VIOLENT TRENDS IN HIP-HOP ENTERTAINMENT JOURNALISM:

A CONTENT ANALYSIS OF HIP-HOP WEBSITES AND RADIO PROGRAMMING

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Violent Trends in Hip-Hop Entertainment Journalism:

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Violence in hip-hop music has been associated with violent attitudes and behaviors among youth. Research has shown that hip-hop music provides ample opportunities for mediated modeling through its lyrics and videos. However, a largely overlooked medium may also offer opportunities for modeling. Hip-hop *[entertainment]* journalism reports on hip-hop and celebrity-related news including violence in personal and professional lives. Identifying the prevalence, types, and portrayals of violence in hip-hop journalism could offer insight regarding violent messages reaching young audiences. This study is the first to explore violent content on hip-hop websites and radio programming.

A content analysis was conducted on 1,267 randomly selected news and interview articles from three self-identified hip-hop websites, and 56 radio interviews randomly selected from four self-identified hip-hop radio stations that were published or aired between 2009 and 2010. All units were coded for the presence of violence, violent categories, and reality status, narrative sequence, and tone.

Among all articles, 52.3% (n=663) had at least one violent reference in either text or pictures. Rates of violence were higher for interview articles (73.4%, n=218) than news articles (45.9%, n=445). Among all articles, the most common types of violence were violent metaphors, weapons, feuding (i.e., verbal aggression), and fighting. A total of 916 unique violent accounts (references) were recorded for news articles, and 860 were recorded for interview articles. The majority of news (50.5%, n=463) and interview (39.4%, n=339) references occurred in real life. The majority of news (46.2%, n=423) and interview (61.5%, n=395) references used performer sequences. The majority of news references were presented in a negative tone (discouraging violence) (31.8%, n=565) while the majority of interview references were presented positively (encouraging violence) (38.7%, n=333). Regarding radio interviews, 66.1% (n=37) contained violence. A total of 115 violent references were recorded. The majority (47.6%, n=57) of violent references occurred in real life. The majority (45.2%, n=52) of references were presented from the performer sequence. The majority of radio references (40%, n=46) were positively portrayed.

Future research should explore the extent to which the audience receives violent messages communicated in hip-hop journalism, and how they interpret such messages.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study employs content analysis to review violent trends across two popular hip-hop entertainment journalism media venues. This introduction presents the objective of the study, discusses a brief history of violence in hip-hop culture, defines violence among youth, provides the rationale and the significance of the study as it relates to violence in the media, and lastly outlines the research questions.

Statement of the Problem

Violence is "the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against another person or against a group or community that results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation" (Dahlberg & Krug, 2002). Though the general rate of violence, including murder, has declined since the mid-1990s, violence among youth is still among the Healthy People 2020 objectives (USDHHS, 2011). Youth violence remains a concern in urban, minority communities where homicide rates are declining at a much slower rate than the rest of the population (CDC, 2013; White & Lauritsen, 2012). For example, homicide rates for urban African American and Latino youth between the ages of 10 to 24 far exceed the rate for their white counterparts (CDC, 2010). Black and Latino urban youth are also disproportionately represented as violent perpetrators and are overrepresented in acts of murder and non-negligent manslaughter, robbery, weapon carrying, fighting and assault, sexual assault**,** bullying and intimidation, and gang activity (Blum et al., 2000; FBI, 2004; Peterson, Esbensen, Taylor & Freng, 2007)**.**

Rap (which is interchangeable with hip-hop [music]), is a form of music especially popular among black and Latino youth (Arbitron, 2011; Arbitron, 2012). It originated in the inner city where it continues to evolve and thrive. Introduced in Bronx, New York in the 1970s, its main characteristics include reciting spoken rhymes over an accompanying beat. The encompassing hip-hop movement and culture emerged alongside rap music as a means for black and Latino inner-city youth to reclaim and express their identity (Rose, 1994). It was also intended to reduce street violence by providing alternative positive activities for urban youth, namely MC-ing (rapping), breaking (dancing), DJ-ing and graffiti-ing (Aldrige & Stewart, 2005; Chang, 2005; Rose, 1994; Toop, 1991). These venues were also forums to engage youth to deal with and express concerns regarding contemporary urban life (Lommel, 1989).

Rap as a musical genre allows the artist to rap about any topic, so long as the rhymes are original and are on beat with the accompanying music. As rap evolved and gained popularity it was used as a tool to release frustrations, and to describe and shed light on the social, economic, and political factors affecting the life in urban America. It became a reflection of life in the ghettoes, and drugs, poverty, police brutality, teen pregnancy, and violence became the subjects of many rap songs (Dyson, 2004). As its popularity and profitability grew in the 1990s, songs continued to emerge about life in the ghetto. However the songs were more violent, graphic, and aggressive in nature. Critics argued that rap music and the encompassing hip-hop culture were no longer a tool to narrate the occurrences and events in the inner cities, but rather they were fueling the violence (Bowman, 1992; Greig, 1993; Herbert, 2005; Kim 1998; Krohm, 1992; Maghan 1994).

Studies have shown that inner-city urban youth are much more likely to be exposed to violence (Buka, Stichick, Birdthistle & Earls, 2001; Margolin & Gordis 2000; Stein, Jaycox, Kataoka, Rhodes & Vestal, 2003). It is important to note that exposure to violence is not limited to direct victimization (Buka et al. 2001; Margolin & Gordis 2000; Stein et al. 2003). Exposure to violence also includes witnessing violence and having knowledge of others' victimization (Buka et al. 2001; Margolin & Gordis 2000; Stein et al. 2003). Exposure to violent media has also been identified as a contributor to violence and aggression in adolescents (Cantor, 2000; Huesmann, 2007).

The Social Cognitive Theory is one theory that explains mechanisms by which youth exposure to violence in the media can lead to aggressive and violent behaviors. It posits that exposure to media violence can influence violence perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors through its construct of observational learning which states that people learn by watching others perform particular behaviors. The subsequent rewards or punishments received for such actions, and the values placed on such outcomes, makes the observer more or less likely to perform the modeled behaviors himself as he has learned what to expect from such actions (Bandura, 1986). Excessive and repeated exposure to violent messages in the media reinforces violence, especially when much of the violence portrayed is rewarded with money, power, and other commodities (Drabman & Thomas, 1974). Violent mediated examples are especially influential when the behaviors are portrayed as normative and effective (Bandura, 1986; Kane, 2000), use humor (Baron 1978; Berkowitz 1970), are graphic or realistic (Atkin, 1983; Linz, Donnerstein & Penrod, 1984; Thomas & Tell, 1974), and/or display little or no pain with respect to the

victim (Baron, 1971). Viewers are also more likely to pay attention to models who are similar to themselves (Bandura, 1994; 2001; Harwood, 1997; 1999; Hicks, 1965; Hoffner & Cantor, 1991), attractive, wealthy, and/or powerful.

Objective of the Study

Using content analysis, this study analyzes the prevalence and portrayal of violent content in hip-hop entertainment journalism in an attempt to examine it as a potential source of violent modeling for youth. The main objective of this study is to analyze violent content in hip-hop entertainment journalism (i.e., hip-hop entertainment website articles and radio interviews) to assess the type of violence presented, its prevalence, and the context in which it is portrayed.

Content analyses have been an effective means to assess the prevalence of violence in various entertainment media venues including television programming (National Television Violence Study, 1996; 1997; 1998), movies (Cantor & Nathanson, 1998), movie previews (Oliver & Kalyanaraman, 2002) advertisements (Walker, 2000; Williams, 1989; Thompson & Yokota, 2004), music videos (Durant et al., 1997; Rich, Woods, Goodman, Emans and DuRant, 1998; Smith & Boyson, 2002), video games (Olson, 2004), and other venues. Additionally, studies have found that high prevalence of violent content and imagery in music lyrics, music videos, television, movies, video games, and other interactive entertainment media increase violent and aggressive behaviors and attitudes in young people (Anderson et al., 2003; Hansen & Hansen, 1990; Johnson, Adams, Ashburn & Reed, 1995; Paik & Comstock, 1994; Anderson & Bushman

2001; David-Ferdon & Hertz, 2007; Funk, Baldacci, Pasold & Baumgardner, 2004), as well as increase desensitization (Funk et al., 2004). Violence in hip-hop, the most popular genre of music among urban youth (Denisoff & Levine, 1972; Skipper, 1973), has especially been linked with such outcomes (McCrary, 1993; Sullivan 2003).

Though the violence in hip-hop has garnered the attention and concern of activists, politicians, parents, and academic scholars, studies have focused on the portrayal of violence in lyrics and videos. However, violence in the hip-hop culture is not limited to songs or music videos. High-profile news accounts of murders, attempted murders, rapes, assault and other violent crimes sometimes surround hip-hop artists. Some artists have made news as the victims of the violence including some high-profile deaths. While some of these stories find their way to mainstream news and entertainment outlets, other hip-hop related news is limited to hip-hop news and entertainment venues. However to date, only one published study (Oredein & Lewis, 2013) has explored hip-hop entertainment journalism for the presence of violence content despite the fact that these media outlets, which have large youth followings, give celebrity news accounts and interview celebrities with respect to their personal and professional lives- some of which includes violence.

Significance of Study

Media play a significant role in influencing culture. In the case of hip-hop entertainment journalism, media has the potential to influence culture. According to the constructs set forth in Social Cognitive Theory, hip-hop entertainment journalism has the potential to impact audiences as it offers exposure to behaviors, rewards, punishments, and attached

value systems (Bandura, 1986). Without an analysis of its actual content, it is impossible to know the amount and degree of violence within hip-hop entertainment journalism, or possible implications of this. To that end, this study will examine the prevalence of violence in hip-hop entertainment journalism.

Study Aims & Research Questions

Using content analysis, this study will examine the prevalence and portrayal of violence in hip-hop entertainment journalism by analyzing the content of popular hip-hop websites and radio programming. The two main study aims are presented along with the specific research questions. Only one study has evaluated violence in hip-hop entertainment journalism (Oredein & Lewis, 2013) so due to limited research in this area, the research questions are exploratory.

Study Aim 1: ***To assess the prevalence of violence in selected hip-hop entertainment journalism-specifically hip-hop websites and hip-hop radio programming***. Several studies have evaluated the prevalence of violence in hip-hop music and videos. However to date, only one study has evaluated the prevalence of violence in hip-hop entertainment journalism (Oredein & Lewis, 2013).

Research Questions:

1) What is the prevalence of violence in news and interview articles published on hip-hop websites between 2009-2010?

2) What is the prevalence of violence in interviews aired on hip-hop FM radio between 2009-2010?

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3) Which types of violence are portrayed most frequently?

Study Aim 2: **To explore the context in which the violence is portrayed.** Media violence is more likely to be repeated by audiences if consequences are omitted or downplayed, and/or if the violence is rewarded with commodities that the audience member values (Bandura 1986a; 1994). Realistic depictions of violence (Atkins, 1983; Berkowitz & Alioto, 1973) and the perspective from which the violent narrative is told also influence the way messages are processed (Cerulo, 1998).

Research Questions:

4) How is the violence portrayed?

    a. Does the frequency of violence vary across reality status (i.e., real-life, art-related/fictional, or hypothetical)?

    b. Does the frequency of violence vary across narrative sequence (i.e., performer sequence, victim sequence, neither sequence or mixed sequence)?

    c. Does the frequency of violence vary across tone? (i.e., positive, negative, mixed or neutral tone)?

Definitions of Terms

For the purposes of this study, the following definitions are provided.

Rap: A genre of music that was originated in the early 1970's in which rhyming lyrics are chanted to a musical accompaniment. In practice, "rap" and "hip-hop" are often used interchangeably.

Hip-Hop: The cultural movement that embodies rap music. The movement has grown to include language, fashion, art, movies, politics, technology and its own set of ideologies. Almost 60% of African American youth and young adults between the ages of 12 and 34 currently consume hip-hop music (Health, 2006; Arbitron, 2012). Urban African American and Latinos comprise the majority of the hip-hop audiences (Rose, 1994; Arbitron, 2011; Arbitron, 2012).

Entertainment journalism: A form of journalism that focuses on news, celebrities, projects and events in the entertainment industries (e.g., music, television, fashion, sports, and pornography). It is usually presented in a manner that targets audiences beyond those working in the industry itself. (Fosdick, 2009)

Hip-hop [entertainment] journalism: A specialized branch of entertainment journalism that focuses on hip-hop music and the hip-hop industry. It includes coverage of hip-hop celebrities, artistic projects, events, culture and ideologies.

Limitations & Delimitations

The study is limited to hip-hop website articles and hip-hop radio programming between 2009 and 2010 which may limit generalizability to other years. However, 2009-2010 is acceptable as most of the celebrities, events and other news discussed still hold relevance to present-day youth audiences. Another limitation lies in the fact that articles will only be taken from three websites and radio interviews will only come from four radio

stations. It should be noted that the selected websites are three of the most popular hip-hop website venues, and they yield a large sample of articles and interviews. Website articles were limited to news and interviews. However, news articles were chosen because they are subjected to a degree of fact checking, and are thus perceived to be true. Interviews include information as it is being delivered straight from the source of the potential model.

The radio stations in the study represent various regions across the United States but the sample of radio interviews are limited to available audio clips-mostly in the form of podcasts. Audio archives may only consist of a small portion of radio interview segments however. Radio samples are also limited to interviews and exclude rumors, contests and other segments. However, again, interviews are delivered straight from the potential model.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Theory & the Effects of Media Violence

The media is a powerful tool for teaching behavior, and shaping attitudes and perceptions. Adolescents are particularly vulnerable to media influence as they are in the process of forming their identities and defining beliefs and practices with respect to violence and other social behaviors (Konijn, Bijvank & Bushman, 2007). The media has often been cited and blamed as a major contributor to interpersonal violence among youth. The prevalence of violence across several media venues has been heavily documented as well as audience effects. Several theories suggest and hypothesize processes and mechanisms linking exposure to media violence with violent perceptions, attitudes, and behaviors.

Huesmann (2007) theorizes that there are short-term and long-term effects of exposure to violent media and the processes at play. The short-term effects include priming, arousal, and immediate mimicry. *Priming* is the introduction of a concept (or an object), and the formation of its association with another concept, cognition, emotion, or behavior. The process registers the concept in the brain's neural network, preparing it to receive more messages and make stronger links with subsequent exposures. In future exposures to the stimuli concept, links to the associations created upon introduction are quickly triggered and easily accessed (Berkowitz, 1984). Berkowitz (1967) gives the example of the sight of a gun being linked to the concept of aggression, which increases the likelihood that this schema will be readily recalled and used in potentially violent situations (Berkowitz, 1984; Jo & Berkowitz, 1994). *Arousal* is the process in which one experiences

excitement due to the images portrayed. The transfer of excitement from the media to the viewer heightens the senses and makes the viewer more likely to release the sudden build up of excitement and aggression. *Immediate mimicry* is an imitation of a behavior. Seemingly a special case of observational learning, witnessing social behaviors makes viewers more likely to mimic them shortly afterward (Meltzoff & Moore, 2000), as was the case in Bandura's famous study where children began to pummel a "bobo" doll immediately after viewing footage of the behavior (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1961; 1963).

The long-term effects are observational learning, desensitization, and activation (Huesmann, 2007). *Observational learning*, a concept from the Social Cognitive Theory, is a process in which one observes someone performing a behavior and witnesses any rewards or punishments. It will be discussed further in the section about the Social Cognitive Theory. *Desensitization* occurs when the viewer becomes used to seeing violence over the course of multiple exposures. As the mind and body become used to violent images in the media, viewers no longer react negatively and experience little or no fear, horror, discomfort, heart racing, sweating, etc. (Cline & Croft, 1973). It translates to emotional numbness in the real world as well (Linz, Donnerstein, & Penrod 1984; 1988). Desensitization makes people more able to commit violence without having to experience the negative emotions and psychological and physiological reactions. It also is indicated by reduced tendencies to intervene in a fight (Molitor & Hirsch, 1994), as well as reduced sympathy for victims of violence (Linz, Donnerstein & Penrod, 1988; Mullin & Linz, 1995). *Activation* refers to a person being actively involved and engaged in the violence to some extent.

