The Culture *of* AIDS in Africa

Hope and Healing Through Music and the Arts

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NOTES

CHAPTER 1

1. Sections of this introduction, in an earlier and substantially different form, appeared in Barz and Cohen 2008.
2. On October 30, 2009, Barack Obama lifted the United States' twenty-two-year-old ban on HIV-positive people visiting or immigrating into the country.
3. IDAAC (Integrated Development and AIDS Concern).
4. See www.aids2006.org, www.aids2008.org, www.aids2010.org, www.aids2012.org.

CHAPTER 3

1. Frontline episode #809, originally aired April 3, 1990. This transcription comes from the 90-minute version of the broadcast; a 60-minute version, broadcast at a later date, exists as well.

   Permission to publish this transcript courtesy of WGBH Boston. *Born in Africa* is a K. A. Production for FRONTLINE/WGBH in association with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, © 1990 WGBH Educational Foundation.

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2. The first broadcast of *Born in Africa* was hosted and narrated by Peter Jennings (who also spoke what became the episode's starting titles). Subsequent airings of the episode replaced Jennings' narration with a nearly identical narration by actor Will Lyman (who became "the voice of Frontline" in 1984 and has served as the main narrator of the series ever since). This transcript comes from a video copy of the film, with Lyman's narration.
3. The name of this organization is actually the National Council of Women.
4. *Mafuta mingi* refers to Uganda's well-connected urban upper-middle class. Some political scientists note that this class arose in the 1970s, when Idi Amin's regime turned over land and business confiscated from expelled Asians to political associates, thus giving Lutaaya's reference here significant historical resonance.
5. According to King's College's Web site (http://www.kcbudo.sc.ug), the school was founded in 1906.
6. Considering that the capacity of Nakivubo stadium is between 12,000 and 18,000, it is likely that the actual attendance figure for Lutaaya's concert was considerably less.

CHAPTER 6

1. The other two countries that have experienced declines in HIV prevalence are Uganda and Zimbabwe. See UNAIDS 2007b.
2. Portions of this chapter have previously appeared in Van Buren 2006. See also Van Buren 2007 and 2009, which offer further information on some of the groups and issues mentioned here. Two comments should be made on spelling and translations. First, names of musicians are frequently spelled multiple ways in the Kenyan media and by the

individuals themselves (for example, the hip hop group Border Klan also spells its name Border Clan). Second, thanks are extended to the musicians discussed in this chapter as well as to Philip Noss and Chacha Leonard Mwita for assistance with printed song texts and translations.

3. Within Kenya, for instance, Nyumbani Children's Home was instrumental in lobbying the government to enable Kenyans to access generic drugs (Achieng 2001, Blomfield 2001).
4. As described by Peter Piot (2005, 7), former executive director of the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS, the "Three Ones" approach is based on the following principles for action: "one agreed AIDS action framework that provides the basis for coordinating the work of all partners"; "one national AIDS coordinating authority, with a broad-based multisectoral mandate"; and "one agreed country-level monitoring and evaluation system."
5. A 2008 report by the UNAIDS/WHO Working Group on Global HIV/AIDS and STI Surveillance suggests that rates among young women may be at least three times higher than rates among young men. Rates among other parts of the population are also alarming; for example, rates among pregnant women in some rural areas are estimated to be as high as 26 percent (UNAIDS/WHO Working Group on Global HIV/AIDS and STI Surveillance 2008).
6. I have not been able to find details on the size and location of the test group for this National AIDS Control Council study.
7. Robert Neuwirth (2005, 22) critiques use of the term "slum," which he suggests carries connotations of despair, criminality, and disorganization, and which he argues masks the innovation and strength often visible in such spaces. I concur, and join other scholars (Neuwirth 2005, 17, Amuyunzu-Nyamongo and Taffa 2003) in combining the terms informal/low income and community/settlement (i.e., low-income community or low-income settlement) rather than using the term "slum."
8. Also see www.gadonet.com.
9. Differences between rural and urban programming can include, for instance, increased used of vernacular languages and traditional music in rural areas. For examples of work on arts and HIV/AIDS outside Nairobi, see Gibson (2000), who also addresses historical connections between music and healing; and Mjomba (2002 and 2005). Barz (2006) makes brief reference to Kenya.
10. *Benga* is a popular music style originally associated with the Luo of western Kenya.
11. "Artiste" is a common spelling of the word "artist" in Kenyan media.
12. "Balaa" is an unreleased 2004 single provided by Border Klan.
13. This English translation is by Border Klan. The musicians note that "mabeste" can also refer to a friend.
14. For more on the history of the Kenya Music Festival, see Ogot 2002 and Kidula 1996.
15. Other Kenya Music Festival themes have included immunization, prevention of drug and other substance abuse, child labor, and corruption.
16. Non-formal schools differ from formal schools in that they are not funded by the government and sometimes offer more flexible arrangements to students (for instance, on uniforms, school books, and attendance), yet they often still follow the formal curriculum.
17. The term "youth" is used broadly. Projects such as the one in Kawangware may involve young people (such as Martin) in their early and mid-20s.
18. As reflected in this chapter, and as asserted by many musicians and scholars, music is often combined with other arts (dance, drama, puppetry, acrobatics, etc.) in performances in Nairobi and other parts of Africa.

19. In his book on Yoruba drumming, for instance, Akin Euba (1990, 62) notes that music functions as "one of the principal media of general education." Francis Bebey (1975, 32), in turn, has asserted that the basic role of musicians is to "guide and coordinate" members of African communities. Hugh Tracey (1963), J. H. Kwabena Nketia (1982[1974]), and Ashenafi Kebede (1982), among others, have described the use of Af-rican songs to remind communities of the past, to teach about communal practices and values, and to communicate issues of concern.
20. For instance, when entertainment-education methods cannot directly teach literacy, they can stimulate audiences to seek literacy courses (Singhal and Rogers 1999, 13). On the effectiveness of programs, see also Yahaya (2000) and Ryerson (2004). For more on HIV/AIDS programs, see Singhal and Rogers (2003).
21. While more funding may be available for AIDS-related programs than for programs addressing other social issues, funding may still be restricted (i.e., it may be minimal, not covering rehearsal costs or material resources such as costumes needed for performances, and it may be available for single performances, but not for lengthier programs).
22. Such sentiments about government-run HIV/AIDS programs are also discussed by Shorter and Onyancha (1998).

CHAPTER 8

1. This chapter primarily reflects the commentary and ongoing involvement of the lead author (Allison) in AIDS awareness, education and prevention internationally, especially in Malawi, Southeastern Africa. Brown and Wilson were indispensable in researching, writing, and editing the manuscript.
2. Also known as grab or opportunity sampling, a convenience sample is a type of non-probability sampling in which individuals are selected at the convenience of the researcher. Findings from a convenience sample are considered less definitive. Results can be qualified by extrapolating them only to a much more targeted and narrowly defined population.

CHAPTER 9

1. Given the nature of their work as community health workers and treatment activists, I presumed that most participants would be familiar with the content of the workshop. This presumption was confirmed by data collected in a questionnaire that showed TAC and HOPE Cape Town participants had on average high levels of knowledge about HIV/AIDS and ART.
2. The Visual Body Map was developed by Colin Almeleh and Fiona Mendelson at the AIDS and Society Research Unit in the Centre for Social Science Research, University of Cape Town.
3. The failure of some exercises resulted in changing the sequence of exercises, while new exercises such as the disclosure of HIV-positive status and ways to support ART patients with treatment adherence were added.
4. The puzzle exercise proved to be the simplest and most accessible way of explaining the cellular structure of the human body. In the pilot workshop, two other exercises were tested and failed. In one I used a slice of onion and food dye to highlight the cellular composition of the onion. And in the other I tried the analogy of a house with bricks.
5. Note that some ART clinics, such as the Médecins Sans Frontières ART programme, require ART patients to have disclosed their status to at least one family member or to a friend who can assist them with their treatment.

6. All participant names are pseudonyms but refer to specific individuals who took part in the project.
7. Colleagues have suggested that drawing as a medium, as opposed to singing or drama, is not common in Southern African culture and could be seen as essentially "Western." I would suggest that regardless of cultural background, people are open to visual approaches to learning if it is participatory and fun and not framed as "art."

