

‘AIDS is gold, HIV is platinum’: Bush Radio’s use of the entertainment-education strategy

T. E. Bosch

Introduction

It’s World AIDS Day, December 1, 2001. I’m surrounded by high school youth crowding into the school hall of Princeton High School in Mitchell’s Plain, Cape Town, all dancing enthusiastically to the sounds of some of their favorite hip-hop artists. Hip-hop music is very popular among youth in Cape Town. But today the lyrics of the music are markedly different – they deal with issues related to sexuality, HIV and AIDS, alerting youth to key issues and encouraging them to modify high-risk behaviors. The youth are at a concert hosted by community radio station, Bush Radio. Local artists perform on stage, interspersed with songs by international artists such as Canibus, and their song, *AIDS is gold, HIV is platinum*, composed specially for World AIDS day. The chorus goes:

AIDS is gold and HIV is platinum
 Sit down and ask them where you get your facts from
 Five hundred thousand niggas in the hood with it
 And a million more niggas is getting ready to get it¹

DJs Ready D and Oscar were spinning tunes between the performances by BVK (Brasse Vannie Kaap), emcee Mr. Devious, kwaito group Dantai, and popular groups Dee Louw, Godessa and Cool Funk. In between the mixes audience members occasionally broke into spontaneous break-dancing performances.

This article describes how Bush Radio has, via such events, used hip-hop music to target youth with messages about HIV/AIDS, within the broader context of the entertainment-education strategy and the cultural relevance of hip-hop music. The article draws on research conducted during part of a larger qualitative study² during which participant observation and in-depth interviews were conducted.

As the AIDS pandemic reaches crisis proportions in Africa, behaviour change tactics are constantly being re-invented. Among the more creative of these are strategies that transcend traditional approaches, to deliberately mix entertaining formats with pro-social messages. Bush Radio’s Youth Against AIDS 2000 (YAA 2000) campaign embedded socially conscious lyrics in popular hip-hop music. As one Bush Radio listener who called in to the hip-hop show said:

A lot of people don’t know what AIDS is about. So if you talk in a slang that they understand then you will approach them in a better way and they will understand better.³

The essence of Bush Radio

Bush Radio is a community radio station based in Cape Town, South Africa. It originated as the Cassette Education Trust (CASET), an audio-cassette production facility which was formed during the early 1980s, the height of apartheid. At this time, television and radio

broadcasting was owned and controlled by the state's South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and operated as the propaganda arm of the apartheid government.

While SABC-TV became the vanguard of the state's media counter attack against grassroots democracy,⁴ CASET produced and distributed cassette tapes containing speeches from banned activists, local music and revolutionary poetry. After the first national democratic elections in April 1994, CASET became Bush Radio. The subsequent liberalisation of the airwaves and the formation of an Independent Broadcast Authority (IBA⁵) made provision for community radio as a formal structure, intended to give previously disadvantaged groups access to the airwaves.

Today Bush Radio broadcasts 24 hours a day on 89,5FM, with an average balance of 60% talk and 40% music programming. Talkshows and documentaries deal with a host of issues from health, gender, children and governance. Specialist music shows include genres largely unavailable on other radio stations, e.g. drum and bass, reggae, and blues. Programming is produced by volunteers drawn from the community, and the station is most interested in horizontal communication to encourage dialogue among the members of the communities, as well as between various communities fragmented during apartheid.

Background to AIDS in South Africa

The AIDS pandemic is sweeping across Africa with South Africa showing the highest rates of infection in the continent. By the end of 2003, UNAIDS estimated that there were 5.3 million people in South Africa living with HIV – 21.5% of the population. A survey published in March 2004 showed that South Africans spend more time at funerals than everyday activities like going to the hairdresser or shopping, and that over twice as many people had been to a funeral in the past month as had been to a wedding. This study estimated that about 600 people in South Africa die of HIV-related illnesses each day.⁶

Based on a sample of over 16,000 women attending antenatal clinics across all nine provinces, a study conducted by the South African Department of Health showed that 27.9% of pregnant women were living with HIV in 2003.⁷ Levels of heterosexually-transmitted HIV infection are high among South African youth with one study reporting levels of 18.9% among 17-20 year olds and 43.1% among 21-25 year olds.⁸ Eaton, Flisher and Aaro (2003)⁹ concluded that at least 50% of young people in South Africa are sexually active by the age of sixteen; with between 50-60% of sexually active youth reporting that they never use condoms. Their study also showed that black youth reported earlier sexual debut and that between 10% and 30% of sexually active young people have more than one sexual partner. Further research¹⁰ showed that less than 50% of young people in South Africa understand the relationship between HIV and AIDS.

There are clearly serious gaps in knowledge as well as an increased need to change attitudes and influence young people to change their high-risk sexual behaviours. As one Bush Radio caller said, "You must stop asking us to not have sex, because we are."¹¹ The only alternative to existing campaigns which display limited efficacy, may be projects that are attractive to youth and speak to them in a language and register that they identify with.

The Entertainment-Education Strategy

Mythologies, folk tales, tragedies, comedy, novels, comic books, games and mass media products such as movies, popular songs, radio and television soap operas, have all influenced

human thought, belief, and action.¹² These devices not only provide individual and collective entertainment, but also articulate and reinforce the educational goals of human societies.

Since the British Broadcasting Corporation's agriculturally focused radio drama, *The Archers*, in 1945 and the developmental telenovelas in Latin America in the early 1960s, there has been increased use of entertainment programmes to deliver pro-social messages. Terms such as enter-educate, infotainment, culture and development, pro-development entertainment, and entertainment-education have been used to describe this practice.