Social Cognitive Theory (SCT)

The SCT states that learning consists of a four-step process- attention (introduction to a behavior), retention (recollection of the behavior), production (performance of the behavior) and motivation (rewards or punishments which encourage or discourage the behavior). According to the SCT, individuals can learn vicariously by watching others perform behaviors, and receive resulting rewards or punishments, which will accordingly make the observer more or less likely to perform the modeled behaviors (Bandura, 1986a; 1986b). This observational learning occurs whether the modeling is witnessed in person or through the media. Thus, youth can repeat behaviors seen in television, film, music, and print (Bandura, 1986a; 1986b) as the media shape behavior by providing examples.

Viewers are also more likely to learn behaviors if those modeling the behavior are perceived as attractive. Attraction is in part the degree of perceived similarity between the viewer and the model such as shared demographic characteristics like age, sex, gender and ethnicity (Jose & Brewer, 1984; Bandura, 1994; 2001; Harwood, 1997; 1999; Hicks, 1965; Hoffner & Cantor, 1991; Bandura, 1986a; 1986b; Bandura, Ross, & Ross, 1963a; 1963b), or other shared social experiences (Austin & Meili, 1994) between the performer and the viewer. Models may also be deemed attractive by some other means such as physical features, wealth, and/or power. Studies have shown that the appeal and relative attractiveness of a model overrides other factors, such as logic (Austin et al., 2002).

These concepts have been applied to media violence across many media venues including television and film, music, video games, and even print.

Cultivation Analysis Theory (CAT)

CAT approaches the media as a system of messages, and is concerned with the implications of stable, repetitive, and pervasive messages about violence, and the potential impact they have on the population. The theory has two major constructs. *Mainstreaming*, the first construct, postulates that exposure to the dominant violent media messages cultivates, influences, and drives perceptions of violence towards the most represented portrayal. Though these socially constructed representations may not be accurate, these images become the socialized norm and become one's social reality- the perception one has of societal concepts. Even if the mediated messages are not in sync with actual statistics or anecdotal facts, the audience may form perceptions of society based on the mediated messages that cultivates a distorted reality (Gerbner & Gross, 1976) and may increase the normalization of violence.

The other construct, *resonance*, is particularly germane to this study. It predicts audience members who perceive themselves or their situations similar to those being mediated will be more likely to be influenced and impacted by the images. The media messages in effect resonate with the audience members and reinforce their perceptions of violence.

Originally, CAT was developed as a television-based theory, and for the most part, it has remained so. Much of the work with CAT has been with analyzing television as it is the primary form of mass media (Gerbner et al., 2002). It has rarely been applied to other types of media, and there is little or no literature surrounding CAT and radio or print media. However CAT is still relevant to radio and print because media in general shapes

society's way of thinking and relating by continuously and consistently creating and relating compelling stories (Allen, Herret-Skjellum, Jorgenson, Kramer & Ryan, 2006). Though a larger demographic is exposed to television, other venues have sizeable audiences that are exposed to the mediated messages, and there is a potential for these messages to have considerable influence and impact on one's social reality.

Wishful Identification & Similarity Identification

As they form their identities, adolescents seek out role models, and it is becoming more commonplace for youth to find such role models in the media (Konijn et al., 2007). Adolescents are often drawn to models that have qualities they don't possess but desire to have or emulate (Wishful Identification) and/or to models that have qualities similar to their own (Similarity Identification) (Von Feilitzen & Linne ́, 1975; Bandura, 1986a, 1986b; Huesmann & Eron, 1986; Hoffner & Cantor, 1991; Oyserman, 2004). Similar to CAT's construct of resonance, Konijn et al (2007) theorize similarity identification is the stronger of the two and that young males in particular are drawn to "real heroes" in the media who have power, prestige and higher esteem. In the interest of the current study, both Wishful Identification and Similarity Identification could easily translate to hip-hop celebrities.

Additional Contextual Issues

Hip-hop has higher rates of performer sequences than other genres (Smith & Boyson, 2002; Hunnicutt & Andrews, 2009). Research suggests that the narrative sequence influences the way the audience empathizes. Findings by Wallentin, Simonsen and

Nielsen (2013) suggest that audience responses to a story are in part influenced by the character's actions and the character's thoughts and feelings. The nature of first-person narratives offer insight into the actions and often the feelings and reasons behind said actions allowing the audience to become absorbed in the character. Previous findings have shown that first-person narratives proved to foster empathy for mentally ill patients (Deen, Mangurian & Cabaniss, 2010). Subsequently the narrative sequence used to communicate violent narratives also has implications. The *performer sequence* narrates the events from the actor's perspective, and the audience is more inclined to empathize with the performer, and perceive the violence as being acceptable (Cerulo, 1998). Usually, performer sequences are reserved for "normal violence", which is violence that the larger society believes to be justified, such as self-defense or protecting a loved one. On the other hand, *victim sequences* are more often used to narrate episodes of "deviant violence", which the larger part of society feels is "wrong", or undeserved, such as spousal violence, rape, murder, and child abuse. In victim sequences, the violent events are told from the perspective of the victim. It follows that the audience is more inclined to empathize with the victim, and to interpret the violence as unacceptable (Cerulo, 1998). Such violence decreases the risk of imitation or learning of aggression. The portrayal of victims plays a further role in that viewers empathize with good characters over bad ones. If the victim is perceived as attractive, the audience is even more likely to empathize with the victim (Landy, 1969) as well.

Mediated modeling is especially influential when the violence or aggression is effective and rewarded as is often the case across several media (Bandura, 1986a, 1986b; Bandura,

Ross, & Ross, 1963b; Potter & Ware, 1987). Rarely are punishments shown, and when they are, they are minimized or undermined by rewards or other concepts. Even violence that simply goes unpunished has been shown to encourage the learning of aggression. Conversely, violence shown with punishments decreases the chances that viewers will learn aggression (Bandura, 1977). Similarly, modeling is especially influential when the portrayed violence displays little or no pain with respect to the victim (Baron, 1971). Studies suggest that depictions of serious harm following violence can discourage the learning of aggression (Baron, 1971). However, if the consequences of violence are trivialized, or undermined with humor, it increases the likelihood of viewers learning and imitating violent behaviors (Baron, 1978; Berkowitz, 1970). Viewers may interpret the violence and its consequences as less serious. Humor can also increase arousal, which increases viewer aggression and desensitization (Berkowitz, 1970; Mueller & Donnerstein, 1977)

Prevalence of Violence in the Media

Several studies have documented the high prevalence of violence in television, music, film, and print. Though definitions vary across media studies, violence typically refers to the threat or use of physical acts that are intended to injure another person (Kunkel et al., 1995). Though the violent behaviors of greatest concern fall under the category of physical aggression and force (e.g., pushing or shoving, fighting, to serious assaults and homicide), some prevalence studies extend the definition of violence to capture portrayals of verbal aggression (e.g. threats, severe insults) (Coyne & Archer, 2004; Infante & Wigley, 1986) and object aggression (e.g., hitting or attacking an object) (National

Television Violence Study, 1996; 1997; 1998) which do not necessarily align with more traditional understandings and definition of "violence" (Huesmann, 2007).

Lyrical content has been examined for prevalence and portrayal of violence. Herd (2009) conducted a content analysis of 340 rap songs performed by African American artists released between 1979-1997 and found a significant increase in violence over time. Herd's study distinguished between real violence and violence in the form of metaphors (i.e., rap battles and colloquial terms) and found metaphoric violence also significantly increased. The study also found the contextual depictions of violence in rap music changed over time as positive portrayals of violence increased and negative portrayals decreased. Early rap songs only had negative (i.e., presented consequences or expressed disapproval) or ambivalent portrayals and no songs had positive associations with violence (Herd, 2009). With time, the percentage of songs in which violence had positive associations steadily increased from zero to 45% in the last period. Violence was also increasingly linked with money, glamour, popularity, masculinity and dominance. Contextually, it was also increasingly associated with gangstas, drugs and alcohol over the study period (Herd, 2009). Kubrin (2005) had similar findings in his analysis of 430 rap songs from thirteen artists produced between 1992 and 2002 such that violence was heavily/increasingly associated with themes of wealth, retaliation, and nihilism, and objectification of women.

Music videos followed a similar pattern. A study published in 1985 found that violent content in music videos was mostly implied, abstract, or an innuendo (Baxter, De

Riemer, Landini, Leslie & Singletary, 1985). However, in recent years, violence in music videos has not only increased, it also has become more explicit and graphic, especially in hip-hop and rock videos. Similar to music lyrics, rap and rock videos were found to have significantly more violence, criminal activity, and weapons than in other music genres (DuRant et al., 1997; Jones, 1997). Jones (1997) analyzed videos appearing on popular cable music video programming using Gerbner's (1979) definition of violence: "the overt expression of physical force with or without a weapon, against self or other, compelling action against one's will on pain of being hurt or killed or hurting" (p. 185). In addition to the type of violence, the study coded for characteristics of both the aggressors and the victims of violence. The frequency of violence was significantly greater in rap videos than other genres. As for performers, rap music videos had the highest prevalence of both male aggressors and male victims. Smith & Boyson (2002) adapted the coding scheme from the National Television Violence Study (NTVS) and found 37% of rap videos contained violence. Many had a large amount of realistic violence such that with respect to the character, the context, and the setting, the events involved could conceivably happen. Rich et al. (1998) had similar prevalence findings.

Violence also exists in real events communicated to the public. Also germane to the current study are content analyses of journalism, which includes broadcast news and newspaper content, as well as entertainment news. Dorfman, Woodruff, Chavez and Wallack (1997) found 14.4% of televised news programming stories contained violence. In a study of four daily newspapers spanning a 40-year period, Clark and Blankenburg found 18% of news articles contained violence (1972). Williams and Dickinson (1993)

found a more conservative 12.7% of news stories were devoted to crimes, though most of the crimes (65%) involved interpersonal violence. The National Television Violence Study (NTVS) coded entertainment journalism in the form of "news magazine" and "tabloid news" programming in their analyses of television programs. The NTVS found tabloid news had high rates of violence fluctuating between 69% and 85%.

Effects of Violence in the Media

The NTVS found that violence was glamorized and committed by attractive characters. Further, remorse and consequences for the performer were rare, appearing in only 39% of violent scenes. Most of the violence was "sanitized" such that approximately half of the violence depicted showed little or no physical harm or pain to the victim, his family, friends or community. In 40% of violent scenes, the violence was trivialized with humor even though the violent acts would normally have severe, lethal or incapacitating affects. Less than 5% of programs contained anti-violence messages. (NTVS, 1996, 1997, 1998)

Several studies have consistently found positive relationships between aggressive attitudes and exposure to rap and heavy metal music (Anderson, Carnagey, & Eubanks, 2003; Ballard & Coates, 1995; Hansen & Hansen, 1990; Rubin, West & Mitchell, 2001). Even with the current trend toward bleeping language and masking images, familiarity with the song, the artists, and hip hop culture leave youth likely to know what material is being censored. Youth who watched "gangsta rap" music videos were more likely to mimic the depicted violence in real life (Chen, 2006; Wingood et al., 2003). In addition, adolescent males who watched violent hip-hop music videos are more likely to find

violence as an acceptable means to resolve social conflicts and problems (Johnson, et al., 1995).

Whether the pervasiveness of these lyrics is a reflection of the actual environment in which it was created, or a reflection of the music industry's agenda to create music that has proven to be commercially viable (Salaam, 1995), youth are being exposed to the violence, as well as being exposed to the artists performing the violence. Additional exposure to the artists occurs via entertainment news. One study demonstrated a significant increase in the amount of violent crimes after high-profile murder stories aired on the news (Berkowitz & Macaulay, 1971). It stands to reason that hip-hop news could also influence perceptions of violence as several suggest that exposure to violence in the news can induce arousal, mimicry, and desensitization among others.

Though violence in entertainment journalism, much less its effects, has not been studied extensively, the impacts of other social issues featured in entertainment journalism have been studied. Research has found that exposure to sexual content in magazines increased adolescent sexual intent and sexual behaviors, especially when combined with other mediums (Pardun, L'Engle & Brown, 2005; Walsh-Childers, 1997; Walsh-Childers, Gotthoffer & Lepre, 2002; Brown et al., 2006). Another study by Malamuth & Check (1981) suggests that exposure to sexual violence in pictures and stories appearing in erotic publications simulated rape fantasies, as well as increased desensitization for female victims. Research also suggests that rape rates were positively correlated with the circulation rates of erotic magazines, presumably as a result of the sexual violent content,

perhaps indicating that such print media has the potential to influence its audience with respect to violence (Scott & Schwalm, 1988; Straus & Baron, 1983). Since such venues have been shown to influence behaviors regarding sex, sexual violence and beauty, it is possible, that these venues can also impact violent behaviors.

Building the Case to Study Hip-Hop Entertainment Journalism

It has been well documented that there is a high prevalence of violence occurring across entertainment venues including television, movies, lyrics, and music videos of different genres (Funk et al., 2004; Herd, 2009; NTVS, 1996; 1997; 1998; Smith & Boyle, 2002; Thompson & Yokota, 2004). Programming with a hip-hop focus appears to contain higher rates of violence, and is more likely to influence aggressive behaviors among its viewers (Anderson et al., 2003). Thus far, studies surrounding the hip-hop culture have mainly involved lyrics and music videos. Though lyrics and videos are important, they make up only a portion of the messages communicated to the hip-hop community. Hip-hop journalism, presumably consumed at least in part for entertainment purposes, is the reporting of news and entertainment stories pertaining to hip-hop. It is another form of communication to the hip-hop audience, but it has largely gone unexplored. Oredein & Lewis (2013) initiated study in this field in their analysis of The Source, a leading hip-hop magazine, for violent content in the feature articles and accompanying photographs. The study analyzed 218 feature articles and 959 accompanying pictures across 48 magazines spanning from 1991 and 2006. Violence was defined as physical or verbal aggression performed by an individual, either in art or real life. References to having a "hardcore image", living in "violent communities", and "violent metaphors" were also

coded. Approximately 80% of feature articles appearing in *The Source* contained some degree of violence. Having a hardcore, "gangsta" or "thug" image was the most popular category appearing in 45% of articles. It was closely followed by weapons use, which appeared in 40% of articles. Feuding and verbal aggression was the third most common category represented in 37% of articles. With respect to photographs, 28.4% of the articles were accompanied by at least one violent picture. Aggressive body language was by far the most common type of violence portrayed appearing in 23.9% of all pictures.

While this study is the first known study to explore hip-hop journalism, the proliferation of technology and the internet has given rise to several hip-hop e-magazines and websites dedicated to chronicling events, news and entertainment stories pertaining to the hip-hop community. Hip-hop radio programming, in addition to the music, also sends non-lyrical communications via the disc jockey commentary and on-air interviews with celebrities. Youth are especially drawn to such celebrity news and gossip largely in part because they are seeking out behavioral information (De Backer, Nelissen, Vyncke, Braeckman & McAndrew, 2007). Due to celebrities' high status and popularity, adolescents often look to them to identify successful and unsuccessful social strategies. Adolescents look to celebrities to learn what is socially desirable and acceptable, and a means to learn how to gain popularity and prestige (Barkow, 1976; 1989; Boyd & Richerson 1985; De Backer et al., 2007; Henrich & Gil-White, 2001; Henrich et al. 2001).

