in the program, when the songs were played and how the lyrics were constructed.

However, in general, within the studies conducted, hip-hop proved to be an effective strategy for health communication with several age groups and people of various ethnicities. Hip-hop is a promising tool for health education as it allows for the interconnectivity of gender, race, age, class, ethnicity and oppression to be expressed. Understanding and addressing the interconnectivity of these factors is critical in delivering credible and relevant messages to target populations.

CHAPTER THREE:

Hip-hop and Aboriginal cultures

As evident in the previous chapter, hip-hop is a popular genre for HIV education in North America. In this chapter, I will outline, briefly, the origins of hip-hop and how hip-hop has come to be an influential genre for many Canadian Aboriginal youth. This is in preparation for the exploratory descriptive study of *Taking Action*, which used hip-hop music as a genre to engage Aboriginal youth around HIV prevention.

Hip-hop culture developed in the highly urbanized area of the South Bronx of New York in the 1970s amongst African American and Hispanic youth. During the 1970s, the south Bronx was a place of extreme poverty and the African American, Puerto Rican and Hispanic people who inhabited this area were subjected to extreme marginalization (Rose 1994). Hip-hop provided a way for youth to voice and critique the realities they faced in their daily lives (Lahkari 2009). Rose (1994) writes that hip-hop started as a competition (rap and breaking) between rival crews perhaps as an alternative to violence.¹⁷

David Stovall (2006) used hip-hop in an educational context with youth in schools as a strategy for engagement in political and ideological issues in their communities. Perhaps one of the reasons that hip-hop is an effective medium for education with the target communities previously discussed is that based on the origins of hip-hop, it is seen as an endogenous, credible, empowering, educational and political medium.

¹⁷ See also Dimitriadis (2009) ; Forman and Neal (2004); Chang (2005).

Traditionally, hip-hop is comprised of four components: breaking, graffiti, DJ-ing and rap¹⁸ (Rose 1994). Breaking is a form of dance that was often a competition between different crews. Graffiti (and tagging) is a form of street art, marking territories. DJ-ing is the act of spinning, scratching records and matching beats. Rap is a rhythmically and lyrically-based form of storytelling. Words (lyrics, poetry) are set to beats and said in a rhythmic style. Tricia Rose describes hip-hop music as a "complex fusion of folk orality and postmodern technology" (1989, 85). Hicks Harper and Harper describe hip-hop as "marked by a physical, energetic or calm, emotionally intense, repetitive, rhythmic, rhyme, call and response conversation. In form and content, Rap is a highly technological art that relies on the reformulation of recorded sound in conjunction with oral rhymes to create its texture" (1999, 25). Often words are chosen because of multiple meanings, rhythmic patterns or rhymes.

Rap is performed over a prerecorded beat or samples. The use of samples is called sampling, when a DJ interweaves themes from various songs together. In the early days of hip-hop, MCs (Master of Ceremonies) would 'battle' other MCs, trying to cleverly out-rhyme their opponents in freestyle rap (Alim et al. 2009).¹⁹

Hip-hop is a popular and vibrant youth subculture in North America and all over the world. Like all musical subcultures, hip-hop subculture has its own set of meanings and symbols that denote belonging and authenticity (Dimitriadis 2006). Some of these symbols belong to a global hip-hop culture and some are much more localized.

¹⁸ Although hip-hop is a culture surrounding these elements, the term hip-hop is often used in common place to signify "rap" music. In this paper the terms hip-hop and rap will be used interchangeably and will be distinct from what I shall refer to as hip-hop culture. Hip-hop culture, including rap, gave voice to these disenfranchised young Americans living in the Bronx (Rose 1994).

¹⁹ MC is a hip-hop term for someone who raps.

Hip-hop language is related to identity and authenticity in hip-hop culture. Word choice can be representative of race and class. Language can also be representative of localized hip-hop cultures (Cuffler 2007). Tony Mitchell (2000) describes local language use as "resistant vernaculars" in Italy, France and Indigenous cultures. He cites the example of an Italian-based group who uses their local dialect to identify themselves as part of the local community. He quotes a member of the group who states, "'We prefer Sardinian slang rap. You have to defend your pride in being Sardinian'" (48).

Since its inception, hip-hop has become commercialized and is now a popular subculture in North America. Yet there are many subgenres of hip-hop that still persist, both in and out of the mainstream. The subgenres of hip-hop have distinct traits. Hicks Harper and Harper (1999) provide a chart listing the characteristics of many hip-hop subgenres in their publication, *Hip-Hop's Influence Within Youth Popular Culture: A Catalyst for Reaching America's Youth with Substance Abuse Prevention Messages*. Subgenres of hip-hop include "East Coast, West Coast, teen rap, party rap gangsta rap, Southern rap, acid rap, dance-centred rap, dirty South, and political rap" (McNair & Powles 2005, 351; see also Krims 2000). Evidently, this list is not exhaustive and there may be overlap between the subgenres of hip-hop. While all subgenres of hip-hop have the potential to be educational on some level, some subgenres may be more or less appropriate for HIV education than others. This appropriateness may depend on factors such as the audience of the subgenre, the topics covered by the subgenre or the behaviours endorsed by the music and musicians.

While some hip-hop artists continue to use rap to express critical political social commentary, others deal with the "bling-bling, the music that embraces the glamorous

life, the live-now-I-got-mine attitude found in countless hits, and in flashy videos where hootchy mamas bounce their backsides" (Butler 2004, 991). Although rap music is commercialized, there is still a strong underground political, pro-social hip-hop subculture (Hicks Harper & Harper 1999, 25).

Perhaps the most well-known and most controversial subgenre of hip-hop is gangsta rap. Gangsta rap has a notorious reputation for promoting many asocial behaviours such as misogyny, homophobia, violence, gangs, profanity, sexual promiscuity, homophobia, rape, vandalism, thievery and drug and alcohol abuse (Rose 1994; Potter 1995; Stokes & Gant 2002; Krims 2000). Based on gangsta rap's negative reputation, hip-hop as a whole is often perceived as a negative influence in the lives of adolescents, shaping their beliefs, norms and expectations. However, hip-hop is a very diverse subculture. Many hip-hop enthusiasts do not listen to gangsta rap or support its 'values.'

Although having very localized beginnings, Tony Mitchell writes, "hip-hop and rap can not be viewed simply as an expression on African-American culture; it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identities all over the world" (2001, 1). Hip-hop has been adopted by the marginalized and invisible within many cultures around the globe (e.g. immigrants, indigenous peoples). Based on their research with Aboriginal youth, Ignace & Ignace believe that "marginalized art forms attract marginalized youth" (2005, 16). As will be discussed in chapter four, many of the Aboriginal youth participating in Taking Action, an HIV/AIDS education workshop, choose hip-hop as an art form through which to express themselves.

Hip-hop and hip-hop culture have demonstrated a flexibility, which has allowed them to be "used in different local contexts to espouse the causes of ethnic minorities and to make political statements about local racial, sexual and employment and class issues" (Mitchell 2001, 10). In many nations, hip-hop has provided a medium for voices of the unheard to be expressed (e.g. the Aboriginal people of Australia, the Maori of New Zealand, people of ethnic minorities in France and Italy). Notably hip-hop has been adopted by many Aboriginal groups around the world. Similar to the experience of the 1970s youth in the Bronx, hip-hop today provides Aboriginal youth with a voice to express the struggles they face (Efron 2001; Hollands 2004; Ignace & Ignace 2005; Lashua 2006). Tony Mitchell has written extensively about hip-hop and Aboriginal groups in Australia and New Zealand (see Mitchell 2000, 2001, 2003, 2006). While much of popular hip-hop music and culture is stereotyped with a negative image, Tony Mitchell (2006) argues that Aboriginal hip-hop is "often positive" and empowering.

Aboriginal hip-hop

It is problematic to denote "Aboriginal hip-hop" as a genre or subgenre of music for several reasons. Firstly, there are many diverse Aboriginal populations across the globe. Hence, the term "Aboriginal" is not descriptive of a particular culture or group of people. Even in its narrowest definition, it is an imagined community (Anderson 1983). Secondly, "Aboriginal hip-hop" may suggest that there is a unified group of listeners and that only Aboriginal youth listen to this music (but this may not mean that the performer is Aboriginal). Thirdly, "Aboriginal hip-hop" may suggest hip-hop created by someone

who self-identifies or is identified by others as Aboriginal. This gets into a very complex question of identity politics. The term "Aboriginal hip-hop" also suggests that the lyrical content of this genre deals with "Aboriginal" issues, that there is something identifiably "Aboriginal" about this music that may be discerned from listening to it.

In this paper, I use the term Aboriginal hip-hop to denote hip-hop created by people who self identify as Aboriginal. I provide a brief discussion of some characteristics of Australian, New Zealander and North American Aboriginal hip-hop as they occur in the literature.

In an introduction to the concept of Aboriginal hip-hop, Tony Mitchell writes,

As an educational format, a vehicle to express anger and pride in one's heritage, a way of binding communities together through dance and performance, a declamatory form of storytelling set to music, hip-hop's affinities with Aboriginal cultural forms make it an ideal means for youth to get in touch with their tribal identity and cultural background and articulate their place in today's world. At the same time as hip-hop has been globalised, spreading to Greenland where the Nuuk Posse rap in Greenlandish, Danish and English, and incorporate whole songs and throat singing into their hip-hop, and to Argentina where El Sindicato Argentino del Hip-hop express 'blood sweat and rage' about the issues such as money and the hard times their country is experiencing, hip-hop has also been indigenized, and incorporated into local languages and cultural forms. Which makes it ripe for appropriation into the world's oldest living form of traditional culture. (Mitchell 2006, 8)

In Canada, hip-hop has become a very popular genre of music within Aboriginal communities and its popularity has grown over the last decade. Sarah Efron (2001) writes,

Hip-hop has overtaken both heavy rock and traditional powwow music as the music of choice on the reserves, and Native MCs, DJs, graffiti artists, and break-dancers are popping up everywhere. It's not surprising, considering that 56 percent of Canada's aboriginal population is less than 24 years old. Many grow up in poverty and identify with the rap lyrics from the African-American ghettos. (Efron, 2001)

There is a vibrant Aboriginal hip-hop community across Canada. Aboriginal youth live in a world of intersecting cultures and multiple levels of identity. They continually negotiate between the dominating Western cultures and indigenous traditions. Ignace and Ignace (2005) write about how hip-hop culture has been adopted by Aboriginal youth. They suggest that "finding new media of expression provides unique ways of integrating Aboriginal self-reflection and expression of culture" (Ignace & Ignace 2005, 4). Ignace and Ignace write, "rap and graffiti are artistic expressions that emerge from experienced marginalization, violence, anger and frustration" of Aboriginal youth (2005, 4).