CHAPTER 10

1. Matatus, public transport vehicles in Kenya, occupy a unique cultural space. It is believed that many of the drivers and conductors involved in this industry offer free rides to school girls in exchange for sexual favors.

CHAPTER 12

1. I am indebted to Pia Thielmann, then of Chancellor College in Zomba, who provided the local press documentation, and to David Kerr for translations from Chichewa. Photographs by Eckhard Breitinger.

CHAPTER 13

1. Radio serial dramas are not the sole form of HIV/AIDS communication; television serials are also a factor. One of the earliest comprehensive analyses of television serials was Heidi Noel Nariman's book *Soap Operas for Social Change: Toward a Methodology for Entertainment-Education Television* (1993). Alternative readings of television serials can be found in René Smith's article "*Yizo Yizo* and Essentialism: Representations of Women and Gender-Based Violence in a Drama Series Based on Reality" (2003), and Loren Kruger's article "Theatre for Development and TV Nation: Notes on Educational Soap Opera in South Africa" (2004).
2. More information about HIV/AIDS serial dramas in southern African settings appears in "Community Reinforcement of an Entertainment Education Intervention: Botswana and Zimbabwe," a presentation delivered by Siphiwe Rametsi et al. (2004) and "Evaluating the Program Effects of a Radio Drama about AIDS in Zambia" (1996) by Stanley P. Yoder et al.
3. The United States Department of Health and Human Services also participates in *Makgabaneng* activities.
4. According to data on information and broadcasting provided in *Botswana's National Development Plan 9 2003-04-2008-09*, close to 80 percent of Batswana can access quality Medium and FM bands on their radios (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003, 361–62). Additionally, statistics compiled from a 2003 national broadcasting survey revealed that 72.3 percent of Botswana's population listens to radio on a daily basis, confirming the significance of radio among the public.
5. These studies were undertaken by staff at the Botswana-United States Partnership (BOTUSA), Centers for Disease Control (CDC), and the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services.
6. David Gere looks at the significance of the musical arts in HIV/AIDS education in *How to Make Dances in an Epidemic: Tracking Choreography in the Age of AIDS* (2004).
7. For more information on media in everyday life see "Wrestling with the Present, Beckoning the Past: Contemporary Zulu Radio Drama" (2000a) and "Zulu Radio Drama" (2000b) by

Liz Gunner; "Remote Audiences Beyond 2000: Radio, Everyday Life, and Development in South India" by Yesudhassan Thomas Jayprakash (2000); and *Dramas of Nationhood: The Politics of Television in Egypt* by Lila Abu-Lughod (2005).

8. Nzewi asserts that the musical arts also assist in physical fitness, stress management, self-discovery; social bonding, virtues, ethics, social mores, spiritual disposition, humane living, recreation, history; solidarity, mass communication, honor, reward, creativity, spontaneity, validation of public causes and events and peace (Nzewi 2003, 15–19).
9. James Zaffiro is one of the scholars who provided a full investigation of radio in Botswana. Although brief, his 1991 study *From Police Network to Station of the Nation: A Political History of Broadcasting in Botswana 1927-1991*, provides a comprehensive history of radio in the country.
10. Leading scholars have accentuated the need for building national awareness and consciousness through the arts. Material on the arts and nationalism can be found in Franz Fanon's "On National Consciousness" in *Wretched of the Earth* (1963), Léopold Sédar Senghor's "Negritude: A Humanism of the Twentieth Century" (1966), and J. H. Kwabena Nketia's "The Scholarly Study of African Music" (1998).
11. Once RB2 was established, the name of its parent station, Radio Botswana 1 (RB1), was changed to distinguish between the two. RB2 earned a reputation for being a contemporary radio station directed toward younger audiences.
12. Thomas Turino delves deeper into the relevance of the musical arts in promoting nationalism in *Nationalists, Cosmopolitans, and Popular Music in Zimbabwe* (2000).
13. Musicologist Charles Hamm provides further insights on the function of government radio and its promotion of national ideals in his articles "'The Constant Companion of Man': Separate Development, Radio Bantu, and Music" (1991a) and "Music and Radio in the People's Republic of China" (1991b).
14. In ensuing years, entertainment education became known as "the intentional placement of educational content in entertainment messages" (Singhal and Rogers 2002, 117). However one of the most comprehensive definitions of entertainment-education positioned it as "the process of purposely designing and implementing a media message to both entertain and educate, in order to increase audience members' knowledge about an educational issue, create favorable attitudes, shift social norms, and change overt behavior" (Singhal et al. 2002, 4).
15. According to youth communications scholars Gita Bamezai and Archana Shukla, radio serial drama is one of the preferred tools in HIV/AIDS entertainment-education strategies because it "provides quick, direct contact with large populations, and can encourage dialogue and debate on important but sensitive health concerns in a compelling, attractive way" (Bamezai and Shukla 1998, 113).
16. Overall there are twenty-four themes featured on *Makgabaneng*. The ones mentioned here are merely samples of the full range.
17. Statistics from the *National Development Plan 9* confirmed that the population was at an estimated 1.6 million and rising at the date of publication (Ministry of Finance and Development Planning 2003, 13).
18. While it is acknowledged that the *National AIDS Policy* was drawn up in 1993, its printing date reads 1998, causing a discrepancy between the actual time of printing. The *Medium Term Plan II*, uses 1993 as the original date, but the *Botswana United Nations General Assembly Special Session on HIV/AIDS (UNGASS) 2005 Progress Report* refers to 1998 as the true date (NACA 2005, 14). Another incongruous date emerges in the ACHAP *Setting the Stage for Scaling Up HIV Prevention—Discussion Paper*, which notes that the Draft Botswana

National Policy on HIV/AIDS was formulated in 2005 (ACHAP, 7). It can be assumed that the policy was set for revision at this final date.

19. It is understood that this response involves the private sector, civil society, and a slew of "multilateral" and "bilateral" organizations working together (NACA 2005, 3). The individuals who prepared policies have also completed the *Comprehensive Health Sector Policy on Care and Treatment* (Government of Botswana 2001) and the *National Policy on HIV Rapid Testing* (Ministry of Health 2005; ACHAP 2006, 7). Pertinent HIV/AIDS policies preceding the formation of NAC include the *National Population Policy* (Government of Botswana 1997) and *National Policy on Women in Development* (Government of Botswana 1997).
20. Botswana's national monitoring and evaluation is conducted by the Botswana HIV/AIDS Response Information Management System (BHRIMS).
21. The *National Strategy for Behavior Change Interventions and Communications for HIV and AIDS* (2006) is also relevant to *Makgabaneng*, however it was not formulated until years after the serial drama was broadcast. Nevertheless, with its focus on "stimulating community response; building capacity for communities to provide environments conducive to HIV prevention, treatment, and care; motivating individual desire to adopt behaviors that protect self and others from HIV infection and related illnesses; enabling individuals with the skills for performing HIV-protective behaviors both in sexual relations and in the provision of care for PLWHA; and creating an institutional culture that relies on evidence-based planning" (NACA 2006, 4–5).
22. For more information on self-efficacy see *Self-Efficacy: The Exercise of Control* by Albert Bandura (1997).
23. The *Makgabaneng* staff summarizes the writing process as "research on programs to be promoted; workshop for material Development and Pathways; individual work (per cycle); group work (for verifying and refining); [script] sent to stakeholders; meet with program officers; Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) meeting; and scripting" (*Makgabaneng*, The Writing Process).
24. This quote originally appeared in Berger's publication *Scripts: Writing for Radio and Television* (1990).
25. Maungo Mooki subscribes to the belief that the drama is best suited for radio because it "makes the listener visualize" what is taking place. Despite the data on the reach of radio in the country, she is convinced that "radio isn't about accessibility"; rather it is about "people internalizing the message" (Interview, Jul. 29, 2004).
26. These serials were all broadcast on television, but Abu-Lughod's analysis is equally relevant for *Makgabaneng*.
27. The questions used during LDGs were elaborated on during a 2003 presentation "Getting Personal: Engaging a Mass Media Audience Through Reinforcement Activities" created by Siphiwe Rametsi et al.
28. There was a dual interpretation of this information regarding female listening patterns. One reading of the information was that there are more female listeners overall. The other one was that women are more inclined to participate in *Makgabaneng* contests (Tembo et al. 2003).

