University of the Witwatersrand

# Hip Hop & 'Sophiatown Jazz':

Sites of investigation for intergenerational relations approaches for applied drama practitioners in post-apartheid South Africa.

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# MA Research Report

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# Dedication

This paper is dedicated to all youth and adults who are tirelessly trying to give voice to the reality many would rather shy away from. Mostly importantly, I dedicate this paper to **hip hop…**

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# Appendix A: Terminology used

1. **Process Drama**: Process drama is a dynamic teaching methodology in which the teacher and the students work together to create an imaginary dramatic world and work within that world to explore a particular problem, situation, theme, or series of related themes, not for a separate audience, but for the benefit of the participants themselves (Cecily O'Neil. 1995).

2. **Forum Theatre:** In Forum Theatre, the actors begin with a dramatic situation from everyday life and try to find solutions—parents trying to help a child on drugs, a neighbour who is being evicted from his home, and individual confronting racial or gender discrimination, or simply a student in a new community who is shy and has difficulty making friends. Audience members are urged to intervene by stopping the action, coming on stage to replace actors, and enacting their own ideas. Bridging the separation between actor (the one who acts) and spectator (the one who observes but is not permitted to intervene in the theatrical situation), the Theatre of the Oppressed is practiced by "spect-actors" who have the opportunity to both act and observe, and who engage in self-empowering processes of dialogue that help foster critical thinking. The theatrical act is thus experienced as conscious intervention, as a rehearsal for social action rooted in a collective analysis of shared problems (Augusto Boal. 1994).

3. **Newspaper Theatre:** Newspaper Theatre is a system of 12 techniques which represent the first attempt that was made to create the Theatre of the Oppressed, by giving the audience the means of production rather than the finished artistic product. They are devised to help anyone to make a theatrical scene using a piece of news from a newspaper, or from any other written material, like reports of an political meeting, texts from the Bible, from the Constitution of a country, the Declaration of Human Rights, etc (Augusto Boal, 2004).

4. **Image Theatre:** Image theatre is a technique coined by Augusto Boal. In Image Theatre, still images are used to explore abstract concepts such as relationships and emotions, as well as realistic situations. This technique was developed by Augusto Boal and is described fully in his book The Rainbow of Desire. Participants rapidly sculpt their own or each other's bodies to express attitudes and emotions. These images are then placed together and 'dynamised' or brought to life. The method is often used to explore internal or external oppression, unconscious thoughts and feelings.

5. **Izikhothane:** The 'Izikhothane', known for their eccentric and wildly-coloured clothing, are typically aged between 12 and 25 and mainly come from the black middle class. They claim to be non-violent, in a country with an average of 43 murders a day. On Facebook, they often organise "pantsula" competitions, a style of hip-hop invented in South African ghettos. It is a chance for people to go to extreme lengths to show who is the wealthiest. Some, for example, go as far as breaking their mobile phones in public. The more expensive the phone, the more the act is revered by their peers. The Izikhothane refers to the action of licking the fingers to peel through bundles of money to spend on clothes, shoes and alcoholic spirits. Others say it refers to being drenched in 'Ultramel', a local custard considered a luxurious desert in black townships, and of licking hands and clothing. (http://observers.france24.com/content/20130909-burning-money-there%E2%80%99-no-tomorrow-welcome-bizarre-world-%E2%80%9Cizikhothane%E2%80%9D)

# **Hip hop and 'Sophiatown Jazz'**: Sites of investigation for intergenerational relations approaches for applied drama practitioners in post-apartheid South Africa

*"…to imagine sound as divorced from its social and political contexts, meaningful in its abstract and metaphysical potential, but irrelevant in what it has to say to the here and now of daily life, is to imagine sound as an abstraction, separate from its worldly consequences"* **(Fischlin & Heble, 2003 in Vershbow, 2010).**

*"When you have no power, how do you express yourself? If you don't have a way to fight, how do you express the fight that you have inside you?I think music is very often the first thing that happens in cultures or groups"* **(Makky, 2007).**

# 1. Introduction

The apartheid era stands as one of the most important periods in the history of South Africa and the world at large. It was defined by discrimination and separation of races, subsequently leading to a number of defects such as loss of cultural identity, human rights infringement and many other factors, which affected mostly, 'non-white' South Africans. Groups of people were physically separated on the basis of race, into separate areas with little to no interaction; as per the "Group Areas Act" of 1950 (Goldberg, 1993: 193). Other laws such as the 1913 'Native Land Act' and 'Native Urban Areas Act' of 1923, were also put in place to secure the accomplishment of 'white superiority'. Non-white South Africans were not allowed to live or own land in urban areas, unless it was for the purpose of work, to which they were strictly governed by 'pass-laws' that prohibited them to be in urban areas at certain times (Ballantine, 2012: 161).

In the midst of this turmoil was a piece of land in the west of Johannesburg called Sophiatown, which became one of the few urban spaces where black people could own land after white people vacated it, due to a sewage dump nearby that they grew displeased with (Hannerz, 1994: 184). Sophiatown served as a home to many during the liberation struggle, and infamously came to be the birth place for a lively art-jazz culture that set the bench mark for generations to come. World renowned artists such as Miriam Makeba, Hugh Masekela and Abdullah Ibrahim started their music careers in Sophiatown. Iconic figures such Nelson Mandela, Helen Joseph and Ruth First, are said to have been residents of Sophiatown (Sullivan, 2013: unpaginated).

Subsequently, South Africa overcame the apartheid regime through the 'liberation struggle' and saw its first democratic elections take place on the 27$^{th}$April 1994(SAHO, 2011:

unpaginated). With the passing of time, South Africa has always had an undercurrent of music that mirroredits socio-political conditions. From the 'Sophiatown Jazz' musicwhich was comprised of penny whistle, kwela, mbaqanga and marabi music, through bubble-gum and kwaito music, up until the current wave of hip hop music that has come to define the South African youth identity "in the way [they] listen to music, speak, wear particular clothes or adopt particular lifestyle in public as well as [how they] negotiate self-identification in private spaces" (Cohen. 2008: 19). The musical art forms of 'Sophiatown jazz' and hip hop have come to be representative of (although not limited to) a certain group of 'black' South Africans. Gavin Younge states that when dealing with issues of race;

> "Terms such as 'black art' themselves present problems. South Africa is locked in a broad-based struggle to free itself of a particularly vicious form of institutionalized racism and any mention of racial categories is immediately suspect: the word 'black' is no longer simply an adjective- it has become a political term. As desirable as it may be, the ideal of a 'South African art', one which is unmarked by racial categorization, cannot be achieved by simply ignoring the imprint of racist legislation which is still very much in force" (Younge, 1988: 13).

With a special focus on the period between the 1950s, the Sophiatown era, and 2014, the hip hop era, I propose that the older and younger generations of South Africa have seen and experienced a disjuncture in their relations to one another. The causes and effects of such a shift stem from apartheid induced actions and every other act that occurred and didn't occur thereafter.I propose that interventions and/or campaigns aimed at reconciling inter-generational relations ought to consider the analysis of both 'Sophiatown jazz' and hip hop music cultures, as a means to gain understanding of the older and younger generations; and how they (culturally) can find commonalities. I further suggest that applied drama and theatre techniques, offer a solid approach for creating such interventions and/or campaigns to happen.

This paper will not be an analysis of the apartheid regime but an observation of the way this era was, and continuous to be,at least partly, shaped by cultures fashioned by the generations present in the period 1950 to the present. The meaning of the word 'culture' in the vocabulary of the African National Congress (ANC) facilitated the mobilization of music, in the service of the struggle against apartheid. Culture becomes an important means for understanding both older and younger generations in South Africa. The word was used to refer to music, poetry,

graphic arts, theatre, dance, crafts and other people's art" (Vershbow, 2010: Unpaginated). For Ira Shor (1993), culture is;

> "The actions and results of humans in society, the way people interact in their communities, and the additions people make to the world they find. Culture is what ordinary people do every day, how they behave, speak, relate, and make things" (Shor, 1993, 30).

Drawing on the theoretical underpinnings of critical pedagogy and more particularly thinkers such as Paulo Freire and Augusto Boal who inform applied drama theory, I suggest that we enter into a culture that is 'dialogic' and enables older and younger generations to bring their 'whole' selves into the relationship. I further suggest that all government/community campaigns and interventions be fashioned upon applied drama principles in order to achieve this 'dialogic' form of communication. When the older and younger generation are able to bring their whole selves into a relationship without censoring aspects of themselves, despite the approval of the other, better communication can be achieved and each individual can be "liberated" (Freire, 1972: 53). In this way, the future of South Africa will be justly informed and better secured.

'Dialogic' and problem-posing education, as suggested by Freire, creates a platform where "logos"- **popular opinion**; supersedes "doxa"- **divine wisdom** (Freire, 1972: 54). This enables ways to renegotiate dominant (traditional) culture's way of defining inter-generational relationships. From this perspective, notions such as the "generational contract" can be re-negotiated not according to what the youth is expected to do, but by what means, both socially and psychologically, are available for youth and adults to maintain a conducive relationship. Both generations ought to explore, in depth, themselves and how they see the other; in order to approach relationships with both caution and trust. Freire states that, "that which has existed objectively but had not been perceived in its deeper implications begins to stand out, assuming the character of a problem and therefore of challenge" (Freire, 1972: 56).

## 2. Aim

As a way into the culture of the older and younger generations of South Africa, I seek to extract recurring'themes' fromthe hip hop culture and what I will term the 'Sophiatown jazz' culture, as represented in Johannesburg, South Africa. I selected these two musical styles based on the premise that "an analysis of [music] in relation to the urban space within which

it has grown and developed is necessary" and linkages between the music and its city are inevitable (Mose, 2013: 107). It is acknowledged in this paper that not all people in the older and younger generations fall under this representation. This analysis serves as a sample case of how music culture *can* give insight into inter-generational relations.

I look at the origin, history and socio-political effects of both musical cultures, and how they have affected the intergenerational relationship. Marc Duby states that South African music holds a legacy of "social texts" (Duby, 2012: unpaginated). In this way, the lyrics/content and culture of both musical styles will be analysed as 'social texts'. It is my opinion that both styles of music hold significant social meaning for the audiences in how they come to define themselves, knowingly and unknowingly.

Based on the above definitions of culture, I seek to analyse the actions, behaviour traits, and language (physical, lingual and music content) of the older and younger generation based on their interactions with 'Sophiatownjazz' and hip hop respectively, and therefore extract common themes as prompts for approaching intergenerational related interventions. I will also make use of a 'thematic analysis' at the "latent" level, beginning to identify the underlying ideas, assumptions, and conceptualizations that are theorized as shaping or informing the semantic content of the data observed. Therefore a semiotic reading will also be used in instances where subjects engage with the music itself.

The development of the themes will be based on interpretative work (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 84). I undertake a "constructionist thematic analysis" perspective that views meaning and experience as socially produced and reproduced, rather than inhering within individuals. In this way, I will "theorize the sociocultural contexts [of hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz'] thematically, as well as their structural conditions" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 85).

This paper undertakes a qualitative-phenomenological methodology based on literature, song/lyrics as (social) texts, my personal experience from work in the field of applied drama at Themba Interactive, my 'Practice based Research' (PAR) conducted in 2014, as well as observation throughout all the above mentioned experiences. Observation is a method researchers use to watch and record activity in a systematic way (Boyton, 2005: 28). From these observations, one is able to discuss key phenomena emerging from the process.In the case of this paper,the focus is on the relationship between South Africa's older and younger generations with specific reference to the styles of music and culture by which they are socially defined.

It is my hope that this paper will begin to address some misconceptions that both older and younger generations may have towards each other, often based on how they portray themselves through social texts such as music. Beginning to invest in applied drama based community interventions, is another way that such misconceptions can be turned into constructive change for South Africa.

## 3. Research Question

Can music cultures of Hip Hop and 'Sophiatown Jazz', be analysed as a way to achieve a better understanding of the commonalities and differences between the older and younger generations of Johannesburg, South Africa, in order to critically inform Applied Drama practitioners and others seeking to address the generational gap in communities?

## 4. Rationale

Apartheid, literally meaning 'separateness' in the Afrikaans language, forced local black communities to band together in resistance to the injustices affecting them (Vershbow, 2010: unpaginated). Despite the racial 'separateness', "contemporary South Africa is characterized by high generational disjuncture" (Makiwane, 2010: 1). Drastic economic, cultural, political and demographic changes have had a negative impact on the reciprocal relations between generations in South Africa. These include the rising levels of youth unemployment, youth morbidity and mortality, migration and increasing social distances between generations (Makiwane, 2010: 1).

Central to the issue of the intergenerational disjuncture, is the loss of key older figures or "wise men", who served as aggressive agents of the wider society, to teach, support, encourage, and, in effect, socialize young men to meet their responsibilities regarding work, family, the law and common decency (Dimitriadis, 2001: 121/2). Dimitriadis argues that such role models have become increasingly rare and "a new kind or role model has emerged [; one that is] young, often a product of the street gang, and at best indifferent to the law and traditional values. (Dimitriadis, 2001: 122). This is a noticeable shift from the role that the older generation played pertaining to leadership, towards "the notion that popular culture is inextricably intertwined with the emergence of this out-of-control, nihilistic generation of

black youth" (Dimitriadis, 2001: 122). As this is the general assumption, Dimitriadis argues that we need to renegotiate this perspective as such an approach draws attention away from the ways in which young people are, in fact, fighting for hope, for survival, for connections with older people (Dimitriadis, 2001: 122).

According to the World Youth Report, policies and programmes based on intergenerational relationshave not been promoting an essential interdependence among generations, as well as a recognition that all members of society have contributions to make and needs to fulfil (World Youth Report, 2003: 407). In order for this to happen, Chantal Mouffe suggests that "a well-functioning democracy calls for a vibrant clash of democratic political positions" which, I propose, can be achieved through the medium of applied drama and theatre (Nicholson, 2005: 24).