While Mitchell has written extensively about Australian Indigenous and Maori hip-hop, there is comparatively little published on similar concepts of identity and appropriation on the North American or Canadian Aboriginal hip-hop scene (in academia). As will be discussed however, Charity Marsh, Brent Lashua (2006a, 2006b, 2007), Robert Hollands (2004) and Roger Chamberland (2001) have studied North American Aboriginal hip-hop.²⁰

Brent Lashua writes about producing hip-hop music with First Nations youth in Canada. He seeks to understand why hip-hop music is so significant to the Aboriginal youth with whom he works. Based on "The Beat of Boyle Street" project, Lashua believes that participatory hip-hop making with Aboriginal youth "opened space for

²⁰ There is a very interesting discourse on Aboriginal hip-hop and what makes it 'authentic,' similarities between the slams of the Bronx and the environments in which many Aboriginal youth grew up. Unfortunately, an analysis of this discourse is beyond the scope of this paper. Also, it is interesting to note when authors use hip-hop artists' hip-hop monikers versus their 'given' names. This was reinforced by me when I referred to one a hip-hop artist by his 'given' name and my interviewee very quickly interjected with his hip-hop moniker.

storytelling, and the songs that were produced articulated many of the struggles and hopes of First Nations youth" (Lashua 2006, 1).

In Canadian ethnomusicologist Roger Chamberland's (2001) essay, "Rap in Canada: Bilingual and Multicultural," he provides an overview of the Canadian hip-hop scene. He does not mention any hip-hop originating in Aboriginal communities in Canada. He focuses on the commercial rap market in the country. This is not to say hip-hop was invisible in the Aboriginal community or in the market. In the same year, Trupez Crue won "best hip-hop/rap" album at the Canadian Aboriginal Music Awards.²⁵ Litefoot has been recognized at the Native American Music Awards (NAMMYS) in 1998, 1999, 2000, 2002 in hip-hop/rap-related categories (Native American Music Awards 2008).

Although the scholarship on Aboriginal hip-hop in Canada is just beginning to take off, the internet provides many resources on Aboriginal hip-hop written by Canadian Aboriginal hip-hop enthusiasts. For instance, "Beat Nation: Hip-hop as Indigenous Culture" is a Canadian website that "focuses on the development of hip-hop within Aboriginal youth communities and cultural production" in Canada (Aileen 2009). This website offers many opinions of what hip-hop means to Canadian Aboriginal youth. Many of those published on the website see hip-hop as a contemporary strategy for engaging in Aboriginal traditions. A common theme is, as Aileen writes, "hip-hop ... giving youth new tools to rediscover First Nation culture" (Aileen 2009).

²⁵ I have considered the implications of using the term *Canadian Aboriginal*. Many Aboriginal people do not identify as Canadian and are entitled to dual citizenship with the United States; however since the Canadian Aboriginal Music Awards exist, I feel it appropriate to use the term *Canadian Aboriginal* to denote an Aboriginal person living within the political boundaries of Canada.

The fit: hip-hop and Aboriginal culture

While Potts (2006) argues that the "histories shared between the Black and Aboriginal communities throughout European colonization provide reason for the use of the typically 'African American' cultural expression of hip-hop by Indigenous groups" (quoted in Lakshari, 5), Tony Mitchell argues that Indigenous groups do not necessarily use what is typically African American (2006, 17). Rather, Aboriginal artists find ways to indigenize hip-hop and make it reflective of their lived experience, through the use of indigenous languages, symbols or instruments (and references).²² Likewise James Lull states,

Ample evidence demonstrates that indigenous cultures use music and music technology coming from the outside for their own purposes, turning foreign materials into resources that fit their own musical and cultural needs....At first a band may try to imitate exactly the music that comes from abroad. But in a short period of time the tendency is to incorporate the new material into their own cultural experience rather than try to create something culturally unfamiliar. (Lull 1987, 17)

This 'indigenizing' of hip-hop may be related to John Fiske's (1989) idea that people are not passive recipients of popular culture. Rather they are active in creating new meanings of resistance against the hegemonic forces that shape popular culture. By incorporating indigenous elements into this popular music genre, Aboriginal peoples are challenging the meanings associated with the genre and creating new meanings to serve their purposes.

²² M.L.A., a popular British musician of Tamil descent, recently used Australian Aboriginal hip-hop group "The Wilcannia Mob" on her track "Mungo Pickle Down River." The *didgeridoo*, a traditional Australian Aboriginal instrument, played and made by one of The Wilcannia Mob, is featured on this track. The African HipHop Project (2005) suggests that examining HIV/AIDS-related hip-hop music provides a "better sense of the unique fusion of African musical traditions and western musical styles." Likewise, a study of Aboriginal hip-hop will allow for the interconnectivity of Western forms and Aboriginal musical traditions to be explored.

Tania Willard, a Canadian Aboriginal woman and curator of the Beat Nation on-line art exhibition, writes "the roots of hip-hop culture and music have been transformed by indigenous cultures and identities into new forms of visual culture and music that echo the realities of Aboriginal people" (2009). In her eyes, her culture and cultural identity "is in a constant state of flux" where new modes of cultural expression are "becoming the culture of [future] grandchildren" (Willard 2009). Thus, Aboriginal youth are choosing hip-hop as a form of self-expression (Reece 2009).

Similarities between Aboriginal cultures and the African American cultures that produced hip-hop make it a suitable form for appropriation and adaptation. In the early days of hip-hop "rappers were compared to [...] African griots, who also communicated wisdom with drum beats and words" (Butler 2004, 990). Griots were also described as storytellers in "traditional African societies" (Strode & Wood 2008, 1). A similar note is often made about the relationship between oral tradition, storytelling and rapping in both Australian and Canadian Aboriginal communities.²⁵ An Australian Aboriginal man interviewed by Mitchell (2006) describes how this storytelling feature of hip-hop fits into traditional Aboriginal culture. He states,

in our communities storytelling, music, dance, creative arts are the only form of communication, it's the way we've passed on our knowledge,²⁶ and that's one of the big reasons hip-hop is huge in Aboriginal communities. There isn't one Aboriginal kid who doesn't like hip-hop because it's that oral communication that we've been used to over thousands and thousands of years. (Mitchell 2006, 6)

²⁵ Ignace & Ignace (2005) compare graffiti to traditional cave painting.

²⁶ Evokes ideas about entertainment education

Mitchell describes a young Australian's entrance into the hip-hop world as a strategy to discover and explore her Aboriginal identity: "Little G's entry into hip-hop occurred simultaneously with her desire to learn about her Aboriginal heritage" (2006, 7). She stated she got into hip-hop as a tool for,

exploring her Aboriginal side after she learned Aboriginal cultural studies from an elder, but her negotiation of her Aboriginal identity was a complex and difficult process, compounded by her mixed heritage and involving a great deal of anger as she learned about past massacres and the treatment of Aboriginal people throughout Australian history. Hip-hop became a means of channeling this anger as well as encouraging younger Aboriginal kids to be proud of their heritage. (Mitchell 2006, 7)

Many Aboriginal youth feel a parallel between the struggles of Black youth in the United States and the struggles they share (Wang 2010). For example, Manik, a Canadian Aboriginal rapper, sees similarities in the oppression experienced by African Americans and Aboriginal people by Westerners. He states, "there's a direct connection there that they [black people and Natives] were both used as a tool for western society, so we're both coming from a very similar background" (Efron 2001). Likewise, Skoona Reece writes that she found an affinity with hip-hop music because she was "drawn to the plight of the poor Black communities who were singing, dancing and painting their ways out of the system" (2009).

Again, arguing that hip-hop is a suitable genre for Aboriginal peoples to appropriate, Manik says, "It doesn't matter nowadays. Poor is poor; it doesn't matter where you come from, you can relate to the struggles" (Manik quoted in Efron 2001). Reece writes, "these groupings, subcultures, crews or whatever you want to call them, are taken quite seriously by their peers. They are often revered and shown respect for the

language they are creating and the cultural signifiers that contribute to the enrichment and meaning that they build on our cultural landscapes" (2009).

Hip-hop allows Aboriginal youth to integrate and negotiate their competing and multiple identities (Stavrios 2005; Lashua 2006). Stavrios states,

Sampling and representin', characteristics which ground it in the local, allow traditional sounds into the music, traditional dances into the break-dancing, and traditional values and language into the raps. The rap itself enacts traditional knowledge through storytelling. Yet hip-hop as a medium for identity recognition is not limited by its attachment to traditional forms. Inspired by the African American oppositional politics it provides an avenue for Aboriginal youth to discuss their concerns in a manner that is not only fashionable, but also empowering. (Stavrios 2005, 52)

Hip-hop is an empowering medium. It "provides a vehicle of self expression for disenfranchised and disadvantaged youth people from all ethnic backgrounds" (Mitchell 2006, 3). Aboriginal hip-hop artist, Manik, believes that hip-hop is the ultimate way to reach Native youth in Canada (Efron 2001). Much of Manik's rap focuses on discussion of oppression. He belongs to a group called Tribal Wisdom, whose agenda is to work with other Native youth to "get across their strong opinions on Native issues using the medium of hip-hop" (Efron 2001).

Desjarlais, another Aboriginal hip-hop artist, also sees hip-hop as an appropriate way to engage Aboriginal youth as he sees a fit between traditional Native culture and hip-hop. He says "music has always been a way of life for Native people [...] ever since the beginning, we've always drummed and used different beats, but now it's transformed into something more people can relate to [...] From coast to coast, the majority of young people listen to hip-hop" (Efron 2001). He sees the potential of hip-hop as a

communication strategy with Aboriginal youth. He believes that hip-hop is an effective way to "create awareness of the situation of our people" (Efron 2001).

Of course, not all people are accepting of hip-hop as a positive force in the lives of young Aboriginal peoples. Parents and elders, for instance, sometimes see the negative images from popular music culture and believe all hip-hop has these messages (Ignace & Ignace 2005). On the other hand, some elders are very supportive of using hip-hop to engage Aboriginal youth. For instance, Os12 feels supported by his elders. He says, "I get a lot of lectures not to mislead these kids. I have talent, that's what the elders keep telling me, so I should use it, not abuse it" (Efron 2001).