The celebrities featured in hip-hop journalism are often of similar age, racial and socioeconomic backgrounds, many of them hailing from the same neighborhoods as their

fans which might increase the likelihood of identifying with the model. This is of particular importance because violence is more likely to be learned and repeated when models are perceived to be similar to the viewer. Additionally, violence is more likely to be learned and repeated if it is realistic. Often times in hip-hop journalism, the violence described is real as the celebrities and journalists report real-life violence in which the celebrities are performers, or even victims. One study found rappers were more likely to die violently at young ages, mostly due to firearms, than other high-profile celebrity deaths (Ball et al., 2013). Like the high-profile deaths of these rappers, many violent stories in the hip-hop world appear in the mainstream news, however there are many artists that are only known, celebrated and covered in the hip-hop community via hip-hop journalism. Hip-hop journalism also references violence appearing in music, videos, films and other artistic projects.

Repeated exposure to violent actions in the media can activate the short and long term influential processes proposed by Huesmann (2007) and regardless of the medium, the learning processes remain constant (Cantor, 2000; David-Ferdon & Hertz, 2007; Funk, 2003; Huesmann & Malamuth, 1986; Rule & Ferguson, 1986; Strasburger, Wilson & Jordan, 2009). Radio might create opportunities for arousal when DJs and on-air guests excitedly share with the audience. There might also be opportunities for activation processes when listeners call in or communicate electronically to speak with the DJ and their guests.

Though the relationship between media violence and aggression is moderated by other factors, including audience members' socio-cognitive characteristics (Huesman & Taylor, 2006), it is important to begin studies of hip-hop entertainment journalism to assess the prevalence and portrayals of violence being communicated to susceptible youth audiences. Urban minority youth, the group most likely to consume hip-hop music (Heath, 2006), may be especially susceptible.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

Overview of Content Analysis

Content analysis has existed for centuries as a form of scientific inquiry (Rosengren, 1981). It is a research method that was developed for studying the characteristics and effects of written, verbal or visual communication messages where text or other data is coded into specific categories and then described using statistics. Usually utilized for examining the content and effects of communication (Holsti, 1969), it has been applied across various social disciplines including communications, journalism, psychology, political science, sociology and health research to study messages in print, television programs, advertising, and other forms of communication.

Berelson (1952) defines quantitative content analysis as an objective, systematic and quantitative research technique used to describe the manifest content of communication, where manifest content refers to the literal text as it appears, void of inferences. Holsti (1969) incorporates the concept of the latent content that refers to making inferences from the text. Kerlinger (1973) follows Holsti (1969) but further emphasizes the latent content by adding that content analysis is intended to infer important theoretical concepts and not just to determine the relative frequency of communication phenomena. This more qualitative approach captures syntactical and semantic information embedded in the text than does analyses concerned solely with the manifest content. Krippendorf (1980) contributes the concepts of validity and reliability in to the definition. Riffe, Lacy and Fico (2005) synthesized several definitions and concepts, and comprehensively define quantitative content analysis as "the systematic and replicable examination of symbols of

communication, which have been assigned numeric values according to valid measurement rules and the analysis of relationships involving those values using statistical methods, to describe the communication, draw inferences about its meaning, or infer from the communication to its context, both of production and consumption."

Quantitative content analysis is a process rooted in scientific theory. Quantitative content analyses are deductive in nature, and are intended to test hypotheses and answer questions based on theory and previous research. As with all scientifically based studies, a successful quantitative content analysis is required to be objective, systematic, and generalizable (Holsti, 1969). Objectivity refers to an explicitly defined set of categories, rules, and procedures for selecting and analyzing data in order to reduce the influence of the researchers' personal biases during the coding, evaluation and interpretation processes. Multiple persons should be able to apply said protocol to the same content and yield the same results regardless of predisposition or prejudices. *Systematic* refers to a set procedure that can be applied in the same manner across all content in order to collect relevant data to answer a specific research question or test a hypothesis. It also refers to the ability to reproduce the study given the same set of data, categories and rules. Generalizability refers to the extent to which research findings and conclusions from a study conducted on a sample population can be extrapolated to other populations, settings, times, etc. Adding to its scientific rigor, quantitative content analysis requires random or probability sampling of data to ensure statistical validity, as quantitative analyses are analyzed using statistical methods.

Content analyses often seek to answer research questions regarding the absolute characteristics of messages such as length, prevalence of phenomena, emphasis of varying message components, inter-message correlations, and other associations related to ideas or concepts (Krippendorff, 1980), several of which are the focus of the research questions in this study.

Sampling

The sample consists of articles from hip-hop news websites, as well as celebrity interviews aired on hip-hop FM radio programming between 2009 and 2010. This timeframe was chosen because at the beginning of this study's execution, the 2009 and 2010 sampling frame were the most recent fully completed years available, and still readily and relatively accessible. In addition, the featured artists were still current and relevant in hip-hop culture.

Websites as a venue were chosen for this study because they are free to access, and are widely available to youth.. Print magazine readership is declining in the age of technology (Simon & Kadiyali, 2007) and with the increase of smartphones, tablets and other electronic devices, the internet is readily available. Another feature of hip-hop websites is though they have pictures accompanying their stories, as do magazines, websites may also provide video footage, which may have additional appeal. They allow opportunities for the audience to immediately give feedback on the article and interact with other audience members through comments. Radio was chosen because it is also free, easily accessible, and during on-air interviews the audience is exposed to the stories,

opinions, excitement, and disappointment of both the celebrity and the DJ during the exchange.

Interviews and news articles were chosen because interviews contain information straight from the source (i.e., the celebrity), and news articles contain information that is presumably subjected to a degree of fact checking. For this reason, gossip or rumor segments were not included.

The process by which websites and their units of analysis were identified and selected will be discussed first, followed by the procedure for identifying radio stations and their units of analysis.

Selection of Websites

Three hip-hop websites were included in the study: www.hiphopdx.com (DX), www.AllHipHop.com (AHH) and www.XXLmagazine.com (XXL). These websites were identified by performing searches on Google, Bing and Yahoo conducted on January 10, 2010. "Hip-hop websites", "hip-hop interviews", and "hip-hop news" were the terms used in the searches. Websites were first identified based on the frequency of their appearance in the search results. Websites appearing three or more instances across search terms and search engines were selected. This yielded 24 websites. Websites were then reviewed to determine what types of news and interviews were available on the websites, and to determine how far back items are archived. In order to keep the focus on hip-hop journalism venues, websites that were not primarily focused on hip-hop news

were eliminated. Websites where articles consisted solely of video clips were excluded, as video clip links were often unavailable. However, websites that supplemented their stories with video footage were included, though the footage was not included in the analysis. Websites that did not have archived features dating back to 2009 were excluded. Websites that did not include the date of articles or interviews were also excluded. AHH, DX and XXL were the three websites remaining.

AHH was launched in 1998 and features daily hip-hop related news, interviews, reviews, and multimedia. Several entertainment journalism venues use AHH as a source for hip-hop news including *E! Entertainment*, *VH1*, and *Fox News* (AllHipHop.com, 2009). It also has an online social networking community. The website AHH has tracked in excess of four million unique visitors per month as audited and measured by comScore Networks (AllHipHop.com, 2009). The AHH community according to their media kit is made up of "diverse, educated, street smart young adults (16-24)". Slightly more than half (58%) of the AHH community is male. The majority (69%) of the community is comprised of ethnic minorities (32% African American, 25% Latino, and 12% Asian). The average age of the AHH consumer is 23 (AllHipHop.com, 2009).

DX, launched in 1999, also features daily hip-hop related news, interviews, reviews, and multimedia. It reaches approximately 2.6 million unique users per month. The DX readership is largely male (81%) and the majority of the community is comprised of ethnic minorities with African Americans accounting for 49%, and Latinos accounting for 17%. Seventy percent of its audience falls into the 14-34 age group and the median

age is 26 (HipHopDX.com, 2012).

According to its media kit, XXL.com, an extension of *XXL Magazine*, "speaks to the rap-music generation". The website provides daily hip-hop news and content from its magazine including interviews, reviews, and multimedia. XXL has over 5 million monthly page views and more than one million unique visitors per month (XXL, 2012). The XXL audience is largely male (75%) and the majority of the community is comprised of ethnic minorities with African Americans accounting for 67% of readership and Latinos accounting for 19%. The median age of the XXL consumer is 27 and 38% of users are under the age of 25 (XXL, 2012).

Website Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis was each interview or news article. Photographs, where applicable, were also individual units of analysis.

Website Sampling Unit

For website articles, the sampling population is all interviews and news articles published between January 1, 2009 and December 31, 2010.

Website articles were identified as news articles if they were listed under the "News" header on their respective websites. The titles and links of all articles published between and including January 1, 2009 and December 31, 2010 were listed in an excel spreadsheet. Sampling was stratified such that 10% of news articles were randomly

selected from each site by month, resulting in a total of 417 articles from 2009, and 553 articles from 2010. Articles selected by the research randomizer tool were downloaded and saved, within a one-week period, with each article serving as the unit of analysis to be coded.

For AH and XXL, interviews appear in articles under the header "Features". On the DX website, interview articles appear under the "Editorial" header. The titles and links of all articles published in these sections between January 1, 2009 and December 31, 2010, were recorded. Sampling was stratified such that 25% of interview articles were randomly selected from each site by month, resulting in a total of 128 articles from 2009, and 169 from 2010. All articles selected by the research randomizer tool were downloaded and saved within a one-week period, with each article serving as the unit of analysis to be coded.

Website Recording Units

Website articles were coded for each mention of the violent categories. Article length (in sentences) and the number of comments were also coded. All corresponding pictures were coded for violence as well. Advertisements were not included in the analysis.

Selection of Radio Stations

Four self-identified hip-hop FM radio stations were included in this study. They are WHQT 97.1 (Hot 97, New York, NY), WWPR 105.1 (Power 105, New York, NY), WGCI 107.5 (Chicago, IL), and KUBE 93.3 (KUBE 93, Seattle, WA). These radio

stations were preliminarily identified by generating a list of all FM hip-hop stations in the United States using Radio-locator (2010) and Radio Row (2010). All station websites were reviewed to see if pre-recorded hip-hop celebrity interviews were archived (generally in the form of podcasts) on their websites. Radio stations whose websites did not have previously aired interviews available were excluded. This resulted in 15 radio stations. Websites that did not have interviews from January 1, 2009 to December 31, 2010 were eliminated. Websites that had less than four celebrity interviews were also eliminated, resulting in the four stations.

WHQT has an average of 3.3 million weekly listeners and its audience primarily consists of 18 to 34 year olds, with an even gender divide (WQHT, 2012). WWPR has an average of 3.2 million weekly listeners. Their audience is primarily African American (45%) and Hispanic (27%) with a median age of 28 (WWPR, 2012). WCGI has more than 900,000 weekly listeners. They too have a largely African American (61%) and Hispanic (26.9%) audience (WGCI, 2012). KUBE reaches more than 600,000 people each week over the airwaves. Their audience largely consists of the 18-44 year demographic (62%) and is comprised equally of males and females (KUBE, 2012).

Sampling of Radio Interviews

For the radio, the sampling population is all archived celebrity interviews aired between January 1, 2009 and December 31, 2010. Interviews were reviewed for the date aired, and those that were not aired in the selected time frame were eliminated. Interviews missing dates and those with no discernable time frame were eliminated. Interviews were eligible

for coding whether they were held in the studio or conducted over the phone. An interview consists of a conversation between a celebrity and radio personalities regarding the celebrity's life or their thoughts or opinions on a matter. Archives dedicated to presenting celebrity gossip and rumors were not included. Skits, prank calls, promotional station identifications, and music montages were also eliminated.

Radio Unit of Analysis

The unit of analysis is a complete radio interview, as defined by the introduction of the celebrity through the thanking them for participation, or other conclusive statements.

Radio Sampling Units

KUBE, WWPR, WQHT, and WGCI had podcast interviews available for download. Sampling was stratified by websites such that 25% of interviews were sampled from each station resulting in a total of 30 interviews from 2009 and 26 interviews from 2010. Radio interview podcasts were downloaded and saved, with each interview serving as the unit of analysis to be coded.

Radio Recording Units

Radio interviews were coded for each mention of the violent categories. They were also coded for length. Advertisements and music were not included in the analysis.

Coding Scheme

Most studies define violence as "…the threat, actual use, or physically harmful consequences of violent behavior that is committed by individuals and that is deliberately intended to inflict harm on animate beings" (Anderson & Bushman, 2001; NTVS, 1996; 1997; 1998; Walma van Der Molen, 2004). In considering the concept of news and journalism, this definition of violence is rather limited. It does not necessarily include the emotional and social consequences of violence, political or economic violence with no definitive performer or victim (e.g., war, riots), verbal aggression, or violence against animals and property (Walma van Der Molen, 2004). For this study violence is defined as *"A threat of force, or the actual use of force intended to harm an animate being* (Smith & Boyson, 2002; Wilson et al., 1998), *or their property*. This definition includes Walma van Der Molen's additions of verbal aggression, political violence, and violence against animals and property (2004).

The coding scheme was deductively developed based on prior relevant content analyses of media. Past research observing the portrayal of violence in the media identified common themes in both general media (Mustonen & Pulkkinen, 1997; Wilson et al., 1998) and in hip-hop (Herd, 2009; Kubrin, 2005; Oredein & Lewis, 2013; Smith, 2005; Smith & Boyson, 2002). The coding scheme was also in part inductively informed. The study's research questions informed the coding procedure as did initial reviews of the websites' articles and radio interviews which identified additional components that were incorporated into the coding procedure. Further, the coding scheme was pre-tested on

articles and radio interviews and new codes were introduced and the coding scheme was amended where necessary.

Website Coding

Each website article was given a unique ID and coded for standard descriptive variables including year, website, article type (news or interview), length (in sentences), presence of a violent title, presence of violent excerpts, and number of pictures. The number of audience comments that each article received was also recorded as a proxy for audience interest and engagement. Regarding violent content, each website article was coded for the presence of the following violent categories. (See Appendix B for illustrative quotes to demonstrate various categories).

- Fighting/assault (physical aggression such as kicking, punching, slapping)

- Feuding/verbal aggression (conflicts, "beef", threats or "disses")

- Weapons

- Murder/attempted murder

- Robbery

- Hardcore reputation (reputation for having a violent persona)

- Gang activity

- Violent communities (Living in/growing up in violent neighborhoods)

- Violent media (general reference to violent genre of music, films or other media)

- Violent metaphors (a figure of speech that uses violent terms to illustrate a point)

- Other/Miscellaneous violence

- Anti-violent messages

For each article, the number of each new violent accounts (references) was recorded by category, as well as the number of sentences that contained each type of violence, and the overall number of sentences that contained violence. Coding was not mutually exclusive among violent categories.

Each violent account was coded for *Reality Status*, *Narrative Sequence*, and *Tone*. (See Appendix B for illustrative quotes).

- *Reality Status:* "Real" if the event took place in real life; "Art" if it was related to an artistic project (i.e., song, movie, video); or "Hypothetical" if the violence is proposed or there is an expressed desire for violence. Real and Art categories, and Art and Hypothetical categories were not mutually exclusive.

- *Narrative sequence:* "Performer" if the narrative focuses on the performer's perspective; "Victim" if it the narrative focuses on the victim's perspective; "Both" if both perspectives were represented; "Neither" if no perspective was given, or "Mixed" if both performer and victim perspectives were presented.

- *Tone:* "Positive" if it is connected with physical or verbal rewards such as praise, humor, satisfaction, power, money, women; "Negative" if it is connected with physical or verbal punishments such as disapproval, regret for violent behavior, fatalities, injury, legal actions, or damage; "Neutral" if no rewards or punishments are mentioned; and "Mixed" if it is a mixture of both positive and negative.

Website articles were also coded for violence in their accompanying pictures. Photographs were coded for the presence of:

- Weapons

- Accessories (such as clothing, tattoos or jewelry with violent symbols or imagery [e.g. picture of guns] or that represent violence [i.e., tear tattoos signifying the bearer has committed murder, the term "thug" on clothing or tattoo])

- Aggressive body language (body posturing and body language in the form of scowls, fighting stances [e.g. fists], and middle fingers)

- Other types of violence that did not fall into the aforementioned photograph categories (e.g. blood spattered across the wall, bullet-riddled items, injuries from a weapon or assault).