Twenty years, after the first democratic elections, South Africa still faces many struggles that are politically and economically driven. With the rapid economic decline, poverty, corruption and youth unemployment are on the rise. Consequently, black South Africans sit at the receiving end of the deteriorating economic scale. A majority of them are unable to support themselves and therefore have an influx of "extended families"- three and/or four generations living under one roof (World Youth Report, 2003: 401). As a result, crime, teenage pregnancy, and HIV/AIDS have risen and are attributed to the now generation, who in turn have become despondent at the way they are viewed. Evidence of this is found through the youth's expression of the country through mediums such as hip hop, some of which will be explored later in this research report. Nonetheless, the youth still bare the pressure of financial success in order to support their ageing parents and family members, especially in those three and four generation families where income is low and pensioners have to use their money to support a large family.

The "intergenerational contract" still governs the way youth are seen, andthis "contract" seeks to ensure the welfare of older persons and is governed by rules, norms, conventions, practices and biology, with the "contract" being implicit rather than arrived at through individual negotiation. It seeks to maintain the standard that some cultures take to ensure that power over resources and assets rest with older persons (World Youth Report, 2003: 400). I hold that this "contract" serves as a 'barrier', as suggested by humanistic psychology, and stands between the two generations.

The current political and economic state of the country caused by the apartheid regime, has also brought about a change in beliefs and values that have shifted attitudes about family and a change in the flow of wealth, with parents investing instead in children and their education and older persons losing control over the means of production (World Youth Report, 2003: 401). Such changes have gone by unnoticed, resulting in a breach of the "generational contract". Attention needs to be given to "what happens when social conditions under which 'intergenerational contracts' are formed, are profoundly altered by political, economic, cultural or social system changes as has happened in South Africa (World Youth Report, 2002: 403). For Daniels, this has caused an aggregate measure of competition between the old and children for federal funds (Daniels, 1988: 5). For Atkinson and Breitz, with the constellations of power shift, constructions of 'self' and 'other' are remapped (Atkinson & Breitz, 1999: 16).

There is a belief that "the aged harm the young by draining them of a fluid or force, there is a recognition that young persons and older persons may regard each other with mutual fear and hostility" (Goldfarbin Shanas & Streib, 1965: 13). Goldfarb states that;

> "The young may see the old as actually or potentially harmful: they can exert power vested in them by society, they can be restrictive, they can exact service, and they can destroy one's spirit, be burdensome, and injure one's health. Conversely, the old are envious of the young, are eager for their services and may be angry in advance because they are aware that young persons react with resentment, refusal, or avoidance to the envy and the burdens thrust upon them" (Goldfarb in Shanas & Streib, 1965: 13).

Furthermore, many aspects of intergenerational relationships that are of social and psychological significance can be conceptualized as centred upon, derived from, and as being understood, in terms of a single psychodynamic constellation, This constellational might be described as,*dependency*, and the context in which it exists, the *dependent relationship* (Goldfarb in Shanas & Streib, 1965: 16). The term dependency;

> "denotes the behaviour, both implicit and overt, of a person who believes himself to be weak or who is weak and in need of help, in relation to one who is, or is believed to be, strong, capable of helping him, and likely to do so if properly signalled, invoked, appealed to, or controlled. Dependent behaviour requires a target: the delegated powerful or 'parental' figure. In the dependent relationship a person may be said to 'parentify'- that is to say he envisions the chosen other as a strong parent, and the process of delegation to the role may be termed "parentification" (Goldfarb in Shanas & Streib, 1965: 16/17).

Nonetheless, the United Nations holds that "solidarity between generations at all levels in families, communities and nations- is fundamental for the achievement of a society for all ages" (United Nations, Madrid International Plan of Action on Agency, 2002: para 42).

This research report suggests that in order for intergenerational communication to be achieved, social structures such as schools and community outreach agencies where youth is involved need to integrate the voices and presence of the older generation. I argue that 'education' or 'awareness' that is aimed at youth alone, impacts little in the way youth respond to important social issues. The bulk of campaigns and outreach projects seem to be aimed at the youth, filling them up with information, a concept Paulo Freire (1972) terms "banking pedagogy". Despite all of the information given to them, issues of HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancy, crime, violence, drug and alcohol abuse are still prominent factors in the South African society. I argue that both the younger and older generations need to be considered when conceptualizing campaigns and interventions aimed at social cohesion. Applied Drama comes from the perspective that all citizens ought to be active and participate in affairs in a collective undertaking (Nicholson, 2005: 21).

The World Youth Report (2003) states that "the time has come to employ a more age-integrated approach in constructing policies and programmes". They further elaborate on the fact that "development thinking is still clearly locked into the old paradigm" where social investment is aimed at the young. They suggest that "energies must be directed instead towards developing opportunities for social and economic participation for multigenerational households, strengthening patterns of exchange and reciprocity, and maintaining mutual support structures" (World Youth Report, 2003: 406).

There is a dire need for the older and younger generations to create platforms that enable interaction and communication in order to achieve understanding and a'common place', so as to secure a conducive future for the country of South Africa. Douglas and Cummings suggest that older persons ought to come to the realization that younger people are holding the future of the country. In so doing, they assert that, "in understandingthe sizeable global footprint hip hop has created", it will become clear that "as the hip hop generation grows up, some of its members will become leaders: legislators, educators, lawyers, labourers, scholars, professionals, and philosophers"; and that "these leaders, educators, and professionals will bring to their specific roles the images, lessons, and stark critiques that accompany all authentic members of this generation" (Douglas & Cummings, 2010: 517). Older and

younger people ought to interact with one another on the basis of what is relevant and meaningful to them.

President Barack Obama, during his presidential campaign on 17th April 2008 (Obama, 2008. youtube: http://m.youtube.com/watch?v=kzXcNr0nk ), responded to his opposition by flicking "dirt off [his] shoulder". This is a common 'swag' gesture within the hip hop community which is taken from rapper Jay-Z's hit song, 'dirt off your shoulder', from the album 'The Black Album' released in 2004. This gesture won President Barack Obama support among the younger generation. In fact, it can be argued that a majority of his supporters were hip hoppers, most of whom campaigned for him during shows and concerts. Public figures such as Katt Williams referred to him as a "black superhero" (Williams, 2014: youtube: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YGMPvI2kGVU&list=PL5xlD5x_jznviyud-sDRDsg1r5QfIz0h3).

Julianne Escobedo Shepherd stated in an article titled 'My president is Rap: The Complete History of Barack Obama's hip hop moments' (2013) that;

> "Never before have we had a president who actually engaged with hip hop as a crucial cultural force, rather than a thing to be held at arm's length and occasionally scolded. The hip-hop generation had an awakening: Obama brought out more young people to the polls than any president had since we'd been keeping track, no doubt in part because we felt like he might have a chance at understanding us" (Shepherd, 2013: unpaginated).

The Independent newspaper writer, Magdalene Abraha (2013), in an article titled, 'What did hip hop do for Barack Obama and what should British politics learn from it?', stated that, "fundamentally, many young people loved hip-hop, Obama embraced hip-hop, by association, young people loved Obama" (Abraha, 2013: unpaginated). She further stated that, "just like there was in America in 2008, it is essential that there is a fusion of mainstream politics and the youth…it is in the interest of everyone that this gaping generation chasm be closed once and for all" (Abraha, 2013: unpaginated). Interaction between generations, he suggests, will ensure not only a healthy inter-generational relationship but a strong socio-political future.

Helen Nicholson asserts that "applied drama is related to citizenship" (Nicholson, 2005: 19). 'Participant citizenship' is not merely the acceptance of one's statutory rights but invites questions about the contribution we are each making to the process of social change, and "drama is a good way for people to extend their horizon of experience, recognizing how their

own identities have been shaped and formulated and, by playing new roles and inhabiting different subject positions, finding different points of identification with other" (Nicholson, 2005: 23/4).There is a sociological aspect of applied drama and theatre that looks at the group rather than individual transformation. Aspects of sociology are much exercised by notions of community and these are also prominent in that branch of applied theatre that calls itself "community theatre" (Prentki & Preston, 2009: 12).

Critical Race Theorist, Richard Delgado asserts that "[drama] stories, parables, chronicles, and narratives are powerful means for destroying mind set" and also "shatter complacency" (Delgado in Douglas & Cummings, 2010: 533). Collectively, the hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz' generations, grounded in the principles of applied drama and Critical Race Theory, can foster communication and therefore a change in mind set.

Other attempts at pursuing intergenerational reconciliation have either been short lived or unsuccessful. For example, Margaret Blenker did an evaluation of social-work theory and practice concerning family relationships and she points out that "social-work theory is orientated toward the individual, and in so far as it deals with the family, toward the nuclear family of husband, wife and children" (Shanas & Streib, 1965: 4). She found that "where the relationship between older parents and middle-aged are dealt with in the social-work literature, the model used [was] role reversal", whereby "the middle-aged child becom[es] father to his father" (Shanas & Streib, 1965: 4).

'Role reversal' is a technique frequently used in applied drama but is also central to psycho-drama. Role reversal shifts ones frame of reference about a situation, memory or person by revealing underlying beliefs and memories that connect to the situation (Wolff. 2011: unpaginated). Role reversal affords one the ability to move between two (or more) frames of reference easily, allowing an almost rhythmic back-and-forth between grounded, familiar positions and that of the other characters in a drama (Wolff, 2011: unpaginated). Blenkner argues that the concept of role reversal as used by social work is done incorrectly. She questions whether social-work theory is really adequate to meet the needs of older persons and their middle-aged children. She holds that "value judgements have blinded social workers to a true understanding of the roles of older parents and their children" (Shanas & Streib, 1965: 5).

With the shift towards a democratic ethos, I argue that social features such as the issue of intergenerational relations need to be democratized. Applied Drama was born out of an

imperative to democratize the process of learning (Nicholson, 2005: 8). From this need grew the idea that drama has the "potential to illuminate contemporary concerns, articulate dissent and offer personal solace" (Nicholson, 2005: 19). This research report becomes an important tool for applied drama practitioners and others to gain more rooted approaches when formulating interventions.

# 5. Theoretical Framework

In this paper, hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz' are viewed from the perspective of the 'marginalized' primarily based on the fact that both movements have predominantly 'liberatory' undertones. I argue that these two movements find a place under the theoretical banner of Critical Race Theory which offers understanding about why these groups are seen as marginalized. The use of semiotics offers a deeper understanding of the actions and behaviour of both cultures. Whereas the principles mentioned by Carl Rogers as well as those of applied drama offer possible approaches when trying to deal with the issues uncovered within these cultures (i.e. intergenerational issues).

## 5.1. Critical Race Theory

Critical Race Theory becomes important when considering the back bone of movements such as the 'Sophiatown jazz' and hip hop, from an academic/theoretical perspective. Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a movement comprised of a collection of activists and scholars interested in studying and transforming the relationships that exist across race, racism and power (Harris, 2006: unpaginated). Critical Race Theory emerged in the mid-1970s with the works of Derick Bell and Alan Freeman, who were distressed at the slow pace of racial reform in the United States of America. They were concerned with the way in which the civil rights movement in the 1960s had stalled and that many of its gains were being rolled back (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000: xvi). They initiated new approaches aimed at surfacing the subtle, but just as deeply entrenched, varieties of racism that characterize our times. Out of this concern, came Critical Race Theory (CRT).

Many artists have also tried to surface subtle (taking into account the subjectivity of the word 'subtle' in itself) racism on hip hop platforms. For example, a verse from a hip hop song titled 'monate twaa' by rapper Tuks Sengaga talks about the day to day experiences of being

black in South Africa such as having a white person lock their car door when a black person is passing by, or the idea that white people move out of residential areas that have an inflow of black people. In the song, Sengaga says:

*Hey man (hey man) go on lock your car door when I walk on by*
*Why?*
*Watchu you gon do black,*
*Wind up in your area, you relocate*
(webmaster@mzansilyrics.co.za )

Whereas, 'Sophiatown jazz' as a whole existed within a time where black people were actively trying to bring an end to racism. CRT comes from the perspective that "racism is normal, not aberrant", because it is an ingrained feature of our landscape (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000: xvi)."Formal equal opportunity- rules and laws that insist on treating blacks and whites (for example) alike- can thus remedy only the more extreme and shocking forms of injustice, the ones that do stand out" (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000: xvii). It seeks to surface the recognition that laws regarding race are primarily targeted to combat a particularized (not all) types of racism characterized as, "acts of grossly offensive behaviour toward others because of their race", as well as "legal segregation and discrimination by public bodies" and lastly, "overt acts of racial violence" (Douglas & Cummings, 2010: 504/5).

CRT seeks to challenge racial oppression and the status quo, sometimes, in the form of storytelling in which writers analyse the myths, pre-suppositions, and received wisdoms that make up the common culture about race that invariably render blacks and other minorities "one-down" (Delgado & Stefancic. 2000: xvii). Critical Race theorists believe that white elites will tolerate or encourage racial advances for blacks only when such advances also promote white self-interest; and that civil rights law does not benefit people of colour. Subsequently, "all Critical Race Theory is marked bya deep discontent with liberalism, a system of civil rights litigation and activism characterized by incrementalism, faith in the legal system, and hope for progress, among other things"(Delgado & Stefancic, 2000: 1).

Critical Race Theory is strongly aligned with forms of music such as hip hop and 'Sophiatown Jazz' that were a response to liberation or the emergence of civil rights movements. Likening CRT and hip hop, Douglas and Cummings hold that, they are "founded by prescient agitators, these two movements were borne of disaffect, disappointment and near

desperation- a desperate need to give voice to oppressed and dispossessed peoples" (Douglas & Cummings, 2010: 499). I argue that, like hip hop, 'Sophiatown jazz' shares this kinship with CRT and that together, all three (CRT, hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz') make use of narrative as a response to various forms of injustice. All three movements are all born from a "fundamental desire to give voice to a discontent brewed by silence and a dedication to the continuing struggle for race equality" (Douglas & Cummings, 2010: 500).