The discussion of "indigenizing" hip-hop is an intricate and interconnected one that juxtaposes the old with the new in many senses, tradition and the evolution of culture, as well as the younger and older members of this community and the urban and rural. Further research may continue to explore why hip-hop has been chosen as a representative genre by Canadian Aboriginal youth and the complex ways in which these youth negotiate their multiple layers of identity.

CHAPTER FOUR:

Analysis of the role of music in Taking Action

Taking Action:

In order to better understand the role of music in a health education program and the experiences of musicians hired to facilitate an HIV/AIDS prevention workshop, I conducted an exploratory descriptive study of a music-based initiative.

Taking Action: Using Arts-Based Approaches to Develop Aboriginal Youth Leadership in HIV Prevention is a community-based research project headed by Dr. Sarah Flicker (York University, Toronto) and Randy Jackson. The purpose of Taking Action is to "build Aboriginal youth capacity in the areas of HIV prevention knowledge and resources development to address HIV issues in their local communities" and to "examine the efficacy of engaging Aboriginal youth in HIV prevention leadership using art-based approaches" (Flicker & Jackson 2008, 12-a).

Such interventions are necessary as the health disparities faced by Aboriginal peoples in Canada are tremendous. According to the Public Health Agency of Canada (PHAC 2008), Aboriginal peoples are a high risk group for a number of infectious diseases (HIV, Hepatitis C) and chronic illnesses (depression, addictions, diabetes). Canadian Aboriginal peoples, for instance, are overrepresented in the HIV rates in Canada (Flicker & Jackson 2008, 12a). Although Aboriginal peoples are a relatively

small percentage of the total population in Canada, for every non-Aboriginal person with HIV in Canada, there are three HIV-positive Aboriginal people (PHAC 2008).

The Public Health Agency of Canada reports that Aboriginal youth, in particular, have significantly higher rates of infection (PHAC 2008). Epidemiologic data shows that in Canada, Aboriginal peoples tend to contract HIV 10 years younger than the rest of the population (Larkin et al. 2007). Therefore, Aboriginal youth have an elevated risk of HIV infection in comparison to the rest of the population. As well, youth represent nearly half the Aboriginal population in Canada.

Research on HIV prevention with Aboriginal youth shows that peer-education strategies are effective (Majumdar et al. 2004). Additionally, education programs that are specific to Aboriginal cultural groups are more effective than ones that target Aboriginal people as one group (Mize et al. 2002). Too often one forgets that the epidemiological category 'Aboriginal' is a construct and encompasses a number of distinct cultural groups; there are three main cultural groups that are recognized by the Canadian government which include First Nations people, Inuit and Métis (Waldram et al. 2006, 3). However, there are many distinctions between the subgroups that comprise these basic groups.

Recent research also indicates that arts-based intervention methods are effective strategies with Aboriginal youth (Ricci et al. 2009), as are strategies that address the impact of colonialism (Larkin et al. 2007). Baldwin et al. suggest "directly involving key members of the society in conducting outreach and intervention activities and utilizing local and tribally relevant forms of delivering the message" (1999, 192) are important considerations in planning successful education initiatives. Hence, music-based

interventions conducted by members of the target community should be a viable strategy for effective health education.

Taking Action is based on a Participatory Action Research (PAR) framework that has developed out of the work of Paulo Freire (1970). Freire proposed a strategy for the education of oppressed people in developing countries. PAR is based on empowering people in order to create social change and break "down the distinctions between the researcher and the researched" (Flicker & Jackson 2008, 12-d). This approach to research is compatible with fostering traditional Aboriginal ways of knowing, which is also compatible with a Freire-ian educational approach: the youth are the producers of their own knowledge and culture. Taking Action uses an arts-based approach as a way of engaging youth as "knowledge producers" in hopes of creating effective communication and social change (Flicker & Jackson 2008, 12-d).

A youth coordinator was hired in each of the six Aboriginal communities where the workshops took place. Hiring a local coordinator allowed for the workshop to be cognizant of local needs as well as utilize local resources (i.e. artists). Artists who facilitate this workshop receive a \$1000 stipend. The workshop consists of a two-and-a-half day session with eight to forty youth ages twelve to eighteen (Flicker & Jackson 2008). Participation in the workshop was voluntary and open to self-described Inuit, Métis and First Nations youth.

The arts genres used in the workshops include graffiti, photography, drama, hip-hop, video and dance. The developers of this intervention see hip-hop as a genre with which youth are familiar and a way to make youth feel more connected to their communities and peers (Flicker & Jackson 2008). Engaging in the creation of hip-hop

allows youth to be critical cultural creators working to "promote community development, critical literacy, artistic expression, civic engagement and social activism" (Flicker & Jackson 2008, 12-d).

During the workshop, the youth learn about HIV and HIV prevention, work with elders, learn about traditional ideas of the body and health, the impacts of colonialism on their cultures and health and how to use their chosen art-based media to reflect on what they have learned. At the end of the workshop, the arts-based reflections are shared with the group and community. Their creations are also being collected and made accessible as a resource for other youth wishing to become involved with similar projects.

Methods

I conducted an exploratory descriptive study in order to create a holistic overview of how music is used in a health education intervention and to better understand the experiences of musicians employed to facilitate health education. I chose to conduct exploratory descriptive research in part because I wanted to document this process in as much detail as possible. As well, I chose this method due to the fact that this topic has not yet been described in detail in the literature. Through this research, I hope to contribute to a better understanding of how music is used and can be used in health education.

I conducted interviews with several key informants who were referred to me by Dr. Sarah Flicker, the principal investigator of Taking Action.²⁵ These five key

²⁵ In the presentation of the research findings, identifying information of the interviewees is sometimes omitted, as per the interviewees' request. The interviewees concerned with anonymity were aware that due to the small size of the sample, it would most likely be possible for people involved with Taking Action to identify the voices quoted in this paper.

informants were the program deliverers and music facilitators of the Taking Action workshops conducted in Toronto and Kettle and Stony Point.²⁶ I contacted my informants by email and to set up interview times. I conducted open-ended interviews that explored how music was used in the intervention and questions about the appropriateness of hip-hop for HIV education based on their experiences. Although it was difficult to arrange an interview schedule with touring musicians and public speakers, all the participants seemed very keen to share their experiences.

I used a digital audio recorder and phone adaptor to record the telephone interviews. One of the challenges of this process was that my recording device occasionally inaudibly recorded the voice of the interviewee. I transcribed all of the interviews verbatim and coded them for common themes. I also verified my findings with the interviewees (i.e. member check). Using multiple data sources allows for triangulation of the data. This increases the reliability of research findings and presents a more detailed and holistic understanding of results. Hence, in addition to the interviews I conducted, I analyzed videos made at the workshop weekends and the recorded hip-hop tracks. I was also very fortunate to be provided with transcripts of the interviews conducted three weeks after the intervention exploring the youths' experiences of the workshop. As well, two of my informants had written papers based on their experiences with Taking Action, which I used to enrich my understanding of their experiences.

²⁶ The workshop in Toronto took place in October 2008. The workshop in Kettle and Stony Point took place in February 2009.

The Workshop

My aim is to provide as much detail as possible about how music was used in the workshop as many studies of music-based education strategies do not provide a detailed description of how music was used in their programs. Hip-hop was one of the genres of expression that was chosen by the youth communities in both Kettle and Stony Point²⁷ and Toronto²⁸, Ontario (as well as in two other of Taking Action's six communities). Hip-hop was introduced to the youth at the very beginning of the workshop when the project's national youth coordinator, Jessica Yee, "put up a Tupac lyric sheet and went over it" (personal communication 2010).

Jessica Yee argues that Tupac's song "Keep Ya Head Up"²⁹ is about stopping violence and respecting women (Yee 2008). Yee uses this song in many of her presentations as a way of engaging the youth right from the start with something that references age-appropriate popular culture. The lyrics she highlights in workshops specifically challenge how women are perceived in society:

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

²⁷ Kettle and Stony Point is a Native reservation on Lake Huron, about 35 kilometers outside Sarnia, Ontario. The population on the reserve is about 1200 with another approximately 900 members living off the reservation. Most of the people living in this community are of Ojibwe descent.

²⁸ The Toronto workshop was conducted on the University of Toronto St. George campus. In this urban setting, there may be more disconnection between Aboriginal youth and their traditional culture and Aboriginal communities. I would have liked to provide more detail about these communities in order to better compare and contrast them, however, my data does not provide such details.

²⁹ Tupac was a well-known hip-hop artist from New York who died as a result of gun shot wounds in 1996. The complete lyrics of this song are included in Appendix A.

And since a man can't make one
He has no right to tell a woman when and where to create one (Tupac Shakur 1993)

Starting the workshop with this song immediately exposes the youth to hip-hop with a positive social message and to critically engage with popular culture. Some youth may not have thought of or been exposed to hip-hop as a vehicle for positive social messages before this introduction. This introduction to the program through hip-hop is the first step towards the youth developing what Freire (2005) would describe as critical consciousness³⁰, which is one of the goals of the program.³¹

Two hip-hop artists, Ali and Sourav, were hired by Taking Action to facilitate the hip-hop portion of the workshops. Both hip-hop artists are male. They are both actively touring musicians and based in Toronto, Ontario. One of the artists has released two hip-hop albums. Additionally, Ali was one of Dr. Sarah Flicker's master's students in the department of Environmental Studies at the time of these workshops. He has prior experience leading hip-hop workshops, which made him a natural choice as a facilitator when no suitable candidate was found within the communities. Ali used his experiences with Taking Action as material for his major research paper for his master's program. Sourav is a fellow hip-hop artist and one of Ali's good friends. Together they facilitated the hip-hop portion of these workshops.

³⁰ Critical consciousness is the development of a comprehensive understanding of the world towards an awareness of political and social contradictions. Based on this understanding one may challenge the oppressive forces to which one is exposed (Freire 2005).

³¹ Jessica also opened the workshop I attended at the Native council in Charlottetown, PEI, by analyzing the lyrics of this track and talking about the power of hip-hop and the assumptions people make about hip-hop and relating this to the assumptions (stereotypes) that are made about Aboriginal people.