The number and types of each violent account occurring in pictures were recorded, as well as the total number of pictures that contained each type of violence, and the total number of pictures that contained violence. Coding was not mutually exclusive among violent picture categories.

Radio Coding

For radio interviews, each interview was given a unique ID and coded for standard descriptive variables including year, radio station, and length (in seconds). Regarding violent content, each radio interview was coded for the following violent categories.

- Fighting/assault (physical aggression such as kicking, punching, slapping)

- Feuding/verbal aggression (conflicts, "beef", threats or "disses")

- Weapons

- Murder/attempted murder

- Robbery

- Hardcore reputation (reputation for having a violent persona)

- Gang activity

- Violent communities (Living in/growing up in violent neighborhoods)

- Violent media (general reference to violent genre of music, films or other media)

- Violent metaphors (a figure of speech that uses violent terms to illustrate a point)

- Other/Miscellaneous violence

- Anti-violent messages

For each radio interview, the number of each new violent accounts (references) was recorded by category. Coding was not mutually exclusive among violent categories.

Each violent account was also coded for *Reality Status*, *Narrative Sequence*, and *Tone.* In addition, each account was coded for whether or not the DJ initiated the violent content.

The content of both website article and radio interviews were reviewed for illustrative quotes. Relevant examples of violent categories were recorded. Similarly, articles were reviewed for violent picture content. Relevant photos were recorded. (See Appendix C for illustrative photographs)

Inter-Coder Reliability

The materials were double coded by a second doctoral student. Both coders are female, were raised in Queens, NY, and were in their mid thirties at the time coding took place. Both coders are familiar with hip-hop and hip-hop culture.

The second coder was trained during a two-month period. Training consisted of reviewing the codebook's specific instructions for assessing the articles to ensure the coder could correctly identify, classify, and count violent content. The second coder practiced applying the coding methodology to several articles in the sampling frame. The articles ranged from minimal or non-existent violence, to heavy violence. Though these articles were included as part of the sample analyzed in the study, they were excluded from the articles selected for establishing reliability.

After each example article was analyzed, the two coders convened and discussed their results, and reconciled disagreements. The second coder was given a second set of randomly selected articles for another coding trial after which both coders reconvened to discuss the results.

Once both coders felt comfortable with the second coder's level of training and ability, the second coder independently analyzed 10% of news and 25% of interview articles from each website totaling 148 articles. Reliability results of were acceptable resulting in an average Kappa value of 0.73 (ranging from 0.67-1.0) and average percent agreement of 73.4% (ranging from 70.0% – 100%).

Differences in interpretation of the data were discussed and resolved. In some cases, coders agreed that violence had occurred, but could not agree on the violent category. In 12 cases where coders had difficulty determining and agreeing on the violence categories

(i.e., kidnapping, sexual assault), violence was collapsed in the "Other/Misc" violence category.

Data Analysis and Reporting

Data were entered into the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS®) version 20.0. All analyses were performed using SPSS®.

As the study is an exploratory one, analyses consisted of descriptive statistics. Results are first presented for all websites articles and later analyses are presented by article type (news articles and interview articles). Separate analyses are also presented for radio interviews. Cross-tab tables were used to describe the prevalence with which website articles and radio interviews contained the various categories of violence. Frequency tables were used to describe the frequency of the various types of violence, reality status, narrative sequence, and slant. Chi-square analyses were used to identify significant relationships between categorical variables of interest. Before chi-square testing, contingency tables were checked to confirm that expected cell counts were adequately large to meet assumptions for testing. The standard alpha level of p<.05 was used to determine statistical significance. Independent t-tests were used to identify significant difference between continuous data. The standard alpha level of p<.05 was used to determine statistical significance.

The criterion for Levene's test of equal variance was met.

CHAPTER 4: RESULTS

Website Articles

A total of 1,267 unique articles were coded across the three websites. News articles comprised 76.6% (n=970) of the sample and 23.4% (n=297) were interview articles. Table 1 details the number of articles in the sample by website, year and article type. (See Table 1).

Table 1. Number of articles in the sample by website, year and article type

Website	Article Type		Total
	News	Interviews	
AH	292	134	426
XXL	203	100	303
DX	475	63	538
Total	970	297	1267

The largest sample of articles (42.5%, n=538) came from DX, followed by AH (33.6%, n=426) and XXL (23.9%, n=303). The majority of articles sampled were published in 2010 (57%, n=722). The remaining 43% (n=545) were published in 2009.

Overall the 1,267 news and interview articles averaged 38.69 sentences in length (s.d.=48.07) with an average of 34.17 comments (s.d.=58.28) and one picture per article (s.d.=1.1). More than half 52.3% (n=663) had at least one reference to violence such that there was at least one sentence containing violence or one picture with a violent image. (See Table 2). News articles made up 67.1% (n=445) of articles with violence and interviews made up the remaining 32.9% (n=218). News articles and interview articles will be further discussed as separated entities at a later point.

Table 2: Frequency and percentage of all articles containing violent content

Category	N (N=663)	%
News w/Violence	445	67.1
Interviews w/Violence	218	32.9
Placement of Violent Content		
Violence in Text	631	95.2
Violent Title	103	15.5
Violent Excerpt	24	3.6
Violent Pictures	92	13.9
Violent Text Category		
Community	34	5.1
Feud	160	24.1
Fighting	155	23.4
Gang	53	8.0
Media Genre	62	9.4
Metaphor	227	34.2
Murder	148	22.3
Reputation	114	17.2
Robbery	28	4.2
Weapon	203	30.6
Other	139	21.0
Violent Picture Category		
Accessories	31	4.5
Body Language	36	5.4
Weapons	19	2.8
Other	20	3.0

Overall, there was an average of 1.55 (s.d.=2.6) violent references per article (in text and pictures), and on average 2.56 sentences contained at least one violence reference (s.d.=5.66). Eight percent of articles (n=103) had titles that contained violence. Just over 2% of articles included an anti-violence sentiment (n=27).

When looking solely at articles that contained violence (n=663), these articles averaged 54.85 sentences in length (s.d.=72.83) and averaged 39.69 reader comments (s.d.=58.24)

and 1.1 pictures per article (s.d.=1.28). There was an average of 2.96 (s.d.=3.4) violent references per article (in text and pictures), and on average 4.87 sentences that directly contained violence (s.d.=7.06).

Table 2 presents the frequency with which each violent category appears at least once among website articles containing violence (n=663). Violent metaphors were the most common appearing in 34.2% (n=227) of articles. (See Appendix B for examples of each violent category.) Weapons appeared with the second highest frequency appearing in 30.6% (n=203) of articles. The third most frequent category was feuding appearing in 17.3% (n=160). Fighting and murder rounded out the top five at 23.4% (n=155) and 22.3% (n=148) respectively. Approximately 14% (n=92) of website articles contain at least one picture with at least one violent image. (See Table 2).

Collectively, there were 1,776 unique violent references occurring within the text. Violent metaphors were the most prevalent comprising 17.2% (n=306) of all violent references. Weapons (15.2%, n=270), feuds (13.6%, n=241), murder (12.1%, n=215), fighting (11.3%, n=201) rounded out the top five most common categories. (See Table 3)

Of all the unique recorded references, 44.8% (n=796) reportedly occurred in real life, 31.6% (n=562) referenced artistic projects and 7.8% (n=139) were hypothetical accounts. (See Appendix B for illustrative quotes for each reality status.) Overall, there were significantly more references of violence occurring in real life than references occurring

in artistic projects (t=-4.96, p<.0001, df=1266) or hypothetical violence art (t=-42.16, p<.0001, df=1266).

Table 3: Frequency and percentage of references across all articles by reality status, narrative sequence, tone and violent category

Category	N (N=1776)	%
Reality Status		
Real	796	44.8
Art	562	31.6
Hypothetical	139	7.8
Narrative		
Performer	822	46.3
Victim	224	12.6
Both	338	19.0
Neither	288	16.2
Tone		
Positive	565	31.8
Negative	677	38.1
Neutral	428	24.1
Mixed	106	6.0
Violent Text Category		
Community	36	2.0
Feud	241	13.6
Fighting	201	11.3
Gang	62	3.5
Media Genre	68	3.8
Metaphor	306	17.2
Murder	215	12.1
Reputation	139	7.8
Robbery	62	3.4
Weapon	270	15.2
Other	176	9.9

Regarding the narrative sequence, the majority of references (46.3%, n=822) were presented from the performer's vantage point compared to 12.6% (n=224) that were told

using the victim sequence. (See Appendix B for illustrative quotes for each narrative sequence.) Violence was significantly more likely to be depicted using the performer sequence than the victim sequence (t=-27.75, p<.0001, df=1266), mixed sequence (t=-18.4, p<.0001, df=1266) or neither sequence (t=-25.00, p<.0001, df=1266).

Violent references were most frequently presented in a negative tone 38.1% (n=677). Positive portrayals represented one-third (31.8%, n=565) of violent references. Nearly one-quarter of violent references (24.1%, n=428) were depicted in a neutral tone and 6% (n=106) were mixed portrayals. (See Appendix B for illustrative quotes for each tone portrayals). There were significantly fewer positive portrayals than there were negative portrayals (t=-2.6, p=.009, df=1266), however there were significantly more positive portrayals than there were neutral (t=-4.72, p<.0001, df=1266) and mixed portrayals (t=-33.39, p<.0001, df=1266).

There were, 92 articles that contained 106 pictures with violent content. Aggressive body language was the most popular appearing in almost 40.4% (n=43) of pictures, followed by violent accessories (32.1%, n=34). Weapons (12.3%, n=11) and other types of violence tied for third (21.7%, n=23).

There were a total of 186 violent references within the 106 pictures. Aggressive body language accounted for 28% (n=52) of violent references followed closely by weapons, (27.4%, n=51). (See Appendix C for illustrative pictures representing various violent categories.) Approximately 20% (n=37) of references were violent accessories, and the

remaining 23.1% (n=43) of references were comprised of other types of violence such as a weapon injury (See Table 4).

Table 4: Frequency of violent references occurring in pictures with violent content across all articles

Category	Pics with Violence (N=106)	%	Violent References (N=186)	%
Violent Picture Category				
Body Language	42	39.6	52	28.0
Accessories	34	32.1	37	19.9
Weapons	23	21.7	51	27.4
Other	23	21.7	43	23.1

Other Findings

The number of audience comments articles received was associated with a higher number of violent references. A linear regression suggests that the number of comments from readers was predictive of total number of violent references (F=14.6; df=1; p<.0001) and the total number of sentences containing violence (F=28.01; df=1; p<.0001.

News Articles

News articles (n=970) averaged 17.07 sentences in length (s.d.=16.23), 35.6 reader comments (s.d.=51.97), and 8 pictures per article (s.d.=.59). Almost half of all news articles (45.9%, n=445) had at least one violent reference. There was an average of 1.03 (s.d.=1.63) violent references per article (in text and pictures), and on average 1.62 sentences contained violence (s.d.=3.18). Only 3.1% (n=15) of articles contained anti-violence.

When looking solely at news articles that contained violence (n=445), articles averaged 19.91 sentences in length (s.d.=19.96), 43.99 reader comments (s.d.=66.59) and .82 pictures per article (s.d.=.63). There was an average of 2.25 (s.d.=1.67) violent references per article (in text and pictures), and an average of 3.52 sentences contained violence (s.d.=3.91). Approximately 9% (n=82) of all news articles had titles that contained violence.

Table 5 presents the frequency with which different categories of violence appear at least once within the sampled news articles. Weapons and Other types of violence were tied for appearing in the most articles at 28.3% (n=126) each. Metaphors were third most frequent at 25.6% (n=114). Fighting and murder rounded out the top five most common at 22.9% (n=102) and 20.4% (n=91) respectively. Approximately 12.6% (n=56) of news articles contain pictures with violent images. (See Table 5).

Collectively, there were 916 violent references across the news articles that were coded. Weapons were the most prevalent comprising 15.8% (n=145) of all violent references. Metaphors (15.2%, n=139), murder (14.4%, n=132), fighting (13.3%, n=122) and feuds (12.8 %, n=117), rounded out the top five. (See Table 6).

Table 5: Frequency and percentage of news articles containing violent content

Category	N (N=445)	%
Placement of Violent Content		
Violence in Text	420	94.4
Violent Title	82	18.4
Excerpts	20	4.5
Violent Pictures	56	12.6
Violent Text Category		
Community	15	3.4
Feud	90	20.2
Fighting	102	22.9
Gang	28	6.3
Media Genre	18	4
Metaphor	114	25.6
Murder	91	20.4
Reputation	57	12.8
Robbery	15	3.4
Weapon	126	28.3
Other	126	28.3
Violent Picture Category		
Accessories	23	5.2
Body Language	19	4.3
Weapons	11	2.5
Other	8	1.8

Of all the unique recorded references, half of them (50.5%, n=463) reportedly occurred in real life, 30.8% (n=282) referenced artistic projects and 6.3% (n=58) were hypothetical accounts. Within the news articles, there were significantly more real mentions of violence than there were for art violence (t=-6.83, p<.0001, df=969) or hypothetical violence art (t=-45.4, p<.0001, df=969). (See Table 6)

Regarding the narrative, the majority of the references (46.2%, n=423) were told from the performer's vantage point compared to 12.1% (n=111) that were told using the victim

sequence. Seventeen percent (n=156) incorporated neither sequence and 22.4% (n=205) of references incorporated both the performer and the victim sequence. Regarding the narrative, violence was significantly more likely to be depicted using the performer sequence than the victim sequence (t=-21.46, p<.0001, df=969), a mixed sequence (t=-14.2, p<.0001, df=969) or neither sequence (t=-17.81, p<.0001, df=969).

Table 6: Frequency and percentage of references in news articles by reality status, narrative sequence, tone and violent category

Category	N (N=916)	%
Reality Status		
Real	463	50.5
Art	282	30.8
Hypothetical	58	6.3
Narrative		
Performer	423	46.2
Victim	111	12.1
Both	205	22.4
Neither	156	17.0
Tone		
Positive	232	25.3
Negative	398	43.4
Neutral	243	26.5
Mixed	43	4.7
Violent Text Category		
Community	15	1.6
Feud	117	12.8
Fighting	122	13.3
Gang	33	3.6
Media Genre	27	2.9
Metaphor	139	15.2
Murder	132	14.4
Reputation	71	7.8
Robbery	17	1.9
Weapon	145	15.8
Other	103	11.2

Regarding tone, one-quarter of references (25.3%, n=232) were presented in a positive tone, 43.4% (n=398) were presented in a negative tone, 26.5% (n=243) were in a neutral tone and 4.7% (n=43) had a combination of positive and negative tones. With respect to the tone, there were significantly less positive portrayals than there were negative portrayals (t=5.64, p<.0001, df=969), but there were significantly more positive portrayals than there were mixed portrayals (t=-23.88, p<.0001, df=969). There was no significant difference between positive and neutral portrayals (p=ns). There were however significantly more negative portrayals than their were neutral (t=-7.45, p<.0001, df=969) and mixed portrayals (t=-44.63, p<.0001, df=969).

There were 56 articles that contained 57 pictures with violent images. Violent accessories were most popular appearing in 40.4% (n=23) of pictures, followed by aggressive body language (35.1%, n=20) and weapons (12.3%, n=11). Approximately 14% (n=8) of pictures featured other types of violence.

Within the 57 pictures, there were a total of 85 violent images. Violent accessories accounted for 30.6% (n=26) of picture references followed closely by aggressive body language, (28.2%, n=24) of violent images, other types of violence (21.2%, n=18), and weapons 15% (n=13). (See Table 7).