CHAPTER 14

1. I would like to thank Professor William Beinart, Professor Colin Bundy, Rebecca Davis, Dr. Jacqueline Maingard and Dr. Nicoli Nattrass for their numerous helpful comments on earlier drafts of this article.

2. The political controversy over the use of nutrition for treating HIV mounted when lemons and garlic cloves instead of ARVs were displayed in the South African Pavilion at the 2005 International AIDS Conference (IAC). From 2005 onwards, Minister of Health Manto Tshabalala-Msimang was lambasted by the medical and activist communities in South Africa and abroad for claiming that a diet rich in Vitamin C, beetroot, olive oil, and garlic could prevent the onset of AIDS. The role of healthy eating in "positive living" was therefore relegated in later series of *Beat It!* which placed greater emphasis on public education about the benefits of ARVs.
3. The Health Minister praised Uganda's PMTCT successes as an example of the efficacy and necessity of African solutions to HIV/AIDS. The stress on "home-grown" solutions became increasingly notable in the struggle to obtain a national HAART program in South Africa, as political leaders attempted to contrast the western scientific enterprise of 'biomedicalization' with indigenous, "African" solutions. (See Ek 2005, 8, for further analysis of the minister and president's response.)
4. MSF had begun the pilot program to prove that patients in resource-constrained settings could adhere well to antiretroviral treatment in spite of its clinical complexities. The adherence rates documented in the study were the highest on record when the results were published, debunking the notion that patients adhered better to ARVs in rich world contexts (Médecins Sans Frontières 2003, 2).
5. The Medicines Control Council is South Africa's medicines approval body, under the aegis of the Department of Health.
6. The reference to the FDA was misleading as it had not refused to register nevirapine. In March 2002, Boehringer-Ingelheim had withdrawn its registration application for the drug for the purposes of PMTCT of HIV. The reason for this did not concern the drug's efficacy or safety, but rather stemmed from the clinical trials which had taken place in Uganda, and which did not comply with standards of the FDA. For further details, see Heywood (2003, 307). For a discussion of the details around the Health Minister and MCC's opposition to nevirapine, see D'Adesky 2004, 181–84.

CHAPTER 15

1. The author is responsible for all translations from French into English in this article.
2. HIV/AIDS edutainment campaigns in Francophone Africa not covered in this article but that will be addressed in a more developed version of this study include *Yamba-Songo*: Les Clés de la Vie (Keys to Life, http://www.comminit.com/en/node/1699/38); Reaching Men (http://www.jhuccp.org/topics/enter_ed/eeprojects/05-26.shtml), 100% Jeune (100% Young, http://www.reglo.org/), Nous Sommes les Tams-tams (We Are the Drums, http://www.tg.undp.org/tamtam/tamtam.htm), Rien Que la Vérité (Nothing But the Truth, http://www.comminit.com/en/node/301344/38), and Ma Vie, Ma Decision (My Life, My Decision, http://www.comminit.com/en/node/264107/38).
3. In the late 1990s, ORSTOM's name changed to l'Institut de recherche pour le développement (IRD).
4. Jula is one of the core Mande languages—a language family including Maninkakan (Malinké), Mandinka, and Bamanankan (Bambara), among others. These languages are similar enough so as to be (to greater or lesser degrees) mutually intelligible. Thus, some residents of other francophone countries in the West African region (such as Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea, and Senegal) would likely be able to understand the text of a song in French and Jula. Still, the pairing of French and this particular Mande language suggests a primary target audience of Ivorians.

5. SFPS focuses on health development assistance in Francophone Africa. A central office is located in Abidjan, and regional offices and initiatives have been established in Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, Cameroon, Niger, Benin, Mauritania and Congo-Kinshasa (http://www.jhuccp.org/africa/regional/FHA.shtml, accessed October 2, 2009).
6. I wish to offer an expression of thanks to Jane Brown for loaning me archival copies of Wake Up! Africa materials and for agreeing to talk with me about the project. Information from Brown was obtained during an interview conducted on November 2, 2009.

CHAPTER 16

1. A pseudonym.
2. This version was recorded by Canadian journalists at ANC headquarters in Lusaka, Zambia, in 1985 and later appeared as track 7 on the commemorative Radio Freedom CD (Rounder Records USA 11661–4019–2).
3. HIV prevalence in Uganda decreased from 9.5 percent of the population in 1997 to 5 percent in 2001 (UNAIDS 2003 in Barz 2006, 11). Other data from antenatal clinics in Uganda suggest that the figures have fallen from 29.4 percent in 1992 to 11.25 percent in 2000 (O'Manique 2004). It is sobering to compare this to comparable statistics for South Africa; from 12.9 percent in 1997 to 20.1 percent in 2001 (ibid.), although in the two national settings, very divergent nationalisms, economic contexts and market-driven change interact to produce rather different overall settings.
4. See for example Heald 1995, 2006; Ingstad 1990; De Bruyn 1992; McDonald and Shatz 2005. Farmer (1990, 1994, 2006) has documented the ways in which AIDS became incorporated into the preexisting folk model of illness in Haiti. His work is particularly interesting as he conducted research on the subject there before AIDS was known in the area, and documented the ways in which it was incorporated and the role of narrative and rumor in the reaching of consensus. He looks mainly at AIDS as a "sent illness" in terms of sorcery accusations. Although he does provide an analysis of blood related illness and female morality (1988), he does not connect this directly with etiology of AIDS as much of the material on southern Africa has.
5. This extract is taken from McNeill (2007), in which the entire 17 minutes and over 200 lines of "Zwidzumbe" is translated in Appendix B. The line numbers refer to that appendix.
6. *Gokhonya* is usually found in women after a difficult or problematic birth such as that induced by caesarean section. Symptoms include the child refusing the mother's milk and red marks on the child's head and neck. White pimples will be found inside the mother's vagina, and the conventional cure involves the *inyanga* scraping the vaginal sores with a razor and mixing the resultant fluid with the mother's urine and a mixture of three herbs. This is then given to the child in a milky drink and it will be healed. The mother, however, must undergo several more rites of purification. *Gokhonya* often starts with *zwilonda*: open sores on and in the vagina that resemble the third phase of syphilis.
7. This refers to a specific group of traditional healers called *maine*. They are comparable to family doctors and specialize in treating specific ailments.

CHAPTER 17

1. Recorded by Gregory Barz in 2001 with the Namirembe Post-Test Club, a support organization for those who have received the results of HIV blood tests that reveal a positive result.

2. Recorded by the TASO Mbarara Drama Group c. 2004 and distributed on the group's album *Fight Against AIDS/Turwanise Silimu: Songs For Our Community/Ebyeshongoro Byeitu.* Transcribed by Judah M. Cohen. Words in square brackets indicate a choral echo sung overlapping the end of the previous phrase.

CHAPTER 18

1. An earlier version of this article was published in 2007 in *Art South Africa* 5 (2).
2. Quoted from *Cape Times,* May 29, 2002.

CHAPTER 19

1. Transcribed from Barz's original recording and translation (2006).
2. When comparing the stanzas about the ideal woman and man, the only difference is in the placement of statements about loving family members, and that the ideal of cleanliness only appears in the description of an ideal woman in this version of the song.
3. In this analysis I focus largely on the community experience and how this contributes to Vilimina's critical perspective. Attention could also be paid to Vilimina's individual experience. As an HIV-positive woman who has seen explosive social changes in her lifetime, her personal experiences are no doubt deeply relevant to how her critique has developed.
4. "Things are different nowadays" could also be read as related to Westernization. Locally, Westernization is often seen as deeply intertwined with discourses about AIDS and gender; commentary on Westernization at this musical juncture would be extremely relevant.
5. HIV cannot be spread by sharing food or by contact with spittle, but may other viruses can. AIDS does often travel with multiple other infections and viruses. Perhaps that other diseases can be transmitted through food and quotidian contact is one origin of these cultural taboos.
6. Westernization is an intriguing trope in Vilimina's song. In her own life, Vilimina has seen dramatic Westernizing trends, and her song is replete with images that may be seen as commenting on Westernization: drinking from gourds that were already drunk from versus eating with Western-style forks and cups, women crossing their legs, and sitting on Western-style chairs rather than on ground mats. Indeed, even wearing half a *gomesi* could potentially be tied to rural women often not wearing coverings on their torso. Moreover, Vilimina also comments on the age of marriage, which in many areas has been deeply influenced by Westernization. Perhaps most notably, in certain areas of Uganda Western-influenced schooling has begun teaching girls to play men's musical instruments. Westernizing influences have been one cause of dramatic shifts in gender roles in Uganda. In the context of this analysis, it is important to ask whether Vilimina sees women actively choosing these changes for themselves, or whether she sees women's roles being redefined through externally imposed Westernization. Analyzing the dynamics around Westernization may deeply impact how we understand Vilimina's portrayal of women's agency with respect to sexuality and AIDS.
7. The role of Westernization is extremely complex in this interaction. Certainly hierarchical social rank is one dynamic associated with Western traditions, which people who have talked with Vilimina about the song see as important. However, many valences are plausible.
8. Interestingly, the international and medical communities are also beginning to recognize how these dynamics are related, with AIDS infecting those who are poor and marginalized at significantly higher rates.