One interviewee describes what was expected of him as a hip-hop facilitator. He states:

My job as a facilitator was to engage [the youth] in hip-hop writing, recording and performing hip-hop process and also initiate some sort of actual dialogue surrounding the topics that they had talked about before. What I would typically do was, I would set up my home studio equipment in a specific room for the workshop, and then having done that I would, the education or seminar portion of the workshop Taking Action being completed, the group of students who chose hip-hop would come and we would help them get their ideas down on paper from what they learned in the last process or a reflection on what they've learned and help encourage the creative writing process and the performance process following which we were able to record the material. (personal communication, 2010)

The hip-hop facilitators were expected to engage the youth in what they had learned during the educational part of the workshop using the creation of rap as a means of reflection. The lyrics to the raps were written by the youth participants with the guidance of the two artists. Ric Notes, a Toronto-based hip-hop producer, produced and assisted in creating instrumental tracks to complement the raps (Lakhani 2009, 21).

To begin his session, Ali felt it was important to create a very open and comfortable environment for the youth. Reflecting on his experiences, he states:

My goal as a hip-hop facilitator in the Taking Action project was to provide a forum for creative expression for participants. In order to do this, I felt it was important to make sure participants were comfortable with me as a facilitator, the equipment we were using, and the space to record. I would begin the workshops with an introduction piece where I would introduce myself, my work in hip-hop and school, and my appreciation for being in their space. I would take any questions participants may have had about the workshop, my work, or what they would be doing during our creative process and answer them to the best of my abilities. Following the personal introduction I would continue by encouraging students to set up the room the way they liked and let them know that they could ask questions, participate or not participate at any time. During the final part of the introduction I introduced participants to the equipment we would be using and answered any questions they may have had regarding the tools for creation. (quoted in Lakhani 2009, 22-23)

The hip-hop facilitators did their best to create a peer-environment with the youth. They also tried to create an empowering environment where the youth were in control of what they were discussing and writing about which is congruent with the tenets of participatory communication (as outlined in chapter one).

The process of recording a hip-hop track, led by Ali and Sourav, was conducive to empowering the youth. In Daniel's¹² eyes, the facilitators approached the youth as they would approach any other artist in the studio. In his opinion, Ali and Sourav made the writing process feel like a studio collaboration. He states, "they were doing it in such a way that made it seem like you were just participating with them as they were on a session or something, doing like a recording session, and you are there and you are adding in your two cents" (personal communication 2010). In this way, the facilitators created a very welcoming, peer-like environment for the youth.

The procedure for creating the hip-hop tracks followed a basic protocol. First, there was a brainstorming session where the youth discussed the concepts they had learned in the educational segment. Brainstorming, as part of the process for writing a hip-hop track, became a forum for discussing the concepts they had learned and applying them in their everyday lives. The hip-hop facilitators helped to connect these concepts to the youths' lived experiences and knowledge by asking a few thought-provoking questions (e.g. how does HIV relate to their lives?).

Based on these discussions, the youth then wrote lyrics for the rap. Some participants focused mainly on rap writing, some were more interested in the performance aspects and some did both. The facilitators, then, offered a selection of instrumental

¹² Daniel is a musician and also a facilitator for Taking Action.

tracks for the youth to choose from. After the lyrics were written and the beat chosen, the facilitators coached the youth in how to deliver lyrics in a hip-hop style for recording. Following this, the youth recorded their parts. Shyer students may have stepped into the recording booth alone, while others recorded in front of their peers.

Although Ali and Sourav mixed the raps with the instrumental tracks, they encouraged input from the youth in this process: "they'd be rapping or maybe they were giving ideas, or they were saying 'oh you should do like a remixing sound to my voice or something or like a scratch sound' or 'loop that beat again and I am going to sing this part on top'" (personal communication 2010).

At the end of the workshop weekend the raps were performed when the youth shared all their arts creations with each other, their families and community members. This rap-creation process was completed, from start to finish within a day and a half.

The raps created by the hip-hop groups at Kettle and Stony Point and Toronto were digitally recorded. After they were showcased for the community, the raps were posted on Taking Action's facebook page, their blog and YouTube, as well as on Youth, the arts, HIV/AIDS Network (YAHAnet.org).

The participants at the Toronto workshop wrote a rap called "Do it right." This rap was written by three of the workshop's participants. Ten participants at Kettle and Stony Point wrote a rap entitled "The Pain." Both raps are reflections based on the HIV/AIDS education portion of the workshop. The full lyrics can be found in Appendix B and C of this paper.³³

"The Pain" begins with an intro, a group of men rapping a cappella:

³³ Digital copies of the tracks can be found at <http://www.yahonet.org/gallery/>.

I smoke like a chimney
I smoke like Bob Marley did
I used to get high like the birds and the planes
'Cause that's why we hope for no more dope.

After the intro, the instrumental tracks come in. They use a relatively fast tempo, using keyboard and electronic sounds. The track proceeds with one MC in the background and others rhyming overtop of his words. The youth take turns rapping solo or in groups. The female and male participants do not rap together. Female participants rap in unison for one of the verses and the outro message.

This rap is about the use of marijuana in the youths' community. The youth ask for "hope not dope." They believe that youth turn to marijuana as a way to cope with "the pain" that is a product of colonization. The rappers call for other youth to "fight the pain," knowing that First Nations people resided in North America long before colonization.

The group in Toronto created the track "Do it Right." This track starts with synthesized strings, trumpets and drums, which set the beat. The intro and outro are given by a male voice. He introduces the rappers featured on this track and acknowledges them again at the end. The first verse is rapped by a female participant, backed by a male participant. The chorus is lyrical and sung by female participants, "Everyday is a struggle/You just gotta' hold on tight/Get up on your feet and do it right." The second verse is rapped by a male participant who expresses that he does not feel like he is understood by society. The third verse is rapped by a group of female and male participants. The lyrics of the song highlight the struggles and hardships these rappers see in their daily lives and call for their community to keep fighting and unite.

Overall, both these tracks sound like they were professionally recorded. As well, both tracks have parts that are distinctly separated by gender. However, this observation is not addressed by any of the youths' interviews or other write-ups on the project. I would like to further investigate the separation by gender on the tracks. However, this was not a topic addressed in my interviews either.

Neither of these raps mentions HIV or AIDS specifically. On the surface, one may not see the connection between the songs and the educational content of the workshop. In separate conversations with a hip-hop facilitator, workshop facilitator and with the program organizer, all mentioned the fact that the lyrics do not discuss HIV or AIDS specifically. But, they all went on to say how they could see the connection between what the kids wrote and what they learned (personal communication 2010). They also felt, based on the interviews, conversations and observations, that the youth could see these connections too.

Some participants did see the connection. When asked if there was a connection between smoking marijuana and HIV, one youth respondent said, "yeah, a little. Something to do with like being high or something and then you might have sex. Yeah. And then they won't even know what they did" (participant at workshop³⁴). Another stated that marijuana and HIV were related because "if someone is freaking stoned out of their mind and they have like unsafe sex, but they don't know because they are all like dumb. Then they could get it like that" (participant at workshop). However, in the interviews conducted by the research team, many youth actually stated that they did not

³⁴ The quotations from the youth participants are taken from the interview transcripts from the follow up of the Taking Action workshop. The interviews were conducted by the Taking Action research team three weeks after the workshop.

see the connection between their song and HIV. Further research may investigate whether the youth will see a connection between their tracks and HIV in the more distant future.

As stated previously, after their creation, these tracks were made available on Taking Action's website. Dr. Flicker intends to make accessible a web-based portfolio of the art developed by the workshops' participants as a resource for other youth and communities who may initiate a similar project. A question still to be addressed is whether these songs can have an educational role for youth who did not participate in the workshop or in their creation. Since HIV is not mentioned outright by either song, will youth who did not participate in the workshop be able to make similar connections between the songs and HIV prevention? In this case (accessing the tracks online), hip-hop is being used in a different way. Rather than participatory hip-hop creation and engagement, the listeners become more 'passive' recipients of peer-developed content.

Assessing the youth's connection to hip-hop.

In order for hip-hop to be relevant to the youth, the youth must have some connection to hip-hop music and/or culture (Hicks Harper & Harper 1999). Evidence of interest in hip-hop by these communities may be that it was one of the arts genres chosen by the community. However, my research did not expose the method by which the youth coordinators in these communities decided on the arts to be used.

One the other hand, there are other factors that suggest the youth in these communities felt a connection to hip-hop music and/or culture. For instance, through an analysis of the youth's clothes, language and level of engagement, both Ali and Daniel

concluded that the youth felt a connection to hip-hop (Lakhani 2009; Stadnicki 2009). Lakhani believes that the lyrics of "Do it Right" indicate that the youth identify with hip-hop culture, as they discuss the prejudices towards their hip-hop style of dress, for example "baggy jeans" (Lakhani 2009, 34). Another way Lakhani sees the youth in his group embracing and identifying with hip-hop and hip-hop culture is through the adoption of hip-hop language. Lakhani's analysis of youth follow-up interview transcripts provided evidence of the adoption of hip-hop language (Lakhani 2009, 36). In addition to Lakhani's analysis of the hip-hop language used by the participants, the participants also use the trademark hip-hop grammatical structure of a double negative (Cutler 2007) in the chorus of "The Pain", "we don't need no dope."

Upon analysis of the interviews I conducted with the facilitators and musicians, I determined that there were three primary recurring themes. These themes included reasons why the facilitators felt hip-hop was an appropriate genre for use in this workshop environment, the impact of belonging (or not belonging) to the community and the sense of altruistic responsibility the musicians felt towards the community. While the theme of appropriateness highlights the relationship between the health organization and the youth, the other two themes, belonging to the community and altruism, were focused on experiences as a musician in this context.

Within the theme of the appropriateness of hip-hop as a genre for this workshop, several sub-themes emerged. These sub-themes included 1) the belief that hip-hop is an appropriate genre choice for marginalized people, 2) hip-hop is an empowering strategy, 3) hip-hop is an engaging genre, 4) the creative process used in hip-hop is conducive to learning, 5) hip-hop allows for the creation of performance persona, 6) hip-hop relies on

available technology and 7) type of musical skills required to participate in hip-hop creation.

The first theme to arise from the interviews was that hip-hop is an apt genre for working with marginalized populations. Investigating why hip-hop might be an appropriate genre for working with Aboriginal youth, the interviewees expressed that there are many Aboriginal hip-hop artists. They also stated that there is a vibrant Aboriginal hip-hop scene in Canada. They saw a fit between the marginalization faced by the communities in which hip-hop emerged and the marginalization faced by Aboriginal peoples in Canada.