Table 7: Frequency of violent references occurring in pictures with violent content among news articles

Category	Pics with Violence (N=57)	%	No. of References (=85)	%
Violent Picture Category				
Body Language	20	35.1	24	28.3
Accessories	23	40.4	26	30.6
Weapons	11	19.3	13	15.3
Other	8	14.0	18	21.2

Interview Articles

Interview articles (n=297) averaged 109.31 sentences in length (s.d.=84.41), 29.51 reader comments (s.d.=31.84), and 1.57 pictures per article (s.d.=1.91). More than 70% of all news articles (n=218) had at least one violent reference. There was an average of 3.24 (s.d.=4.76) violent references per article (in text and pictures), and an average of 5.62 sentences contained violence (s.d.=9.56). An anti-violent sentiment appeared in 5.5% (n=12) of articles.

When looking solely at interview articles that contained violence (n=218), articles averaged 126.16 sentences in length (s.d.=88.06), 30.89 reader comments (s.d.=34.04) and 1.67 pictures per article (s.d.=1.94). There was an average of 4.41 (s.d.=5.07) violent references per article (in text and pictures), and on average 7.64 sentences contained violence (s.d.=10.45).

Approximately 7% (n=21) of all interview articles had titles that contained violence. Table 8 presents the frequency with which different categories of violence appear at least

once within the sampled interview articles. Metaphors were third most frequent at 51.8% (n=113). Weapons and Other types of violence were tied for second appearing in more than a third of violent articles (n=77) each. Feuding appears in 32.1% (n=70) leaving murder and violent reputations tied for fifth (26.1%, n=57). (See Table 8).

Table 8: Frequency and percentage of interview articles containing violent content

Category	N (N=218)	%
Placement of Violent Content		
Violence in Text	211	96.8
Violent Title	21	9.6
Excerpts	4	1.9
Violent Pictures	36	16.5
Violent Text Category		
Community	19	8.7
Feud	70	32.1
Fighting	53	24.3
Gang	25	11.5
Media Genre	44	20.2
Metaphor	113	51.8
Murder	57	26.1
Reputation	57	26.1
Robbery	13	6.0
Weapon	77	35.2
Other	77	35.2
Violent Picture Category		
Accessories	8	3.7
Body Language	17	7.8
Weapons	8	3.7
Other	12	5.5

Approximately 16.5% (n=36) of interview articles contain pictures with violent images. Aggressive body language appeared in 7.8% (n=17) of violent interviews articles, followed by other types of violence (5.5%, n=12). Weapons and accessories tied for third

place (3.7%, n=8). Less than 2% (n=8) of violent pictures contained some other type of violence. (See Table 8).

Collectively, 860 violent text references were coded across the interview articles. Violent metaphors were the most prevalent at 19.5% (n=167), followed by weapons accounting for 14.5% (n=125), feud (14.4%, n=124), murder (9.7%, n=83), fighting (9.2%, n=79). (See Table 9).

Of the 860 violent references 39.4% (n=339) reportedly occurred in real life, 33.7% (n=290) referenced artistic projects and 9.4% (n=81) were hypothetical accounts. Regarding interview articles, there were significantly more real mentions of violence than there were for hypothetical violence (t=-20.84, p<.0001, df=296). There was no significant difference between real and art violence (p=n.s.).

The majority of the references (61.5%, n=395) were told from the performer's vantage point compared to 13.1% (n=113) that were told using the victim sequence. 17.3% (n=149) incorporated neither sequence and 15.3% (n=132) of references incorporated both the performer and the victim sequence. Regarding the narrative, violence was significantly more likely to be depicted using the performer sequence than from the victim's sequence (t=-18.6, p<.0001, df=296), a mixed sequence (t=-12.52, p<.0001, df=2966) or a neither sequence (t=-18.35, p<.0001, df=296).

Table 9: Frequency and percentage of references in interview articles by realness, narrative, tone and violent category

Category	N (N=860)	%
Reality Status		
Real	339	39.4
Art	290	33.7
Hypothetical	81	9.4
Narrative		
Performer	395	61.5
Victim	113	13.1
Both	149	17.3
Neither	132	15.3
Tone		
Positive	333	38.7
Negative	279	32.4
Neutral	185	21.5
Mixed	63	7.3
Violent Text Category		
Community	21	2.4
Feud	124	14.4
Fighting	79	9.2
Gang	29	3.4
Media Genre	46	5.3
Metaphor	167	19.5
Murder	83	9.7
Reputation	68	7.9
Robbery	45	5.2
Weapon	125	14.5
Other	73	8.5

Of the 860 violent references 38.7% (n=333) had a positive tone, 32.4% (n=279) had a negative tone, 21.5% (n=185) were in a neutral tone and 7.3% (n=63) had a combination of positive and negative tones. With respect to the tone, there were significantly more positive portrayals than there were negative portrayals ($t=-1.93$, $p=.05$, $df=296$), neutral ($t=-7.0$, $p<.0001$, $df=296$) or mixed portrayals ($t=-24.21$, $p<.0001$, $df=296$).

Approximately 12 % (n=36) of articles contain pictures with violent images. Almost half of these pictures (n=17) contained some type of violent body language or posturing. One-third of pictures (n=12) contained Other violence, and almost one-quarter (n=8) of pictures each contained weapons or violent accessories.

Within the 36 pictures there were a total of 101 violent images. Weapons accounted for 37.6% (n=38) of violent images followed by aggressive body language, which comprised 27.7% (n=28) of violent references. Approximately 10.9% (n=11) of references were violent accessories and the remaining 24.8% (n=25) of references were comprised of other types of violence such as a weapon injury (See Table 10).

Table 10: Frequency of violent references occurring in pictures with violent content among interview articles

Category	No. of Pics (N=36)	%	No. of References (N=101)	%
Violent Picture Category				
Body Language	22	61.1	28	27.7
Accessories	11	30.6	11	10.9
Weapons	12	33.3	38	37.6
Other	15	41.7	25	24.8

News Articles Vs. Interview Articles

Interview articles had significantly more violent references in their text (t=-12.32, p<.0001, df=1265) and had significantly more sentences directly containing violence (t=-11.17, p<.0001, df=1265) compared to news articles. When comparing news with interview articles, interviews have significantly more references across all violent categories: feuding (t=-6.73, p<.0001, df=1265), fighting (t=-4.4, p<.0001, df=1265),

gang (t=-7.5, p<.0001, df=1265), murder (t=-7.5, p<.0001, df=1265), robbery (t=-7.5, p<.0001, df=1265), community (t=-7.5, p<.0001, df=1265), media genre (t=-7.5, p<.0001, df=1265), metaphors (t=-7.5, p<.0001, df=1265), reputation (t=-7.5, p<.0001, df=1265), weapons (t=-7.5, p<.0001, df=1265), and other (t=-7.5, p<.0001, df=1265). There was no significant difference for antiviolence (p=n.s.).

Interview articles contained significantly more violent references in their pictures than news article pictures (t=-3.51, p<.0001, df=1265). Interview pictures featured significantly more references of body language (t=-3.56, p<.0001, df=1265), weapons (t=-3.61, p<.0001, df=1265) as well as other types of violence (t=-2.52, p=.01, df=1265) than news pictures. There was no significant difference in the amount of violent accessories (p=n.s.).

However as news articles averaged 17.07 sentences in length with 3.52 sentences containing violence, interviews averaged 109.31 sentences in length and 5.62 sentences containing violence. News articles had a significantly higher percentage of sentences containing violence (t=3.24, p=.001, df=1265).

Radio

Fifty-six radio interviews were coded. Almost half (53.6%, n=30) of radio interviews were conducted in 2009 and 26 (46.4%) were conducted in 2010. In all, 23 interviews (41.1%) were from KUBE, 18 (32.1%) were from WWPR, 8 (14.3%) were from WGCI, and 7 (12.5%) were from WQHT. (See Table 11).

Table 11: Number of radio interviews in the sample by station

Station	Total	%
KUBE	23	41.0
WGCI	8	14.0
WQHT	7	12.5
WWPR	18	32.1
Total	56	100

Interviews averaged 692.07 seconds (i.e., 12 minutes) in length (s.d.=548.76 seconds). There was an average of 2.05 (s.d.=3.31) violent references per interview. Almost 70% of interviews (n=37) contained at least one mention of violence. When looking solely at interviews containing violence, they averaged 791.14 seconds (13 minutes, 18 seconds) in length (s.d.=593.08 seconds). There was an average of 3 violent references per interview (s.d.=3.65). Anti-violent sentiments appeared in 3.6% (n=2) of radio interviews.

Table 12 presents the frequency with which different categories of violence appear at least once within the sampled interviews. Fighting or physical assault was the most common category appearing in 67.6% (n=25). Feuding was the next most prevalent at 51.4% (n=19). Violent Metaphors and Other types of violence tied for third appearing in 28% (n=11) of violent radio interviews followed by weapons round out the top five at 24.3% (n=9).

Table 12: Frequency and percentage of radio interviews containing violent content

	N (N=37)	%
Violent Text Category		
Community	1	2.7
Feud	19	51.4
Fighting	25	67.6
Gang	1	2.7
Media Genre	1	2.7
Metaphor	11	28.0
Murder	5	13.5
Reputation	4	10.8
Robbery	0	0
Weapon	9	24.3
Other	11	28.0

Collectively there were 115 unique references of violence across the 37 interviews that contained violence. The DJs initiated 45.2% (n=51) of the mentions of violence. (See Table 13).

Feuds accounted for the most amount of references at 30.4% (n=35), followed by fighting (20.0%, n=23), violent metaphors (14.8%, n=17), other types of violence (11.3%, n=13) and weapons (8.7%, n=10).

Almost half (47.6%, n=55) of the violence mentioned during the interviews had occurred in real life. Slightly more than one-fifth (21.7%, n=25) of references occurred in lyrics, films or other media. One-fifth (n=24) of references were hypothetical. There were significantly more real mentions of violence than there were for art (t=-3.12, p=.003, df=55) or hypothetical violence (t=-5.61, p<.0001, df=55).

Table 13: Frequency and percentage of references in radio interviews by realness, narrative, tone and violent category

	N (N=115)	%
Reality Status		
Real	57	47.6
Art	26	22.6
Hypothetical	25	21.7
Narrative		
Performer	52	45.2
Victim	26	22.6
Both	11	9.6
Neither	25	21.7
Tone		
Positive	46	40.0
Negative	36	31.3
Neutral	15	13.0
Mixed	19	16.3
Initiated by DJ	52	45.2
Violent Text Category		
Community	1	>1.0
Feud	35	30.4
Fighting	23	20
Gang	1	>1.0
Media Genre	1	>1.0
Metaphor	17	14.8
Murder	9	7.8
Reputation	5	4.3
Robbery	0	0
Weapon	10	8.7
Other	13	11.3

With respect to narrative sequence, 45.2% (n=52) of references were told using the performer sequence, 22.6% (n=26) were told using the victim sequence. Regarding the narrative, violence was significantly more likely to be depicted using the performer sequence than from the victim sequence art (t=-3.81, p<.0001, df=55).

Regarding the tone, 40% (n=46) of the violence was depicted in a positive light, 31.3% (n=36) were in a negative light, 15% (n=21) were neutral and 16.3% (n=19) had a mixed message. With respect to the tone, there were significantly more positive portrayals than there were neutral (t=-7.43, p<.0001, df=55) or mixed portrayals (t=-5.38, p<.0001, df=55). However, there were no significant differences between positive and negative portrayals (p=n.s.)

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Via content analysis, this study explored the prevalence and portrayal of violent content appearing in hip-hop entertainment journalism, specifically news and interview articles on popular hip-hop websites, and interviews on popular hip-hop radio shows. Both website articles and radio interviews were found to contain violence.

The Potential Impact of Prevalence

Slightly more than half (52%, n=663) of website articles had at least one violent reference within its text or accompanying photographs. Rates of violence were higher for interview articles (73.4%, n=218) than news articles (45.9%, n=445). More than half of radio interviews (66%, n=37) also contained violence. The most common categories of violence found in this study were weapons, metaphors, fighting, and feuding.

Traditional journalism and news outlets have been found to stress violence (Chavez & Dorfman 1996; Dorfman et. al., 1997; Romer, Jamieson & Aday, 2003) such that violence and crime are the most frequently covered stories (Center for Media and Public Affairs, 1997; Johnson, 1996; Lowry, Nio & Leitner, 2003; Maguire, Sandage & Weatherby, 1999; Dorfman et. al., 1997). The findings of this content analysis demonstrate that hip-hop journalism may follow a similar pattern since almost half of hip-hop news articles (45.9%, n=445) include violence. An analysis of traditional newspaper articles found that only 17.6% of news articles contained violence (Clark & Blankenburg, 1972). Though it is difficult to draw direct comparisons between Internet news articles and traditional newspapers articles, the prevalence of violence in hip-hop

news articles found in this study suggests that violence in hip-hop news may occur a higher rate than in traditional news.

This study also found that (73.4%, n=218) of interview articles contained violence. These results are similar to Oredein & Lewis (2013), the first known study on hip-hop journalism, which found 80% of feature articles (most of which were interview articles) contained violence.

There are no known studies assessing the prevalence of violence in FM radio with which to compare this study's findings. However, almost 70% (n=37) of radio interviews in this study contained violence. The average radio interview in this study was approximately 12 minutes (s.d.=913)[1] which allows ample time for violent subject matter to arise.

This study found more than half of articles and radio interviews contained violence. The prevalence of violence in hip-hop journalism has several potential implications for youth audiences. First, exposure to the high rates of violence occurring in hip-hop journalism could lead to priming (the introduction to and storage of a social construct and its associations, attributes, goals, and values) (Huessman, 1986; 1988; Jo & Berkowitz, 1994). Thus exposure to violent objects, ideas, or events in hip-hop journalism can lay the foundation for and set the stage to trigger violence in audience members the next time they are presented with similar stimuli (Berkowitz, 1984; Bushman & Green, 1990; Josephson, 1987). Studies suggest that exposure to aggressive concepts prime individuals

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[1] The length of a radio interviews generally ranges between five to sixty minutes (James, 2002)

by increasing the interest of violence, and influencing judgments and behaviors during later exposures (Langley, O'Neal, Craig & Yost, 1992; Roskos-Ewoldsen, Roskos-Ewoldsen & Carpentier, 2002). Thus the exposure to violent references in hip-hop journalism such as weapons, fighting, violent metaphors, and even the presence of violent photographs can prime audiences, making them more receptive to violence in the future (Huessman & Taylor, 2006; Walma van der Molen, 2004).

Second, the high prevalence of violence in hip-hop entertainment journalism might serve to normalize violence and lead to desensitization, which is the diminished emotional response and drop in concern or sympathy after repeated exposure to negative stimulus (Drabman & Thomas 1974; Thomas, 1982). Prolonged exposure to violent media has been shown to increase acceptance of violence as a reasonable, appropriate and effective problem-solving strategy (Anderson et al., 2003; Hogan, 2005; Strasburger et al., 2009). Higher frequencies of exposure to violence in youth have been associated with higher levels of desensitization (Funk et al., 2004) and lower levels of empathy for victims (Barnett et al., 1997; Sakamoto, 1994; Strasburger et al., 2009). Studies have found that often viewers initially experience negative responses to violence such as fear, increased heart rate, perspiration, discomfort and disgust however after repeated exposure, the averse reactions lessened significantly in some viewers to the extent that enjoyed the violence (Cantor, 1998; Linz et al., 1989; Wolpe, 1982). Fanti, Vanman, Henrich and Avraamides (2009) found that desensitization to media violence can actually occur over a short period of time, even after a single exposure.

The Potential Impact of Reality

This study found violence presented in real-life, artistic and hypothetical circumstances. The majority of news article references (50.5%, n=463), interview article references (39.4%, n=339) and radio references (47.6%, n=57) occurred in real life. Approximately one-third of news article references (30.8%, n=282), interview article references (33.7%, n=290), and nearly one-quarter (22.6%, n=26) of radio references pertained to artistic projects. While less than ten percent of both news article references (6.3%, n=58) and interview article references (9.4%, n=81) were posed as hypothetical or suggested violence, almost one-quarter of radio references (21.7%, n=25) were hypothetical.