9. Why does Vilimina focus on abstinence rather than condoms or other approaches to preventing AIDS? One might ask if she feels that women do not have enough power to negotiate using condoms and abstinence is seen as more culturally acceptable or more passive than actively negotiating a male partner's condom compliance. If women do not feel that they can negotiate condom use and therefore Vilimina is resorting to promoting abstinence as more realistic, this paints a more delimited picture of the extent of women's power.
10. Radically, Vilimina uses mostly post-traditional arguments. If a "traditional argument" grounds validity in the presumptive force of history and tradition (e.g. "because my pastor says it is right," or "this is what we have done for years"), a "post-traditional argument" by contrast grounds itself on a rationally accessible argument which all may engage in, and whose claims only have weight in so far as they touch the goals of the participants in the argument. Vilimina's central argument takes the latter form. She sets out her main moral imperatives (saving lives from AIDS and improving the agency of marginalized women) and her whole argument flows from there. Anyone can access and engage with her argument, inside or outside of local custom. In an amusing turn, Vilimina's one authority-based argument does draw on authority—her authority as an HIV-positive woman. Far from reinforcing the traditional loci of communal authority it puts forth herself, one village woman, as a person with the authority to be making claims about how the community should function. This occurs in large part because she sadly has personal knowledge of the ultimate devastation of AIDS—and again her argument comes back to the moral claim of saving lives.
11. Large-scale change can be as important when grappling with marginalization as it is when grappling with AIDS. Since marginalization is a societal phenomenon, to effectively address it a sense not only of individual agency but of collective potency must be gained, and recognized by wider society. For the disenfranchised more than anyone, the ability to see ones' self as part of a greater, powerful collective is indispensable in combating and reversing marginalization. Vilimina's use of symbols to lay the groundwork for a social movement could be extremely potent here.
12. Indeed the power imbued in this musical language may be another reason why Vilimina chose to communicate her message through song. Perhaps as a musician she can "get away" with saying things that otherwise would be too shocking, donning the cultural role of a musician social commentator.

CHAPTER 20

1. Literally, "by he who paid your bride wealth."
2. The word *muteuro* may be interpreted either as a traditional ritual offering or as a Christian prayer, depending on context.
3. Mtukudzi's description of marital rape is given additional cultural depth by the wording he uses in the second iteration of this line, which literally reads, "how does it feel to be raped by he who paid your brideprice?"
4. *Jiti* is a rural drum and dance entertainment genre. It is performed outside at ritual events including funerals and the *kurova guva* post-funerary rite. Thomas Turino has documented the development of *jiti*, and the associated urban popular music of *jit*, in his work on nationalism and popular music in Zimbabwe (Turino 2000, 229). For more on music at *kurova guva*, see Kyker 2010.
5. Mwendamberi is the name of a particular *chidao*, or sub-clan, of the *Shava*, or eland, totem.

6. "Tozeza Baba," a strong condemnation of domestic violence, describes the fear experienced by children who witness their mother's abuse at the hands of their father. "Nhaka Sandibonde" discusses customary practices of wife inheritance, where a brother of the deceased is chosen to inherit his widowed sister-in-law. The song emphasizes that this practice is meant to provide for the family of the deceased, and should not serve as an opportunity for the deceased's brother to claim sexual rights over the widow for whom he is chosen to provide. In the song's title, the image of a reed mat, commonly used as bedding throughout much of Zimbabwe, stands in as a metaphor for sexual relations.
7. Personal communication, August 12, 2006.
8. This stiff maize porridge is Zimbabwe's staple food.
9. For an interpretation of this *tsumo* which predates the AIDS epidemic, see Hamutyinei and Plangger (1974, 63).
10. *Aiwaiwaiwa* is formed by reduplicating the word *aiwa*, or "no." The use of similar interjectives to express grief or misfortune has been noted by Hannan (2000, 948) under the alternate form "haiwaiwa," formed by two repetitions of *aiwa* rather than the three successive iterations in the text of "Mabasa."
11. This figurative use of the word *mabasa* was first brought to my attention by Esau Mavindidze. It is likewise noted in respect to "Mabasa" by Sibanda (Sibanda 2004, 52).
12. The ambiguity of the word *vakuru*, which could refer either to living elders or to ancestral spirits, likewise characterizes the word *muteuro*, used in this song and in "Todii," and which can refer either to a Christian prayer or to a traditional ritual offering.
13. Nicholas Kunaka.
14. Indeed, Silindiwe Sibanda has suggested that in using the term *utachiwana*, Mtukudzi directly references HIV/AIDS (Sibanda 2004, 52–53).

CHAPTER 21

1. Following my research on AIDS and literature in Bukoba Kagera (sponsored by the Kagera AIDS Research Project since 1992), I wrote this play in collaboration with Mgunga Mnyenyerwa of Parapanda Arts in 1993–94. Initially it was intended only for the stage, but the script got into the hands of Medical Aid Foundation personnel, who sent it to a publisher.
2. Ebrahim Hussein (1983) writes that at one time, Aristotle's *Poetics* influenced the art of drama in the whole of Europe. And when Europeans colonialists came to Africa, they brought along this Aristotelian theory of drama.
3. Cf. note no. 1.
4. *Desis*, translated as tying, is "the action in a tragedy leading to climax. Plot threads are craftily woven together to form a more and more complex mess. At the turning point [*peripeteia*] these plot threads begin to unravel in what is called *lusis* or denouement. *Lusis*, translated as untying, is all the action in a tragedy from the climax onward. All the plot threads that have been woven together in the desis are slowly unravelled until we reach the conclusion of the play (online source at http://www.sparknotes.com/philosophy/poetics/).

CHAPTER 23

1. Estimated by UNICEF as 0.1 percent among adults (ages 15–49) in 2009, at http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/morocco_statistics.html#55.

CHAPTER 24

1. This paper is a product of an ongoing research in South Africa made possible by the Fulbright-Hays Fellowship from the U.S. Department of Education. I am also indebted to the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Theology Department, Alan Paton Center and Struggles Archives, the Killie Campbell Archives and the McCord Hospital, The Diakonia Council of Churches, the Pietermaritzburg Agency for Christian Social Awareness, KwaMashu and Clermont Community Resource Centers, and St. Clement Home Base Care Project for providing me the research space. I am also indebted to all my friends and informants in Durban for their continued help and support.
2. The Church World Service, a sister organization to the National Council of Churches USA, brings churches from a variety of Christian faiths together in the service of humanitarian projects around the world.
3. *Umsebenzi* means "work" in Zulu, but is also used to refer to major ritual events in the family during which cows are slaughtered, especially *ukubuyisa*—the ritual of bringing home the dead commonly referred today as the unveiling of tombs (see Berglund 1989, 41).
4. Ndaba is the great-grandfather of Shaka the founder of the Zulu nation. Thus Nkonyane Kandaba means the "son of Ndaba." It is also used as a praise name for the Zulu as one of the chiefdoms in the Mthethwa confederacy. In the pre-Shaka Zulu nation, military regiments were organized according to chiefdoms, but Shaka changed the formations into Age Grade regiments (from interview with Xolani in Durban, 2007). In this battle song the sons of the chiefdom are urged to proceed into battle with the ferocity of wounded dogs.
5. An example was the speech that Rev. Mdabe gave at the St. Clement Home Based Care Project AIDS Awareness Function in May 2007.
6. An example is the experience I had in Clermont while making a round of home visits with the St. Clement Home-based Care in May 2007. A young man whose sick girlfriend admitted to us that she had AIDS rejected our advice that he and his two children receive HIV counseling and testing. He blamed his girlfriend's sickness on the acts of witchcraft that was being visited upon them by their neighbors who were jealous of them.