In the experiences of the interviewees, hip-hop is a popular genre within Aboriginal populations. One facilitator, who has toured across Canada with various bands, notes that there are many Aboriginal hip-hop artists across Canada, which is why he was not surprised to find that hip-hop was chosen as a genre of expression for Taking Action:

I wasn't too surprised, no. I have also traveled across Canada a lot and I've met, especially going out west, lots of hip-hop artists who were Aboriginal, especially going through Northern Ontario and Manitoba. And there are huge scenes all across Canada. There are some that are up [in] northern Quebec, I think, and all different areas, so I wasn't surprised that it was used as a main music medium. (personal communication 2010)

Likewise, in an interview with Jessica Yee, she provided a list of Aboriginal hip-hop artists who are active all over Canada. In her experience, Aboriginal youth are actively engaged in hip-hop and hip-hop culture. She argues that although Aboriginal cultures are based in oral tradition, one may find an abundance of material written about Aboriginal hip-hop from the perspective of active participants in the culture, on the Web

(see for instance the websites Native Hip-hop, www.nativehiphop.net, or Beat Nation: hip-hop as Indigenous Culture, www.beatnation.org).

Similarly, Lakhani writes that he has seen many Aboriginal groups in Canada using hip-hop to express themselves (2009, 5). He believes that Aboriginal people in Canada are showing an "affinity" towards hip-hop music (personal communication 2010). He suggests this affinity comes from the similarities between the rhythms and beats of hip-hop and those of traditional Aboriginal music. He also sees this affinity as a result of the similarities between groups facing marginalization. He states, "the spirit [of hip-hop] is for those who are the marginalized group" (personal communication 2010).

Daniel also believes hip-hop is an appropriate genre for working with Aboriginal youth in Canada. Parallel to Tony Mitchell's (2006) claim outlined earlier, Daniel described how there is a fit between the struggles faced by Aboriginal peoples and the people who created hip-hop in the Bronx with regards to poverty, oppression and marginalization:

I think that because the history of hip-hop and its relation to African American cultures and class struggles and movements and things...I think maybe....Aboriginal groups, they can identify with that. Original hip-hop was talking about the experiences living within urban areas...it's like a sort of outcast culture, sort of similar like to like a punk music culture. It's trying to express themselves within this kind of culture that know they are different. It is a different movement. There is something going on. I think Aboriginal artists can identify with that kind of a thing. (personal communication 2010)

Currently, hip-hop is also being used in a number of other initiatives in Aboriginal communities. Besides being the National Youth Coordinator for Taking Action, Jessica Yee is also the executive director of the Native Youth Sexual Health Network. Her organization often uses hip-hop to engage the youth with whom they work. She states,

"we use a lot of it in our work right, you know a lot of our arts-based projects, Taking Action is just one project... a lot of our projects particularly [with first nations communities] incorporate an enormous amount of hip-hop culture" (personal communication 2010).

Based on the interview findings, the interviewees see hip-hop as an appropriate genre for working with youth from marginalized populations. This theme, that there is a fit between hip-hop and marginalized people, is found in the literature. As discussed in chapter three, Tony Mitchell (2001, 2003, 2006) has written extensively about how hip-hop has been adopted by the youth of many marginalized populations. However, questions remain regarding who may use hip-hop with these youth. Is hip-hop viewed as an appropriate and credible vehicle for communication if it is a teacher or someone who does not identify with hip-hop culture who is leading the workshop? These questions are beyond the scope of this thesis but should be investigated in further research.

The second theme deals with the notion that hip-hop is an empowering genre. This theme was also identified in the literature previously outlined. Tony Mitchell, for instance, argues that hip-hop is empowering as it "provides a vehicle of self expression for disenfranchised and disadvantaged youth" (2006, 3). In the interviews, hip-hop was described as a genre that provides marginalized people with a voice, as a means of empowerment. Ali believes that this is one reason why hip-hop is a popular choice for organizations working with this demographic.²³ He states, "I think there is a big trend at

²³ The arts genres that were used in Taking Action were chosen by the youth of the community with the assistance of each community's youth coordinator.

least in Toronto with at risk youth, quote unquote at-risk youth or marginalized youth using hip-hop as a means of voice" (personal communication 2010).

One of the reasons that hip-hop may be an appropriate strategy for engaging marginalized populations is that hip-hop is an empowering medium. Empowerment is "a multi-dimensional social process that helps people gain control over their own lives" and is closely linked to power (Page & Czuba 1999). In Ali's view, he believes that giving voice to people, or rather people *having* a voice, is a sign of empowerment (personal communication 2010). Ali believes hip-hop is an empowering genre because it gives a voice to those who may not have another forum to express themselves (personal communication 2010).

Another interviewee believes that hip-hop is an empowering genre because it "speaks of the ugly truths" of many people's lives (personal communication 2010). Another interviewee felt that hip-hop was empowering because the youths' raps "provided a forum for youth to express their realities" (Lakhani 2009, 39). Not only does hip-hop present an opportunity to speak these truths but there is also an audience of potentially like-minded peers to hear and acknowledge these truths. Hip-hop may not be the only genre to capable of expressing the realities of life for these individuals but according to the interviewees, it is this genre which has been chosen by their peers.

One interviewee stated that, in his opinion, all music is empowering, giving a voice to those who may not have one in other arenas. He states:

music has always stood in some ways as a form of empowerment whether you are singing in church to empower the soul or whether, you know, in the 80s that sort of heavy metal music seemed to empower the working class. I think that hip-hop music, because it comes from such an angry place, I think it empowers, it gives a sense of voice to that anger that lives in everybody...that music gives voice to that teenage

anger and angst that they feel and it is dirty and it is very rebellious. You know rock music maybe hasn't been particularly rebellious in a long time. (personal communication 2010)

In this case, the interviewee suggests that in the past it may have been rock music that was an empowering genre of music but, over time, rock has lost its "rebelliousness." Instead, in his opinion, hip-hop has taken over as a genre that pushes the envelope and challenges authority.

One of the intentions of Taking Action was to empower youth by engaging them as cultural creators. Hip-hop provided a genre that was accessible to the youth as well as a genre that is very empowering. But one interviewee commented on his belief that any kind of culture creating activity is empowering (an empowering experience). He believes that there is something in the act of creating that is empowering. He states:

as we sort of truck along in the west here... it looks more like, we have become more cultural consumers than cultural creators, and I think there is a sense now that with television and video games, I think that there is a sense that culture is created by somebody else, and that you are just there to switch on the television and absorb it passively, if I was to make any comment about that, it would be that to empower people is to... to give opportunity to, to give voice, to give opportunity to create things of your own and understand what that feels like to make something and offer it to your community. I think that, that's an old idea, and I think because we are secularized now, we are not singing in church, we are not doing any kind of creative new things that we maybe used to do, we are not singing around pianos at home, we are not communicating with each other, our communities are more fractured, and I think that by creating something, I think it is empowering and very humanizing to know that everybody has that sort of ability, which not that many people are encouraged to switch it on. (personal communication 2010)

The interviewee states that giving people a voice to create culture, to make it participatory and accessible, is very empowering. This is very much the essence behind Freire's philosophy of education and one of the goals of Taking Action. Freire argues that

"the development of a critical consciousness and the empowerment of people as cultural actors as the basis for social change" (Levine & Nahavi 2004; Freire 1973). The use of hip-hop in this context, participatory creation, leads to empowerment and allows the youth to engage in developing critical consciousness.

A third theme to arise in the interviews was that hip-hop is an appropriate genre for HIV education in this setting because it is very engaging. Hip-hop is engaging in a number of ways. For instance, it is engaging in that it captures attention through sound, performance and hip-hop attire. As in the case of this workshop, hip-hop is also engaging in that it is participatory and interactive. The workshop participants were actively involved not only in making raps, but also with the content (educational HIV material) of the workshop.

One of the workshop's facilitators believes the hip-hop facilitators were very successful in engaging the youth on the topic of HIV through the use of hip-hop. He states he was unsure about how open the youth would be to discussing these potentially sensitive topics. However, he feels the hip-hop facilitators have a successful approach for opening up dialogue. In his opinion, relating the information learned to everyday experiences helps in engaging the youth in discussion. Their everyday experiences gave them material to discuss in their raps:

but then the facilitators took it and tried to talk more about everyday experiences, like do you know people who are, you know? They were just talking about things generally, like maybe about teen pregnancy or AIDS...The brainstorming, it was what made it a lot easier. They talked about all sorts of issues, and were trying to relate them and were writing them all down and that was mostly the first day. After that they started writing the lyrics. (personal communication 2010)

Again, describing how the facilitators were successful at engaging the youth, one interviewee stated:

I was really impressed with how Ali and Sourav did it, because it was very casual. They made it very casual. Their process was to just talk about things very informally... they weren't acting as teachers, they weren't acting as educators, but they were doing it in such a way that made it seem like you were just participating with them as they were on a session or something, doing like a recording session, and you are there and you are adding in your two cents. (personal communication 2010)

The interviewee attributes the success in engaging the youth in discussion to the "casual" atmosphere that the facilitators created. Additionally, the rap-creation process was described as informal by several interviewees. The perceived informality could be a factor that indicates the youth felt as though they were working with peers, rather than interacting in teacher-student or professional-nonprofessional relationships. It could also suggest that this informality allowed for the youth to feel open and comfortable with the process.

One hip-hop facilitator commented that he felt the participants were comfortable in this space. He states, "I think that they just saw it as a realm where they could say what they wanted and no one would lash out at them, it wasn't wrong" (personal communication 2010). This also suggests that the children felt empowered by the situation and opportunity. These findings suggest that the use of hip-hop in this situation engaged the youth in thinking about HIV and allowed them to express their thoughts on this topic openly.

A fourth theme that emerged from the interviews was that hip-hop is an appropriate genre choice for HIV education in this setting due to the creative process of writing a hip-hop track. The process of how a hip-hop song is developed, facilitated by

Ali and Sourav, created a level of accessibility to both the genre of hip-hop and the topic of sexual health for the youth. As stated previously, one interviewee believed that the casual and informal nature of the hip-hop facilitators' approach to the subject material and writing process made the participants feel comfortable. This allowed the participant to reflect on how HIV impacts their lives. As well, this allowed the youth to feel like the facilitators' peers.