The term entertainment-education (e-e) is used most often, and is described as "the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message both to entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favourable attitudes, and change overt behaviour."¹³ Unlike pure entertainment, e-e approaches attempt to positively change audience members' knowledge, attitudes and behaviours with respect to a specific issue – in the case of health, to promote lifestyle choices or provide guidance on preventing disease. Besides the more common radio or television soap operas, e-e interventions have also used song lyrics and music videos promoting women's issues, AIDS, sex education, and family planning. E-e approaches to health promotion are a popular method for interventions that target youth.

In fact, music has often been used as a political tool, as well as to promote awareness of socio-political issues: for one, African-Americans have long used blues and jazz as social criticism. Composed in the 1990s, John Corigliano's First Symphony reflected on the AIDS pandemic. In Argentina, The Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo¹⁴ used rock music to construct, transmit and reconstruct memories of a military dictatorship that eliminated political dissidents through torture and killings.¹⁵

More specifically, musical e-e strategies have been extensively used in health education, particular HIV/ AIDS education. The multimedia *Soul City* project in South Africa comprises e-e television and radio dramas on social issues, including AIDS. *Soul City* has been demonstrated to increase interpersonal communication as well as both self and collective-efficacy.¹⁶ In St. Lucia, studies showed that the radio drama *After the Pleasure* promoted the use of contraception, the prevention of HIV transmission and increased the number of visits to family planning clinics.¹⁷

In Tanzania, an evaluation of the radio drama *Twende na Wakati*¹⁸ showed significant effects on listeners' adoption of HIV prevention methods and self-efficacy. In Ghana, the "Stop AIDS: Love Life" campaign utilised Ghanaian hip-life, highlife and gospel music. Local musicians produced a seven-minute AIDS song and music video featuring explicit messages of safe sex including abstinence, fidelity and condom use.¹⁹

Similarly, the *Communication for Young People Project*, better known as *Tatiana & Johnny*, was implemented to promote sexual restraint among Mexican teenagers. The campaign consisted of songs and music videos featuring a male and female singer, as well as public service announcements. Evaluation analysis concluded that the campaign had a number of positive consequences: teenagers felt freer to talk about sex, became more sensitised about the relevance of sex, messages reinforced behaviours of teenagers who already practiced abstinence and demand for family planning services increased.²⁰ In 1998, the *Nigeria Music Project* produced and commercially launched two family planning songs performed by popular musicians King Sunny Ade and Onyeka Onwenu. Both songs rose to the top of the

charts.²¹ In Japan, the dramatic television series *Kamisama Mo Sukoshidake*²², was shown to double the number of requests for HIV/ AIDS tests and requests, by moving a highly stigmatised topic into the public domain.²³

Besides television and radio dramas, there have also been other e-e campaigns in other genres, addressing AIDS. Examples include *Street Artists Against AIDS* in Brazil, *Nalamdana* in India and the *Chirumhanzu Home-Based Care Project* in Zimbabwe which used street theatre to provide information about AIDS.

Hip-hop in South Africa

With its links to the Black Panther and Civil Rights Movements in the United States, hip-hop music is another, less documented, genre of e-e. Hip-hop is a cultural movement that began predominantly among urban African-American youth in the United States. Its four main elements are emceeing, deejaying, graffiti art and breakdancing. The term “hip-hop” has since become a euphemism for rap music to mainstream audiences. However, the two are not interchangeable – emceeing (rapping) is the vocal expression of lyrics in sync to a rhythm beneath it.

Hip-hop music is related to the griots of West Africa, travelling singers and poets whose musical style is similar to hip-hop. Slaves brought the griot traditions to the New World. Jamaican dub musicians isolated percussion breaks, because dancers at clubs preferred the energetic rhythms of the often-short breaks, and soon, performers began speaking in sync with these rhythms.²⁴ They were originally *called* MCs (Master of Ceremonies *or* Mic Controller) and, later, rappers or emcees. Originally, these early rappers focused on introducing themselves and others in the audience, with some improvisation and a simple four-count beat, along with a simple chorus. By the end of the 1970s, hip-hop music was on its way to becoming a major commercial and artistic force and had spread throughout the United States. Primarily, hip-hop and rap music originated as a cultural response from working class African-American youth, to their economic and social stigmatisation.²⁵ Hip-hop in the United States thus became a powerful vehicle for cultural political expression, as well as an informational medium that described the rage of African-Americans facing growing oppression, declining opportunities for advancement, changing moods on the streets and everyday life as a matter of sheer survival.²⁶ As a result, many hip-hop groups rose out of this specific socio-political context, and there are numerous examples of the realisation that the music could be used as an educational tool – e.g. KRS-One’s album entitled “Edutainment”, and the fact that Afrika Bambaataa and the Zulu Nation were committed to grassroots education and social transformation, via hip-hop music.

The first African hip-hop act was South African group Black Noise which began as a graffiti and breakdance crew, and started emceeing around 1989. The South African government had banned rap due to its perceived subversive lyrics and association with the struggle for racial equality in the United States, but by the late 1980s, rap music was broadcast on radio and television. Artists like Run DMC and Afrika Bambaataa rapped against apartheid in South Africa in 1985.

Hip-hop emerged on the Cape Flats in the early 1980s as one of many responses to apartheid. It was particularly powerful in Cape Town, where it functioned as a vehicle to work through the tensions of being racially marginalised from local domains of power.²⁷ Local hip-hop musicians in Cape Town have a large following in Cape Town’s townships, which have used rap and hip-hop in the development of their communities. Apart from addressing social

problems in their lyrics, members of the hip-hop scene were also active in the struggle against apartheid. Hip-hop was used in workshops, introducing youth to issues of self-respect and the history of apartheid. POC (Prophets of the City) songs were played to encourage people to vote during the first elections in 1994.²⁸ The group Black Noise organises rap and breakdance workshops and the yearly African Hip-Hop Indaba is intended to present youth with an alternative to gangsterism. In 1994, Bush Radio became the only radio station in Cape Town with a dedicated hip-hop show offering local rappers the opportunity to present their work and for the first time addressing youth in the townships in their own slang.