Both scholars (CRT and Critical pedagogists) and artists (hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz') employ and interpret discourses about being framed, about linguistic differences reflecting worldview differences, critiques of legal procedures, and observations about the devaluation of black people, for example, in and through the criminal justice system (Douglas & Cummings, 2010: 571). Therefore, CRT cannot be left out of the discussion of post-apartheid South Africa, especially when trying to comprehend the driving forces behind movements such as hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz'.

## 5.2. Semiotics

In the analysis of both 'Sophiatown jazz' and hip hop cultures, a semiotic approach offers distinct social codes for the understanding of both cultures. 'Semiotics' is defined as the study of signs and sign systems. Sign systems constitute languages of different modes that are linguistic, visual, sonoric, etc (Bakker & Bakker, 2006: 72). According to Bochenski, phenomenology thinkers such as Edmund Husserl carried out important semiotic analyses (Bochenski, 1965: 31). The central idea of semiotics is that words have a relationship or are linked- "syntactic", that words have meaning and significance-"semantic", and that words exist between the person speaking and the one spoken to- "pragmatic" (Bochenski, 1965: 32/3).

However, linguistic modes of communication as well as subcultural semiotic systems of aural communication are undoubtedly real in their consequences (Bakker and Bakker, 2006: 73). In 'Sophiatown jazz', the term 'kwela-kwela' was used to refer to a type of music genre, a type of dance as well as police vans. So this term was used light-heartedly and as a warning to people enjoying themselves inside illegal pubs when police approached(South African Music, 2011). This shows how the semiotic approach can be legitimated only by the terminology used that is often unique to the text at hand (Tarasti, 1995: 124).

While conducting my 'Practice based Research' (PAR), I asked passers-byaround Braamfontein (Johannesburg CBD) how they define hip hop and almost all the people I spoke to used the same terminology when referring to hip hop culture. Equally, upon researching on 'Sophiatown jazz', I found that most of the terminology used for hip hop came up again in 'Sophiatown jazz' literature. The terminology used to define these two movements includes (but are not limited to):slang/tsotsi taal, gold chains, race, freedom, swag, DJ, gangsterism, drugs, dance, style, African culture. For this paper, these terms serve as windows into the two generations in question in relation to their musical cultures as well as a basis for extracting common themes between them. The development of meaning and understanding is not through the analysis of actual music alone, but "through the analysis of production and reception behaviour patterns" (Tarasti, 1995: 127). Tarasti holds that "the performance and interpretation of certain musical structures [is] the place where the actual musical meaning arises" (Tarasti, 1995: 128).

Semiotics is "everything having to do with the meaning of expressions" (Bochenski, 1965: 31). Semiosis comes from the perspective that language cannot represent things directly, but rather objective concepts and objective propositions as well as the idea that language does not always represent objective concepts and propositions adequately (Bochenski, 1965: 5). In order to communicate our concepts and propositions to others, and to make our own thinking easier, we use signs, above all written or oral language consisting of words or similar symbols (Bochenski, 1965: 5).

## 5.3. Carl Rogers

Carl Rogers (1969), proposes that young people need to live in a society that doesn't tell them what to do or what to know but rather, young people need to be encouraged to embrace their own way of knowing. Even though Rogers speaks within the context of education, I suggest that it applies the same way in the home as well as society more broadly. He suggests that the facilitator who has a considerable degree of this attitude can be fully acceptant of the fear and hesitation of the student as he approaches a new problem or 'barrier', as well as accepting the pupil's satisfaction in achievement. In essence, "it is an acceptance of this other individual as a separate person, having worth in his own right" (Rogers, 1969: 109).

Rogers holds that all parties (older and younger generations) need to develop an attitude of viewing the world through one another's eyes. In this way, they will get to see 'barriers' from

a new and different perspective. Students who have had their teachers try to stand in their shoes have indicated, according to Rogers, "how deeply appreciative [they] feel when they are simply understood- not evaluated, not judged, simply understood from their own point of view" (Rogers, 1969: 112). He further suggests that all parties involved in a relationship of learning (from one another) need to trust each other in all facets of knowledge:

> "If I distrust the human being then I must cram him with information of my own choosing, lest he go his own mistaken way. But if I trust the capacity of the human individual for developing his own potentiality, then I can provide him with many opportunities and permit him to choose his own way and his own direction in his learning" (Rogers, 1969: 114).

## 5.4. Applied Drama

The terms 'applied drama' and 'applied theatre' are used interchangeably, with "the etymology of both 'drama' and 'theatre' having significance for the values of applied drama/theatre. These terms emerged during the 1990s as "kind of a shorthand to describe forms of dramatic activity that primarily exist outside conventional mainstream theatre institutions, and which are specifically intended to benefit individuals, communities and societies" (Nicholson, 2005: 2). Bertolt Brecht is, arguably, seen as the founding father of applied drama and theatre based on his take that "the philosophers have only interpreted the world, the point is to change it and apply to it the practise of theatre", as well as his abolishment of the distinction between actors and audience (Prentki & Preston, 2009: 12).

Some of the practices under the umbrella term of applied drama/theatre include, drama in education, theatre in education, theatre for development, theatre in prisons, forum theatre, invisible theatre, community theatre, and many more (see appendix A). These practices draw from research in different branches of philosophy and the social sciences such as cultural studies, education, psychology, sociology, and anthropology (Nicholson, 2005: 2). In essence, applied drama and theatre is interdisciplinary and is a hybrid of practices. Applied Drama has its roots in the "libertarian practices of twentieth-century drama education, community theatre and alternative or political theatres", giving it both radicalism and instrumentalism (Nicholson, 2005: 6). The work of applied drama and theatre often, but not always, happens in informal spaces, in non-theatre spaces in a variety of geographical and social settings, such as, schools, pre-schools, the streets, correctional centres, village halls, and any other location that might be relevant to the interests of a community (Prentki &

Preston, 2009: 9). The content and themes explored within applied theatre workshops are often supplied by the participants directly from their own stories or by the communities who are often also the primary target audiences (Prentki & Preston, 2009: 20).

Applied drama is influenced by the pedagogy of Paulo Freire, a Brazilian Marxist educator; as well as European models of progressive education (Nicholson, 2005: 9). The likes of Freire went on to influence and inspire Augusto Boal, who also stands as a powerful figure and strong presence in applied drama and theatre (Nicholson, 2005: 9). Boal went on to theorize about 'The theatre of the oppressed', whereby he represented disadvantaged communities.Boal developed a form of theatre called 'legislative theatre' that "explicitly demands a vibrant clash of democratic positions" (Nicholson, 2005: 25).

The Central School of Speech and Drama in London advocates for the effective communication, development and empowerment that applied drama and theatre bring to individuals and communities (Nicholson, 2005: 3). "The idea that theatre has the potential to address something beyond the form itself suggests that applied drama is primarily concerned with developing new possibilities for everyday living" (Nicholson, 2005: 4). The idea that drama can take people beyond themselves and into the world of others is deeply rooted in the values of applied drama. This principle aligns with the vision of social citizenship as a collective and communitarian undertaking (Nicholson, 2005: 24).

I suggest that South African education and outreach/awareness projects need to incorporate theprinciples of applied drama when dealing with inter-generational relations in communities. I endorse the effectiveness of 'participation' that applied drama enables when seeking to provide participants with embodied experiences of the issues affecting their society. Getting community members on the floor, giving them an opportunity to play, explore, question, reflect and possibly change some of the things that affect their social standard of living.

All these methods and techniques, in my experience, are productive when attempting to create platforms for expression and discussion around issues that affect members of a society. Such spaces are useful for allowing the participants an opportunity to see different perspectives of the same issue and learn to come to terms with, and respect, the diverse culture one finds oneself in. Equally, there are opportunities to reflect on and realize for themselves the roles they need to play in the society/culture seeking change.

Applied drama involves psychological facets that make use of drama such as stories, symbols and metaphors; to challenge an individual to look into their own life and thought processes that may or may not have influenced them to make decisions (Boal, 1995: 18/9). Such disciplines are vital within a society of older and younger generations who are on a blurred line between being seen as oppressors(to each other) and being victims of oppression (racism/poverty). Applied drama can help individuals come to understand what "drives human thoughts and behaviour" (Boal, 1995: 27). Characters are reduced to relatively simple social types by means of distancing techniques such as wearing masks, exaggerating gestures, or commenting on one's character in the third-person (Boal, 1995:27). The purpose of this is to distance the audience/participants from the characters by urging them to view the characters as representatives of social groups rather than singular individuals (Boal, 1995: 27).

Since starting work within the field of applied drama and theatre, I have worked in several community settings such as high schools, correctional centres, universities and informal settlements. Working in high schools for example, one deals with more or less the same issues seen as common to young people across the world. I worked in a school called John Orr Technical High School for a year and 3 months. I worked with grade 8, 9 and 10 learners who formed the schools 'drama club'. We started our working relationship by playing games and exercises aimed at trust, team building and getting to know one another.

Following these games we used techniques such as the 'name card method', to source social issues most prominent in their school community. The name card method involves a group of participants writing what they like and dislike about their society/community on two separate pieces of paper. Once the whole group has written down their likes and dislikes, they put them together and establish what they have in common and not. This method helps to identify what the majority of community members are struggling with. We ended up with issues such as teenage pregnancy, abortion, alcohol and substance abuse, peer pressure, academic pressure, and so on.

We used techniques such as process drama, forum theatre, newspaper theatre, image theatre and the like to go deeper into these issues and establish a root cause for all of them. Over the majority of our workshops, the learners always came back to one point: their inability to talk to their parent/s about what they go through. We collectively decided to use the same medium of drama to communicate their feelings to parents.

At the end of our workshop the learners came up with a play that addressed the personal and social effects and consequences of issues they cannot talk to their parents about. The learners had different reasons for why they couldn't talk to their parents. The general consensus was that it is difficult to approach an adult on matters involving sex. Other learners expressed that their parents were strict and would "beat the hell" out of them (grade 9 learner, 2013: John Orr). Some learners expressed that their parents were not very strict and that they were merely scared and embarrassed because it is a taboo to discuss such issues with older people. The learners believed that if they had better communication with their parents they would have people to go to in cases of crisis, hurt and pain and get help with how to deal with their problems. The learners expressed a need for older people to be more involved in youth related matters.

After our process and the creation of a play, the learners expressed that they felt confident to address such matters through drama because it would not make it “awkward”. They showed an eagerness for the play and began adding more issues they needed to address. For them, it was the only chance they had to express themselves fully. We sampled the play at my work place, Themba Interactive, to an audience consisting of youth and older persons. The older persons found humour in watching the play, implying that it was not all that difficult to take in what they were being told because they could laugh along. It seemed for the group that this approach was a breakthrough in trying to achieve communication with older people.

### 5.4.1. Augusto Boal

Augusto Boal is a Brazilian theatre practitioner who invented a specific school of theatre called the ‘Theatre of the Oppressed’ (TO) during the 1950s and 1960s. He was the director of the Arena Theatre in Sao Paulo, Brazil. He states that “the theatre of the oppressed has concentrated on using theatre in political contexts, as a tool for understanding, education and development” (Boal, 1995: preface). Boal is one of the leading figures in the success of applied drama and some of his underlying principles can inform intergenerational intervention approaches.

Boal asserts that the use of drama as a distancing technique, is key to the success of Applied Drama in communities (Boal, 1995: preface). According to Augusto Boal (1995), drama has the potential to transform any social platform into an ‘aesthetic space’. For Boal an ‘aesthetic

space' is enough to split its audience across time, place, and role, and allow an audience to project and relive their experiences through the character. This process can become reflective and therapeutic (Boal, 1995: 19-20). From what I have observed, such platforms are often afforded to young people based on issues that are supposedly affecting them. However, these platforms are often created without the presence of their parents or older persons. Participants require "an opportunity for 'self' and 'other' to enter into a space where together [they] encounter different ways of seeing and knowing" (Dimm, 2002: 17).

Boal is possibly the most influential of contemporary theatre practitioners. "Boal is indebted to Brecht's analysis of the potential political dynamic between actors and target audiences" (Nicholson, 2005: 25). It is said that during his period of office on Rio de Janeiro's City Council between 1992 and 1996, Boal established a system of working which aimed to integrate political citizenship with theatre practice (Nicholson ,2005: 25).

Critical Pedagogy writers such as Boal, believe that economic power cannot be equated to knowledge. Therefore in the case of South Africa's older and younger generations, knowledge of 'self' and 'other' ought to come before the need for economic power. When young people live in a social system that forces them to internalize values and habits that they haven't had the opportunity to define themselves, this only sabotages their critical thought. It is said that "they develop as alienated and anti-intellectual adults after years in mass education and mass culture, where they are treated as objects filled with official ideas and supervised by authorities" (Shor, 1993: 29). This can prove to be risky for youth because they develop what Ira Shor (1993) calls "authority-dependence" whereby they rehearse their futures as passive citizens and workers by learning that knowledge means listening to what other people tell them to do (Shor, 1993: 29). As mentioned above, dependence is one of the features encouraged by the "generational contract", one that has proven to be destructive to the condition of inter-generational relationships.

The need for youth to exist within the "generational contract", a way presupposed by the older generation as the only way for youth to justify or give credit to the struggles they went through, is what Paulo Freire (1972) terms "necrophilia". Necrophilia refers to:

> "life characterized by growth in a structured, functional manner, the necrophilous person loves all that does not grow, all that is mechanical. The necrophilous person is driven by the desire to transform the organic into the inorganic, to approach life mechanically, as if all living persons were things…memory, rather than experience; having, rather than being, is

> what counts. The necrophilous person can relate to an object- a flower or a person- only if he posseses it; hence a threat to his possession is a threat to himself; if he loses possession he loses contact with the world…he loves control, and in the act of controlling he kills life" (Freire, 1972: 50-51).