CHAPTER 25

1. For Ghanaians, the term "culture group" often indicates a performance ensemble that represents traditional drumming and dance from ethnic groups across the country, imitative of the style and repertoire of well-known national companies such as the Ghana Dance Ensemble.

CHAPTER 26

1. The names of all drama group members have been changed.
2. My experiences in TASO Mbarara's older van confirmed the difficulty involved in transporting both people and props (including a full theatrical curtain in many cases) in a limited space on unpaved roads sometimes riddled with potholes. On another occasion, when I was able to use an associate's hired driver to go to a performance, two TASO drama group members were more than happy to join me, along with extra props.
3. UNICEF, for example, discussed the continuation of programs to "shap[e] artistic [drama, dance, and song] productions to address AIDS related topics" in Uganda—complementing similar programs from the World Health Organization and the Uganda AIDS

Commission—in its 1991 Draft of Plan Operations (UNICEF Response to AIDS 1991, 43). Later, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) included the training of "more than 200 drama group members from 31 groups in the development and execution of voluntary counseling and testing and condom efficacy scripts" as part of its 2002–2003 HIV/AIDS prevention activities; such performances, USAID claimed, "[r]eached out to more than 200,000 persons." (USAID 2003, 27).

4. For a more detailed account of this period, see Bond and Vincent 1997a and 1997b.
5. http://www.must.ac.ug/medicine/index.htm. Accessed April 12, 2008.
6. A March 16, 2008 PubMed search for the terms "Mbarara" and "HIV" turned up thirty-one articles, several of which were written by local researcher Fred Nuwaha and funded through MUST. In contrast, a search for "Kampala" and "HIV" turned up 325 articles, many funded by international initiatives, including a partnership with Johns Hopkins University.
7. I owe my presence in Mbarara to the Montefiore Medical Center's Primary Care/Social Medicine residency program, where my wife completed her internal medicine residency. At the time, we travelled to Mbarara as part of my wife's international health elective.
8. See http://www.aicug.org/index.php?option=displaypage&Itemid=74&op=page&SubMenu. Accessed April 12, 2008, and http://www.tasouganda.org/mba.php. Accessed April 12, 2008.
9. As opposed to other incarnations of hospice, Hospice Africa Uganda (a division of Hospice UK) identifies its primary mission as serving "cancer and AIDS patients with severe pain" (Hospice Africa Uganda 2003, 3; see also http://www.hospiceafrica.or.ug). The logo gracing the organization's 2002–2003 annual report—a silhouette of a kneeling caregiver reaching out to a kneeling recipient inside a straw-covered hut—emphasizes the organization's mission as a largely rural-based one.
10. Other organizations include the Agency for Cooperation in Research and Development (ACORD). For more, see District Response Initiative 2003, 24.
11. See http://www.thetaug.org. Accessed April 13, 2008. See also Barz 2006, 156.
12. Noticeably absent from this Mbarara AIDS landscape in 2004 was international corporate sponsorship. While Coca-Cola advertisements featured prominently in the town (taking up a good percentage of the MUST welcome sign, for example), health-related materials saw little overt corporate association until 2005, when Pfizer funded half of TASO Mbarara's new $ 700,000 "AIDS counseling and training center" (New HIV/AIDS Care Center 2005).
13. A 2003 survey of Faith-Based Organizations (FBOs) addressing HIV/AIDS around Mbarara listed two Catholic groups (including the Daughters of Mary and Joseph) and the Anglican Diocese of East Ankole. Surely others existed as well on a less formal basis (New HIV/AIDS Care Center 2005).
14. The Internet café I describe, known as "The Source," prohibited pornography, named its terminals after biblical figures, and requested Christian denomination information on its membership application (Personal observation, July 2004).
15. For more on the expansion of Christian evangelical activity throughout sub-Saharan Africa at the start of the twenty-first century, see Epstein 2007, 185–201. I experienced the extent of the Christian Evangelical presence in Mbarara one Friday night, when my wife and I were invited to a singing group "rehearsal" of MUTH students, only to have that rehearsal turn into a small-scale tent meeting, complete with a sermon given by a visiting minister from Alabama (Fieldnotes, July 10, 2004).
16. In addition to personal observation by Rebecca Cohen (July 2004), see Sprenkle 2007 and "Biblical Holistic HIV Care in Uganda" 2004. I wish to emphasize that the missionary

work of AIDS clinic physicians typically supplemented appropriate clinical care and did not appear to compromise the quality of treatment. The physician present during my time in Mbarara, Dr. Rick Goodgame, earned deep respect among both patients and medical personnel for his decades of experience treating HIV/AIDS patients in Africa.

17. Personal observation, Rebecca Cohen; Mobile Hospice Mbarara Newsletter, December 2003. See also Mobile Hospice Newsletter, v. 11, #1 (April 2004): this issue of the newsletter, which coincided with Easter, included the words "He is risen! Alleluia" on the front page just under the banner.

18. From the 2001 report: "Day Care Centers are places for clients to share experience of living with HIV in order to cope and live positively with the disease. Other activities include skills training, Music, Dance, and Drama rehearsals and Health Education Tasks. In 2001 rehearsals of songs, plays and poems by the drama groups were the main activities. Drama groups are composed of people living with HIV/AIDS and thus have proved very instrumental in AIDS education in the community" (TASO Uganda Limited 2002, 22).

19. In the village performances I viewed (which were attended by people of all ages), questions about sexual activity sometimes received frank responses, though several were referred directly to the village's appointed health educator. In secondary schools, the responses were far more general; with the director avoiding intimate discussions of sex and largely refusing to answer questions about condoms, mostly due to religious concerns. Perhaps in her most forward response in this setting, the director answered a student's questions about condom effectiveness by warning that student should not have sex until marriage; but if they wanted to "sin against God," they should use a condom (Fieldnotes).

20. The TASO Mbarara drama group's cassette tape, which the Centre sold to me for 2000 USh (c. $1.20) had many of the group's songs set to an electronic keyboard's chordal Afropop "fill." This practice also occurred at the end of one rehearsal, when the music master used an electric keyboard to accompanying one of the group's songs.

21. ABC references (A)bstinence, (B)e faithful, and the use of (C)ondoms. This system tended to work far better as a political trope than as a reality, and did ot appear in the drama group's musical repertoire. (And there was no little irony in listening to the chairman introduce the concept in English to a group that appeared to speak almost exclusively in Ranyankole.) Instead, the drama group took it upon itself to present a more nuanced understanding of human relationships in a time of AIDS. Moreover, when the drama group gave its presentation to secondary schools, the group's director played down the use of condoms (largely only deflecting rumors about their ineffectivenes) in favor of an abstinence message (see note 19).

22. Curwen, a Congregationalist minister, developed his Tonic Sol-Fa system in London; but its reach throughout the British Empire could explain its appearance in Uganda.

23. This well-considered proposal came from the member's own past—her husband, who had passed away from AIDS, had been a soldier—and from Uganda's history with the disease, which was first discovered in epidemic proportions through testing of soldiers being trained in Cuba (Bosch 2003).

24. This drama group member has since become a key publicized figure in the same organization's more recent microfinancing initiative.

CHAPTER 27

1. Ethiopia's national language is Amharic, which is written in the same script used for Ge'ez, the liturgical language of the Ethiopian Orthodox Church. No international standard yet

exists for transliterating the script, commonly called *fidel*, into the Roman alphabet. In this chapter, I transliterate Amharic into the Roman alphabet without using diacritical marks and into a form that renders words easily readable and that approximates as closely as possible the way in which they would be pronounced in Amharic.