Youth Against AIDS (YAA) 2000

Driven by the increasing numbers of Cape Flats youth infected with AIDS, and drawing on the popularity of hip-hop, Bush Radio launched the *Youth Against AIDS 2000* (YAA) campaign in March 2000. Funded by NIZA (Nederlands Instituut voor Zuidelijk Afrika) and the Madunia Foundation of The Netherlands, YAA 2000 was intended to create effective ways to educate high school youth in Bush Radio's broadcast area, on issues of sexuality and AIDS. According to Bush Radio's programme integrator, Adrian Louw:

Radio is used as a vehicle for a lot of what we do. Bush Radio as an organisation has taken on such a lot of activity. But that's because of our history as a developmental radio station, as a struggle radio station. We've taken on tasks that might not necessarily be important to other people, or people might question, "Why? Why would a radio station be engaged in AIDS education?" And reality is, it's necessary. There are lots of other social issues that need to be addressed, and in many ways the station tackles all of that and looks towards younger people to help improve the situation of other young people and improve the situation of the community.²⁹

The Bush Radio website describes YAA 2000 as follows:

YAA 2000 is more than just a fun live event under the AIDS banner; it is a creative platform of performance and participation, which aims to build a new level of awareness around AIDS and sexuality in Cape Town townships, and particularly among the youth.

The first phase of the project comprised formative research during which Bush Radio staff administered questionnaires to students at local high schools. Formative research was intended to identify students' current levels of knowledge, attitudes and behaviour, as well as prevalent myths, with the intention of deconstructing them. Formative research may also include the pre-testing and then revision of messages or programs, though in this case, messages were not pre-tested and audience feedback was continuous. The next phase included live performances and a simultaneous live broadcast at Princeton High in Mitchell's Plain, one of Cape Town's largest so-called coloured townships. The station produced a CD of the event to encourage youth ownership and to raise the profile of the project. Bush Radio and Radio Netherlands distributed the CD to national and international community radio stations free of charge.

Another feature of the project was weekly school lunchtime shows, designed in consultation with students from local high schools. The Bush Radio outside broadcast crew headed out once a month to local schools and invited all youth, including those from neighbouring high schools to come and talk openly about all issues related to sex.

Bush Radio hoped that these Teen Town Meetings would contribute to the demystification of community radio, as well as the development of youth programming. Bush Radio visited over fifteen township schools, bringing radio to the youth to highlight their challenges and problems. Local doctors and Department of Health and Department of Education representatives were also invited to speak and to answer students' questions. HIV testing was made available to students in the school hall at one meeting. According to the Bush Radio website:

Youth talk about everything from thigh sex to the male ego to young women's self-esteem when it comes to being the decision-makers in a relationship. Of course, we cover the basics too, on HIV and AIDS.³⁰

Princeton High staff then officially endorsed their students' participation in a daily on-air afternoon programme, aired during an intensive one-week campaign. These programmes comprised panels with AIDS experts and school representatives, with the youth tackling attitudes, challenges, sexuality, prevention, care and management of AIDS. However, while Bush Radio staff's expertise in radio presentation was assumed, there was no specific training in facilitating radio debates about HIV/ AIDS – one possible weakness of the intervention.

The longer-term, on-air component of the project, HIV-Hop radio, was a five-week radio campaign launched on May 9. The HIV-Hop show served as a pilot project in the development of a new radio format for youth education, raising the importance of increasing the responsibility for AIDS education. As one listener said during a call to the programme:

I think it's also up to the leaders in our society. Not the politicians, but teachers or any leader in the society, it's up to them to teach us about these things. Because we're teenagers we're not going to go to the libraries and read about this stuff even though we know.³¹

AIDS researchers in Africa have recognised the need to consider the objective social, environmental and economic factors.³² Eaton, Flisher and Aaro (2003)³³ point out that social-cognitive theories of behaviour change may not be useful to understand AIDS in developing countries, because they emphasise personal processes and the subjective aspects of social influences, neglecting the objective aspects of social influences and the societal and cultural context. Instead of adopting traditional behaviour change strategies, the HIV-Hop show took the cultural context of hip-hop music in Cape Town into account.

The show was designed using focus group interviews with students from schools in three of Bush Radio's main target communities: Mitchell's Plain, Gugulethu and Woodstock. The HIV-Hop show was modelled on the station's already highly successful Friday night hip-hop show *Headwarmers*, hosted by various local musicians of international acclaim, primarily members of the former *Prophets of the City*. Youth called in from all over the city to share their thoughts and lyrics. One Friday night a young man called in saying:

As an emcee, all the issues that you are dealing with now, it like really gives you inspiration to like write on, especially AIDS and youth issues. As an emcee it really inspires you so you can really write about it. I also just wanted to drop a few rhymes on the AIDS issue.³⁴

Callers to the hip-hop show are a regular part of the programme, and these youth often share their lyrics as a way of gaining exposure and receiving feedback from their peers. The radio station often receives calls from people who do not have telephones in their homes. These people call from public phone booths on street corners, “dropping” their lyrics before they run out of coins.

HIV-hop segments were rebroadcast during the Friday night program. Listeners participated in vigorous on-air discussions by calling both programmes. These calls usually sparked vigorous debate and discussion on a number of issues ranging from whether abstinence before marriage was a viable option, to whether distributing condoms in schools promotes promiscuity. Calls also often addressed myths that could be dealt with either by the presenters of the show or other listeners.