The potential implication for the prevalence of real-life violence is also desensitization. Several studies have demonstrated exposure to fictional violence has led to desensitization, normalizing of violence, reduced empathy for victims and increased real-life aggression (Atkin 1983; Thomas & Tell, 1974). Walma van der Molen (2004) suggests that exposure to real-life news violence has similar effects with respect to desensitization. This may be particularly relevant to hip-hop journalism because as this study found, it offers exposure to both fictional and real-life violence.

In addition to desensitization, several studies suggest that violence is more likely to be learned and repeated when it is extensively graphic and realistic (Drabman & Thomas, 1974; Linz et al., 1984; Murray, 1997). There may also be some effects with respect to hypothetical or suggested violence (violent acts that were imagined, desired, or proposed). In line with Cultivation Analysis Theory's construct of resonance (Gerbner,

1969), and wishful and similarity identification theories, youth who more readily identify with hip-hop celebrities, may be more likely to act on violence when attractive celebrities suggest violent behavior.

The Potential Impact of Narrative Sequence

The majority of news article references (46.2%, n=423), interview article references (61.5%, n=395) and radio interview references (45.2%, n=52) were presented using the performer sequence. Narrative techniques have been associated with empathetic effects (Cerulo, 1998; Keen, 2006). Narratives using the performer sequence- especially in the first-person offer the audience additional insight and at times rationalization and justification for violence, which may lead the audience to empathize with the individual and perceive the violence as acceptable (Cerulo, 1998). In this study, the performer sequence (which is usually reserved for "normal violence") was commonly used with "deviant violence". Further research could determine audience effects regarding this narrative technique.

It is also possible that the performer sequence may result in arousal (excitement) and excitement transfer (the build up of excitement due to details from violent stories). Both of these processes can lead to aggression and violent behaviors. First person narratives more readily evoke feelings and responsiveness than third party narratives (Keen, 2006). First person accounts (though not coded) generally occurred in interviews, in both print and over the air, and offer the audience the opportunity to relive fights, feuds, anger, fear,

and the excitement of the violence along with the celebrities as they share first-hand details of the violence, which could lead to arousal and excitement transfer.

The Potential Impact of Tone

The majority of news article references (43.4%, n=398) were depicted in a negative tone, such that they included the legal or social consequences of violence, or there was general disapproval of violence. However, the majority of interview article references (38.7%, n=333) and radio references (40%, n=46) were depicted in a positive tone where the portrayals either highlighted the rewards, included humor (although humor was not specifically coded), or otherwise or condoned the violence. [Anti-violent statements occurred in only 3.1% (n=12) of news articles, 5.5% (n=12) of interview articles and 3.6% (n=2) of radio interviews]. Violent metaphors were commonly employed as a means to express concepts, again associating cleverness and/or humor with violence. There were also instances that had mixed portrayals where the consequences were mentioned but were downplayed or undermined.

Stories about hip-hop celebrities and violence that appear in hip-hop journalism often include an outcome of the violence (e.g. money, power, legal consequences, etc.). The positive or negative framing of the outcomes also affects the portrayal of violence. When rewards are emphasized, or punishments are undermined, it may lead audience to see violence as appropriate, reasonable, expected and normative.

The mention of violence in hip-hop journalism is indicative that the violence is considered to be newsworthy, or at least germane to the story being presented (Graber, 1980; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clark & Roberts, 1978; Roshier, 1981; Uscinki, 2009). Rojeck (2001) and Greer (2007) both argue that most things related to celebrities are newsworthy, especially crime. In the case of radio, DJs initiated more than half of the violent references. In instances where the DJ questions the guest about a violent occurrence, it suggests that the event is "newsworthy".

The media has been shown to influence audiences' perceptions of violence due to how the subject matter is framed (Entman, 1993). Via SCT, the audience is not only presented with the violent behavior, but they are also presented the related expectations, expectancies and reinforcements, which could heavily influence the attitudes and behaviors of impressionable adolescents. This is especially relevant because adolescents look to attractive celebrities to learn social behaviors (De Backer et al., 2007). If the violence is framed in a negative light, it may help to shape negative attitudes toward violence and reduce the odds of young people becoming involved in certain activities. On the other hand, if the violence is portrayed in a positive light it may serve as encouragement for young people to view aggressive and violent behaviors and attitudes as a desirable. In line with Cultivation Theory, Wishful Identification and Similarity Identification, and Social Cognitive Theory, adolescents who may be often drawn to attractive models in the media who have power, prestige and higher esteem.

Additional Contextual Issues

News and interview items were both found to contain large amounts of violence, though

there were some differences in the depictions and portrayals. The news items were more traditional with regards to their style of journalism. They were less opinionated than interview articles, and mainly reported facts regarding "who", "what", "where", "when" and where possible "why?" News articles were rather succinct having significantly fewer sentences than interview articles. Though news articles were generally neutral in tone, they often included consequences. Interviews articles on the other hand were more likely to present violence in a more positive light. They tended to be significantly longer than news articles and were conducted and written in a more sensationalistic tone. The nature of interviews allows for both the interviewer/author and the interviewee to color the stories with opinions, biases, condemnation, praise, and in some cases humor. In addition, the nature of interviews means they are presented in the first and second persons, and there again lies greater opportunity for arousal.

In terms of images, interview articles were more likely to have more pictures than news articles, and more pictures containing violence than news articles. Most news articles contained only one picture and often it was a stock photograph. Though the coding did not differentiate between the sources of the pictures, it should be noted that news articles especially used stock images of celebrities to accompany the stories regardless of the topic.

There may be additional contextual issues regarding type of medium itself (i.e., print versus radio) that may play a role in the way violence in hip-hop journalism is processed. Differences in media venues can have different impacts on the way violence is processed

with respect to priming (Fahmy & Wanta, 2005), arousal and activation. Literature shows that there are differences in the way information is processed across different venues which means a difference in priming effects (Meadowcroft & Olson, 1995), however there are contrasting findings on which medium has more of an impact. Fahmy and Wanta (2005) found that print is not as effective in priming as interactive media (i.e., video) while other studies have found that print is more impactful (Chaiken & Eagly, 1976; Meadowcroft & Olson, 1995; Singer, 1980; Wright, 1981). The latter studies suggest that print allows for more learning due to the way its messages are processed when compared with interactive media. Readers were more likely to report higher levels of visualization of content than television viewers (Meadowcroft & Olson, 1995). Fahmy and Wanta (2005) posit this is because reading is more of a engaging activity and subsequently the receiver has processes the information more thoroughly than television, which is less engaging (Fahmy & Wanta, 2005). Regardless, this intense processing perhaps creates an opportunity for arousal.

The nature of radio especially may also provide a greater opportunity for generating arousal and excitement transfer as the DJs and the celebrity interviewee have the opportunity to employ intonations and other audible utterances to pepper accounts with excitement, anger, humor, disappointment or disgust. Activation may also occur when listeners call in to popular radio show and speak with the DJ, or in some instances, the celebrity themselves. It is also possible for arousal and activation to occur on hip-hop journalism websites as users can weigh in, post comments, blog and debate with others in the community. This study found that the number of user comments was positively

associated with the number of violent references, which may mean a higher level of interest and arousal regarding these stories.

Limitations

This study included three hip-hop websites, and four hip-hop radio stations in its analysis. Despite their popularity, websites that largely relied on videos and pictures as their communications (e.g., Mediatakeout.com, Worldstarhiphop.com) were not included in the analysis due to inconsistent links. Websites were excluded for other criteria as well (i.e., insufficient articles for years included in the analysis) resulting in only three sites for sampling. However, the websites used in the study are the most popular hip-hop websites and yielded a high number of articles for analysis.

As it would be difficult to predict and capture celebrity interviews going forth, researchers analyzed podcasts already conducted and available on the stations' websites. Radio station websites that did not have their interviews archived were excluded from the study, as were websites that did not have interviews for the study's area of interest, or had fewer than four relevant interviews were also eliminated leaving only four stations available. Sampling additional hip-hop websites and other hip-hop radio stations would give a better representation of the prevalence and portrayal of violence in hip-hop entertainment journalism. However similar to websites, the stations used in the sample are among the most popular hip-hop stations.

Only certain features (i.e., news and interview articles for websites, and celebrity interviews for radio) were analyzed. Hip-hop websites have several other types of articles, columns, photographs, artwork, and advertisements that may contain violence but that were not coded for this study. Videos appearing in articles were not analyzed. Radio programming also has other segments that were not coded. This can also mean an underestimation of violence.

As for coding violence in pictures, coders were not sufficiently familiar with certain concepts such as gang symbols, signs and color schemes. Therefore, these items were not coded, which may have resulted in an underestimation of violence reported.

Reliability during double-coding was average which indicates the coding instruments can be improved. There were also a number of statistical tests conducted, which raises the concern regarding power, effect size and increases the possibility of type I error.

Lastly, this study does not measure violent attitudes and behaviors as a result of exposure. These are all areas that future studies should address.

The Public Health Perspective: Implications & Conclusions

Exposure to violence in hip-hop is associated with violent attitudes & behaviors among youth. (Cantor, 2000; Huesmann, 2007). This study is one of the first to analyze hip-hop journalism for violent content. The findings suggest that a significant portion of hip-hop journalism communications contain violence. Such violence is generally connected to celebrities who often serve as role models to their audience.

However several messages about violence are being communicated to impressionable audiences. As the violence being reported is considered "newsworthy", the mere coverage of the issue has the potential to influence violent attitudes and behaviors (Smith, Twum & Gielen, 2009). While some stories include relevant consequences, other stories appear to undermine the gravity and severity of violence, and in some instances seem to glorify and encourage violence. The noted absence or inadequate portrayal of consequences in many of the violent sequences presented could have dire consequences. The sparse presence of anti-violent sentiments does not counter the prevalence of violence.

In addition to further assessments of the rates of violence in hip hop journalism, future studies should further analyze the emotional, legal, monetary, and social consequences and rewards to gain more in depth understanding of the violence being portrayed. Presumably as viewers differ across various demographic and social lines, gender, race, age, past experience, cognition, level of arousal, and temperament, such elements can also impact the interpretation and manifestation of violent messages. Future research should also explore the audience's perceptions of the violence in hip-hop journalism, varying mechanisms for processing violence, and variables that moderate these processes in order to ultimately inform media literacy violence prevention interventions.

APPENDIX A: CODING INSTRUMENT

ID #
(Websites) The ID consists of the website initials (AH, DX or XX), the 4 digit year, 2 digit day, and first letter of the first 4, N for news articles or I for interview articles, followed by the number assigned to it in the collection's sequence. For example, the article published on AllHipHop.com on Dec 31st, 2010 titled *Lil B Signs to Amalgam Digital* will be given the ID "XX2010N73"

(Radio) Enter the ID number, station call letters (WQHT, WCGI, WWPR or KUBE), 4 digit year, followed by the first letter of the first 4 words of the archive's name. (If there is no fourth word, use the letter X to complete the code).

Date
(Websites) Enter the month the article was posted.

Comment
(Websites) Enter the number of comments the article received

Length
(Websites) Enter the length of the article in sentences. Include the title as sentence. The number of sentences can be determined manually or by copying and pasting entire text into Microsoft Word, or by using http://www.online-utility.org/english/readability_test_and_improve.jsp. Some articles contain lyrics. Lyrics are presented in "bars" and each bar will be counted as a separate sentence.
(Radio) Enter the length of the interview in minutes and seconds.

Title
(Websites) Enter the full title of the article.
(Radio) Enter the name or moniker of the interviewee(s) featured in the interview.

(Websites) Read through the article once before coding. It helps to underline or circle words, phrases or sentences with violence for when you return to code.
(Radio) Listen to the entire segment before coding.

Coding Grid
References (Website & Radio)

This variable measures the absolute occurrences of violence in the within the text narrative, including the title. All aggressive and violent actions will be coded: feuds, verbal aggression/threats; physical assault; murder/attempted murder; weapons ownership/use; hypothetical violence; robbery; or other violent activities (i.e., sexual assault, vandalism). Each unique violent event introduced will be coded as a new reference. Violent-related concepts will be also be coded: Violent Media Genre (general violence in music, TV, film or other artistic projects); Violent reputation (hardcore/thug image); Violent neighborhoods, gang membership/affiliations, and Violent metaphors. Each unique mention of a violent theme will be coded as a new reference.

For each category on the coding sheet, count and enter the number of unique references each category appears in the respective row. If the unit mentions the same reference more than once, it is still coded as one reference. For example, if the unit discusses someone hitting his girlfriend, and later the unit again mentions that same event, it is coded as one reference of assault. If the unit mentions more than one occasion where a specific type of act was committed, each time counts as a separate reference and is counted accordingly. For example, if a unit references someone hitting his girlfriend on two separate days, it will be coded as two references.

Coding is not mutually exclusive such that some instances may be coded into multiple violent categories.

> Ex: "Bounty Killer also faces previous charges of possession of a armed robbery". This would be coded as one (1) reference for weapons/firearms, and one reference for robbery.

If someone mentions being hit with five (5) bullets at once, it is one reference because the shooting happened at one point in time. If they were shot on five (5) separate occasions, it is five (5) separate references. If five people are shot at one point in time (e.g. in a riot), be conservative and code it as one shooting reference (though it might mean 5 murders).

> Ex: "Eight teenagers were shot after a performance by Atlanta rapper Waka Flocka Flames late Friday evening (March 5) in Gary, Indiana." (This would count as 1 shooting reference because 8 people were shot by one person in a single event)

If the behavior happens more than once, but it is unclear how many times, code it as 2 references.

> Ex: "We used to hit each other all the time" Code this as two (2) times.
> If it is unclear whether behavior happened more than once, be conservative code it as one reference.

Code each reference as it appears in the unit with a tally mark in the references column.

Note: Behaviors do not have to be substantiated in order to be coded. Posed, alleged or rumored mentions should be counted and coded.

Sentences (Websites)

This variable serves as a weight for how much attention and space is given to violence. Record the number of sentences that refer to each category in the appropriate violence category row. Include the title in this tally if it is applicable. Sentences may be consecutive, or dispersed throughout the article. This may include sentences using pronouns directly referring to each violent category.

> Ex: "He was shot that night. He didn't let *it* faze him." This would be coded as 2 sentences.

This does not include sentences that only indirectly refer to incidents via the rewards or benefits of an action.

Ex: "Lil Wayne officially began a one-year prison sentence at Riker's Island for gun possession charge. On the day the New Orleans rapper was finally sentenced, Toya and Reginae spoke to him but weren't at the courthouse to say goodbye."
This would be coded as one (1) sentence because the second sentence is not directly referencing gun possession, but rather is speaking about the consequences.

Some sentences will be counted for more than one category.
Ex: "Bounty Killer also faces previous charges of possession of a armed robbery"
This would be coded as one (1) sentence for weapons/firearms, and one for assault.

In the total row, count the total number of sentences, including the title if applicable, that contain at least one violent category. This may not equal the sum of the coded references as some sentences may contain more than one violent category.
Ex: "Devontius Hutcherson, 17, was arrested and charged with multiple felonies for his role in the shooting last Friday. He was also hit with murder and attempted murder charges for a separate shooting on January 19th in Miller, Indiana. In that incident, Hutcherson allegedly shot and killed a 22-year-old and wounded the man's cousin, after the two men refused to give Hutcherson $5 dollars to attend a rap concert."
This would be 3 references for weapons, and 2 references for murder. However, the total references to be recorded in the row total would be only be 3 because there are a total of 3 sentences total containing violence.

It is possible for lyrics to contain violence. Lyrics are presented in "bars" and each bar will be counted as a separate sentence.