### 5.4.2. Paulo Freire

For Paulo Freire, both older and younger generations need to come to terms with the nature of their relationship as a starting point. He suggests that liberation can only begin when men can recognise that they have been defeated and that "propaganda, management, manipulation [and] all arms of domination cannot be the instrument of their rehumanization" (Freire, 1972: 44).

Paulo Freire's 'Pedagogy of the Oppressed' offers notable insight of instances where two groups of people are in an inanimate relationship, where one is held hostage by the others ideal and is expected to replicate it in order to 'succeed'- as with the older generations expectation of adhering to the "generational contract". It is not my intention to label either youth or adults as the oppressed or oppressor but simply a suggestion that where two groups, whether oppressors/oppressed, are involved, Freire's method of dialogue can be useful in establishing common understanding. Freire denies that his ideas or methods should be followed as rigid models. He believes each society needs to reinvent them according to their own situations. This is further echoed by Shor who states that "our specific settings and conditions teach us the limits and openings for making change" (Shor, 1993: 35).

Freire suggests that each society needs to strive for "critical consciousness" or "critical transitivity". In other words those people who do think holistically and critically about their conditions; who reflect the highest development of thought and action, and critical consciousness (Shor, 1993: 32). For the older and younger generations in South Africa and beyond, as for the whole world, 'critical consciousness' possesses in it the knowledge that society and history can be made and remade- power awareness, analytic habits of thinking, reading, writing, speaking or discussing- critical literacy, recognizing and challenging myths, values, behaviours, and language learned in mass culture- desocialization; and the ability and initiative to transform society away from authoritarian relations and the undemocratic- self organization/self-education (Shor, 1993: 32-33). Generations are enabled to talk about their

history, its effects and how it plays into the present. Where change is needed, both generations are enabled to re-negotiate patterns such as the "generational contract". bell hooks (1994) refers to this notion as "engaged pedagogy", where the expression of the subject is valued (hooks, 1994: 20).

Within a dialogical relationship, all groups involved, in this case youth and adults, "co-intent on reality, are both Subjects, not only in the task of unveiling that reality, and thereby coming to know it critically, but in the task of re-creating that knowledge" (Freire, 1972: 44). I suggest that younger and older generations need to enter into a relationship that allows them to communicate, with integrity, what their definition of being is and looks like. The expectation of youth to be a certain way, or attain certain social characteristics as per the satisfaction of adults, minimizes and annuls young people's power and capacity to stimulate their credulity. For Freire, this reaffirms the colonial mentality of dominion, which only;

> "serves the interests of the oppressors, who care neither to have the world revealed nor to see it transformed. The oppressors use their humanitarianism to preserve a profitable situation. Thus they react almost instinctively against any experiment […] which stimulates the critical faculties and is not content with a partial view of reality but is always seeking out the ties which link one point to another and one problem to another" (Freire, 1972: 47).

The youth and adults therefore, like the teacher (bearer of knowledge) and students, need to have their struggles coincide in order to engage in critical thinking and the quest for mutual humanization. They must be partners in their relations to one another. For Freire, it is "only through communication [that] human life [can] hold meaning" (Freire, 1972: 50).

In a South African traditional family setting, it is deemed 'respectful' for the youth to abide by the older generations rubric for life, whether living under the same roof or not. A successful youth is one that has followed their parents' desires. This has proven not to work for the youth. Bornstein states that, parents who encourage their children to actively participate in discussion and decision-making with regards to him or herself and the family are more likely to help their child function at a higher level of moral reasoning (Bornstein, 2002: unpaginated). Parents also facilitate moral growth and high levels of moral reasoning when they draw out the child's opinion and reasoning with appropriate questions and paraphrasing to check for an understanding of the situation (Bornstein, 2002: unpaginated).

In a 'career development' survey done with learners from Centurion College, St. Endà's Secondary School and Our Lady of Wisdom Secondary School in Johannesburg in 2014, a

majority of the learners expressed their hesitancy to go to University. This is due to the fact that they would not be able to study what they desire because their parents would not approve. Careers such as Arts & Drama, music, graphic design, and fashion are not easily accepted as well suited career paths within a typical (black) family setting. There are still specific professions such as being a lawyer, doctor or engineer that parents prompt their children towards. In this way, the younger generation does not have the freedom to be who they wish. The power lies with the older generation and for Freire "to alienate men from their own decision making is to change them into objects" (Freire, 1972: 58). Ira Shor resonates with Freire in saying that,"knowledge that is not questioned and problematized is not neutral, rather it is an expression of historical moments where some groups exercise dominant power over others" (Shor, 1993: 28).

Freire states that "in order [for society] to function, authority must be on the side of freedom, not against it" (Freire, 1972: 53). Freire holds that we live in a society that "in the name of the preservation of culture and knowledge" fails to "[achieve] neither true knowledge nor true culture" because nothing is created afresh through reflection but only one framework is recycled. He suggests that we need to live in a social medium that evokes the critical reflection of everyone involved (Freire, 1972: 53).

Both the older and younger generations need to constantly pose problems and questions as well as reflect upon them. For Freire, problem-posing involves a constant unveiling of reality and all parties involved constantly re-form their reflections by paying attention to one another. He states that in problem-posing, "men develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality, but as a reality in process, in transformation" (Freire, 1972: 56). In this way, looking at the past does not become a means to defining reality but a means to understanding more clearly what and who they are so that they can build the future more wisely.

> "The purpose of problem-posing education is to create a critical awareness of the present reality of where 'I am' and 'We are'. We have to re-educate ourselves to an understanding that rejects the assumption that we are merely in the world not with the world and with [the] other; that we are spectators and not re-creators. It is this possession of a social consciousness, of being-in-relationship that identifies us as social political beings" (Taylor, P: 58)

Writers such as Pero Dagbovie, propose that the hip hop generation needscome to the knowledge of their parent's past, to study African history to help guide them toward a better understanding of their cultures. He further encourages 'Hip Hoppers' to "use hip hop as a tool for disseminating black history" and not totally forget their roots (In Alridge & Steward, 2005: 194). Such propositions can be better understood in communication with one another.

### 5.5. Humanistic Psychology

John Cohen emphasizes the need to study what the characteristic of man is rather than what the root is. He states that "our starting point must be the phenomena of experience from the 'inside' (Cohen, 1958: 29). For Cohen, we ought to look at what is standing in the way of what older and younger generations desire. The point is to address the barrier itself and not the people.

Cohen talks about the concept of 'barriers' that are physical, social and moral, that often stand in between people and what they want or who they want to be. "The concept of barrier is a general one and denotes anything which obstructs behaviour or thought whether we are aware of it or not" (Cohen, 1958: 63). He suggests that "the immediate determinants of thought and behaviour must therefore be placed within a definite region accessible to human observation and verification (Cohen, 1958: 28).Approaches such as that of applied drama and theatre, have proven to bring such barriers to the surface.

## 6. Methodology

### 6.1. Phenomenological

This paper, adopts a phenomenological position. I believe hip hop and "Sophiatown jazz' and thus, the older and younger generations, ought to be looked at according to the different layers that make up their culture. "Phenomenology is a philosophical approach to the study of experience [,] it is concerned with what the experience of being human is like", especially with things that matter to a person and which constitute the lived (Smith et al, 2009: 11).

Edmund Husserl is one of the key phenomenological philosophers. For Husserl, "phenomenology involves the careful examination of human experience" (Smith, et al, 2009: 12).

Husserl reasoned that these essential features of an experience would transcend the particular circumstances of a person's particular experience (Smith, et al, 2009: 12). Phenomenology allows you to think of one thing, consciously, from one perspective to another. It invites you into a perspective, to move around from one side to another, "all the while the thing keeps its unity to itself, as the reference point of all the angles it gives you"(Gibson, 1962: 2). I believe that from this viewpoint, I am able to analyse and interpret the data. "To get the full sphere of absolute consciousness, you have to let the worldly go away and then inhabit what's left, to inhabit what's left, you must look to the phenomenological method" (Gibson, 1962: 2).

For philosophers like Husserl, a 'phenomenological reduction' is essential in understanding the nature of an object/subject by moulding it, removing some layers from it and changing it into different forms and perspectives, but still allowing it to remain with the things that make up its existence. By attempting to remove the misconception attached to both cultures in question, I will therefore "momentarily reduce, effectively erase the world of speculation by returning the subject to their primordial experience of the matter, whether the object of inquiry is a feeling, an idea or a perception" (Gibson, 1962: 3).

This reduction removes all judgment from the particular subject. "The systematic removal one by one, of the inessential aspects, the symbolic meanings, context, to get to the core: leaving only the essence of what constitutes the thing" (Gibson, 1962: 3). "Husserl tells us we need to reduce the natural world to its pure consciousness, so that what we are left with is a pure framework with which to consider the mind set and methodology of phenomenology" (Gibson, 1962: 3). "A being that looks and behaves more or less like myself, i.e., displays traits more or less familiar from my own case, will generally perceive things from an egocentric viewpoint similar to my own, in the sense that I would roughly look upon things the way he does if I were in his shoes and perceived them from his perspective" (Gibson, 1962: 5). Husserl holds that "in order to be phenomenological, we need to disengage from the activity and attend to the taken-for-granted experience of it" (Smith et al, 2009: 13).

## 6.2. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA)

According to Smith, et al, (2009), philosophers such as Martin Heidegger hold that phenomenological inquiry is from the outset an interpretative process. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis is concerned with the detailed examination of ahuman lived experience. Through this approach to 'Sophiatown jazz' and hip hop, I am able to conduct an examination in a way which as far as possible enables that experience to be expressed in its own terms, rather than according to predefined category systems (Smith et al, 2009: 32). It wants to know in detail what the experience for the particular person is like, what sense this particular person is making out of a said situation. Is a qualitative research approach committed to the examination of how people make sense of their major life experiences? "When people are engaged with 'an experience' of what is happening", Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis aims to engage with these reflections (Smith, et al, 2009: 3). The lyrics and quotes from interviews, will indicate what the reflections and experiences of older and younger generations are.

Applied Drama principles made manifest by practitioners such as Augusto Boal resonate with this phenomenological approach. Boal calls this "ascesis":

> "The movement from the phenomenon to the law which regulates phenomena of that kind; and [the] concept of 'osmosis' enables this free play from one arena to the other, suggesting as it does that no individual consciousness can remain unmarked by social values. [That if] there are cops in our head, they must have come from somewhere and if they are in our head, maybe they are in other people's heads as well" (Boal, 1995: xx).

For example, a method of applied drama called 'forum theatre' is phenomenological in principle. Forum theatre, a Boalian practice,is where a story is enacted by selected actors who have rehearsed and thought out the story. The story presents a problem to its audience and the audience is invited into the shoes of a particular character, one who is said to represent the problem or one who possesses the ability to alter it. The audience then enacts possible solutions to the problems presented. An audience possesses the power to change what they see to be inaccurate (Boal, 1995: xviii). "In Forum, the audience not only comments on the action, it intervenes directly in the action, taking the protagonist's part and trying to bring the play to a different end; it is no longer a passive receiver, it is a gathering of 'spect-actors'

(active spectators) who bring their own experience and suggestions to the question [:] what is to be done?" (Boal, 1995: xviii). Forum theatre was never about a simplification into right and wrong, never in absolute terms of black and white- one person's black might be another's white, or grey, or red, or blue; forum is always about what a roomful of people believe is not necessarily the same as what the next roomful will believe (Boal, 1995: xix). Forum Theatre "never seeks to impose any kind of doctrine of political correctness, not to make things easy; easier to understand, maybe" (Boal, 1995: xix).

# 7. Methods of Research

## 7.1. Literature

I have made use of literature from critical pedagogy theories such as that of August Boal, Paulo Freire, Carl Rogers and Helen Nicholson. These theorists form the nucleus of applied drama principles and what I suggest is necessary when considering interventions and campaigns with older and younger generations. I have also drawn from critical race theorists such as Richard Delgado, to highlight the underlying catalysts behind movements such as hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz'. Critical Race Theory offers key frameworks when trying to understand 'the marginalized' of society. It is my opinion that both older and younger generations come from the perspective of being marginalized. Therefore, applied drama becomes important in addressing their positions.

## 7.2. Song/lyric analysis

By using song/lyrics, I seek to advocate music as 'social texts', necessary for applied drama practitioners to utilize as a form of research on populations or communities. Looking at music as text, Monelle states that musical text is the score, not as performed but as understood, its dialectics resolved into intelligibility. It is "an epistemic nexus, the meeting point of all its significations, indexical, iconic and symbolic" (Monelle, 2000: 155).

According to Robinson, music possesses a "narrative dimension" that allows us to decode what we hear as if we are listening to a narrative or a story. "Very often, music gets us to imagine that we ourselves are feeling something; the sounds induce us to imagine

introspecting or simply experiencing exuberance, tension, determination, anguish, or wistfulness" (Robinson, 1997: 7). Through music, we are able to gain, ideally, an empathetic understanding of the 'text' behind the music by virtue of us taking time to analyse it. For Robinson, "musical understanding is nothing but analysis" (Robinson, 1997: 8).

To understand the reflections and psycho-social trajectory of the two generations in question, I suggest that, an analysis of their music becomes a necessary starting point. The content of the music itself will give an indication of the two generation's mind set because "the listener mirrors the feelings expressed by the music" (Robinson, 1997: 17).

Robinson points out that, if listeners mirror the negative emotions they hear in music, then we seem to be faced with the "paradox of tragedy"- that people apparently take great delight in watching and hearing about people in hideously unhappy situations and undergoing terrible suffering. Such emotional responses, even though one would be expected not to delight in them, "help us understand the qualities in the music that produce the response" as well as possess "a beneficial cathartic effect[s]" on the listener (Robinson, 1997: 18).