A key aspect of the campaign was the support of local hip-hop musicians who built upon their existing popularity. The musicians attended some of the outside broadcasts and events, as well as in the studio during the broadcasts. They also attended workshops and discussion sessions arranged by Bush Radio, with AIDS workers and experts, to increase their knowledge and to ensure informed input during the broadcasts. The musicians readily committed themselves to the campaign and composed songs with AIDS related messages. Many songs emphasised basic information about how the virus is transmitted, and addressed so-called conspiracy theories.³⁵

Songs like those written by Mr Devious are intended to address basic misconceptions about the transmission of the virus. On the Cape Flats (as elsewhere), these include the common belief that condoms can disappear into women causing them serious injury³⁶, that contraceptives offer protection against HIV or that condoms can be reused.³⁷ Besides disseminating basic information about HIV and AIDS and how the virus is transmitted, song lyrics also dealt with reducing the stigma and prejudices toward people living with AIDS.

The Health Belief Model and Social-Cognitive Learning Theory states that key determinants of health behaviour are perceptions about the seriousness of a health threat, perceptions about one’s personal vulnerability to a health threat and one’s perceived ability to reduce one’s risk.³⁸ Local research shows that many South African youth underestimate their risk for contracting HIV and that higher perceived vulnerability and anxiety about personal risk is linked to greater intended and actual sexual behaviour change.³⁹ Locally produced songs were written to increase such awareness and change commonplace misconceptions about youth’s vulnerability to AIDS.

Furthermore, many of the discussions and song lyrics also focused on factors influencing the spread of AIDS, as opposed to just talking about safer sex. Poverty, unemployment, global economics and ignorance were all laid on the table. One rhyme called “Ek is wyn”⁴⁰, dealing with the relationship between alcoholism and poverty, achieved huge popularity among listeners through its broadcasts on Bush Radio. It is rapped in the mixture of Afrikaans and English that is commonly spoken in Cape Town.⁴¹

The HIV-Hop project was supplemented by the South African Community Radio AIDS Initiative (SACRAI), which ran between September 2000 and January 2002. Forty thirty-minute discussion programs were produced and distributed to six radio stations around the

country. When the YAA 2000 project ended, Bush Radio continued to spark discussions on HIV/AIDS, particularly on the hip-hop show. A new one-hour programme called *Positive Living*, was hosted by Nomonde Tshikila and Ntombi Yoko, and broadcast between 2 and 3pm Monday through Friday:

It gives information like starting from the terminology, like how it affects the immune system, how it works in the body, the medication, the antiretrovirals, how does it affect the family. The other thing that we are still fighting is to eliminate the stigma, because that is why people find it so difficult to disclose their status. I used to call it HIV/ AIDS program but I just decided to name it Positive Living because we are living positively and we have positive attitudes especially people who are living with the virus. It also boosted my attitude because I am also HIV positive.⁴²

The on-air component of the show comprised interviews with policy makers, experts and medical staff and encouraged listeners to call in with questions, which were answered by studio guests. The off-air component comprised school visits.

On Monday afternoons, Yoko, Tshikila, and Nicky Asher-Brown, who headed Bush Outside Broadcasts (BOB), together with an assortment of interns and volunteers, piled into a battered blue VW Microbus and headed to schools around the city. Bush Radio sometimes deliberately selected poorer schools with fewer resources; but most times they visited schools at the request of teachers or principals. One Monday afternoon, I joined the team in the back of a crowded classroom at Perseverance High School in Belhar, a former coloured township on the Cape Flats, about twenty miles from the city centre. Conspicuous in my bright red Bush Radio T-shirt, the boisterous teens stared at me curiously. They eventually settled down once Asher-Brown turned on the outside broadcast unit and played some music. When the song ended she had their full attention and introduced the team. Then, to the students' obvious delight, she asked their teachers to leave and told students:

HIV/ AIDS is not just about sex. It's also about poverty and abuse, serious issues in our communities. We are here to tell you some things about HIV and AIDS, but we are not the experts. We hope that you can learn something from us, but we also hope that we can learn something from you. Please don't laugh at other people's questions. We do stupid things, but there are no stupid questions.

Then she handed the microphone over to Tshikila, who began to engage students on the topic of AIDS, constantly eliciting responses and giving basic information on what the virus is and how it is transmitted. From the back, one boy shouted out that he heard that the virus came from Nigeria. This started a lively discussion about its origins, which eventually ended with another student pointing out that whatever its origins may be, it is now a problem in Cape Town that they all face. Tshikila skilfully negotiated all the students' questions and comments, which flowed thick and fast in English, Afrikaans and Xhosa.

On the occasions when Yoko mediated the discussion, a central part of her strategy was to withhold her HIV positive status, and to reveal it to students toward the middle of the session. As Asher-Brown said:

On three occasions we had students that came out and disclosed their status to her and nobody else. Because she always tells them she's HIV positive, they'll talk to her or they'll make an appointment with her where she goes to see them beyond school time.

And she'll tell them what to do and where to go. Most of the time she tells them about her experience. They learn that there is someone out there who can help, but that it's going to take time, and I think that makes it a success in going out to the schools and really getting positive feedback and the students saying we must come back.⁴³

Discussion

One of the main weaknesses of these projects is that Bush Radio cannot quantitatively measure audience responses. In 2001, a Dutch funded PSO project allowed German consultant, Antje Becker-Benton, previously from Johns Hopkins Center for Communication Programs (JHUCCP), to spend five months at the station helping Bush Radio to improve their AIDS programming. Becker-Benton designed basic questionnaires for staff to administer at outside broadcasts or to callers.