Code each violent reference for:
Reality Status (Website & Radio)
This variable codes whether the depicted violence is from real-life events, based on an artistic projects (i.e., lyrics, music video, film), if it's both (i.e., lyrics based on real-life events), if it's hypothetical, or if it's unknown. For each reference on the coding sheet, enter the appropriate code ("R", "A", "B", "H") in the reference Status column.
Code as "Real" (R) if the reference appears to have happened in real life.
Ex: Just a few months ago, Free was released from Tehachapi State Prison after serving nine months for possession of a SKS assault rifle and kidnapping…"
"I illegally possessed machine guns"
Code as "Art" (A) if the reference refers only to art projects (i.e., music/lyrics, song/album titles, music videos, film, etc.)
Ex: "I'ma rip up tissue, homie I won't miss you/This'll be the day that ya dying/Nigga I'm violent/Ya hearing the sirens, once that ass silence/For fucking with me, nigga I'm violent" (Obie Trice)
Note: All references for "Violence Media Genre" will be coded as Art

Code as "Hypothetical" (H) if the reference refers to hypothetical violence. Hypothetical violence includes expressed thoughts, wishes, fantasies, or intents or performing a violent act.

> Ex: "If a white bitch grabs her purse when I walk by, I'm snatchin it" (hypothetical robbery)
> Every black male should be strapped" is a hypothetical weapon possession.
> Note: All metaphors will be coded as Hypothetical

It is possible for a reference to be in real life AND art, or hypothetical AND art. In which case write "Real" and "Art", or "Art" and "Hypothetical respectively)

> "Real" and "Art" Ex: "Fans may remember Ghost chronicling such drama on the "Can It Be All So Simple (Remix)" off Raekwon's classic *Only Built 4 Cuban Linx*: "*Catch a flashback on how I got trapped/And got licked like Papsy in a mob flick, I got hit/Stumblin' holdin' my neck to the god's rest/Opened flesh, burgundy blood colored my Guess/Emergency trauma, Black teen headed for surgery/Can it be and out-of-state nigga tried to murder me?*" "[That verse] is all true," Ghost says."

Code each reference as it appears in the article. The order of these tally marks should correspond to the tally marks in the references column.

Code each violent reference for:

Narrative Sequence (Website & Radio)

This variable codes whether the directionality of the violence is being told from the performer's perspective or the victim's perspective.

Code reference as "Performer" (P) if the reference is mostly told from the performer's perspective.

> Ex: Young Buck scored a major legal victory on Monday, when a charge of assault with a deadly weapon in connection with the melee at last year's Vibe Awards was dropped in exchange for a guilty plea of a lesser charge..

Code reference as Victim" (V) if the reference is told mostly from the victim's perspective.

> Ex: "The alleged victim of G-Unit rapper Lloyd Banks is speaking out about what he says went down recently….After the first punch, it was like, `Okay, he's upset, disrespecting me a little bit, but cool, I'm not going to be stupid.' I sat on my hands to show them like `Hey, I'm not trying to do anything crazy"

Code reference as "Both" (B) if the reference is told from both standpoints.

> Ex: Foxy claims they were demanding payment for the manicure and the pedicure, and when she would not pay for both, prosecutors claim she kicked and hit one of the managers, causing "bruising and swelling to the face, as well as substantial pain."

Code reference as "Neither" (N) if the reference is not told from either standpoint.

> Ex: During the event, a fight broke out.

Code each reference as it appears in the article. The order of these tally marks should correspond to the tally marks in the references column.

Tone (Website & Radio)

For each reference, the tone will be recorded in the tone column in the appropriate row for each category. A reference is positive (encouraging violence), negative (discouraging violence), neutral (neither encouraging nor discouraging) or mixed (both encouraging and discouraging).

Code a reference as "Positive" (+) if it is connected with physical or verbal rewards (i.e., praise, humor, satisfaction, power, money, women, etc.).

> Ex: "I would be loving shootin mothafuckas man." (Williams, 1995b, p. 64)
> Ex: "He ain't no *real* thug." would be coded as positive because the speaker is finds being a thug rewarding.

Code an reference as "Negative" (-) if it is connected with physical or verbal punishments (e.g. disapproval, regret for violent behavior, fatalities, injury, legal actions, damage, etc.).

> Ex: Unfortunately that small piece of success was cut short when Capone was incarcerated for a weapons possession charge. (Morales, 1999, p. 176)
> Ex: "The East Cost/West Coast stuff is all wack, man" (Brodeur, 1995, p. 48)

Code a reference as "Neutral" (o) if no rewards or punishments are mentioned.

> Ex: He admits he's carried a gun since 1987 but it wasn't the core of his music or his style. (Pendleton, 1993, p. 62)

Code an reference as "Mixed" (+-) if both rewards and punishments presented.

> Ex: Consequently, the image of the doting dad versus the gun-toting gangsta are no longer incompatible. (Greaves, 1995, p.51)
> Ex: The intoxicating tale of a carjack gone awry…. (Williams, 1997, p. 76)
> Ex: C-Murder groaned then laughed when he told me about a flimsy weapons case that he beat after getting pulled over by Louisiana state police a few months ago. (Williams, 1999b, p. 187)

There may be "reverse coding. For example: "He ain't no *real* thug." would be coded as positive because the speaker is finds being a thug rewarding.

Code each reference as it appears in the article. The order of these tally marks should correspond to the tally marks in the references column.

Categories of Violence **(Website & Radio)**

(Website & Radio) Enter the amount of references to each category in the reference column. Also record the reality status, narrative sequence and tone for each reference. Leave columns blank if there are none.

(Websites) the amount of sentences discussing each category in the sentence column.

Narrative Categories of Violence (Website & Radio)

Feud/Verbal Aggression

This refers to longstanding feuds/conflicts between two or more parties. Terms may include "conflict", "beef", "rivalry", "enemies", "war", "feud", etc. (or variations of these). Also record the amount of verbal threats (and verbal aggression toward others).

Record conflict even if it does not appear to be serious, violent or threatening. If the interview refers to "dis records" or "insult records" it should be coded as "feud". If the article details a falling out, or a parting of ways, it should not be coded as a feud unless the subject was introduced as a potential feud during interview. If there is a feud, write in the feud's participants in the space allotted. Also record instances of verbal threats or verbal aggression toward someone.

Fighting/Assault
This refers to fights or assault. Fighting/assault includes any act of aggressive physical using the body (ie kicking, punching, slapping).

Gang
This refers to gang mentions, gang members, and gang affiliations.

Murder
This refers to murders, or attempted murders mentioned in the article. Murder/Attempted murder may often be coded with a weapon, though this will not always be the case as some murders occur without weapons.

Robbery
This refers to robberies or attempted robberies committed.

Violent Communities
This refers to living in, growing up in, or otherwise associated with rough or violent neighborhoods. On occasion, "the hood", "the ghetto" and "the streets" may be used a proxies to describe violent neighborhoods. Simple mentions of drugs and poverty are not to be counted as violent neighborhoods.
     Ex: "Raised on the rugged streets…" (Baker, 2004, p. 91)

Violent Media Projects
This refers to the general concept of violence in music lyrics, videos, movies or other artistic projects. This may include phrases such as "reality rap", "gangsta rap", "reality rap", "murder music", "hardcore rhymes", "violent lyrics or videos", "gangsta movie".

Violent Metaphors
This refers to metaphors that use violent imagery.
     Ex: "…and his eyelids drop like two guillotines falling in slow motion…" (Alvarez, 1999, p. 169)

Violent Reputation
This refers to the concept of being hardcore, thug, gangsta, or violent. Applicable terms may include "gangster/gangsta", "thug", "thugsta", "real nigga", "live nigga", "violent nigga", or variation of these terms. This may also include statements such as "He ain't no real thug".

Weapons
This refers to weapons mentioned in the interview with respect to owning them, or using them. This category includes traditional weapons such as knives, swords, guns/firearms, and other nonconventional items that are intended to be used as weapons in particular circumstances such as broken bottles, bats, etc. Weapon use includes brandishing weapon, physically threatening with weapon, or causing damage or injury with weapon.
Note: Several references with weapons may also be coded murder/attempted murder. However, this will not always be the case as some intentional weapons use are not intended to be fatal. Therefore, if there is a shooting/stabbing or other weapons use, murder/attempted murder will be only be coded if a) there is a fatality resulting, or b) there is a clear intent and attempt to take someone's life with the weapon.

Other/Misc Violence
This refers to other violent activities mentioned (i.e., sexual assault, war, vandalism, kidnapping, suicides, unspecified violence (i..e. "his violent history") or other violence not fitting into other categories (i.e., shaking a fist at someone, menacing someone with an attack dog), cockfighting/dog fighting, etc.). Record the act in the space allotted.

Anti-Violence
This refers to anti-violent statements. This includes explicit statements appealing to its audience about not leading a violent life, discussions of accomplishments, plans or desires to leave a violent lifestyle, or helping others leave a violent lifestyle.

Initiated by DJ
(Radio)

==============================

Note: Code all that apply. One scenario is not mutually exclusive. For example, if an artist refers to being accused of beating up and raping one woman, it will be coded as fighting/assault, AND sexual assault.
Note: Do not code Proper Nouns i.e., stage monikers, group names, label companies, etc. However names of songs and albums are to be coded.
Note: Code slang terms where appropriate (e.g. I was strapped should be coded as possessing a gun). Interviews may make references to violence using slang terminology. If there is something that does not seem to make sense in standard English, check slang dictionaries. Refer to: www.urbandictionary.com, http://www.hiphopintel.com
Note: Do not code supplemental video or audio links on websites

Violent Excerpt
(Websites) Enter the number of quote containing violence printed in noticeably larger, and placed prominently in the layout of the article.

Photograph Categories of Violence (Websites)

Pictures w/ Story
This refers to the total number of photographs accompanying the article. Enter the number of photographs in the "# Photographs" column.

Aggressive Body Language
This refers to physically aggressive and threatening posturing. It includes menacing **facial expressions/scowls**; **hand gestures** (i.e., middle finger, using an imaginary gun (using thumb and index finger to imitate use of a hand gun, or holding hand as though aiming a firearm with a finger on the trigger)); or **fighting stance** or posturing (e.g. fists in the air pretending to strike, kicking or stomping, strangling, etc). Enter the total number of pictures that contain Aggressive Body Language in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Aggressive Body Language appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column.

> **Scowls**
> Enter the total number of pictures that contain Scowls in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Scowls appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column.

> **Hand Gestures**
> Enter the total number of pictures that contain Hand Gestures in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Hand Gestures appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column.

> **Fight Stances**
> Enter the total number of pictures that contain Fight Stances in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Fight Stances appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column.

Violent Accessories
This refers to violent symbols appearing in/on **clothing**, **tattoos** or **jewelry**. Violent symbols may include images of weapons (e.g. machine gun, or razor blades), violent words ("Thug", "Gangster", expletives), and gang names, symbols or colors (e.g. "Crip", Latin Kings Crown, black and gold beads, excessive blue or red, etc). Enter the total number of pictures that contain Violent Accessories in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Violent Accessories appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column.

> **Violent Clothing**
> Enter the total number of pictures that contain Violent Clothing in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Violent Clothing appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column.

80

Violent Tattoos
Enter the total number of pictures that contain Violent Tattoos in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Violent Tattoos appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column.

Violent Jewelry
Enter the total number of pictures that contain Violent Jewelry in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Violent Jewelry appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column.

Weapons
This category includes traditional Weapons such as knives, swords, guns/firearms, and other nonconventional items that are intended to be used as weapons in particular circumstances such as broken bottles, bats, etc, held in a menacing way. Enter the total number of pictures that contain weapons in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Weapons appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column.

Other Types of Violence
This refers to violence that does not fall into the above categories (e.g. blood spattered across the wall, bullet-riddled items, and injuries from a fight or assault). Enter the total number of pictures that contain Other Types of Violence in the "# Photographs" column. Enter the number of Other Types of Violence appearing across all photographs in the "# References" column. Describe violence in the space allotted.

Total
In the picture column, count the total amount of pictures that contain any violence. In the reference column, tally the total number of unique violent graphics appearing across all pictures. This can be calculated adding the "Weapons", "Accessories" and "Body Language" rows.

Website Coding Sheet

ID#:_____ Date: ____ #Comments:_____ Length (Sentences): _____

Title: _____ Excerpt (Y/N) _____

Narrative Violent Category	Total References	Total Sentences	Reality Status Real, Art, Hypothetical	Narrative Performer Victim, Both Neither	Tone +, -, o,+/-
Feud/Verbal Aggression					
Fighting/ Assault					
Gang Activity					
Murder					
Robbery					
Violent Community					
Violent Media Genre					
Violent Metaphor					
Violent Reputation					
Weapon					
Other /Misc _____					
Anti-violence					
Total		Sentences w/ References			
		Absolute Sentences:			

Website Coding Sheet (Continued)

Photograph Violent Category	# Pics	# References
Pictures w/Story		N/A
Aggressive Body Language		
Scowls		
Hand Gestures		
Fight Stances		
Violent Accessories		
Clothing		
Tattoos		
Jewelry		
Weapons		
Guns		
Other_____ _____		
Total Violence		

Notes:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Radio Coding Sheet

ID#_____

Date: Length (Mins & Secs): _____ Featured Interviewee _____

Narrative Violent Category	Total References	Initiated by DJ	Reality Status Real, Art, Hypothetical	Narrative Performer Victim, Both, Neither	Tone + - o +/-
Feud/Verbal Aggression _____					
Fighting/ Assault					
Gang Activity					
Murder					
Robbery					
Violent Community				▓	
Violent Media Genre			▓	▓	
Violent Metaphor			▓		
Violent Reputation					
Weapon					
Other /Misc _____					
Anti-violence					
Total			▓	▓	▓

APPENDIX B: ILLUSTRATIVE QUOTES

Examples of quotes by reality status, narrative, tone and violent category taken from website articles. Relevant text is in bold.

Concept	Illustrative Quotes (Particularly relevant portions are bolded)

Reality Status

Real
- Lil Wayne being held on Rikers Island, where he is almost finished a year-long sentence for attempted criminal **possession of a weapon**. (AH2010N85 Roman Wolfe Lil Wayne 'Bulks Up' In Prison, Learns Valuable Lessons)

- Max B was sentenced to 75 years in prison today (September 3) for **orchestrating a 2006 robbery** that **left a man slain** in a Fort Lee, New Jersey hotel, according to northjersey.com (XX2009N85 NEWS: Max B Sentenced to 75 Years)

Art
- I got a song for the ladies on there with Trey Songz called **"Thug It to The Bone."** (XXL2009I85 Lil Scrappy is Disturbing Tha Peace)

- When [the song] starts off, I go, 'Premo's on this beat, yeah I know it sounds different / But his mans just passed, his soul's just risen / A cold, cold world is the words that was given / As I met him, 15, **with a burner**, out of prison / **Gangster**, fuck that, Gang Starr / Tell Nas Hip Hop's dead now, my man's gone.'" (DX2010N85 Jake Paine Fat Joe Talks Guru-Inspired Verse Produced By DJ Premier, Recalls "Represent" Debut)

Hypothetical
- I **wanna choke** the shit out of him (DX2010N221-222)

- Put it this way, **if your homie got killed**, would you be cool with the people responsible for the killing? (? DX2009N 85 Andres Vasquez *Ahmad and Roccett)*

Narrative

Performer
- Moore, no relation to "Beelow," is also leading the investigation into Lil **Boosie, who is accused of first degree murder** in a separate case**. (**DX2010N85 Allen Jacobs Trill Entertainment Executives Reinstated For Attempted Murder Charges**)**

- Representatives for Petey Pablo have attempted to explain an incident on September 11th, in which **the North Carolina-based rapper attempted to smuggle a stolen pistol** on board a flight to Los Angeles. (AH2010N85 Ace Cannon Jay & Eminem, Petey

Explains Gun, Fat Beats LA Lineup**)**

Victim

- **A man who was savagely beaten** at Jay-Z's 40/40 night club has filed a law suit against the popular establishment (AH2009N86 Ace Cannon Dec 11, 2009 AHH Stray News: Jay-Z, Firm Fiasco, DJ Beverly Bond).