2. Circus Addis Ababa was founded as Circus Ethiopia, the original name reflecting both the troupe's status as the first to be established and its location in the Ethiopian capital city. Sometime in 2004, the name was changed to Circus Addis Ababa to correspond with most of the other major troupes in the country, which are eponymously named for the cities in which they are based. I shall use Circus Addis Ababa throughout this chapter, although it is important to note that many people still refer to the troupe as Circus Ethiopia. Circus Tigrai has not changed its name to Circus Mekelle, after the city in which it is based, nor do I expect it to do so given the troupe's name recognition and economic security, which free it from having to cooperate fully with Circus in Ethiopia on certain issues, for example, the effort to rename troupes.
3. This chapter is closely based on an introductory article to Ethiopia's circuses that I wrote several years ago (Niederstadt 2009).
4. In this aspect, Ethiopian circuses share many similarities with the forms of performance considered by Kelly M. Askew in her study of cultural performance in Tanzania (2002) as well as the various case studies presented in *The Politics of Cultural Performance* (Parkin et al eds. 1996).
5. My ongoing research into Ethiopian circus performance began in 2000 as part of a project that examined contemporary expressive culture in Ethiopia's urban centers while a doctoral candidate at the Institute of Social and Cultural Anthropology at the University of Oxford. This chapter is based on fieldwork conducted in the country's two largest cities Addis Ababa and Dire Dawa as well as visits to other cities and towns that are home to circuses. I am grateful to the innumerable circus performers, administrators, and fans, both Ethiopian and foreign, whose ideas and opinions about the Ethiopian circus movement have contributed to this research. I am also thankful for the support of my mentors and colleagues at Oxford, the University of Michigan, and Wheaton College, and to the Institute of Ethiopian Studies at Addis Ababa University where I was a Visiting Scholar from 2001–2007. Finally, many thanks to Christopher Hyde, Visual Resource Curator, Wheaton College for his continued patience and help with image production and to Mell Scalzi and Emma Westbrook for research assistance and digital imagery wizardry.
6. I use the term "theatre for development" broadly to refer to forms of performance—however diverse—that address issues of social, economic, or political importance for the community either creating or witnessing the performance. (In doing so, I am subscribing to a definition of the term broader than that normally abbreviated as "TFD.") For more on the topic, see Banham et al. eds. 1999, Boon and Plastow eds. 1998, Boon and Plastow eds. 2004, Etherton ed. 2006, and Kerr ed. 2008.
7. In Ethiopia, *wetatoch*, or youths, comprise a social and legal category that differs from those of children and adults. The Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia defines "youth" as an age-based category that extends from fifteen to twenty-seven years of age. Few Ethiopian circus performers in their early twenties live as adults because most of them are still engaged in secondary schooling, live at home with the parents and siblings, and do not function socially as *gorumsewotch*, or adults. It is important to note that in the rural countryside, girls and young women take on the social responsibilities of adulthood when they are married, often around eleven or twelve years of age, usually to older men. The compensation received

by circus performers varied from troupe to troupe and was usually only provided to those members who performed publicly. In the past, this compensation has consisted of a stipend, transport money, food, milk, health care, and/or educational support including tutoring and school materials.

8. Ethiopian circus members regularly perform on a slack rope, which is considered to be more difficult from a tight rope, as it moves from side to side as well as up and down when the performer walks on it.

9. In 2007, an Israeli clowning troupe called Dream Doctor led a clowning workshop in Addis Ababa for members of five circus troupes. I have only witnessed one circus performance and a few rehearsals since that time so I do not yet know what, if any, impact the workshop had on public circus shows ("Dream Doctor" in Addis 2007).

10. Reviews by foreign audience members demonstrate that they perceive an Ethiopian, or even more generic "African," circus. The markers of ethnic identity that are so familiar to Ethiopians are usually not recognized by foreign spectators.

11. For much of the first fifteen years of the Ethiopian circus movement, shows held as part of international tours were usually less overtly didactic, although they occasionally incorporated generic messages about the need for peace and unity or more specific messages about HIV/AIDS, such as spelling out H-I-V with juggling bricks (figure 27.2).

12. Neither is currently involved significantly in the Ethiopian circus movement. Andy Goldman now lives and works as a consultant and photographer in South Africa. Marc LaChance committed suicide in May 1999 following allegations by circus performers seeking asylum in Australia that he had abused them.

13. I use the terms "street children" and *godana tadaderi* to refer to children who both live and work on the streets, not children who work on the streets, for example, selling gum, to help support their families, with which they live, as many circus members have done, and continue to do. For a thorough analysis of the situation of street children in Addis Ababa, see Heinonen 2000.

14. The process of establishing an NGO in Ethiopia is quite complex but it was the only way in which the circus movement could legally operate within Ethiopia, unless it associated itself with an existing institution, such as a school or another NGO. Sometime in 2007 or 2008, the organization changed its name to Circus in Ethiopia for Youth and Social Development (CIEYSD). The reasons for the renaming remain unclear. As nearly everyone still calls the organization Circus in Ethiopia, or CIE, I have continued to do so in this chapter.

15. Circus Jimma was established in western Ethiopia in 1992 by Bereket Tizazu, followed by Circus Nazaret, which was founded in 1995 by Ephrem Haile. (Nazaret was the Amharic name for the town of Adama, which is part of the Oromia Regional State. While the town is now known as Adama, its name in Afaan Oromo, the circus still goes by the name of Circus Nazaret.) Tesfaye Gebreyohannes founded Circus Tigrai in the northern city of Mekelle in 1993, while Circus Dire Dawa was established in eastern Ethiopia in 1996 by Meseret Manni and Deresse Lakew. Although technically an associate member circus until 2003/2004, Circus Dire Dawa functioned as a main branch circus long before then. In 2005, plans were made toelevate two associate circuses to main branch status, but the transition appears not to have been realized, due to funding constraints.

16. After Marc LaChance left Ethiopia, Metmku Yohannes, a longtime Circus in Ethiopia board member, served as executive director, although primarily in an advisory role; other Ethiopian staff handled day-to-day affairs as Metmku then held a full-time position as senior lawyer with the Ethiopian Electric Power Corporation. In the last ten years, at least six Ethiopians

have served sa executive director, some for as little as six months. A Dutch consultant Cees DeGraaf also held the position for several years from 2002–2004.

17. The other exceptions are Circus Dire Dawa and Circus Hargeisa, which were directly funded for many years by Novib, although the Circus in Ethiopia organization administered the funds.
18. For more on Adugna Community Dance Theatre Company, see Plastow 2004.
19. Such engagement of the audience is common in many forms of African performance. See Askew 2002 for several examples.
20. When I asked circus staff about the meaning of the show, I was told that while it appeared to be about two families, in reality, it was about Ethiopia and Eritrea and the need for the two countries to be reunited. Following the downfall of the Derg, Eritrea, which had been an Ethiopian province for nearly forty years, gained independence from Ethiopia in a 1993 referendum. Eritrea's independence left Ethiopia landlocked without a port on the Red Sea and relations between the two countries grew strained. As of 2001, the situation remained difficult, especially after the Ethiopian-Eritrea war that began in 1998 and ended in the summer of 2000. To address their concerns, circus performers and staff developed *Selam*.
21. In Ethiopia, although the husband is socially recognized (and often legally upheld) as the head of household, the federal constitution addresses women's rights and provides for legal equality in all areas, including education, employment, and property ownership. In reality, however, few women (or girls) have the means to pursue their rights if they face discrimination or threat. Even if they do, regional and federal laws often differ significantly from long-standing social practices, thus making enforcement difficult.
22. Due to safety concerns, circus staff, local police and *de facto* security guards quickly disperse crowds following performances, making it difficult to conduct research on what information audience members do take away from a performance or how effectively didactic messages have been conveyed.

CHAPTER 29

1. Not his real name.
2. For general information on kwaito, see Steingo 2005.
3. In the course of a 2006 rape trial against former deputy president Jacob Zuma, Zuma said that after having sexual intercourse with an HIV-positive woman he took a cold shower. Zuma's statement caused much confusion among the public, many of whom were led to believe that a cold shower after unprotected sex decreases the risk of contracting HIV.
4. For more on the issue of the political in kwaito, see Steingo 2005.
5. Bhekezizwe Peterson has also taken issue with Nuttall and Michael's editorial comments to Stephen's chapter. His critique, however, is very different from my own. Writes Peterson: "Commentators can draw our attention to what is perceived to be the aura of wanton criminality that engulfs kwaito, but my unease concerns the analytical and socio-political consequences of the flattening of what is an immensely complex, textured, variegated and historically specific constellation between the zones of kwaito's musical and performance forms, its practitioners and consumers" (2003, 201).
6. In full, Allen's quote reads as follows: "In its early years, *kwaito* was a South Africanized blend of hip hop with European and American dance music, especially house and techno, and pop. The music of the top *kwaito* groups of this period...was generally dominated by an unyielding, pounding bass beat that was marginally mediated by other cyclically repeated

rhythmic modules. The instrumental backing tended to be entirely computer generated. Snatches of catchy melodies were layered and looped around the vocal parts that tended to be the only 'live,' human aspects of *kwaito* performance... Although the rhythmically spoken lyrics were inspired by rap, vocal delivery tended to be much slower in *kwaito*, and the lyrics consisted of a few of the latest catch phrases repeated and played against each other" (see Allen 2004, 82–111).