## 7.3. Personal Experience at Themba Interactive

From April 2012 until February 2014, I worked as a facilitator/trainer at an organization called Themba Interactive. Themba Interactive – Initiatives for Life, is Southern Africa's leading applied drama and theatre organizationthat uses drama to engage with and teach audiences about sexual reproduction, health and wellness, HIV/Aids and prevention, human rights, social justice and diversity. Themba Interactive's commitment to social change is embodied in its diverse staff, projects and outreach initiatives within Southern Africa (www.themba.org/home).

I worked as a project coordinator for a project called RATED (Reaching Adolescents through Educational Drama). I worked in schools mostly in the CBD, Johannesburg such as Metropolitan College, Supreme College, John Orr Technical High School, and Leeds College. My role at Themba Interactive included training inmates to be peer educators at the Johannesburg Correctional Centre, Leeukop Correctional Centre, Rooigrond Correctional Centre (North West) and Krugersdorp Correctional Centre.

My experience at Themba Interactive left me curious to find out what the difference would have been had parents or older generations have been invited to be part of the processes. I found that the voices of the older generations were often missing in the workshops spaces leaving youth to express themselves to one another.

## 7.4. Practice as Research

We were required to conduct a Practice Based Research (PAR) as part of our masters course work. The initial research approach was to take myself and fellow researchers (my participants) on an 'ethnographic' journey into and through the world of hip hop. I aimed to use 'process drama' as a means to afford my participants the opportunity to thoroughly engage with, witness, be a part of, interrogate, embody and decide their relation to that world (if at all) and if it breeds a feeling of 'homeness'. I define 'homeness' as a feeling one gets from being part of a sort of 'non-structured family' (hip hop), where life is expressed *outwardly* through style, dance/crumping, graffiti drawing, rhyming, being messy, vulgar, opposing norms and being allowed to do so.

My wish was to achieve "proximity" was driven by Conquergood analysis's of how objectivity assumed by 'intellectuals' prohibits them to acknowledge that one cannot know without understanding and feeling. I wanted to offer an embodied process that would incorporate the cognitive, emotional, and physical aspects of the person. I wished to take my participants through the 'feeling' of hip hop culture or what it means to be a 'hip hopper'.

However, my presence as researcher affected this path of interest when I began the research and approached several hip hop artists, asking them to be a part of the journey in order to add more authenticity. Almost all of the people I wanted to work with were hostile to letting me into their world, let alone undergoing a process that would allow other people to do the same. They told me that one cannot understand the world of hip hop unless they actively try to be a part of it. They did not want to be analysed but understood. It is then that I first considered my 'role' in the research. I had wanted to make it about other people but when they wouldn't let me into their world, I felt closed out of a world (hip hop) that was a crucial part of my growing up and something that meant a lot to me. I realized that I had wanted to impose this sense of 'homeness' on other people. I realized it is not something that I could do through a single process. I had to first investigate for myself why I wanted other people to 'feel' it, and

only then would I know what barriers are standing between myself and peoples understanding of something that was meaningful to me. I had to begin with a knowledge of self.

After a lot of thought and observing past presentations, I decided this was not the best aim for me. I realized that I was enabling a process where 'outsiders' could step into a made up world of hip hop and make their judgements about it and leave again. For me, this was turning hip hop into a human zoo. I was expecting people to 'perform' other people's lives so they could come to an understanding they probably didn't even need. It is not until I observed some PAR presentations at the University of Pretoria and spoke to one of the performers that I realized that practically <u>everything</u> is a performance. We perform our 'blackness' (one of the presentations that day spoke of this), our femininity and many other things. I wondered if perhaps hip hop wasn't a performance itself. A performance of identity. I decided that I would research what constitutes performance in the *traditional* sense by asking passers-by, in order to hear if their definition/attributes of hip hop correlated with what performance is. I further aimed to research whether the ascribing of these 'codes' (attributes and definitions) onto my own body for drama, would instead bring me to an understanding of this notion of 'homeness'. To understand whether I could 'feel' a sense of 'homeness' by performing the identity of hip hop.

In conversation with various friends who are also hip hoppers, I found that they related to this feeling even though they quite couldn't explain it themselves. Feeling is a very difficult thing to explain. There seems to be no written work that uses this term however I learn that there is a different name used. For example, in her book, *Rap Music and Street Consciousness*, Cheryl Keyes (2002) echoes this notion of 'homeness' in hip hop under the phrase, 'hip hop nation' or an "imagined community" (Keyes, 2002).

This research journey gave me the space to open more doors. I used, strictly, applied drama methods and techniques such as role play, mirroring, image theatre, role reversals, and others. What was overwhelming became an important part of discovering the memories and feelings sitting in my own body. What I had left lying dormant in my body and how those came out in my research interests. I find that the process of **doing** evoked a lot more questions for me that link back to my practice. Applied Drama has a lot to do with role/performance, the self and the distance between the two.

I grew interested in finding out what 'performing our identity' does for the body on the inside and how far are we willing to take our roles? Therefore in applied drama, what can 'performing of roles' do for the body on the inside at that immediate time.

This journey taught me just how much research is ever changing, how knowledge means something different to each of us and how our bodies are just as capable of translating what's on the outside to the inside. I discovered issues of my own femininity in hip hop. I realized how I performed the role of a 'deep' or 'conscious' hip hop listener in order to appeal to fellow hip hop listeners. That was a way to buy into the community of hip hop.

Through my PAR, I concluded that before trying to make people understand the 'other, they need to understand 'self'. Cecily O'Neill (1995) suggests that we approach the 'other' on the basis of what we know or have observed in life. In trying to imagine what 'other' thinks and feels, how much do (I) really know about them, and how much of that knowing is based on how much (I) really know about myself? In imagining (myself) into the space of the 'other' how far can (I) really go? (Dimm, 2002: 18). In recognizing our limitations, in this regard, our imaginations begin to create for us a space in which we can move beyond what we know and what we don't know, into what we want to find out (Dimm, 2002: 18). It is in this way that I further endorse the methods and principles of applied drama for such achievements.

# 8. Method of Data Analysis: Thematic Content Analysis

As I have already suggested, I will be analysing the musical culture of hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz' to find common themes between older and younger generations. According to Braun & Clarke (2006), "thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data". They state that "it minimally organizes and describes your data set in (rich) detail" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 79). Thematic analysis, as a method has been poorly demarcated and rarely acknowledged, yet widely used as a qualitative analytic method. This method involves searching across a data set to find repeated patterns of meaning (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 78).

The basis for the thematic analysis applied in this paper is "thematising [interpreted] meanings" (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 78). It is a process performed within major analytic

traditions- such as grounded theory, rather than a specific approach in its own right. Thematic analysis is essentially independent of theory and epistemology, and can be applied across a range of theoretical and epistemological approaches, and“through its theoretical freedom, the thematic analysis provides a flexible and useful research tool, which can potentially provide rich and detailed, yet complex, accounts of data (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 78).

There is no clear agreement about what thematic analysis is and how you go about doing it. Braun and Clarke argue that “a ‘named’ and ‘claimed’ thematic analysis means researchers need not subscribe to the implicit theoretical commitments of grounded theory if they do not wish to produce afully worked-up grounded-theory analysis” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 81). In this research report, I wish to surface some of the themes that come up for older and younger generations in hip hop and ‘Sophiatown jazz’ cultures, as a way to relate them when trying to develop applied drama processes or other interventions. The term ‘theme’ in this regard refers to a way of capturing “something important about the data in relation to the research”, and “represent some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set” (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 82). For Braun and Clarke, “researcher judgement is necessary to determine what a theme is”(Braun & Clarke, 2006: 82). . In analysing the culture and behaviour traits of hip hop and ‘Sophiatown jazz’, I seek to surface important themes relevant in finding commonalities between the older and younger generations.

More specifically, a “thematic decomposition analysis” (thematic DA) approach is used “where patterns are identified as socially produced, but no discursive analysis is conducted. Thematic DA, identifies patterns (themes and stories) within data, and theorizes language as constitutive of meaning and meaning as social (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 81).Thematic analysis is not wedded to any specific theoretical framework. It is a ‘contextualist’ method, sitting between the two poles of essentialism and constructionism, and characterized by theories, such as critical realism, which acknowledge the ways individuals make meaning of their experience, and in turn, the ways broader social context impinges on those meanings, while retaining focus on the material and other limits of reality (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 81).

# 9. Literature Review

## 9.1. Intergenerational Gap- Causes & Effect

Arguably, the ills faced and, supposedly, 'caused' by youth today, are a result of many actions and consequences that came with the apartheid era- whether physical, psychological or emotional. I draw on the writing of Monde Makiwane (2010) who highlights these issues in depth in the section that follows. Nonetheless, youth seem to be fighting against issues such as poverty, corruption, unemployment, etc, and not necessarily the issue of race brought about by the apartheid era. Hip hop has served as one of the most prevalent mediums that youth has made use of to express their grievances because "many younger people are seeking greater responsibility for the important life choices and decisions that must be made" (World Youth Report, 2003: 397). The issue of how younger and older people relate to one another in South Africa has some underlying causes that, in turn, have given way to new problems. Some of the issues are discussed in what follows below

### 9.1.1. Labour Migration

During the Sophiatown era, migrant workers worked far from home, mostly in mines. They travelled long distances to work and stayed there for long periods of time. This is still the case today (Mbatha 2003: 34). Makiwane highlights some of the reasons that have caused physical and social distance between the older and younger generations include 'culture of labour migration' where many black children, grew up in households without fathers, and in some, both parents, as they had to leave their homes and seek employment in the cities or mines (Makiwane, 2010: 2). Therefore social contact between parent and child was typically at a minimum.

The occupational commitments of parents are seen as inevitable. For the greater part of the 20$^{th}$ century, and the culture of labour migration persists among black South Africans. Presently, "physical distance between fathers and children is quite common, about 50% of children growing up in South Africa did not stay in the same household as their fathers for the greater part of their childhood years" (Makiwane, 2010: 2). A contributing factor is also "the wide prevalence of non-marital childbearing in South Africa". Also, "during the apartheid era, the enforced separation of men from their families resulted in weak conjugal

bonds, resulting in many children being born outside stable sexual unions" and therefore not knowing their fathers (Makiwane, 2010: 2).

Makiwane states that "norms governing responsible paternity were not enforced in the urban industrial locations and as a result; many men in these areas did not associate fathering a child with full commitment to parental responsibility" (Makiwane, 2010: 2). As a result, the relationship between the older and younger generations harbour emotional detachment and resentment due to the vivid absence of either one or both parents. Currently, many fathers still depend on mining and domestic jobs for survival and this is evidenced by the fact that trains and taxis in Johannesburg still transport predominantly black men and women from areas such as Soweto, into the cities and mine areas for low income jobs.

While working as a facilitator/trainer at Themba Interactive, I discovered the ongoing cycle of crime brought about by the lack of re-integration programs for inmates when they are released and further the dire lack of jobs which ultimately land them back in correctional centres. Part of my job was to train inmates to be peer educators on issues around HIV/AIDS, sexual health, behavioural change and human rights. A lot of the inmates were young in age and the older ones had been there from a young age themselves, leaving one to wonder if this was not influenced by the absence of father figures in their lives. "Black youth are without the role models that have helped guide previous generations, they have been left rudderless with only the street to guide them" (Dimitriadis, 2001: 121).

### 9.1.2. Poverty

Junita Kreps gives special attention to the economics of intergenerational relations. Kreps argues that "the middle generation is now supporting both the old and young through transfer payments" (Shanas & Streib, 1965: 7). In modern day South Africa, both parents and youth are fighting poverty and unfortunately, much responsibility seems to lie on old age pensioners, to support their children and grand-children (sometimes even great grand-children). The World Youth Report (2003) states that poverty has resulted abuse among generations (physical and economic) particularly at the household level, and endemic poverty (World Youth Report, 2003: 404). There is an expectation from older people to be provided for as per the "generational contract", while younger people equally depend on their parents to take care of them financially. The emergence of the Izikhothane movement during recent years has popularized material wealth-money, expensive clothes and expensive shoes,

causing a higher rate of crime and suicide/deaths. Older people are now more pressurized into spending money they do not have in order to meet the materialistic needs of their children, which in turn does cause a certain level of dislike for youth activities.

It may have seemed that the elimination of early death, the introduction of family planning to reduce pressures on resources, and the provision of social programs that meet basic needs throughout the lifespan would lead to greater well-being and a more harmonious life for all. Instead, the aging of society is seen as a demographic shift that pushes us more quickly toward resource scarcity (Daniels, 1988: 10).

### 9.1.3. Education

Additionally, the immense difference in educational status between generations in South Africa "specifically as a result of parents who have grown up in a closed apartheid society are parenting children who are growing up in a liberal post-apartheid society" (Makiwane, 2010: 2). "On the other hand, social distance can manifest in the case of children socialized in a culture of 'Model C' schools- multiracial schools in South Africa" (Makiwane, 2010: 3).

The different educational systems emphasize different values. This has caused difficulty among generations to relate to one another and further adds a language barrier with the younger generation not being able to communicate in the vernacular of their parents (Makiwane, 2010:3). This is due to the fact that in 'Model C' or multiracial schools, vernacular languages are often offered as a second language

### 9.1.4. Communication barriers

Based on the definition of communication according to Samovar and Porter (2000), I argue that communication has not been achieved efficiently among older and younger generations. Communication means to make common, to make known, to exchange thoughts, feelings and information and to present something that somebody else understands (Samovar & Porter, 2000: 28).