- **I just got jumped** by 75 bloods- thanks a lot Game. (DX2010N304-305)

Both

- According to sources, **Below was shot in the face** at point blank range. **Two managers** of the imprint, which was founded by the late rapper Pimp C., **are accused of shooting Below** in front of his record store Shop Smart Music and Fashion on July 4th. (AH2010N86 Nolan Strong Attempted Murder Charges Reinstated Against Trill Ent. Execs)

- The off and on beef between **Joe Budden** and the **Wu-Tang Clan** is apparently on again, after members of **Raekwon**'s entourage allegedly assaulted **Budden** backstage…"For the people just joining me, I just wanna let everybody know that I'm alright," **Budden** said, while holding an ice pack to his face. (DX2009N86 Rashad Phillips Joe Budden Assaulted By Raekwon Affiliates)

Neither

- **Several brawls broke** out after the initial confrontation and the fights continued to the Ray Charles Plaza and then on to Oglethorpe and Front Street, a major intersection. (AH2010N86 Roman Wolfe Teens Riot At Travis Porter Show In Albany, GA)

- And, true to form, the Joe vs. Method Man situation produced a few forgettable diss tracks from Inspectah Deck and other Wu-Tang non-notables but was played out largely via a slew of radio interviews, countless straight-to-Web videos and, most tellingly, **a physical altercation between Joe and Raekwon's camp** during a San Bernardino, California stop on Guerilla Union's Rock the Bells tour, which is, ironically, a forum created to support and celebrate the types of rappers who are apt to place skills at the top of their value system. (XXL2009I86*Wordplay)*

Tone
Positive

- Re: What Makes Snoop a Boss: The rapper **has been accused of murder** in the past, **but that is not why he's a boss**. (AH2009I139-145 Houston Williams Rap Bosses: Who Is The Biggest Boss Thus Far?)

- Nothing could get them a release date. Not a co-sign from the greatest producer in hip-hop history. Not the exposure provided by a recurring role on HBO's Entourage. Not 21 (and counting)

mixtapes. **Not the street cred that comes with punching famous rappers in the face.** And **not the newspaper headlines that pop up after getting shot in the head.** (XXL2009I66 *How Ya Like Them Apples?)*

Negative

- Compton rapper Game is publicly **distancing himself from the "gangsta rapper" image he's acquired** throughout his Rap career. After facing charges for allegedly assaulting basketball coach Shannon Rodrick in 2007, **Game's lawyers have asked that references to the rapper being a "gangsta rapper" be excluded** from the courtroom. Game's attorneys claim that **the negative term, as well as references to the rapper's violent lyrics could potentially bias the jury into giving a guilty verdict** (DX2010N338)

- Da Brat, born Shawntae Harris, **was sentenced to three years in prison in 2008 for her role in the assault** (AH2009N87 Nolan Strong Dec 17, 2009 Jermaine Dupri Denies Abandoning Da Brat In Prison)

Neutral

- **The beef between the two emcees started** in 2007 when Budden said a line in a BET freestyle poking fun at Saigon's fight with Mobb Deep rapper Prodigy. (XX2009N96 Saigon Responds to Joe Budden's "Letter:" "Whenever I See JB, I'm Beating Him Up"

- **From the hardcore, hood muthfuckas,** to the Pop muthafuckas, to grandmothers. There's a record on there for every Lil Jon fan. (DX2010I87 Lil Jon: Say Yeah by Haaron Hines)

Mixed

- "*Thts crazy lil Wayne **gets a year for a hand pistol** and TI **gets the same tome for having army issued rifles wit silencers U tell me wtf**.*" (DX2009N87 Slava Kuperstein Rappers React To Lil Wayne's Prison Sentence)

- On top of the music, Waka has also made headlines **after being gunned down in a botched robbery attempt** in January and then getting into a fight with Jeezy's camp in Walter's Clothing store. **You can't buy publicity and buzz like that**. (XXL2010I87 GA's Most Wanted – Rd. 1, Rappers Take Aim at the Crown Who's primed to take the MC crown in GA…?)

Violent Category

Community

- The event will aim funds for local community outreach organizations in attempt to **curtail the violence that currently plagues Philadelphia's streets**. (AH2009N87 Ace Cannon Flo

Rida, Nate Mathers Plea, Charlie Mack, Kid Rock)

- Master P. and Mark Wahlberg have teamed with Reachback LA and OneMillionGifts.org to serve meals **in an area of Los Angeles known for crime and gang violence.** (AH2009N88 Nolan Strong Master P., Mark Wahlberg Team To Feed Homeless)

Feud

- According to sources, Foxy Brown is **preparing to reignite her beef with Lil Kim** with a new single set to debut Christmas Eve. AH2010N88 Ace Cannon **AHH Stray News: More G-Dep, Banner Does Good, Foxy Vs. Lil Kim** (AH2010N88 Ace Cannon AHH Stray News: More G-Dep, Banner Does Good, Foxy Vs. Lil Kim)

- Just weeks after proclaiming that **he was done feuding with other rap stars**, **50 Cent has lashed out at longtime rival Fat Joe** on a viral video released to the Internet on Tuesday (August 3rd). **(**Nicki's AH2010N88 Ace Cannon Album, Vanilla Ice's New Show, 50 Mocks Fat Joe)

- According to Jeezy, he is finding inspiration in rappers Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G., **both of whom died in a violent feud.** (AH2010N88 Mike Winslow Jeezy Inspired by B.I.G.; Pac On Thug Motivation 103)

Fighting

- What is true that **he punched you in your eye** or something? (XXL2009I88 Cam'ron, *Here I Am 2.0*)

- The rapper lost his cool in the prison and **threw a tray of food at a prison guard, resulting in an added assault charge** against the officer (AH2010N88 Nolan Strong DMX Sentenced To One Year In Prison)

Gang

- One man was eventually charged with **engaging in organized crime** and other charges and jailed (AH2010N88 Roman Wolfe Trae Taps Lupe, Wacka Flocka, DJ Khaled For 2010 "Trae Day")

- In the five one-hour episodes, the lives of Mayor Booker and Police Director Garry McCarthy **intertwine with a Bloods gang member** -turned youth counselor named Jayda and her boyfriend Creep, **who happens to be a Crip.** (AH2009N88 Roman Wolfe Newark, NJ Focus Of 'Brick City' Documentary)

Media Genre

- The debate specifically stems from the approval of Cantor's contract on Sylvester Stallone's upcoming action film *The Expendables* and MDEX's contract **on the bank robbery film** *Takers*, starring T.I. and Hayden Christensen. (DX2010N88 Sean Ryon Hollywood

Clashes with C.F.T.C. Over Box Office Revenue)

- "When I started to put together this record I had a lot of malice in my heart—just focusing on making **hardcore gangsta music**," Snoop said of the album. (AH2009N89 Roman Wolfe Tracklisting For Snoop's Malice N Wonderland Hits The Net)

Metaphor
- JAY-Z is so **lyrically inclined to cut your throat** (DX2009N20 Andres Vasquez Game To 50: "Jay-Z Will Fuck You Up")

- Do you think it makes for better rhymes if you're **writing to battle someone**, rather than writing a song? (DX2010I89 Big Daddy Kane: Rap Like No Equal)

Murder
- Lil Boosie is **accused of first degree murder** in a separate case- (DX2010N9)

- "This the s--t the other b***h **almost got killed for** (AH2010N89 Ace Cannon AHH Stray News: More G-Dep, Banner Does Good, Foxy Vs. Lil Kim)

Reputation
- I've always been blessed...**my street credibility**" "everybody wants to be a **gangster tough guy** but fat joe really is" "**i'm that guy smaking the shit of you**" (RAPS ROUGHNECK ERA OF HARDBEATS AND RHYMES- DX2010N226-227)

- These **real corner niggas, red and blue niggas, street G's** recognize. (XXL2009I89: Rick Ross & DJ Infamous, *Trill Talk*:" I'm Definitely The Biggest Artist In The Game")

Robbery
- The track was recorded prior to a January incident, in which the 23-year-old was shot **and robbed of his chain** at an Atlanta, Georgia car wash. (AH2010N89 Roman Wolfe Waka Flocka Flames To Release 20 Albums By 2011)

- Based on Conway's testimony, the prosecution alleges that **Max B began to plot the robbery,** and recruited his step-brother Kelvin Leerdam to carry out the crime. (AH2009N89 Ismael AbduSalaam Max B's Ex-Girlfriend Testifies at Murder Trial)

Weapon
- According to court documents, the rapper, who served eight years for **pointing an AK-47 at a neighbor**, **struck his mother with a gun** and caused a one-inch gash. (AH2010N89 Ace Cannon: Flesh Pleads Not Guilty, Pioneers Tour, Meth/Red Headline Soundset)

- According to TMZ.com, Antonio "Bama" Henry was one of the

three men **stabbed** in the melee (AH2009N90 Tai Saint Louis La the Darkman Denies Stabbing Reports; Jeezy Entourage Member Victim)

Other/Misc	• According to TMZ.com, the rapper went into a rage and **smashed** a 24-year-old **woman's cell phone**, in addition to **ripping her door off the hinges** (AH2010N90 Roman Wolfe Kid Cudi Arrested For Drugs; Ripping Woman's Door Off Hinges)
	• Controversial sportsman Michael Vick has vowed to help end dog fighting after serving prison time for **killing, maiming and forcing animals to battle** each other (AH2009N90 Houston Williams Michael Vick Hopes To End Dog Fighting)
Violent Title	• Off The Chain Hip Hop 25 Best **Stickup Songs**-(XX2009I41-43)
	• Men Who **Robbed Bizzy Bone** Sentenced To Lengthy Prison Terms **(**AH2009N90 Grouchy Greg Watkins)
Anti violence	• **You don't have** to sell drug and **kill people to make good music and to have good results.** (XXL2009I4 Buckshot & KRS-One, *Acknowledge)*
	• T Pain's Nappy Boy Digital, artist Tay Dizm and Bossman Entertainment have teamed with a local community organization to provide children with needed back to school supplies during **the 2nd Annual Increase The Peace free community event** (AH2009N90 Roman WOlfe Rappers T Pain, Tay Dizm Give Back To Community Tomorrow)

Examples of quotes by reality status, narrative and tone taken from Radio Interviews

Concept	Example (Particularly relevant portions are bolded)
Initiated by DJ	• DJ: Alright, where can we start? Alright I'm gonna give my version…You was throwing a couple of warning shots at a couple of rappers; 50 Cent Interview; WQHT
Reality Status	
Real	• "**Some guy got his head bust severely**" Rick Ross Interview; WQHT
Art	• "[Meth] was the **highlight of those songs** in the beginning and then when he did "**I got more glocks and teks than you** I make it hot, nigga's won't even stand next to you Nigga touch me, you better bust me three times in the head or leave a [nigga] dead- You thought so" 50 Cent Interview; WQHT
Hypothetical	• "**They gonna find that little boy somewhere with his head cut- with his throat slit and his head cut off while he's runnin'** around tryna dish dirt on someone else" Sidney Star Interview; WGCI
Narrative	
Performer	• "**Did you have on a generic universal ice grill** for whatever rapper was looking at you?" 50 Cent Interview; WGHT
Victim	• "**I was at the park, the boys came to the woods…When we got the woods, the boy threw some alcohol on me and I caught on fire**…" Joshua Judkins Interview; WCGI
Both	• DJ: "I feel like Ross took the bait" 50: "No that came out of nowhere. I didn't even know…" DJ: "**So he felt that's why he had to go at you on a song…So then you felt that you had to go**"- 50 Cent Interview; WGHT
Neither	• DJ Re (the making of the movie Scream): "There would have been a little more blood" Quentin Tarrantino Interview; WWPR
Tone	
Positive	• DJ: Oh, **somebody's gonna get punched in the face**- it's gonna be crazy" (**with laughter and excitement**) 50 Cent

Interview; WQHT

Negative	• "**I'm getting at the evil**…in the world- I'm getting' at **the people that shot Sean Bell**"- Mos Def Interview; WQHT
Neutral	• DJ (Re: Chris Brown and Rhianna): "How do you feel about that situation?"
	• Ester Dean: "**I don't feel any kind of way**."
Mixed	• "Holly, **I'm not one to condone violence but I think you need to punch that new main chick in the face** because she's kinda dogging you out on that show"- Holly Madison Interview; KUBE
	• (Regarding an assault) Rick Ross: It was unfortunate. I think the guy needed 400 stiches. DJ: So it was unfortunate? Rick Ross: **Of course [said with laughter and sarcasm**]" Rick Ross Interview; WQHT

Violent Category

Community	• "We touched on the **gun violence that has been going on in Chicago**" 50 Cent Interview; WGHT
Feud	• "There was **a few jabs thrown at the camp**?" Rick Ross Interview; WQHT
Fighting	• "You're my f-ing whore. **Hold you down while I choke you**" Chelsea Handler Interview; KUBE
Gang	• There was rumors that there were **gangs being used**. The local community- Wesley Snipes Interview WWPR
Metaphor	• "Is that a nice **dodge of a bullet** right there?" Maxwell Interview; WGCI
Murder	• "Look out for '**I Wanna Kill People** Volume 1" Fat Joe Interview; WWPR
Reputation	• "You are also here with my man Frank **Lucas who was the subject of the movie American Gangsta**"- Freeway Ricky Ross Interview; WGCI
Weapon	• Mike Epps: "You was off the chain back in the day. **I was**

I like 'Man…that girl got a gun'"

- DJ:"**I didn't have a gun, I swear**" Mike Epps Interview; WQHT

Other

- "Brad pit plays an army guy who leads a group of Jewish-American soldiers during WW2 intp occupied territory" Quentin Tarrantino Interview; WWPR

Anti-Violence

- Dwayne Wade (re Wade's World Foundation giving back): "We kicked off our benefit dinner to **raise money but also to raise awareness… We're gonna host a Youth Summit down in U of I**" Wade Interview; WGCI

APPENDIX C: ILLUSTRATIVE PHOTOGRAPHS

Figure 1: Photograph containing violent body language

Photo of rappers Kurupt and Daz making gun gestures with their hands

Figure 2. Photograph containing violent body language and violent accessories

Photo of rapper Lil' Wayne donning tattoos under his eyes generally indicative of having committed murder, and making a gun gesture with his hand

Figure 3: Photograph containing aggressive body language and weapons

Photo of rapper Ice Cube donning brass knuckles, scowling, and making a fist

Figure 4: Photograph containing weapons

Photo of rapper Apache holding a firearm

Figure 5: Photograph containing weapons and other violence

Photo of Meth vs. Chef album cover art containing a bloody cleaver

Figure 6: Photograph containing "other violence

Photo of the Geto Boys' rap album cover featuring the actual picture of Bushwick Bill in the hospital after his girlfriend shot him in the eye.

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Research Assistant	UMDNJ: Tobacco Dependence Program	2006-2008
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PUBLICATIONS & PRESENTATIONS

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Oredein T, Lewis MJ. (2013) Violence in Hip-Hop Journalism: A Content Analysis of the Source, a Leading Hip-Hop Magazine. J Community Med Health Educ 3: 223. doi:10.4172/2161-0711.1000223

Oredein T, Foulds J. (2011). Causes of the Decline in Cigarette Smoking Among African American Youths From the 1970s to the 1990s. Am J Public Health. 101:e4-e14. doi: 10.2105/AJPH.2011.300289

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Oredein TT, Delnevo CD   (2007) *Relationship between multiple sexual partners and depression in adolescent females?* Presented at the 135th Annual Meeting of the American Public Health Association. Wash, DC. November, 2007.

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2009-	*Say Ah! Inc.*; Board Member
2007-	*Teen Sense Initiative:* Advisory Board
2008-	*St. Albans Civic Association for Improvement, Inc.*; Board Member, Youth Coordinator
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