7. Although Thandiswa continues to say that "Even the kind of House music we like in South Africa is the more kind of soulful stuff," I would suggest that she is referring more to the House music of 2001 (the year she made her statement). Today, House music in South Africa is extremely fast and exhausting to dance to.
8. The notion of "kwaito-speak" has been developed by linguist Sizwe Satyo (2001).
9. Most of the terms offered by Satyo are in a kind of creolized version of Xhosa that he calls "kwaito-speak," or (more conventionally) *tsotsitaal*.
10. Note that the letter "i" is used as a noun prefix in some cases in both Zulu and Xhosa. Note also that both Zulu and Xhosa (along with Swazi) are in the Nguni language group and are fairly similar.
11. Note that even though Dowling calls the group TKZ, the real name is actually TKZee. The two "ee's" are added after the "Z" presumably to clarify pronunciation, since in South African English the letter Z is pronounced "zed." It is likely that TKZee appropriated American English (that is, the letter Z pronounced as "zee") for reasons of identification.
12. Wearing All-Star canvas *takkies* (sneakers), for example, is a warning sign for many parents that their children are being initiated into kwaito culture.
13. Of course this reminds us of the preceding discussion of music as a narcotic.
14. Quoted on Zola's Web page: http://www.zola7.co.za, accessed 2 November, 2009.
15. Note that in South Africa, "platinum" means that an album sold 40,000 copies.
16. See Crowe 2006. Note that Crowe erroneously refers to Zola as a "hip-hop" star.
17. Note that at the concert Zola was introduced as the "unofficial mayor of Soweto."
18. Zola wears a large number seven around his neck, and his TV show is called *Zola 7*. In fact, in casual conversation among black South Africans, Zola himself is often referred to as "Zola 7."
19. Zola said this in an interview in the documentary *Sharp Sharp: The Kwaito Story* (dir. Aryan Kaganof. South Africa-Netherlands. Featuring Zola, TKZee, Oskido, Mzambiya, Don Laka, and Mandoza. Aryan Kaganof, 2003). A transcription of the interview can be found at: http://www.kaganof.com/kagablog/category/films/sharp-sharp-the-kwaito/story.
20. Khabzela's life has been documented in meticulous detail in McGregor 2005.
21. Khabzela also released several albums. After choosing tracks that he liked, those tracks would be licensed and then be released on a compilation under Fana's name. (See McGregor 2005, 124.)
22. In 2005, Yfm's Web site (yfm.co.za) stated: "Gigs and bashes have been powerful players in the history of Yfm and establishing Kwaito music as a viable commercial genre has positioned the station as 'owning' and its artists who dominate the music charts today. Think Kwaito, think Yfm." Since 2005, however, the Web site has changed slightly. Because kwaito has lost some popularity, the Web site now presents Yfm as more diverse and mentions the station's ties to genres such as hip hop, House, R&B, and raga.
23. As McGregor writes: "The theme of [Khabzela's] intervention was an almost biblical redemption. Prisoners were encouraged to confess and apologise on 'Positive Youth of Gauteng'; the community to forgive and embrace them" (2005, 148).

24. Note, however, that Maloka also had this to say about his friend: "He didn't believe in his limitations. He didn't allow the system to fence him in and that mindset might work for you at a certain stage but if it makes you stubborn, it might work against you later on."

CHAPTER 30

1. For a description of "thug rhymes," see the aforementioned in the radio executives' description of rap rife with sexual and violent imagery. Club mixes entail rap music that is not socially conscious, that may or may not contain sexual and/or violent imagery, and is intended for social gatherings.
2. "Lugaflow" is a descriptor that Ugandan MCs coined to describe rap in the Luganda language. Ugandan hip hop group Bataka Squad, credited by many to have been the first professional rap group in Uganda, and now relatively inactive as members have moved away from Kampala, began their careers rapping in Lugaflow.
3. Ironically, Lumix has faired far better by touring in Gulu and in villages outside of Uganda by sticking to the use of his home dialect.
4. These notebooks do in fact exist and not simply as notebooks either—see for example *The Uganda All-Star Aids Struggle* CD featuring Lyrical G; Tshila's "Sipping from the Nile"; the single "One" featuring Eazy Tecs and Lyrical G; and GNL's more recent "Koi Koi" and "Story ya Lukka."
5. All artists retained copies and ownership of their recordings. An agreement was entered that allowed us to have first release rights, after which the complete rights would revert back to the artists.
6. More recently, in his chapter, "The Ethics of Representation," Kofi Agawu, in conversation with Barbara Krader and Mark Slobin, explores what he calls the "impossibility" of establishing normative content for ethics within ethnomusicology. Agawu's assessment can also only provide a point of departure. His categories do not easily map onto thinking about the ethical implications of producing a Ugandan rap album with limited appeal that is arguably derivative of music from the United States. Though Agawu addresses the ironic resistance to popular music studies within ethnomusicological circles, nowhere does he speak of hip hop. Agawu does, however, mention the "potency" of popular music and laments the academy's resistance to take seriously its study within ethnomusicology (2003, 170–71).
7. See for example Lomax 1993 and Work et al. 2005 in this regard.
8. For *Kampala Flow*, beats were made by studios in which the tracks were recorded—those owned by GK (with some beats made by GK's studio technician Daddyskills), Dawoo, and Lumix. Other beats were purchased from beatmakers such as Sam. For work on "beat" production see Walser 1995, which refers to the "beat" as a "groove" and discusses its construction.
9. The initial tracks were recorded and laid down in Kampala, Uganda in several different recording studios based on beats also created in Uganda. The album was mixed down by Quanie Cash, a rap artist and producer in Nashville, TN. The album was published with a label in Los Angeles.
10. Admittedly, the use and definition of the term "religion" has been extensively problematized (see J. Z. Smith 1982, xi). "Religion is solely the creation of the scholar's study." Despite its long history in university education and the continued and pervasive effects of faith and religion in the public sphere, theology's place in the academy has long been questioned. While this longstanding suspicion of theology and these definitional debates and

cautions regarding usage of religion are critical for scholarship that is careful and self-conscious of what Fitzgerald calls its own "semantic and ideological bias[es]" (2000, 53) such discussions exceed the scope of this essay. It should also be noted that definitional debates have likewise problematized the use of the term "ethnomusicology" since the nineteenth century. Without dismissing the complexity of suggesting that Ugandan rap music and rappers have religious dimensions, commitments, and expressions worth analysis, Liu suggests that the theologically based portions of this essay may become more tenable if the line of argumentation in these sections is viewed as another method, as subject to emendation and critique as any other, and if the assertions be seen as catechrestically constructed. This essay at first uses religion, theology, and their cognates interchangeably and uncritically (with the exception of this footnote). As the confessional language of the artist interview becomes more prominent and relevant to the recommendations for more religiously and theologically oriented ethnomusicology, Liu will use theology and its cognates with more frequency for two reasons: (1) to acknowledge an analysis of the artists' statements on their own terms (no pun intended) and (2) to acknowledge interdisciplinary link to his home discipline of Homiletics and Liturgics.

11. Calvinist minister Jean de Léry's 1578 writings about the music of indigenous Brazilians may also be an earlier account of religiously linked ethnomusicology. "De Léry's Calvinist beliefs allowed him to be skeptical of the emerging scientific paradigm. He sought religious truth, not scientific objectivity, and though in his mind the native Brazilains were mistaken, de Léry seemed sensitve to their efforts to express belief systems in ritual forms" (Barz and Cooley 2008, 6).

12. See Wong 2001 and Shelemay 1992. See also Shelemay's writings on Ethiopian Jewish music (1991), and the three volumes of *Ethiopian Christian Liturgical Chant* edited by Shelemay and Peter Jeffrey (1993, 1994, 1997). For the North American context, see also Barz 2003, Bohlman, Blumhofer, and Chow 2006, and Marini 2003.