However, these questionnaires yielded very little information, and did not accurately measure whether the AIDS projects have had any significant impact on listeners in terms of attitude or behavioural change. At the moment, the only indication the station gets from listeners that its programs are somewhat useful, is from callers to the show. On the days that I listened, this is some of what listeners had to say:

Bush Radio is the only radio station that actually plays like hard core hip-hop and secondly also the issues that you deal with. Other radio stations don't deal with that like AIDS and teenage sexuality, and all that stuff. It's very interesting because it's stuff that I never knew. It broadens my knowledge and my mind more on the stuff. Music brings over a message be it positive or negative. If you have a positive message people will sit up and listen to it because it is a topic that we all have to think about.

Some of that we need it, actually I need it. No other radio station will do such a thing. They won't go deep into such a subject and they'll like just say blah blah blah. But like you guys you went deep into the subject and it really helps.

It really changed my behaviour and my attitude towards people with AIDS. For me personally ek het altyd gedink as ek iemand sien met AIDS dan sal ek bang wees, ek sal nie met daai mense wil praat nie ek sal nie aan daai mense wil vat nie. It wassie soe nie. Ek weet nou hoe jy AIDS kry en hoe jy nie AIDS kan kry nie so daarom was ek baie different (I always thought that I would be very scared if I met someone with AIDS. I thought I wouldn't want to talk to them or touch them. And it wasn't like that. Now I know how you get AIDS and that's why I was very different).

I definitely learned something and I learned from hearing what other people have to say. People wonder about the same things. People ask the same questions, they ask the same things, for real. You dealt with people live on air and you approached them to call live on air.⁴⁴

However, these reactions don't provide detailed feedback on whether or not the intervention was effective in changing knowledge, attitudes or behaviour, or how it succeeded in doing so. Certainly, the programme focuses heavily on knowledge, with many of the songs, for example, addressing the myths around HIV that are very prevalent among young people, particularly in the townships. However, programme producers do not attempt to make any links between knowledge, attitudes and behaviour or practice (the so-called KAP gap). Bush

Radio thus has little idea of whether the e-e intervention resulted in any undesirable behaviour changes (or any desirable behaviours for that matter).

However, the HIV-Hop producers discovered that the program prompted listeners to extend their discussions on HIV and AIDS outside the radio show. As one caller said:

Discussing with friends outside the show, when we started to talk about sex the subject AIDS is coming. So yes, we talk about things that you talk about on the show. Me and my friends talk about it; we write lyrics about it, we have our own AIDS song.⁴⁵

Communication theorists and practitioners have long recognised the interplay between mass communication and interpersonal communication in the process of social change. The literature on e-e theory shows that interpersonal discussion of media content often leads to greater effects than direct exposure to media alone. Direct media information followed by peer discussion has been found to foster knowledge, attitude and behaviour change in target populations. E-e campaigns have the strongest effect on audience behaviour change when messages stimulate debate and reflection about the topic among audience members.⁴⁶

People are often more willing to discuss a media program with others with whom they feel a high degree of homophily.⁴⁷ The HIV-Hop show thus fostered this kind of interpersonal communication, amplifying the opportunity for increased effects. Many listeners were also enjoying the songs written specially for the show and recording them from the radio. One listener admitted that:

All the people are playing that stuff now, especially that Devious track. Everybody's got it in the whole place playing it on their systems. We recorded it from the radio.⁴⁸

Another obvious weakness is the lack of adequate grounding in academic practice, which might lead staff to more complete understandings of health communication campaigns and the e-e strategy. Partnerships with academics, and further research on similar case studies, could be helpful for future projects. In particular, future research might explore the use of other local music genres such as kwaito or house, which are equally, if not even more popular in Cape Town.

Furthermore, one cannot escape from the widespread perception that hip-hop music in South Africa is primarily popular among the so-called coloured population, with hip-hop playing a particular role in coloured youth identity construction.⁴⁹ On the surface it would seem that the YAA 2000 project was primarily focuses on coloured, Afrikaans-speaking youth, to the exclusion of Xhosa-speaking youth, despite the cursory inclusion of Gugulethu as one of the target areas and the outside broadcasts at Xhosa-speaking schools. But the Bush Radio project is missing adequate consideration of the cultural nuances that appear and reappear as one moves from Mitchells Plain to Gugulethu. It is perhaps for this reason that callers to the shows were primarily from formerly coloured townships, and mostly Afrikaans or English speaking. Hip-hop can only be culturally shareable if targeted youth speak the same language. Cultural shareability refers to the ability of a media program to appeal to heterophilous audiences.

And finally, perhaps the most striking critique might be that a project such as the one discussed, highlights the unequal relationship between the funding and the NGO community. In particular, the international donor driven focus on AIDS in Africa, which one might argue,

in this case, reinforces the widespread belief that AIDS is essentially a working class problem. Bush Radio might never have launched *YAA 2000* or HIV-Hop, had there not been generous international financial support. A similar project, CLEAN (Community, Learners and Educators Against Narcotics), launched by staff in the face of the Tik epidemic in 2004, was more theoretically sound, but was summarily cancelled by management due to a lack of funding.

Conclusion

In conclusion, Bush Radio's *YAA 2000* project demonstrated creative use of entertainment to reach youth with information about HIV/AIDS. Through their use of hip-hop, the station reached youth in an innovative and entertaining way. The partnership with hip-hop groups in the Netherlands also demonstrated the cultural shareability of the e-e intervention (albeit local limitations due to language). The popularity of hip-hop music in other geographic regions of South Africa and abroad, means that media projects from HIV Hop can be used elsewhere, with the same benefits.