Daniel thinks that the hip-hop process, facilitated by these two artists, was responsible for allowing the youth to engage in the HIV content:

I think that through that process it was really really accessible for the participants because they felt like they were open and free to say whatever they wanted. They didn't feel hindered or like they couldn't use cuss words because they made it very clear from the get go that we are here because we are talking about...sexual health. (personal communication 2010)

Daniel also suggests that it was partly due to the fact that these two men were musicians that allowed the kids to feel comfortable with the subject of sexual health. In addition, if the youth felt like they were at a recording session working with these artists, then perhaps the facilitators were successful at creating a peer-learning environment. As well, this comfort level and the feeling that the youth were welcome to contribute by "adding your two cents" suggests that this was an empowering experience, giving them the opportunity to voice their thoughts and experiences. Hence, this process was also very empowering to the participants.

The brainstorming space, the environment in which the rap was created, allowed the youth to express themselves freely in the eyes of the facilitators. Two of the interviewees commented on how they felt that the brainstorming session was where the kids got engaged in the material. In their opinion, they felt that this was where

learning/processing/retention occurred. One interviewee believed this kind of brainstorming could be used as part of the development process for any genre of art. However, he was not sure if his was the only group to use it. He stated, "I don't know if other persons used brainstorm, it might have been the concept, just asking a person what did you learn, we are going to do this for hip-hop even though what we were doing at that point wasn't necessarily the song part, that could have been done for any other creative writing process" (personal communication 2010).

Investigating further into whether the brainstorming specific to the creation of a hip-hop track made the youth seem comfortable talking about issues around sexual health and engaged in their discussion revealed that the interviewees were unsure. In a discussion with the program organizer about the value of the brainstorming session and whether it was something specific to hip-hop sessions, she stated that she thought part of what makes the brainstorming successful is the personality/teaching style of the facilitator.

A further study might compare the brainstorming discussions had by the hip-hop participants with those of other arts media to assess levels of comfort or openness with the subject matter. This would illuminate whether it was something specific to participatory hip-hop creation, in particular, that allowed the youth to freely engage in the topic. The openness to talk about these issues was not assessed at the outset of the project, so it would be difficult to consider the impact of openness in discussion on the topic.

A fifth theme to emerge from the interviews was that hip-hop may be an effective choice for engaging youth in a discussion on this intimate topic (sexual health, HIV/AIDS) due to its performative nature and the tendency for participants to adopt a hip-

hop persona. In this case, where the youth were active in creating and performing their own raps, the act of performing may have made the discussion of HIV and sexual health more accessible. The act of performing may have allowed for discussion of an intimate topic. As one interviewee states, "maybe performing something a little more serious, like talking about sexual health, maybe by performing it they make it so it doesn't seem, like, maybe such a taboo subject or like it is a huge deal" (personal communication 2010). If this is the case, what is it about performance that allows for access into this topic? And is it specific to hip-hop? Some of the interviewees suggested that it may be specific to hip-hop because sex and sexual behaviours are a common theme in many hip-hop songs and part of the image of many hip-hop stars. Therefore, by adopting a hip-hop identity, one is stepping into a forum where it is already established that discussions about sex occur.

Daniel felt that some of the youth did adopt an identity when performing. Based on his observations of the youth he states:

by performing it, maybe it made it so it was not such a big deal to think about it whereas, not to say that, you know, visual art couldn't do that. But maybe the performative nature of music and of drama, maybe music itself, and hip-hop too because...in hip-hop maybe you can take on a personality too like the kid that was doing it there. (personal communication 2010)

Daniel felt like there was an opportunity for the kids to adopt a hip-hop identity and this hip-hop identity was possibly more effective than identities adopted in other genres of arts in allowing the youth to discuss sensitive topics. He describes in detail how one participant adopted a performative identity,

he came off kind of shy in the beginning but then when he was in the little booth and they were like 'how is it going how is it going? Good. Good.' So he is writing down his stuff and they are like 'okay let's hear what you have so far' and before they read it and everything, he just like boom and he laid into it. He only had to do it a couple times and everyone was so impressed and happy. It was just sort of like he had this

sort of thing inside him, this kind of alter ego. Because you are performing something else. You are performing as a different person. (personal communication 2010)

The act of becoming a different person or adopting a hip-hop persona may have allowed the youth the comfort to explore topics around HIV and sexual health.

While Daniel felt that the some of the youth were adopting a hip-hop identity, one of the hip-hop facilitators felt like he would need to work with the kids for a longer period of time to get a good sense of whether or not they had adopted a 'hip-hop identity.' When asked if he thought the youth created hip-hop personas, he stated, "I'd be able to better answer on that if I were to work with these persons for like three weeks, I'd be like, oh this guy evolved into his own character on the mike right, like where he's created a new personality for himself" (personal communication 2010).

Media that allows for potentially sensitive topics to be discussed by adopting characters is common as people may be able say things in song, for instance, that they may not be able to say in speech. Likewise, puppetry is used in HIV education in order to discuss issues around sexual health in cultures where public discussions of sexual health may be taboo (Panford 2001). Gary Friedman (1992) claims because "AIDS touches upon sensitive and often taboo areas of social life, the dissemination of information through puppets is not perceived as threatening as interpersonal interaction." Other examples of using artistic media to engage in potentially sensitive topics can be found in role playing and theatre as well. However, to my knowledge, music has not been recognized for providing performative characters in other research (in isolation from drama).

A sixth theme to emerge from the interviews was that hip-hop is an appropriate genre choice for this kind of health education program due to the availability of the

technology required to make the music. One of the characteristics of hip-hop is that it has relatively minimal technological requirements to make a professional-sounding hip-hop track. One hip-hop facilitator states:

This is the one thing, the advantage that I have now, it has to do with the technology, because I am able to bring my soundcard and a mike and set up a whole, you know, in a backpack, do it. I don't know if that was the same with people in the past, they couldn't have done that, that is something that makes hip-hop...that is one of the strengths behind what I am doing right, it is over and above the music, it is like, being able to facilitate it with the technology. (personal communication 2010)

He believes that an asset of hip-hop is the minimal technological requirements. These minimal requirements make hip-hop a more accessible genre than some other music genres. Daniel states, "So I think [of] hip-hop that way because the facilitators brought everything, they brought the software, the recording studio itself. You kind of just walk in, you don't need to bring anything. They have pencils there and the paper there. That is all you need" (personal communication 2010). The minimal equipment required to produce a hip-hop track makes it a good genre for a music-based intervention that is on a relatively short timeline.

The technology required to produce professional sounding hip-hop is accessible due to its wide availability and relatively low costs. Ali also points out that hip-hop tracks can be produced in a relatively short amount of time and the equipment required is relatively cheap. "It takes fairly little actual investment, like monetary investment and it takes very little time" (personal communication 2010) for him to produce a track from start to finish.

To my knowledge, there has not been any scholarship addressing how technology makes hip-hop a viable genre of music and arts for health education programs. However,

Rose (1993) discusses the link between how hip-hop music evolved relying on little and inexpensive equipment and the poverty faced by many of its original followers.

A seventh theme to develop out of the interviews was that hip-hop is an appropriate genre for music-based interventions due to the minimal musical knowledge required to make a track. Other genres of music may be used in music-based interventions but most other types of music require more musical knowledge such as the ability to play an instrument or even a certain degree of vocal competence. Daniel states:

as the facilitator working digitally on your computer you can do things quite quickly as opposed to doing like maybe folk song with an acoustic guitar. You could do something like that if you were a facilitator playing the music and then they would write the lyrics to the music or something. That could work. But then I think it gets a little complicated if you try to bring in more instruments or other genres too. Just maybe, hip-hop just lends itself to being more accessible to youth, just because of, I think of how simple it could be to make yourself a part of that group, like part of the group that was doing the music part of Taking Action. You just needed your voice. You just need to have some ideas and that is it. You didn't have to have any extra kind of musical skills. (personal communication 2010)

In a similar vein, a hip-hop facilitator points out that currently, hip-hop is the most popular genre with Aboriginal youth. However, in the past, country music was a very popular genre in Aboriginal communities. Discussing whether a similar intervention could have been conducted with country music in its heyday, one facilitator states:

country music might require more resources upon the participants just because like, guitars, drums, it's more than what we were doing in hip-hop. For the hip-hop stuff, it's facilitating writing and recording. You don't need to have any knowledge of instrumentation in hip-hop. Whereas in country, I wouldn't want to say you need it either....more expertise on the instructors end, or from the instructors point of view it would also require, I think, the participants to have some more musical knowledge. (personal communication 2010)

The only thing required to make a rap are words.³⁶ As one interviewee notes, hip-hop “is not sung, it is spoken. Everyone can speak. Somehow that’s more, that seems more doable than singing” (personal communication 2010). Due to the fact that hip-hop demands little musical training, it is an accessible genre for use in participatory intervention programs.

Belonging to the Community

Lakhani writes about how it was important to him to gain “insider”³⁷ status with the groups he facilitated (2009, 24). He believes that the way he dresses, languages he uses and his knowledge of popular hip-hop culture contributed to his gaining of credibility with the youth (Lakhani 2009, 24). In his reflection on the project, Ali stated that he had prepared for working with this community, as an academic and hip-hop artist, by reading about hip-hop in Aboriginal communities and by becoming familiar with “hip-hop music creations by artists of Aboriginal descent in Canada” (Lakhani 2009).

Although realizing the importance of gaining “insider” status, Ali also expressed concerns about his obvious non-membership in the Aboriginal community. For instance, he wonders if he is an appropriate choice as a hip-hop facilitator because he feels that he has very different experiences from the communities. He states, “I don’t know if I should be doing this man, like I have a significantly different struggle than most persons there” (personal communication 2010). However, in his own musical writing, Ali raps “critical

³⁶ The youth were not involved in scratching records or creation of the beats (just in selection of beats offered by the hip-hop facilitators).

³⁷ The term “insider” refers to belonging to a group or being viewed as a credible member of a group.

reflections" on issues of "colonialism and oppression," issues that may have some similarities with Aboriginal youth in Canada (personal communication 2010).

Another of Ali's concerns was with regards to how involving musicians from outside the community may impact the effectiveness of the program. After his experiences with Taking Action, he realizes the value of using as many resources from the community as possible (partly due to sustainability). Referring to the project's intention to hire hip-hop artists from the target communities, one hip-hop facilitator stated:

[The program organizer] told me that, I think I understand that more now that I have worked in it. I didn't realize how important that is. I didn't understand it at the time. I wasn't against it, I was down, if she would have said the day before we were going 'look I found someone else better suited' I would have been 100 per cent down, I wouldn't have cared, I would have been thumbs up. Since there weren't we were there, after doing it I would do it again because I enjoyed it and I know I don't do anything negative by it but I think for it to be the most impact like try to use as many people, persons from the community as you can, and that was obvious. (personal communication 2010)

Gaining 'insider' status in a community is essential for working with a community. This is a concept that is greatly discussed in ethnomusicology literature in relation to conducting fieldwork (Rice 1997; Barz & Cooley 1997). Although one facilitator expressed his feeling that he does not belong to the community as he was not Aboriginal, the facilitators do belong to a hip-hop community. Since many of the youth identified with hip-hop culture, as previously stated, the hip-hop facilitators could gain insider status through this level of identity as "music is a powerful means of creating a sense of belonging" (Gregory 1997, 131).