The age of internet and social media, which did not exist during apartheid, has caused an even larger gap between generations and in a way, has caused parents to lose the power to

communicate with their children or monitor the things they are exposed to. Another factor affecting this communication barrier dates back to the time when the 'Group Areas Act' was imposed when families were separated (Makiwane, 2010: 5). Because of such influences, families never learnt to converse across generations and this further weakened the extended family setting. Makiwane states that "in response the communities in many townships have witnessed the emergence of gangs who have become a socially disruptive force". He further states that "the alternative social structures like gangs have replaced the extended family system which historically was crucial for the socialization of the youth" (Makiwane, 2010: 5).

Young people are often unable to confront their parents when they feel misunderstood or simply have the desire to express themselves. Questioning or confronting an older person can be easily deemed as disrespectful. We see an example of this in Tefo Paya's autobiographical play titled "Morwa" which was shown during the University of the Witwatersrand 2014 orientation week. This play shows Paya's relationship with his parents as well as his challenges in understanding manhood and defining his identity/masculinity. In the play we see how conservative parents tend to deny their children the opportunity to talk about puberty, sex and relationships. Demanding to talk about such issues with adults is considered to be a breach of generational boundaries, thus disrespectful. Paya shows how he felt guilty and frightened over the developments of his body and how every time he tried to raise it with his father, he would get a response such as 'I am your father, you cannot talk to me about such things'. He later turned to hip hop as an outlet which he says made him feel understood.

I argue the Paya's story is similar to many other young people's stories in South Arica. Adolescents become curious about a number of things that take place around them such as sexual discoveries/desires/experiences. Khulekani Mbatha writes about the fact that parents are often not at liberty to share information around sex because it is taboo or because they themselves were not raised in that way. In earlier times, information concerning sex was usually reserved for adults (Mbatha, 2003: 23).

> "Many traditional African values of communication are connected by the underlying philosophical principles of humanism (Ubuntu) and communication (ubunye, ubudlekwane)" and commonly, "the reciprocity and mutuality of human relations are emphasized as well as the belief that respect should always be reciprocated". Furthermore "becoming a person through one's relation with others (ukulingisa endaweni ubuhlobo ba-bantu) also forms part of the ancient African philosophies that relate to communication" (Mbatha, 2003: 24).

In African culture, avoidance of eye contact is seen as a sign of respect. Eye contact between older and younger people ought to be limited. However, today eye avoidance by adolescents can symbolize dissatisfaction, unhappiness, anger, or not wanting to listen to what is being said (Mbatha, 2003: 77).

Nonetheless, looking at the culture of Sophiatown, as it marks the foundations of an era that the older generation was a part of, we see how their lifestyle has a lot of similarities with the now generation of hip hop. I suggest that the similarities offer a good starting point in trying to negotiate better communication among the older and younger generations in South Africa. The music that was birthed during the Sophiatown/apartheid era is the main point of reference when trying to come to grips with the culture of the older generation. For both 'Sophiatown Jazz' and Hip Hop, the music aspect they have in common plays a major role in how the two generations came to form their beliefs and identity. For Dunbar-Hall (1991), music denotes style, style connotes sub-culture, sub-culture denotes lifestyle, lifestyle connotes beliefs (Dunbar-Hall, 1991: 130).

## 9.2. Music as generational means of expression

"We can describe music as fresh or graceful or melancholy, but this is to characterize qualities of the music itself, not to refer to anything fresh or graceful or melancholy in the world beyond the music" (Robinson, 1997: 1). Richard Wagner "is heir to the tradition of romantic composers and idealist philosophers that [hold] that music can be expressive of the profoundest human concerns" (Robinson, 1997: 2). For, Raymond Monelle (2000), music is "the product of an encounter between sound and mind, between structure and subject" (Monelle, 2000: 5). In it, music possesses an element called "the narrative dimension", which can be better thought of as the narration of a story or a drama (Robinson, 1997: 6).

Younge states that in South Africa;

> "music has not only been the focus of social and cultural life in many townships, but it has also been a site of resistance. Not only do some lyrics offer trenchant satire on state legislation, but in South Africa's polarized society even apolitical songs communicate a sense of pride in black political consciousness" (Younge, 1988: 34).

Critical Race Theorists hold that the ongoing issue of racism is perpetuated by the underlying issue of "white privilege" which refers to a myriad of social advantages, benefits, and courtesies that come with being a member of a dominant (white) race. Movements such as the CRT seek to make apparent the everyday 'racism' not taken as serious or overt.Hip hop and 'Sophiatown Jazz', like CRT, "[ground] its conceptual framework in the distinctive contextual experiences of people of colour and racial oppression through the use of literary narrative knowledge and storytelling to challenge the existing social constructions" (Douglas & Cummings, 2010: 504). The roots of all three launches "were humble, unassuming, and sparsely witnessed", they sprang from the creative and aggressive minds of a few forward-thinking progressives that simply had to find a forum by which to express very different ways of communicating, thinking, writing, and philosophizing" (Douglas & Cummings, 2010: 518).

Hip hop and CRT, carry in essence and theory, some of the literal occurrences of the apartheid regime where 'Sophiatown jazz' started. For example, most of the music black people created in order to entertain or express themselves, had to be done underground/hidden because it was not allowed. However there were some aspects of the music such as the pennywhistle/kwela that shared a white audience even though the music wasn't accepted.

In response to the harsh administration of the apartheid government, "resistance movements evolved from loosely organized unions of non-violent protestors; to powerful and armed coalitions such as the African National Congress (ANC)" (Vershbow, 2010). Other forms of resistance came in the form of music which black South Africans began using to communicate, entertain and redefine their cultural identity. Music became one of the driving forces behind the liberation struggle against apartheid, serving as a communal act of expression that shed light on the injustices faced by black people (Vershbow, 2010). Michel Vershbow refers to Sifiso Ntuli who speaks about the important role that music played at that time, saying that;

> "…a song is something that we communicate[d] to those people who otherwise would not understand where we [were] coming from. You could give them a long political speech- they would still not understand but I tell you, when you finish [a] song, people [would] be like 'Damn I know where you niggas are coming from. Death unto Apartheid'…" (Sifiso Ntuli in Vershbow, 2010).

Abdullah Ibrahim, a well-known jazz pianist also expresses this sentiment stating that "there has probably never been a revolution that did not use songs to give voice to its aspirations, or to unite and strengthen the morale of its adherents" (Hirsh, 2002 in Vershbow, 2010).

Through the discussion of the causes and effects of the generational gap as well as an analysis of the content of music, we see how the older and younger generations are concerned with the extent of poverty in South Africa and how both strive for economic and racial justice. However, it can be argued that the medium they both choose to express themselves may not necessarily be heard by the people capable of changing their situations such as government officials (with hip hop) or the elite. In this way, applied drama becomes a suitable medium for conveying expression as well as bringing together all generations for dialogue.

## 9.3. Enquiry into Older generation

### 9.3.1. 'Sophiatown Jazz': the older generation

"Sophiatown!" Trevor Huddleston writes:

> *"How hard it is to capture and to convey the magic of that name! Once it is a matter of putting pen to paper, all the life and colour seem to leave it; and failing to explain its mysterious fascination is somehow a betrayal of one's love for the place...I cannot put my memories on paper, or if I do, they will only be like the butterflies pinned, dead and lustreless on the collector's board"* (Huddleston, 1956 in Masilela: 37).

Sophiatown, is a community west of Johannesburg that was often compared to Harlem, New York City, for its lively combination of the arts, politics, religion and entertainment. This community housed a majority of black South Africans who were 'stacked' away from the central urban areas where only white South Africans were allowed to live during the apartheid era. This area was initially a small plot bought by a man named Mr. Tobiansky, who named the piece of land after his wife Sophia; and the streets after his children (Hannerz, 1994: 184). "So from the beginning Sophiatown had a homely and 'family' feel about it" (Huddleston, 1956: in Masilela: 38). The area was a whites-only area that was later given to black people when a sewage dump was built next to the area and white people no longer wanted to live there (SOHA, 2011).

It became one of those rare locations in South Africa where black people could own land. The residents of Sophiatown constructed this area into a lifestyle and a rich culture based on sheebens- informal/illegal drinking pubs, music and beer brewing. People could come to these shebeens not only as a form of entertainment but also to share and talk about their political ideas and daily life struggles (Hannerz, 1994: 184). The conditions in this community kept deteriorating with the furthing of the apartheid regime. Ansell states that;

> "desperate residents were forced into migrant labour, as was the design. Workers moved back and forth to commercial plantations, mines, and big city factories, and to the industrial estates packed with low-wage assembly plants on the homeland borders" (Ansell, 2005: 187).

The trains or "stimelas" transporting migrant workers "also carried authentic tradition into the towns, to challenge ersatz [music] culture, and carried news of the political struggle and advancing concepts of organisation back into the homelands (Ansell, 2005: 187). The number of black people living in the urban areas at any one time grew from 27.2 per cent of the total black population to 31.8 per cent (Ballantine, 2012: 161). Financially, "families were in disarray, as wives and children were abandoned by husbands and fathers who went in search of work in the cities", and this not only strained relationships but it meant that many men were leaving and not returning (Ballantine, 2012: 161). The instability of the black urban family was the subject of ongoing concern during the 1940s and 1950s because the family unit was "fast losing its significance and loose family unions were leading to full-scale social disintegration" (Ballantine, 2012: 161). Women had to assume greater degrees of responsibility and were essentially forced to move away from the patriarchal structure of the home, giving less significance to the man in the home (Ballantine, 2012: 169).

The Manhattan Brothers recorded music mostly directed to issues of migrancy and mourned love that reveals the impact of labour migrancy (Ballantine, 2012: 172/3). The songs revealed the pain suffered by migrant workers as well as their families. "It involved not only a trauma of separation, but also the fact that such people would now experience themselves as being at a material distance from those they cared about" (Ballantine, 2012: 174). Music continued to carry the concerns and reflections of this generation.

Sophiatown culture was influenced by the Odin and Blanasky theatres which screened many American movies. The gang culture that emerged was patterned after the gangsters in the movies they saw. Some of the gangs were named after foreign parties such as 'Nazis', 'The Russians' or 'American vultures' (SAHO, 2011: unpaginated). Almost all of the adult males

would work in the mines and the women were domestic workers, 'sheeben queens' or prostitutes (SAHO, 2011: unpaginated). 'Sophiatown jazz' culture emphasized a smart appearance, "an explicit and exquisite dress code which accentuates, above all, cleanliness". Typically the dress code was "classic Humphrey Bogart manier à la Mafia originating from 1940's New York Bebop generation" (Mapaya et al, 2014: 63). The men were famous for their elegant suits, top hats and shiny shoes, while the women boasted smart fashionable dresses and flamboyant hairstyles.

The music culture of Sophiatown continued to develop in spite of apartheid oppression. By the mid-fifties, the whole South African jazz movement was in full swing in places like the Odin Cinema, where the likes of the Jazz Epistles, Hugh Masekela, Abdullah Ibrahim and Kippie Moeketsi honed their talents, while songbirds such as Dolly Rathebe and Miriam Makeba and her Skylarks plied their trade (Sullivan, 2013: unpaginated). Influential writers such as Henry Nxumalo, Nat Nakasa and Can Themba pioneered the Drum magazine during this time. Among the residents of Sophiatown were Nelson Mandela, Ruth First, Trevor Huddleston, Helen Joseph (Sullivan, 2013: unpaginated).

Jazz music "conceal[ed] an undercurrent of dance and anger, tradition and freedom, a whole dialectic of richness" (McGregor, 1995: 216 in Duby, 2012). This jazz community distinguished itself "by use of private slang, specific modes of dress, drug use, and other eccentric behaviour" (Gerard, 1998:83).

'**Pennywhistle jazz'**, '**kwela**', '**marabi**' or '**mbaqanga jazz'**, are some of the terms used to refer to the music that took the front scene in Sophiatown. These musical terms do not refer to the same genre of music but are derivatives of each other in the build-up of what is now commonly known as South African jazz. It has been said that "in discussing South African music [starting from] the 1930s and 40s, the concept of 'marabi' and South African jazz are used interchangeably (Mapaya et al, 2014: 59). According to the South African music research, 'penny whistle' music became subsequently known as 'kwela' around 1958. With its roots in the 'marabi' tradition, the music at times blended elements of rock 'n roll, blues, jazz and swing, into a language of irresistibly catchy tunes ideal for dancing (South African music, 2011). Like the community itself, the nature of jazz music changed rapidly (Gerard, 1998: 83). Younge emphasises that although there are differences in the origin and the following ofthe music, all of it was sanctioned by the African Eisteddfods, and these forms of music were also completely ignored by the record industry" (Younge, 1988: 34).

‘Marabi’ on the other hand, was a name given to a South African keyboard style. This style of music was associated with illegal liquor dens and vices such as prostitution the residents took part in and were frowned upon. (South African music, 2011: unpaginated).Ballantine states that in the 1950s “nightclubs frequented by black people were dangerous places” because “gangsters were an important catalyst for such events” (Ballantine, 2012: 118). A song titled ‘Hlompa’ by the Manhattan Brothers for example, “addresses a context marked by profound alienation and death”:

*Otlwela hle sello sammao*

*Olla ka pelo e bo hloko*

*O kgathe tsehile ka bobe bahao*

*Hoba otsamaya obolaya batho*

(translation)

*Can you hear your mother crying*

*Crying with a broken heart*

*Grieved by the evil you do*

*When you go around killing people*

(Ballantine, 2012: 181).

Ballantine states that despite the negative connotations ascribed to this music, “jazz was suppressed because it aspired to musical and social equality, it was precisely the musical idiom in which and through which urban black people were proving to themselves and to the world that they were equals of whites” (Ballantine, 2012: 10). The marabi tradition is said to be where most of the indigenous jazz of South Africa developed. Marabi was a statement of defiance against a repressive political order and a social order that sought to contain an emerging sound that was deemed to be ‘unprogressive’ (Ballentine, 2012: 10).