However, it is clear that various challenges remain in place. At this stage, the use of e-e strategies is mostly intuitive. Intuitive projects are usually successful because they are based on experience, but may be even more effective in combination with theory. While there is some knowledge of the theoretical foundation of the e-e strategy, this has not been adequately studied by community radio staff, who may have much to learn from a more comprehensive study of similar projects around the world. Looking more closely at theories of behaviour change may also be useful for the sector. As mentioned earlier, there is no comprehensive mechanism to evaluate the effectiveness of the HIV programming on Bush Radio. To date there have been no process or summative evaluations, neither is there any indication of whether the intervention has created sustainable behaviour change; or what stage the project reached in closing the KAP (knowledge, attitudes, practice) gap.

Finally, the cultural relevance of hip-hop music has been clearly demonstrated in Cape Town, and in South Africa. There is a clear potential for music in e-e projects. However, for greater effectiveness community radio stations could diversify and draw on other aspects of hip-hop culture such as graffiti art or hip-hop theatre, or other musical genres such as kwaito or house. "Launching a multimedia broadcast with supportive activities is crucial for effective entertainment-education. The effects of e-e are magnified when supplementary activities are included in an integrated communication campaign."⁵⁰ The main challenge to such projects is the lack of funds to allow for comprehensive evaluations to assess the effectiveness of the intervention.

While there is no evidence to show the success of Bush Radio's projects, this article has intended to provide an overview of one case study, with the intention of emphasising areas for improvement. For example, Bush Radio staff could benefit from facilitation and sensitivity training, and partnerships with academics could enrich the project with evaluation and impact assessment skills. Further research in this area is necessary and should focus on the relationship between youth relationships with music and popular culture, and their simultaneous identity construction; as well as the differences between music-based public information campaigns as opposed to narrative based e-e initiatives such as edu-soaps.

Appendix A. Mr Devious song lyrics

We're caught up in a war against a chemical weapon that's unseen
 There's no escape once it enters your bloodstream
 There's a killer with no prime directive to come clean
 Only life support system is knowledge of what seems to be
 Super STD, scientifically designed to wipe out you and me
 We not free
 It's set to decrease the population of the planet
 But how do we stop population understanding
 What we're dealing with is an articulate plan
 Sent to destroy nations
 In various variations
 You people might think I'm making serious accusations
 My theory exists due to previous regulations
 So pay close attention, receive this information
 There's 4 million people infected in this country alone
 33.6 million across the globe
 The death toll increases ten fold
 So I'm telling you about a crisis
 Because we're dealing with human deficiency virus

Attacking the immune system at a rapid pace
 And yo! It might be too late before we act with haste
 What we're dealing with is a master plan
 If you're seeing this you're seeing past the scam
 The crisis is a virus created by man
 Most people would tend to disagree with my theory
 And I might be assassinated if some governments hear me
 But I'll say this anyway
 AIDS is man made

They tried killing us before with guns that's man made
 Isn't cyanide a weapon
 What about atomic bombs
 Isn't that man made
 Made to harm men, women and children
 Isn't this virus on the same mission to kill them
 Breaking down the immune system of its victim
 'til there's nothing left except your last breath
 I could think of a thousand more conspiracy theories
 Enough to split in a series
 If you've been waiting to hear these
 I suggest you adjust your earpiece
 For the truth is
 While we're pointing fingers and trying to chill
 There's people out there infected and dying for real
 People afraid to be tested denying they're ill
 People on the verge of a breakdown, relying on will
 Trying to deal with misinformed people's prejudices feelings toward them
 If society refuses to pay attention to this problem then I'll force them

The deal is AIDS is more than what your average sexually transmitted disease is
 It's evidently killing our species
 By the next millennium there'll be zero population left
 I guess the current synonym for copulation's death
 The shit we're facing, this current situation
 It's a must that I drop these stats to this misinformed nation
 The only way you get AIDS is by sleeping around unprotected
 Next thing you know you're six feet deep in the ground come and check it
 You can only get AIDS from contact with blood

Or the transfer of semen from a partner to another
 Even a baby can get infected by its mother
 Make sure you apply the correct use of a rubber
 For instance when you open use your fingertips to tear the cover
 Don't use it you might shred it
 Make sure the condom tip contains air and check the expiry date
 If it's old don't go there, oh yeah
 You can't get AIDS from animals or mosquito bites

You can't get AIDS from going to the dentist or sharing the same glasses
 You can't get AIDS from cutting your hair or breathing the same air
 Or sharing cutlery with a person with HIV hopefully I'll make you see
 Having sex while standing does not prevent infection
 Neither does pulling out your penis before ejaculation
 So go ahead and laugh at this
 You can still get AIDS if you have sex and pee afterwards
 That's my verse
 If you confused, rewind and go back 'til you understand the lyrics in this rap. Get that?