13. In *Mek Some Noise*, Timothy Rommen develops what he calls an "ethics of style" to assert the importance of belief as a necessary and fruitful starting point for ethnomusicological analysis. He writes, "I am increasingly convinced that belief, values, faith—that is, conviction—have been held for too long, to borrow from Sartre, in bad faith. Belief—whether placed in institutions, theories, cosomologies, or markets—permeates our lives, and yet we often wear our beliefs quite uncomfortably. After all, when it gets right down to it, they configure themselves in terms of right and wrong, good and evil—in terms of ethics" (Rommen 2007, 27). For Rommen, his ethics of style takes the "foundation" of conviction "seriously" to both interpret Trinidadian full gospel lyrics and the culture they effect with more than a political, social, or aesthetic reading, but also "nuance the political, social, and aestethic implications of gospel dancehall" (30). With Rommen, we want to acknowledge the vital link between belief and ethics in its social, political, and aesthetic dimensions. In contrast to him, however, we do not want to reduce ethnomusicological consideration of belief to ethical discourse. Also, though Rommen, by way of Levinas, admits that his analytical framework is an "act of identification" whereby he too becomes "implicated" and a part of the othered "discourses surrounding style in full gospel Trinidad," such admission does not make a claim regarding the believability of the beliefs or ethics of style in musics like "gospelypso" or its participants and performers (168–170). Nor is Rommen's admission expressly theological. It is not expressly theological because ethical discourses surrounding style as he describes seem confined to analysis of dialogue in which only humans participate. The theological trajectory of this chapter, however, aims to suggest that the self-

descriptive language, lyrics, and lives of Tafash and Twig offer ways to reconceive convictions about HIV/AIDS relief, music, and ethics, and the presence or absence of God in their lives and perhaps ours as well.

14. Sarah Coakley writes, "If this is a real possibility [that "dying Christians" enter into 'Christ's pain'] of which contemporary medicine should be taking account, then we need to be asking how its effects could be measured scientifically" (2007, 92). Though Coakley does speak of "secular impoverishment" related to medical meanings, deciphering whether theology functions as an extra or integral ingredient to treating such epistemological lack depends upon how one interprets words such as "plea," "enrich," and "consideration." "To say this in any way is not to condone the continuation of curable pain or to invite medical neglect; rather it is a plea to *enrich* medical reflection on pain and pain management with a deep consideration of the ethical and spiritual questions that narratives such as the Carmelites' lay before us" (ibid.). Though there exists in this chapter a shared concern for addressing what Coakley calls the "secular impoverishment" of medical ways of knowing, our theological analysis differs from one like Coakley's in three ways. First, it begins with the ethnographic, and particularly engages the medical ethnomusicological, rather than the historical, medical, and theological. Second, we also provocatively suggest that theological analysis is requisite for the ethnomusicological study of Tafash and Twig described in this chapter. Thirdly, theological analysis of Tafash and Twig may also suggest ways of knowing God for this chapters' readers as well.
15. Again, Rommen's study is no exception. *Mek Some Noise* focuses upon Trinidadian full gospel worship musics and congregational locations like Mt. Beulah Evangelical Baptist Church in Point Fortin, Trinidad. Other authors outside the field of ethnomusicology, including Jeremy Begbie, Teresa Berger, Ed Foley, and Mary McGann, attempt to make Christian theological claims about God based upon music. McGann's work in particular incorporates congregational ethnography (2004). For writing that makes general claims of spirituality as deriving from music, but does not use ethnography, see Cobussen 2008.
16. Not until the month of June did the artists know that Liu would be conducting exit interviews regarding their theological and spiritual outlooks and whether their perspectives effected their music-making. Neither did the artists know that Liu was a doctoral student in Homiletics and Liturgics or associated with theology at all.
17. Note that GK was uncertain of the spelling of okuhingira or okuhinjere, GK's studio (Interview with Liu, June 17, 2008).
18. Students in Form 6 are typically 17–18 years old.
19. Tshila, mentioned earlier, features as a singer on the compilation. She also does not consider herself a rapper.
20. English translation of " Ukimwi," Barz.
21. Peter Tosh (Winston Hubert McIntosh, Oct. 19th, 1944–Sept. 11th 1987) had a prominent career as a solo reggae performer. He was also a popular advocate of Rastafarianism. He was a former member of reggae group, The Wailers.
22. Liu, exit interview, June, 2008.
23. E-mail correspondence with Gerald Liu Jan. 10, 2009.
24. Though she directs her rap at "you," I am suggesting that it is a plural audience that she has in mind, something like what southern vernacular might phrase as "y'all."
25. Perhaps her point about "jingle" AIDS relief advertising is warranted when considering examples such as the recent theme for World AIDS Day and its accompanying slogan. The

2007 and 2008 theme was "leadership." This theme has been promoted with the slogan, "Stop AIDS. Keep the Promise." See http://www.worldaidscampaign.org/en/Key-events/World-AIDS-Day/World-AIDS-Day-2008, last accessed Nov. 23, 2009.

26. "Coinherence" suggests a type of coalescence between religious belief, personal identity, and musical endeavor for Tafash and Twig. The connection between these three attributes of belief, identity, and musical endeavor do not, however, constitute a seamless unity. Rather, the three are *inherent* to the artists' identities and are made to *co*operate with one another through the artists' subjective negotiation. Coinherence also contrasts with the theological use of "dialectic." Belief, identity, and musical endeavor are neither suspended in relationship where all three contribute equally to a fulsome sense of self. Nor do they cancel one another resulting in a distillation of some notion of personhood. Rather, for Tafash and Twig, we suggest that they arrive at a sense of self by continually negotiating the related and opposing spheres of religious belief, personal identity, and musical endeavor.

27. Twig then seems to provide her own particular answer to Marion's question, and perhaps another version of his answer. Marion asks, "Does God give himself [sic] to be known according to a more radical horizon than being?" (Marion 1991, xxiv). Marion answers by suggesting the God offers Godself as gift. Though some, in recognizing Marion as a Catholic theologian and the hellenistic roots of terms such as "homiletics" and "liturgics," may now be questioning the academic integrity of mixing Christian-oriented scholarship with African female rappers, I first suggest that far from determining the interpretation of interview responses from Twig and Tafash, the selection of Christian texts in this article intends to emphasize their religious particularity and in no way presumes any type of religious etiology or seeks to prevent religious multivocality. Secondly, though every effort should and will be made to take the artists' words in their own right, but as Bruno Nettl admits, ideology is necessarily a part of ethnomusicology's intellectual history (2005, 4).

28. See Heidegger 1962, 30: "*Theology* is seeking a more primordial interpretation of man's being towards God, prescribed by the meaning of faith itself and remaining within it." [Italics from printed version, masculine language from original.]

29. Barz 2006a, 170. Italicization of *future* from this chapter.

30. What is still needed in academic studies of disease and health care are field-based research studies, such as on the culture of AIDS-specific transinstitutional efforts to study religion, medicine, and music with a focus on the interaction between faith, expressive culture, and healing within local conceptualizations of disease and healing in sub-Saharan Africa (Barz 2006a, 153).

31. There are, however, numerous contributions that explore homologous aspects of religion in prayer/meditation, spirituality, shamanism, Native American healing, and possession in Islamic culture (see especially Roseman 2008, Koen 2008, Bakan 2008, Olsen 2008, During 2008, Locke and Koen 2008).

32. For more on the practice of radical hope in the face of cultural devastation, see Lear 2006.

33. For more regarding "alterity" and the ethical advantages of proceeding from a position of alterity, see Bhabha 1994, 175: "The postcolonial perspective forces us to rethink the profound limitations of a consensual and collusive 'liberal' sense of cultural community. It insists that cultural and political identity are constructed through a process of alterity."

34. See Kampala road interview above.

35. For more on the importance of divergence as a practice of faith, see de Certeau 1998.

CHAPTER 31

1. The dates used in the music citations refer to the date of the recording and may not be the original date of recording in cases of licensed or compilation works.
2. After the arrival of a multiparty dispensation in Malawi, Saleta complained that he had never been paid for composing "public health" songs for *cholea* (cholera) or HIV/AIDS (Saleta Phiri 1995).
3. Constraints of space dictate that I cannot discuss the critical role of radio and DJs in promoting HIV/AIDS awareness in this chapter. The power of DJs and radio stations can make or break a musician.

CHAPTER 32

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