The term ‘kwela’ is derived from the Zulu language meaning “get up”, though in township slang it also referred to the police vans, the “kwela-kwela”. This could be an invitation to join the dance as well as warning (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). “Young men who played the penny whistle on street corners also acted as lookouts to warn those enjoying

themselves in the illegal drinking dens on the arrival of the police" (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). 'Kwela' music stars included Spokes Mashiyane and Elias Lerole. The 'kwela' culture in Sophiatown saw the development of different dance styles such as the 'phata-phata' (touch-touch) (South Afrian Music, 2011: unpaginated).

As mentioned before, Sophiatown was the key area in the growth of these various styles of music, which has grown since the 1930s. "Sophiatown attracted the most adventurous performers of the new musical form, and became a hot bed of the rapidly developing black musical culture" (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). Old strains of 'marabi' and 'kwela' had begun to coalesce into what is broadly referred to as 'mbaqanga', a mode of African-inflected jazz that had many practitioners such as Miriam Makeba, Dolly Rathebe and Letta Mbulu (South African music, 2011: unpaginated). A new black urban culture developed which now encompassed other arts such as writing- the "Drum Generation", and developed a sassy style of its own, based on the influence of American movies and the glamor attached to the flamboyant gangsters who were an integral part of Sophiatown life (South African music, 2011: unpaginated). According to Ballantine, publications such as Drum magazine "helped to revitalize masculine gender identity" which was stripped away by migrant labour (Ballantine, 2012: 170).

The jazz community in Sophiatown had what was known as "Concert and Dance". This was a performing and participating event which belonged indoors and at night. It was "hounded by hated pass laws, but also by night-curfew regulations and a lack of adequate public transport" so this event was devised to sustain indoor entertainment throughout the night (Ballantine, 2012: 17).

Eventually the apartheid government brought the Sophiatown era to an end, forcibly removing the inhabitants to townships such as Soweto and Meadowlands, outside the city. "Jazz continued to be played in South Africa during the years of severe repression, with groups such as The African Jazz Pioneers and singers such as Abigail Khubeka and Thandi Klaasen keeping the 'mbaqanga' jazz tradition that enlivened Sophiatown" (South African Music. 2011: unpaginated).

'Sophiatown jazz' became a platform for expression among Sophiatown dwellers. Through the content of the music, one is able to see the use of song to convey messages of injustices that were being faced by black people while they could also dance to it. Within the songs, we see some of the issues that caused the intergenerational gap discussed above, such as issues of

poverty, physical distance between family members and labour migration. In a song titled "Stimela", Hugh Masekela talks about a train (called the stimela) that would come and fetch "African men" to take them away from their families and lands, to jobs that didn't even pay them enough money. The song highlights the conditions that South African men lived in, the kind of food they had to eat and the painful thoughts of family they were faced with on a daily basis. By making reference to other countries, Masekala shows the listeners that such issues were not faced by South Africans alone. Masekela says:

*There is a train that comes from*

*Namibia and Malawi*

*There is a train that comes from Zambia and Zimbabwe,*

*There is a train that comes from Angola and Mozambique,*

*From Lesotho, from Botswana, from Swaziland*

*From all the hinterland of Southern and Central Africa.*

*This traincarries young and old, African men*

*Who are conscripted to come and work on contract*

*In the golden mineral mines of Johannesburg*

*And its surrounding metropolis, sixteen hours or more a day*

*For almost no pay.*

*Deep, deep, deep down in the belly of the earth*

*When they are digging and drilling that*

*Shiny mighty evasive stone,*

*Or when they dish that mish mesh mush food*

*Into their iron plates with the iron shank.*

*Or when they sit in their stinking, funky, filthy,*

*Flea-ridden barracks and hostels.*

*They think about the loved ones they may never see again*

*Because they might have already been forcibly removed*

*From where they last left them*

*Or wantonly murdered in the dead of night*

*By roving, marauding gangs of no particular origin,*

*We are told.*

*They think about their lands, their herds*

*That were taken away from them with a gun, bomb, and the teargas*

*The Gatling and the cannon.*

*And when they hear that choo-choo train*

*a-chugging, and a pumping, and a smoking*

*and a pushing, a pumping, a crying and a steaming and a chugging*

*and a whooo whooo!*

*They always cuss, and they curse the*

*Coal train,*

*The coal train that brough them to Johannesburg. Whooo whooo!*

*(www.kasilyrics.co.za )*

Through songs such as 'Stimela', we see an example of how resilient the older generation of South Africa was and how they could turn their grievances into expression that they could dance and find joy in. Ogren states that "the most important ways of speaking in jazz were shaped by musical traditions that relied on significant interactions between performers and audiences". He further states that "this exchange encouraged spontaneity and culminated in defining features of jazz music: improvisation, call and response techniques, polyrhythms, syncopation, and blue tonalities" (Ogren, 1989: 12).

Black townships eventually developed what came to be known as "bubble-gum" music, which was light dance pop influenced by American disco as much as by the heritage of 'mbaqanga' (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). Popular artists included Brenda Fassie, The Soul Brothers, Chicco Twala and Yvonne Chaka Chaka. In the 1990s a new style of township music called 'kwaito', grabbed the hearts of young black South Africans.

It is around the fading away of Sophiatown 'mbaqanga' jazz and the emergence of bubble-gum and 'kwaito' music, that I believe the older (apartheid inhaling) generation gave way to a new generation, who in turn gave birth to the now generation of South African youth. It is not clear as to whether the bubble-gum/kwaito generation falls under the older or younger generation. However, kwaito music, as mentioned, has elements of mbaqanga and older traditional instruments but also laid a foundation for South African hip hop.

Popular kwaito artists such as Mdu Masilela, Mandoza, Arthur Mafokate, Chiskop and Zola, are still known and respected to this day. Kwaito was said to "[represent] life in the townships of South Africa during the post-apartheid period" (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). One of the first kwaito songs that became popular around that time was a song titled "kaffir" by artist, Arthur Mafokate. 'Kaffir' or caffer, was/is a derogatory term referring to black people. This song became an illustration of "the freedom of expression resulting from political liberation in South Africa" (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). It is said that 'kwaito' stars are rivalled in their selling capacity significantly by hip hoppers and rappers today (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). Therefore, kwaito music sits between 'Sophiatown Jazz' and hip hop, serving as one of the connections between the older and younger generation.

Nonetheless, I hold that Sophiatown jazz played an enormous role in unifying the black communities that were facing harsh atrocities under the apartheid regime. Despite the injustices and pain that loomed at that time, this music managed to insert memorable moments of dance and joy to a group of people, allowing them to express themselves in a way they understood. "Members [felt] a sense of support and belonging while performing [or enjoying the music] in front of an appreciative audience" (Mapaya et al, 2014: 64).

Songs such 'Meadowlands' by Miriam Makeba were responding to political structures that threatened to remove them from Sophiatown to a remote area called 'Meadowlands', which eventually happened with the implementation of the Sophiatown forced removals. During such times, a song such as 'Senzeni Na?' meaning- "what have we done?", further showed

the way in which residents responded to socio-political situations with music and song. This song shows the cry of a youth who felt helpless towards what they were faced with and could only ask the world what they had done to deserve such circumstances.

*Senzeni Na?*

*Senzenina? (x4)*

*Sonosethu, ubumyama? (x4)*

*Sonosethuyinyaniso ? (x4)*

*Sibulawayo (x4)*

*Mayibuye i Africa (x4)14*

*(Translation)*

*What have we done? (x4)*

*Is our sin the fact that we are black? (x4)*

*Is our sin the truth? (x4)*

*We are being killed (x4)*

*Return Africa (x4)*

(Lyrics by 'Bangor Community Choir' in Nkoala).

The youth then used this song to reach out to the people listening, urging them to help them restore a peaceful continent. Nkoala (2013) states that, "three of the four verses of Senzeni Na? are posed as rhetorical questions, leading to the conclusion that part of the song's efficacy lies in its approach of posing probing questions that are not meant to be answered, but rather are meant to evoke an internal response from the subconscious of those being questioned" (Nkoala, 2013: 23).

At first, music started as a mirror reflecting the popular experience, however as time went on and resistance movement started to emerge, music and creative expression started to become a hammer with which to shape reality (Mitchell: unpaginated).

## 9.4. Enquiry into younger generation

### 9.4.1. 'Hip Hop': the younger generation

According to Chang (2005) and Thompson (1996), hip hop (culture) was created in the post-industrial Bronx in the 1970s. "Gang-leader-turned-social-organizer Afrika Bambaataa termed 'hip hop' as a movement aimed at getting black and latino youth to use their skills to compete and move away from violence (Petchauer, 2009: 946). American DJ, DJ Kool Herc, is argued to be the father of hip hop. Hip hop comprised of four main elements: 'emceeing' (i.e. rapping), 'breaking' (i.e. breakdancing), 'graffiti' (i.e spray painting/drawing) and 'DJing' (i.e. turntablism). It was initially a response to the black and civil rights movements that sought to represent the voices of the oppressed. (Chang, 2005 in Petchauer, 2009: 946). However, recently the expression of hip hop has expanded to include other creative activities such as spoken word, theatre, clothing styles, language, and some forms of activism (Chang, 2005 in Petchauer, 2009: 946).

Hip hop is said to have African origins such as similarities between moves in 'breaking' (break dancing) and Kongo dances (Thompson, 1996 in Petchauer, 2009: 950). In fact, the very term 'hip hop' is traced back to African origins through the word 'hipi' derived from Wolof speakers; meaning "to be aware or have one's eyes open" (Roediger, 1998 in Petchauer, 2009: 950). For rapper and philosopher KRS-One, hip hop, as imagined by Afrika Bambaataa:

> *Hip means to know*
>
> *It's a form of intelligence*
>
> *Hip is the knowledge*
>
> *Hop is the movement*
>
> *Hip and Hop is 'intelligent movement'*
>
> *(Hip Hop Lives: KRS-ONE)*

Hip hop is a movement widely loved and upheld by youth around the world. The term 'youth' tends to denote "vitality and energy in more general terms", as well as, "inexperience

[…], violence and crime" (Mose, 2013: 111). For Amy Sicilliano (2007), the youth is often framed as "urban outcasts"- as objects of "cultural otherness" and symptoms of the ills of the city space (Sicilliano, 2007: 214 & 220). Youth are projected as "unified social subjects" who are publicly held responsible for the decaying physical and socio-political state of their city (Sicilliano, 2007: 217).

With the violence and vulgarity that often accompanies hip hop music videos or disputes among hip hop rival groups, hip hop has come to be associated with "decaying" aspects of society. In a South African context, for example, hip hop styles such as wearing your pants down and wearing a hat while talking to an older person is considered disrespectful. This exemplifies the apparent moral decay of a traditional black culture.

However youth, under the medium of hip hop advocate their position as "legitimate social and political critic(s)" and "ambassador(s) [who are] representing the views and desires" of the youth (Shipley, 2009: 642 in Mose, 2013: 111). Exactly what the desires of the youth are seems to be the point of conflict between the older and younger generation. In South Africa, post-1994 youth is expected to carry the legacy of a (apartheid) struggle they were never there to witness as well as fulfil the requirements of the "generational contract"(World Youth Report, 2003: 400).

However, it seems South African youth are fighting a different fight. One could wonder what the effects as well as, symptoms, of such expectations are, and how it becomes evident in the actions of the youth. For example, the Hector Pieterson memorial in Soweto, which represents the history of apartheid, has been drawn upon and spray painted (graffiti), supposedly because youth do not understand the relevance or important historical implications of the memorial (SA Venues online: unpaginated). Such acts of vandalism are inevitably pointed towards the youth because of the obvious element of hip hop used. The conflict becomes evident in this regard leaving one to wonder why youth would vandalise a symbol of a legacy they are 'meant' to uphold.

Evidently, the way youth represent themselves through hip hop is in a distanced manner from the reality of apartheid. Materialistic aspects shown in rap videos or hip hop reality series such as expensive cars, alcohol, explicit sexual behaviour, vulgar language, violence, obscenity, promiscuity, gold chains, gold teeth, baggy pants, etc, and even misogyny, seem to represent what hip hop has come to be. Shapiro (2005) states that "hip hop was about style-finding something that would make you no longer invisible, something that would make you

so ‘fly’ (cool) that eventually you would go all-city”(Shapiro, 2005: 182). He further states that “hip hop’s extreme style and brand-consciousness isn’t always about being nouveau riche and flaunting and flossing [but] a bold act of re-appropriation: a bunch of former pariahs donning the threads of the ruling class and, essentially, demanding their piece” (Shapiro, 2005: 182). Christopher Holmes Smith (1997) refers to this notion of representation among hip hop artists using the term “repping”- as “the self-embodiment of one’s value system concerning power, success, and individual/communal acclaim […] to literally become that which one names as oneself, against all the odds” (Smith, 1997: 347). On the basis of this explanation, the revering of material things and ‘odd’ behaviour shows the youths aspiration for success and power.

A research paper by Dror Cohen analyses ‘the role of hip hop music in the meaning and maintenance of identity in South African youth’, and speaks directly to the way young people see music/hip hop as forming meaning and identity, which Greg Dimitriadis (2001) discusses as a concept of ‘performing identity’. For Cohen, South African youth have made use of hip hop to redefine the social identity of the country from what it has originated. Cohen refers to the term “glocalization” which he defines as a social psychology means that South African youth has resorted to in trying to remix past and present, old and new, global and local, self and other (Cohen, 2008: 6). Rapper KRS-One philosophises on the socio-political and socio-economic implications of hip hop culture. He believes youth make use of hip hop to educate the world about what matters to them, politically, economically and socially speaking.