Appendix B: Song lyrics of "Ek is wyn"

Ek se jy, ken jy vir my?
 Jy, raak wys, ken jy vir my?
 Ek se jy, ken jy vir my? Raak wys
 Ek stiek uit soos 'n chameleon
 Ek is nou hier langs jou
 Dans ek soema binne in jou TV in
 'n verkleremannetjie in die verkere company
 Ek change color soos groen bruin en blou
 Ek is alles waarvan jy hou

Ek is die downfall van 'n bruin ou
 In die township is ek 'n main ou
 Ek is daai ding wat die working class in die werk hou
 Ek is die rede hoekom baie predekante kerk hou
 Ek is trouble, en ek lyk om te sien hoe onskuldige mense struggle
 Ek is die cause van die violence en hoekom it aanhou
 Ek is die rede hoekom prostitutes aan mans klou
 Ek is die rede hoekom brasse jou sal rob en skop sonder ophou
 En as die nood druk, dan stik ek naad soos a speld
 En ek is die rede vir daai bra se demise op die veld

As 'n laaitjie toet jye my verloor het, het jou tannie jou hard geneek met die beld deur my
 want ek is geld
 Nou net as jy check jy'd my uitge figure se ek haaties, ek change in daai ding wat jy invat by
 parties
 Ek is daai ding wat a waai bring
 Ek laat jou verbeel jy kan kwaai sing
 I can even make you cry vrind
 Of Engels praat en laat afbriek
 Ek is die rede hoekom jy daai bra wil hard steek
 Ek is die rede dat jy Sondag oggende laat kip
 En ek is die rede hoekom jy die laws wil 'n kaard skiet
 But dit baat nie
 Met daai asem sal jy dit noe maak nie
 Met my in jou system is jy totally reckless
 Ek is 'n alcoholic se supper lunch en breakfast
 En as jy jou motjie klap sal jy vir my blame
 Ek laat die pyn verdwyn want ek is wyn
 Ek's a tool van oppression
 In die form of a chemical warfare experiment
 Ek is Wouter Basson se blerrie kind
 Ek laat jou omkap as ek jou mond vat

Ek slat jou long pap en jy... jou sopnat as jy die grond vat
 Ek is 'n ... en ek dra die ghetto se kroon
 Ek is 'n gangster se droom
 Hulle meng my met boom
 Ek's a button, but I can change into a flake
 Ek is... Hoe lyk jy vir my
 ... sys nie a mens nie sys net a meit.
 Ek is die rede hoekom jy ha wil gryp en rape
 Ek is geld, buttons wyn en rape
 ... fingerprints
 Ek is ignorance

English translation:

I say, do you know me?
 Wise up, I stick out like a chameleon
 Now I'm here next to you, then I'm inside your TV
 A chameleon in the wrong company
 I change color like green brown and blue
 I am everything you like
 I am the downfall of the brown man
 In the township I'm the main guy
 I'm that thing that keeps the working class in work
 I am the reason many priests hold church services
 I am trouble, and I like to see innocent people struggle
 I am the cause of violence and why it persists
 I am the reason prostitutes cling to men
 I am the reason guys will rob and kick you without stopping
 I am the reason for the guy dying on the field

As a child you lost me and your mom beat you with a belt because of me because I am money
 Now just as you think you've figured me out, I change into that thing you take to parties
 I am that thing that brings noise
 I make you imagine you can sing well
 Friend, I can even make you cry
 Or speak English and break down
 I am the reason you want to stab that dude
 I am the reason you sleep late on Sunday mornings
 I am the reason you want to cheat the law, but it's not worth it
 With that breath you'll not make it
 You're totally reckless with me in your system
 I'm an alcoholic's supper, lunch and breakfast
 And when you beat your wife you blame me
 I make the pain disappear because I am wine

I'm a tool of oppression
 In the form of a chemical warfare experiment
 I am Wouter Basson's⁵¹ bloody child
 I make your lung collapse
 I wear the ghetto's crown
 I am a gangster's dream
 They mix me with other drugs
 I make you say she's not a person, she's a bitch
 I am the reason you want to grab and rape her
 I am money, drugs, wine and rape
 I am ignorance.

¹ <http://www.lyricsdirectory.com/portal/canibus/014.htm>

² Bosch, T. Radio, community and identity in South Africa: A rhizomatic study of Bush Radio in Cape Town. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, School of Telecommunications, Ohio University. 2003

³ Bush Radio on air broadcast, 2000.

⁴ Tomaselli, K. Currents of power: State broadcasting in South Africa. Bellville: Anthropos. 1989.

⁵ In April 2001 the IBA merged with the South African Telecommunications Regulatory Authority (SATRA) to form the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA). A new bill passed by parliament stated that the merger was needed because of the rapid convergence in the fields of broadcasting and telecommunications

⁶ www.africaaction.org/docs03/tac0303.htm.

⁷ <http://www.doh.gov.za/docs/reports/>.

⁸ Campbell, C. & MacPhail, C. Peer education, gender and the development of critical consciousness: Participatory HIV prevention by South African youth. *Social Science and Medicine*, 55, 331-345. 2002.

⁹ Eaton, L., Flisher, A., & Aaro, L. Unsafe sexual behavior in South African youth. *Social Science and Medicine*, 56, 149-165. 2003.

¹⁰ Elkonin, D. 1993. Acquired immune deficiency syndrome: Knowledge, attitudes and sexual activity among university students. Unpublished masters dissertation. University of Port Elizabeth, South Africa; Naidoo, S. 1994. Acquired immune deficiency syndrome: Knowledge, attitudes and sexual activity among black adolescents. Unpublished masters dissertation. University of Port Elizabeth, South Africa; Richter, L. 1996. A survey of reproductive health issues among urban black youth in South Africa (Final Grant Report). Center for Epidemiological Research in South Africa, Pretoria.

¹¹ Bush Radio on-air broadcast, July, 2003

¹² Campbell, J. 1988. The power of myth. New York: Doubleday; Piotrow, P. 1997. Health communication: Lessons from family planning and reproductive health. Westport, CT: Praeger.