Altruism and ethical responsibility

Based on my analysis of the interviews, I found issues around altruism and ethical responsibility to be a consideration for the musicians involved in Taking Action. One facilitator expressed that he feels he has an ethical responsibility to do no damage and to “have your heart in the right place” (personal communication 2010). He carefully considers what kind of impact his participation will have on the communities he is asked to work with. Quoted above, this facilitator states he felt comfortable working with Taking Action because “I know I don’t do anything negative by it” (personal communication 2010).

One of the hip-hop facilitators expressed an ethical concern around the sustainability of his part of the project. Sustainability, for him, was linked to belonging to the community and having the resources to return to the community. He felt that since he had very little connection to the communities, it was difficult for him to return: “When kids are like ‘look, are you coming back?’ like on your own, right, it is like I am so far removed from their culture I can’t even do it” (personal communication 2010). He also feels like he does not have the resources, without the assistance of the organization, to return to the communities that request him: “I can try to organize it but in the reality of it I don’t have the network” (personal communication 2010). One factor that contributes to him not having the network is that he is not a member of some of the cultural communities in which he has worked.

Another interviewee expressed a concern about the motivations behind musicians who are employed by health organizations. Related to this was his concern about the

caliber of the artist who is hired by health organizations. He felt that less successful or less experienced musicians would be attracted to the exposure (and recognition as musician) offered by teaming up with a health organization. He also wondered if the money was too much of a motivation for hip-hop artists. He states:

I am not trying to knock on people who do community work, it creates a realm of people who just make money and I am not taking about Taking Action, not at all, I am just saying, this is a general idea, but like, if your heart is in the right place is one thing right . . . if a music-based intervention is a topic of its own, it'll be dope to work or have people facilitating using music-based interventions who want to just do that who aren't trying to be artists out there doing their thing. But then you are in a bit of a dilemma. It's not like people do that for a living. Well, maybe they do do it for a living. Most people you are going to get to do music workshops are people who are actually active in the industry, so there's give and take....You learn by doing, there is no set pattern with anything anyway, you see how things go, sustainability is not an issue that comes up with everybody right off the bat, you need to kind of go through it before you get to that so. (personal communication 2010)

This interviewee is stating that there is a trade-off for the health organization between hiring a professional musician who is active in the industry and a "musician" who has the time. Some musicians may be conflicted due to the time spent running workshops versus needing to spend time on their own projects, as this artist states, "I'll do it but I can't like make that my focus [...] I haven't done one in a long time, I keep turning them down" (personal communication 2010).

Furthering this idea, Ali states:

I have not jumped at every opportunity to do workshops ...but there are a large number of people who want to be, or are artists, who have no money and they see a real good opportunity to do these workshops. They are doing it, some are doing well, some are doing poorly, some are doing it for the right reasons, some wrong but a lot of people are doing it because it is a cool trendy thing to do and it does work in some instances, so, I've had to, I've really had a dilemma finding what I want to do. Do I want to help people and do workshops? Do I enjoy it? Yes. Do I need to make money? Yes. Do I want to do that just to make money? No. And then I end up in a position where I feel like I am doing harm, that I am not sustainable everywhere, doing it and

leaving. So I haven't gotten to the position where I feel like I have done harm. I have done over a handful of workshops, a lot of them for free, some of them involve some pay and I am leaving it now. I'll do it but I can't like make that my focus... I haven't done one in a long time. I keep turning them down. (personal communication 2010)

For Ali, his concern with sustainability and responsibility to the community is partly based on a few experiences he has had. In one case, he feels badly because he has no way to contact some of the people he developed relationships with as part of workshops:

I went and did a workshop in the northern arctic...in Labrador. There was a person there, a guy there who I became close with and like I completely lost touch with him. I have no way to get at him. I don't know if this guy is thinking, 'yo, Ali is an ass' excuse my language, 'like he doesn't even get at me,' right. I don't want to do that, like to people, 'cause like for him it was a big deal when I was there. I am the guy from the city. I have all this cool equipment and he is learning how to make beats and someone is actually sitting and talking with him and like I am not trying to be that guy so I don't know. You need to have a thick skin, a strong like a really strong [...] and not be sentimental and not be weak- hearted and not be emotional but like, I don't know, I don't know, maybe you do need to be emotional, I don't know what the best way to do it is. But yeah, if it is not sustainable then it does more harm than good to most parties. (personal communication 2010)

Overall, Ali feels his contribution to these projects should be sustainable in the communities. He states that "if it is not sustainable then it does more harm than good to most parties" (personal communication 2010). He has turned down opportunities to work for organizations before and will continue to do so, even though it is hard to make a living as a hip-hop artist.³⁸

³⁸ During an interview Ali mentioned that he had done another hip-hop workshop with youth in Stoney and Kettle Point. He also left some of his equipment there for them to use. Since the workshop, a few of the youth had been inspired to start a hip-hop group and stay in contact with Ali (personal communication 2010). As well, this group of youth had started working with some older youth in their community who had released a hip-hop album. However, Ali feels that this is "the rare case" where his workshop initiates something sustainable (personal communication 2010).

Sustainability is an often discussed concept in development literature. There is often debate about bringing/giving something "good" and what happens when that can no longer be sustained by the implementing agency. This is one of the reasons why many development projects seek to be community-based and use resources from the community, as there will be a greater chance of sustainability of the project.

The health organization and musicians may have differing opinions about what needs to be sustained in the community as a result of the project. The musicians, for instance, may see the music or recording techniques they taught as important to be sustained as well as the health-related knowledge. On the other hand, the health organizations may see music as only a means to an end. For them, it is ultimately the health content (knowledge, skills and behaviour) that they seek to sustain in a community.

This theme of altruism, from the perspective of musicians working with health organizations, has not been explored in a North American context. However, Kathleen Noss van Buren (2007) has explored relationships between musicians and social change organizations in Nairobi, Kenya. Van Buren asks, "How do organizations choose which musicians and musical styles to promote? What are the perspectives of staff members at organizations and of musicians on music's effectiveness in promoting social change? How does the work of musicians differ when they compose and perform alone versus when they collaborate with organizations?" (Van Buren 2007, 307). These questions frame a provocative look at how musicians are partnering with organizations.

My research attempts to answer some of these questions and develop other questions about the relationship between the musicians and their relationship with the health promoting organization. While my research does not fully illuminate a discussion

of these questions, it does show that there is a need to further investigate the relationship between organizations and the musicians they hire, especially as music-based programs seem to be on the rise.

Additionally, something that became apparent through the interviews is that there does not seem to be many resources available for musicians who are approached by an organization to collaborate on social development projects although there seems to be a need for such resources. Resources for musicians should include information about what the possible repercussions of working on such a project are.

One issue important issue that was raised by one informant but was not raised by any others was whether having only male hip-hop artists facilitating the workshop would have an impact on the female participants. Whether the gender of the facilitator has an impact on the experiences of male and female participants should be investigated. In particular, does the gender of the facilitator affect whether a facilitator is viewed as a peer.

A further consideration that was brought to my attention by participating in the Taking Action workshop in Prince Edward Island is how artists are educated on the agenda of the organization. Some of the artists that facilitated these workshops were not clear on the HIV information that had been presented to the youth. This can create confusion with the youth and potentially reinforce incorrect information. If artists are to engage youth on the topic of HIV, it is important for these artists, the youth and the health organization that they are familiar with the basic facts that are to be communicated.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

My goal in this thesis was to provide an overview of how hip-hop is being used in order to better understand how music is thought to work in HIV education interventions in North America. Currently, studies written on music-based interventions rarely provide much information about how music was actually used in the intervention. Regardless, one may infer from these studies that music is being used in several different ways in educational settings.

My research with Taking Action allowed me to investigate in greater detail how hip-hop was used in this intervention and why it was thought to be an appropriate genre for HIV education with Aboriginal youth in Canada. The facilitators and hip-hop workshop leaders involved with Taking Action believe that hip-hop is an appropriate genre for engaging youth in this context. However, questions remain about who may use hip-hop with this population (or any group of youth). Based on interview findings, the hip-hop facilitators in this project were seen by the youth as credible sources for HIV information, engagement about HIV related topics and hip-hop musicians. Further studies should continue to investigate the role of the musician as a source for HIV information and their credibility as a musician.

Further studies may compare the assets of various arts genres for their potential in HIV education. As well, future studies should continue to investigate whether hip-hop has

characteristics that make it better than other arts for engaging youth in developing a critical consciousness.

The theme of technological appropriateness is a theme that seems quite obvious yet has not been discussed in any of the literature I reviewed. Similarly, the level of musical ability and its relation to engagement is not a factor that is often discussed in relation to music-based education interventions. Perhaps one reason for this lack of relevant literature is due to the interdisciplinary nature of this research.

Another area of discussion that requires further research is gender, including traditional conceptualizations of gender (and sexuality) by Aboriginal people, and its relation to music-based interventions. Future studies should also examine whether hip-hop has the same meaning for men and women in this setting. This would help to assess the appropriateness and effectiveness of hip-hop in an intervention similar to Taking Action. If hip-hop-based programs continue to prove successful in HIV/AIDS education, could they be made more effective by designing them specifically for male or female populations? Linked to this, future research may investigate whether the sex of the facilitating hip-hop artist has an impact on the effectiveness of the intervention for male and female participants. Surprisingly, none of the interviewees shared any comments about sexuality in this research. Future research should explore the impact of sexuality and sexual orientation on music-based health education interventions.

Another question that requires more research is exploring how youth react to having 'their music' co-opted by health organizations. As was seen, some interventions assess hip-hop music for 'bad' behaviours. Further research would allow a deeper investigation into how youth integrate the knowledge of 'bad' behaviours into their

values. Additional issues around who owns the rights to the music produced by participants of interventions should be investigated in future research. As well, further research may expose whether it is necessary for youth to have some connection to hip-hop in order to use it for an effective intervention (as far as I know, this was not accessed in any of the interventions).

There is also a call in the music-based health intervention literature for the development of new techniques for evaluating these programs as traditional evaluating techniques are proving inadequate. As well, this research demonstrates that there is still a great need to flush out what is meant by "culturally relevant" in the context of the appropriateness of music-based interventions.

Additionally, long-term studies of music-based intervention will provide a better understanding of how they work. Health organizations should also be aware that different genres of music may have different potentials for use in an educational setting. As well, health organizations should be aware that the program deliverers (musicians, teachers, health care workers) may have an impact on the effectiveness of the program.

Musicians approached by organizations need to have resources available about working in such a partnership. They should be aware of potential concerns such as how they may or may not feel welcome in a community as they are outsiders as well as affiliated with a health organization.

As an ethnomusicologist also interested in health, it is exciting to see so many health organizations recognizing the potential of music as a communication strategy and applying ethnomusicology to health education. There is a need for more interdisciplinary and qualitative research to be done on this topic. A mutual interest in these issues and

collaborative research between health researchers and ethnomusicologists could lead to better understanding of how powerful music is as a health communication strategy as well as more effective education programs.

APPENDIX A

"Keep Ya Head Up"

Tupac Shakur. 1993. *Strictly 4 My N.I.G.G.A.Z.* Atlantic/Interscope Records. CD.

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, if don't nobody else care
And uh, I know they like to beat ya
down a lot
When you come around the block
brothas clown a lot
But please 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 cash up, I just call
'em how I see 'em
You know it makes me unhappy (what's
that)
When brothas make babies, and leave a
young mother to be unhappy
And since we all came from a woman
Got our name 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

Chorus

*Eeeww child things are gonna get
easier
Eeeww child things are gonna get
brighter
Eeeww child things are gonna get
easier
Eeeww child things are gonna get
brighter*

Verse Two:

Aiyyo, I remember Marvin Gaye, used to
sing to me
He had me feelin' like black was tha'
thing to be
And suddenly tha' ghetto didn't seem so
tough
And though we had it rough, we always
had enough
I huffed and puffed about my curfew and
broke the rules
Ran with the local crew, and had a
smoke or two
And I realize momma really paid the
price
She nearly gave her life, to raise me right
And all I had to give her was my pipe
dream
Of how I'd rock the mic, and make it to
the bright screen
I'm tryin' to make a dollar out of fifteen
cents
It's hard to be legit and still pay tha rent
And in the end it seems I'm headin' for
tha pen
I try and find my friends, but they're

blowin' in the wind
Last night my buddy lost his whole
family
It's gonna take the man in me to conquer
this insanity
It seems the rain'll never let up
I try to keep my head up, and still keep
from gettin' wet up
You know it's funny when it rains it
pours
They got money for wars, but can't feed
the poor
Say there ain't no hope for the youth and
the truth is
it ain't no hope for the future
And then they wonder why we crazy
I blame my mother, for turning my
brother into a crack baby
We ain't meant to survive, cause it's a
setup
And even though you're fed up
Huh, ya got to keep your head up

Chorus

Verse Three:
And uh
To all the ladies havin' babies on they
own
I know it's kinda rough and you're feelin'
all alone
Daddy's long gone and he left you by ya
lonesome
Thank the Lord for my kids, even if
nobody else want 'em
'Cause I think we can make it, in fact,
I'm sure
And if you fall, stand tall and comeback
for more
'Cause ain't nuttin' worse than when
your son
wants to know why his daddy don't love
him no mo'
You can't complain you was dealt this
hell of a hand without a man, feelin'

helpless
Because there's too many things for you
to deal with
Dying inside, but outside you're looking
fearless
While tears, is rollin' down your cheeks
Ya steady hopin' things don't all down
this week
'Cause if it did, you couldn't take it, and
don't blame me
I was given this world I didn't make it
And now my son's gettin' older and
older and cold
From havin' the world on his shoulders
While the rich kids is drivin' Benz
I'm still tryin' to hold on to survivin'
friends
And it's crazy, it seems it'll never let up,
but
please... you got to keep your head up

APPENDIX B

"The Pain"

By the participants of Taking Action, Kettle and Stony Point, 2008

(INTRO)

I smoke like a chimney
I smoke like bob Marley did
I used to get high like the birds and the planes
Cause that's why we hope. For no more dope.

(VERSE 1)

The pain
The pain
Now it can't be explained
Puffin' out my soul all I feel is the rain
The pain it feels soo plain, I'll be sitting in my room and I'm going insane
Smoke to much Jane, You know it man. I got nothing more to gain.
Mary jane is going to my brain smoke soo much jane, can't even be explained
I feel the pain - I'm going to go insane - the pain is going to blow my brain.
I'm in a plane - up in the sky because I'm soo high. I'm soo soo baked I need to eat some cake

My life feels like I'm on a train. Never ending I gotta use my brain. I gotta find an
escapement to get out of this place. So I can live my life.

(CHORUS 1)

We need hope we don't need no dope. (YEA)
We need hope we don't need no dope.
We need hope we don't need no dope.(YEA)
We need hope we don't need no dope.(YEA)
We need hope. We got hope. (YEA)

My life - is a shitload of pain. There ain't no gain from the shit I do man
All I can do is smoke like a train I'm soo high I feel like a plane
I ain't no bitch. I don't need to carry no gat or a vest. People see me in the hood and turn
away and run like a bitch.
Sometimes we feel like we gotta' run away. But we know we gotta' stand and fight the
pain. Show everyone how we run this place. First Nation's people. It's like we got
slapped. Straight across the face. See us. You know. We were here first.

(CHORUS 2)

We need hope we don't need no dope. (YEA)
We need hope we don't need no dope.

We need hope we don't need no dope.(YEA)

We need hope we don't need no dope.(YEA)

We need hope. We got hope. (YEA)

(OUTRO)

Sometimes we feel like we gotta' run away. But we know we gotta' stand and fight the pain. Show everyone how we run this place. First Nation people. It's like we got slapped. Straight across the face. See us. You know. We were here first.

Appendix C

"Do it Right"

By the participants of Taking Action,
Toronto, 2008

(VERSE 1)

I-I-I-I don't rhyme all the time
My shit isn't the best
Don't criticize cause you need to realize
that you ain't familiar to this
It's a surprise in your eyes you might
just get hypnotized
If you listen carefully the words I have
spoken
You see I'm not jokin'
My heart is just broken
Gotta' keep on focusing
I open my eyes and look around me
All I can see is the trouble that surrounds
me

(CHORUS 1)

*Everyday is a struggle
You just gotta' hold on tight
Get up on your feet and do it right
Everyday is a struggle
You just gotta' hold on tight
Get up on your feet and do it right*

(VERSE 2)

They can't understand me
My jeans may be baggy
That don't give the cops the right to grab
me
Unhand me.
This world is soo unhappy
Kids feel their life is soo crappy
Lookin' at life like a suicidal trap b

It's like that see

And if you can't see
Then open your eyes and realize
That this world holds a big surprise
No matter where you are there will be
lies
And people who criticize the way you
look
They'll try and make you small
Try and get you shook
Make you wanna' retaliate with a left
hoo-hoo-hoo-hoo

(CHORUS 2)

*Everyday is a struggle
You just gotta' hold on tight
Get up on your feet and do it right
Everyday is a struggle
You just gotta' hold on tight
Get up on your feet and do it right*

Don't criticize me, Don't isolate me.
'Cause we need to stay united
Accept me. Don't reject me.
'Cause we gotta' stand strongly
Keep the fire burning brightly
Cause we all the same inside

Don't criticize me, Don't isolate me.
'Cause we need to stay united
Accept me. Don't reject me.
'Cause we gotta' stand strongly
Keep the fire burning brightly
'Cause we all the same inside

RESEARCH

Message in the music

Graduate student examines unique means of propagating public health information

By Anna Bartlett

THE TELEGRAM

Rachel Landy is giving a presentation tonight and her topic is an unusual one: condoms.

"Teaching Condoms: folk, media and HIV education" will be part of Words in Edgemoor, a variety show-like event usually organized every month or so by the graduate program in literature at MUN, Eastern Edge Gallery and Maggie Magazine.

The evening condoms won't be props or background characters in Landy's talk.

No, they're from a PSA-like video made in India that was driven to community markets in the back of a truck.

"It's very catchy," says Landy, an ethnomusicology graduate student at Memorial.

"There are some characters dressed and dancing and singing, and they're dressed as condoms. Well, they like conditional contexts of condoms. It's integrated with men in traditional dress that are dancing and then the singer is singing. It's information about condoms usage and the need for condoms in India in that population. It was targeting truck drivers."

Landy's interest in such videos was sparked as an undergrad at the University of Toronto.

Then, she was introduced to the work of ethnomusicologist Ganga Ravi, who realized after hearing Ugandan songs that a lot of them had HIV messages.

She decided to pursue a masters in the field while filing the fees of her parents' Ontario home and scratching her head about what to do next.

"This was a moment I could really combine all of my interests, and also I really didn't want to be a doctor for the rest of my life."

For her soon-to-be finished thesis, Landy focused on South America and its unique history of HIV education with music and the kinds of music they're doing it with.

Her research involved observing a sexual health program which targeted native Canadian youth.

She will head to Ghana later this summer to begin an internship with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA).

While not part of her formal studies, she expects it'll shape her understanding of what's happening in Africa and Ghana.

"It's something to read about a culture that has participatory



UN graduate student Rachel Landy will give a presentation titled "Teaching Condoms: folk, media and HIV education," tonight from 8-10 p.m. as part of the Words in Edgemoor variety show at the Eastern Edge Gallery. — Photo by Joe O'Brien/The Telegram

music-making in everyday life. It's another thing to be involved in it or seeing it happening on the ground."

After her CIDA stint, Landy is interested in continuing her research. She sees a lot of value in it and sees the people of Uganda as an example.

"It's a credible strategy for communication not necessarily recognized by the people who are doing a lot of development work. But (music) is so important and integral to many people's daily lives, and I think there has to be some credibility (given) for that."

Landy happened across the dancing condom video and wrote about it for a course she recently completed.

She intends for the this evening's talk to be an introduction into how she ended up studying this stuff.

Also set to take part in Words in Edgemoor are the St. John's Ukulele Club and geography grad student Rajan Patel, whose presentation also has an attention-grabbing title — "Sexual Pleasure in the Age of Parasites."

The event takes place from 8 to 10 p.m. at the Eastern Edge Gallery.

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