- ¹³ Singhal, A. & Rogers, E. 1999. *Entertainment-education: A communication strategy for social change*. Mahwah, N.J.: L. Erlbaum Associates, p.9.
- ¹⁴ The Mothers of the May Square was an association of Argentine mothers whose children were kidnapped during the military dictatorship in that country, between 1976 and 1983.
- ¹⁵ Kaiser, S. 2002. Rock concerts, memory and human rights. Available from <<http://www.ourmedianet.org/eng/om2002/papers2002/Kaiser.IAMCR2002.pdf>> [Accessed 30 April 2003].
- ¹⁶ Soul City & MarkData. 2005. Evaluation of Soul City Series 6. Available online at <http://www.soulcity.org.za/downloads/Series%206%20Evaluation.pdf>
- ¹⁷ Vaughan, P., Regis, A., & St. Catherine, E. 2000. Effects of an entertainment-education radio soap opera on family planning and HIV prevention in St. Lucia. *International Family Planning Perspectives*, December.
- ¹⁸ Swahili for Let's Go With The Times
- ¹⁹ http://www.jhuccp.org/topics/enter_ed/eeprojects/09-01.shtml
- ²⁰ Singhal, A. & Rogers, E. 2003. *Combating AIDS: Communication strategies in action*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications Inc.
- ²¹ Daves, J. & Nickerson, L. (eds). 1993. The use of mainstream media to encourage social responsibility: The international experience. The Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation.
- ²² Please God just a little more time
- ²³ Singhal, A. & Rogers, E. 2003.
- ²⁴ Keyes, C. 1996. At the Crossroads: Rap Music and Its African Nexus. *Ethnomusicology*, 40(2), pp. 223-248; Richardson, J. (2002). Rap music and its violent progeny: America's culture of violence in context. *The Journal of Negro Education* 71(3), 175-192.
- ²⁵ Tate, G. (1999). 15 Arguments in favor of the future of hip-hop. In A. Light (Ed.), *The Vibe history of hip-hop* (pp. 385-394). New York: Three Rivers Press.
- ²⁶ Best, S. & Kellner, D. (1999). Rap, black rage, and racial difference. *Enculturation* 2(2).
- ²⁷ Watkins, L. 2001. Simunye, we are not one: Ethnicity, difference and the hip-hoppers of Cape Town. *Race & Class*, 43(1).
- ²⁸ Gesthuizen, T. 2003. Rap as a medium: South Africa. Retrieved from the World Wide Web 9/14/2003. <http://www.niza.nl/media/Ea.hivhop/Ea3.rapasa.html>; Haupt, Adam. 2004. Hip-Hop in the Age of Empire: Cape Flats Style. *Voices of the Transition: Perspectives on the Politics, Poetics and Practices of Development in New South Africa*. Edgar Pieterse and Frank Meintjies (eds.). Heinemann: Johannesburg.
- ²⁹ Interview conducted July 2003.
- ³⁰ <http://www.bushradio.co.za>
- ³¹ Bush Radio on-air broadcast, June 2003
- ³² Webb, D. 1997. *HIV and AIDS in Africa*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- ³³ Eaton, L., Flisher, A., & Aaro, L. Unsafe sexual behavior in South African youth. *Social Science and Medicine*, 56, 149-165. 2003.
- ³⁴ Bush Radio on-air broadcast, June 2003
- ³⁵ See Appendix A, Mr. Devious song lyrics
- ³⁶ Abdool Karim, Q., Morar, N., Zuma, N., Stein, Z., & Preston-Whyte, E. 1994. Women and AIDS in Natal/KwaZulu: Determinants of the adoption of HIV-protective behavior. *Urbanisation and Health Newsletter*, 30, 3-9; Harvey, B. 1997. *A quantitative survey of knowledge, attitudes and behavior related to AIDS/ HIV among Zulu speaking standard eight high school students*. Unpublished masters dissertation. Rhodes University, Grahamstown; Nicholas, L. 1998. Black South African students' beliefs and attitudes about condoms. *Psychological Reports*, 77, 1328-1330.
- ³⁷ Blecher, M., Steinberg, M., Pick, W., Hennick, M. & Durcan, N. 1995. AIDS- knowledge, attitudes and practices among STD clinic attenders in the Cape Peninsula. *South African Medical Journal*, 18 1281-1286; Du Plessis, G., Meyer-Weitz, A., & Stein, M. 1993. *Study of knowledge, attitudes, perceptions and beliefs regarding HIV and AIDS (KABP) among the general public*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
- ³⁸ Eaton, L., Flisher, A., & Aaro, L. Unsafe sexual behavior in South African youth. *Social Science and Medicine*, 56, 149-165. 2003.
- ³⁹ Van Aswegen, E. 1995. Aids-related knowledge: Attitudes and behavioral practices among high-school pupils. *S.A. Family Practice*, May. 307-318.
- ⁴⁰ I am wine
- ⁴¹ See Appendix B for the lyrics.
- ⁴² Ntombi Yoko, Interview conducted July 2003
- ⁴³ Nicky Asher-Brown, Interview conducted August, 2002
- ⁴⁴ Bush Radio on-air broadcast, June 2003
- ⁴⁵ Ibid

⁴⁶ Papa, M.J., Arvind Singhal, Sweety Law, Suruchi Sood, Everett M. Rogers, and Corinne L. Shefner-Rogers. 2000. Entertainment-education and social change: An analysis of parasocial interaction, social learning, collective efficacy, and paradoxical communication. *Journal of Communication*, 50(4), 31-55.

⁴⁷ Rogers, E. 1995. *Diffusion of innovations*. New York: Free Press.

⁴⁸ Bush Radio on-air broadcast, June 2003

⁴⁹ Yarwood, J. Deterritorialised blackness: Re(making) coloured identities in South Africa. *Postamble 2(1)*.

⁵⁰ Singhal, A. & Rogers, E. 2003, p.296.

⁵¹ Wouter Basson headed South Africa's secretive chemical and biological warfare program, and was tried for his role in the poisoning of thousands of anti-apartheid activists in prison.