Despite being named as “nihilistic and destructive” (Kilson, 2003 in Petchauer, 2009: 948), critics such as KRS-One argue that hip hop promotes ‘self-knowledge’ which might very well be one of the main elements of hip hop. Other rappers such as Talib Kweli and Mos Def, together named ‘Black Star’ have taken to their music to elaborate the importance of self-knowledge. In their song titled ‘K.O.S (Determination)’- Knowledge Of Self; they illustrate “not only knowledge of self as central to hip hop, but also, denouncement of negativity in hip hop/music (i.e gangsterism, promiscuity, obscenity etc)” (Hlasane, 2015);

*So many emcees focusin’ on black people extermination*

*We keep it balanced with that knowledge of self, determination*

*It’s hot, we be blowin the spots, with conversations*

*C’mon let’s smooth it out like Soul Sensation*

Nonetheless, the principles of American hip hop spilled out into South African hip hop groups such as 'Prophets of da City' and 'Black Noise' who grew from their graffiti and break dancing culture into rapping in the 1980s. They began using rap to respond to the issues of the apartheid regime which they were a part of. According to Emile Jansen of 'Black Noise', "back then they played no [hip hop] on Goode Hope FM (a Cape Town based radio statio) or anywhere else in the media, very few people knew what hip hop was" (Jansen, 2009: unpaginated).

Hip hop music is one of the most popular and local genres of music in the meaning and maintenance of identity in a cohort South African youth (Cohen, 2008: 2). Hip hop in South Africa, as in many other developing African countries, has constantly been in a state of transformation in response to the social, political and economic state of its people. One of the primary aims of hip hop was to work as a unit to oppose economic, social and political hegemony.

Along with the need to uphold 'black power', the youth is faced with having to represent the voices of the marginalized as well as earn a living in order to fulfil the "generational contract". This conflict seems to be another point of conflict between the older and younger generation and a question mark in the value systems of both generations.

"The young, black male is becoming more visible in wealth and fame, setting a benchmark of success" for other aspiring hip hop artists and audiences (Mose, 2013: 125). There is a challenge presented to youth in hip hop to be both successful as rappers and also be agents of change. In this way, success is separated from the advocacy of social/economic/political change or 'black power'. Which beckons the efficiency and relevance of the "generational contract" in modern day South Africa. For example, in an article from the City Press (2014, June 15), disappointed writers, David Feinberg and Simon Shear, expressed their utter disapproval of well-known hip hop artists who used their, supposed to be countercultural medium (hip hop), to campaign for the ruling party- ANC.

Feinberg and Shear argue that "with so many cynics and reactionaries poised to tell us that our country has gone to the dogs under a 'black government', there's a good reason for using art to remind the public of where we have come from and to commemorate the heroes of the liberation struggle (;) but praising the history of the governing party days before a national

election isn't education, it's a political campaign" (Feinberg & Shear, 2014: 5). They pose a challenge to hip hop artists saying "you can be grateful for the ANC's role in fighting oppression and question the remarkably narrow representation of contemporary South Africa- is our current reality gold chains, leather jackets and custom t-shirts? What about poverty, Marikana and police brutality? What about Nkandla? Is all the oppression worth singing about?" (Feinberg & Shear, 2014: 5). The hip hop youth in this regard, were criticized for siding with the ANC, which is the main representation of the legacy of apartheid.

They further argue that "under apartheid, virtually all serious South African art was political, how could it be otherwise?" They seem to be of the opinion that current hip hop is not representing the voices of the marginalized as it should be. In this way, it would mean that representing the voices of the marginalized is no longer about representing the apartheid legacy holders such as the ANC.

Feinberg and Shear say that when South Africa came out of apartheid "people wanted to dance and kwaito blew up", and not necessarily revert back to the struggle and by the time hip hop became popular, rap's golden age (as represented by Cape Town rap group 'Prophets of the city' in the 1980s) had ended and aspiring artists turned their ears to American artists such as Puff Daddy who represent "bragging and swagging" (Feinberg & Shear, 2014: 5). They close the article by saying that if South African hip hop artists want to drink expensive alcohol in expensive places, "that's your business, but then don't even dream of telling us who to vote for" (Feinberg & Shear, 2014: 5). It becomes more evident, the tension faced by youth in hip hop of having to 'continue the struggle' or revolutionize 'poverty' in hope to achieve economic acclaim.

Critics such as the University of Cape Town lecturer, Adam Haupt, was one of the first to engage groups such as Prophets of da City and he speaks about the deterioration of 'activism' in current hip hop content. Again, exactly what activism hip hop is ought to be engaging in, seems to be the dividing line between the older and younger generation. In addition to the more materialistic and 'negative' aspects mentioned above, South African hip hop equally revolves around issues such as HIV, violence, poverty and economic/wealth pursuit, that are fairly current to the country today- politically orientated and not necessarily about apartheid.

There are some older hip hop artists who seek to remind the youth of the reality and legacy of apartheid. Two South African based songs in particular emphasize this conflict: 'Harambe' by rapper HHP and 'Blacks are fools' by rapper Slikour. The use of these two songs is not a

comment on the personal standpoint of the artists but merely an analysis of their lyrics. In the song, 'Harambe'- a Swahili word meaning to 'pull together' or coming together of a group; rapper HHP (Hip Hop Pantsula) acknowledges the atrocities of apartheid and commemorates all the fallen heroes whom he refers to as 'Joe'; however seems to bring to the forefront the voice of the youth today whom are indeed distanced from the situation. He raps:

*I'm not the political type*

*Not the type to fake an image for the sake of this whole consciousness type*

*Never been called a kaffir before*

*Can't imagine seeing 10 cops and dogs charging through my front door*

*Can't say what teargas smell liked*

*Can't even imagine what a rubber bullet on your back felt like*

*Can't imagine holding guns in my palms*

*Can't imagine ke go bona carrying Hector Peterson in your arms*

*But it's because of you that I don't speak Afrikaans today*

*I have chance today, because of you Joe I can dance today*

*Without having to show you my pass*

*Self-employed because of you I don't call no one a Bass*

*Because of you Joe I'm a star now*

*Black man who's going far now*

*I'm the type of brother who can drink in any bar now*

*Because of you Joe I'm educated*

*Because of you the black youth of today is emancipated*

*(HHP, Harambe- www.mzansilyrics.co.za )*

Through this song, Hip Hop Pantsula represents the voice of the youth in that they acknowledge everything the older generation has had to go through and makes it explicit that the youth is not necessarily facing the same struggle. Instead they acknowledge that the youth

have access to education and do not have to work for anyone. A song such as this one serves as an example of what Haupt means when he says that hip hop music in South Africa "offers a good point of entry to explore some of the contradictions of life after apartheid" (Haupt, 2012: 2). He contends that "although genres such as hip hop, kwaito and rock do suggest that the new generation of South African musicians have been free to produce cultural expression that moves beyond confines of apartheid racial thinking, it is questionable that the challenges of the past have dissipated (Haupt, 2012: 2).

However songs such as 'Blacks are fools' by rapper 'Slikour' shows that there are still systems of oppression in place that (for example) favour white musicians over black musicians. The song also highlights the face that the freedom, which was said to be acquired after 1994, is not exactly as it seems. 'Slikour' was met with harsh criticism for his song titled 'Blacks are fools' which sought to expose the continuation of racial dynamics post-apartheid and what black people have 'become'.

Slikour suggests to the youth that even though they now have access to education, as presented by Hip Hop Pantsula above, that the kind of education that will liberate them is not in the books but knowledge about their present. He shows a concern towards black older persons who he says are not leading the youth the way they ought to but are instead "put[ting] us down". Slikour also talks about the fact that systems put in place to empower black people post-apartheid such as the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) initiative, are not working because they are only serving the interest of a few elite while black people remain poor. Furthermore, BEE only enhances materialism. Slikour tries to make the youth aware of the extent that black people have grown ignorant of the oppression that still exists against them. This is another example of the notion of subtle racism as suggested by Critical Race Theory.

In this song, Slikour highlights the fact that youth are not necessarily fighting apartheid but the lingering effects of it. In it he also speaks back to the way the older generation "black executives" are not standing up for the youth yet still refer to youth in a negative manner- 'moral decay'. In this song Slikour states:

*A nation without education will not know it's worth*

*What I'm about to say is going to determine whether you know your worth*

*and if you don't know this is not book education, but it is your present*

*[Verse 1]*

*Ten years in the game I know white bands that only seen*

*2 years of fame but they set for life*

*look at the Parlotones and KFC*

*I ain't knocking them it's really just what I see*

*Zola was the biggest star that we've ever seen*

*but what's sad was it was only seen by cell c*

*while we work hard just to sell a CD*

*they make millions off a couple of mp3s*

*and break bread for their own race, own creed*

*I wish black executives could take the lead*

*but they put us down like we embarrass them*

*and give us deals that equate to embarrassment*

*and when we broke they blame on money management*

*I must say black people are stagnant*

*BEE billions we brag with it, while black schools are less than average*

*then what's up with that?*

*Chorus*

*Coz we black are fools they just want to be fresh*

*and they want to be cool*

*give them a little money and they think they rule*

*but I hope we, but I hope we're, but I hope we're*

*but I hope we better than that*

*we better than that*

*we better than (that)*

*Verse 2*

*Now in the struggle we used to burn traitors*

*I guess that's how they could separate us*

*nowadays its money and political favours*

*politicians wanna be celebs and famous*

*celebs want to politicians, buy faces*

*I guess our society has gone pretentious*

*and when you tell the truth they say you are envious*

*I'm going to be hated coz now this is strenuous*

*media undermine us*

*they even offend us*

*radio don't play us*

*they don't even recommend us*

*journalists write scandals to misrepresent us*

*meanwhile they building companies of the oppressors*

*for minimum wages they make us look lesser*

*so who should the kid look up to ? America*

*of course our heroes are downplayed by editors*

*so why blame white people when we can credit us*

*for our own lack of progression that we bring to us*

*and we think we are progressing but we are delusional*

*Verse 3*

*We show off the BMW's and VW's but doesn't that trouble that they don't consider you*

*in their marketing strategy that's in my view*

*but they know that you have the fashion IQ*

*chances they don't even like you*

*but they know you going to make their brand cool*

*coz we so materialistic we such fools*

*they don't give a buck to the same hoods*

*spending money on extravagant foreign goods,*

*Gucci, Versaci, Louis*

*We advertise them so much you think we get Loeries*

*and supporting our own is such a duty*

*that's why don't own nothing*

*cause we think of ourselves as nothing*

*black people always be job hunting*

*Is BEE the only way to be something?*

*(Slikour, Blacks are fools- www.mzansilyrics.co.za )*

In an article titled 'Slikour is not wrong' a City Press (2012) columnist responded to the outrage from South Africans who, more than anything, seemed to be offended by the title of the song saying; "The song articulates the frustration of being young and black in South Africa, and is forthright about issues such as black poverty, poor education, corruption, inferiority complexes, materialism, poor black leadership, the lack of solidarity among blacks, the farce of BEE, and our narrow grasp of economic freedom" (Mbele, 2012: unpaginated).

For critics like Thompson (1996), the [materialistic] hard core-capitalist-affirming nature of hip hop, offers youth a form of hope for individuals who are skilled enough to overcome their environments. It may be that South African youth have grown despondent in fighting for change when the very idea of change seems to be a big point of conflict for all generations. The main 'change representatives' and apartheid heroes such as the ANC are under the microscope for issues such as corruption and 'poor' leadership. Therefore, in the subject of 'black power', it becomes unclear for the youth exactly whose legacy they need to uphold.

Thompson states that "some artists real lives demonstrate entrepreneurial success and shrewd business investment and boasts success (however materialistic) can be more desirable to working class" than rap that critiques capitalism or affirmation of racial identity (Thompson, 1996 in Petchauer, 2009: 955). For example, a section out of rapper AKA's song titled '*Run Jozi'*, highlights the desire youth have to 'make it' (succeed) despite a call from the older generation to be ambassadors of black power. AKA is one of the leading artists in South Africa and has a large youth following. He has been named "The prince of Rap" in a 2014 article by XXL magazine (Netshiheni, 2013: unpaginated). AKA demonstrates the fatigue youth have from change advocacy and a stronger desire for material gain and power, offering a strong supposition that wealth and power is the only revenge youth have to the past. AKA raps:

*Started from bottom, was rolling around in that Toyota bakkie*

*The summer is ours, I'm hungry for power – Gaddafi Gaddafi*

*You turn on the tube but all that you see is Versace Versace*

*You go to my school, they can't tell you shit 'bout Chris Hani Chris Hani*

*This is ain't the land of the free, no propaganda machine*

*Handle my flag on the screen, then light a candle for 'Dibs*

*Then light a candle for 'Dibs, okay*

*Smoke in the jets, smoke, smoke in the jets*

*Smoking them like cigarettes*

*Takin' it straight to the head*

...

*This is the sweetest revenge*

*(www.umbaqanga.wordpress.com )*

Nonetheless, hip hop culture has become a lifestyle "with its own language, style of dress, music, and mind-set that is continually evolving" (Cummings, 2009: 510). It is made evident in the way South African hip hop is changing the basis of its value system from trying to oppose hegemony, to being materialistic. In a relatively short period of time, hip hop has become "a dominant cultural force in the world, and many ways has become the voice of a generation" (Cummings, 2009: 513). It has become increasingly difficult to pin point the essence of a singular voice (of representation) in South African hip hop. It is perhaps another way to expose the state in which the country as a whole is in, 21 years after apartheid. An amalgamation of issues both embedded in the past and present have left the youth of South Africa disillusioned to what the reality of the country really is.

According to Hans and Theo Bakker (2006), genres of music such as hip hop are to a large extent "a continuation of a preoccupation with self-expression and existentially unique identity that goes back to creative urges associated with artists of earlier times and other places" (Bakker & Bakker, 2006: 74). Nonetheless, the older generation still looks upon hip hop in disapproval while young people become more rebellious claiming not to be heard.

However hostile the older generation may be towards youth and hip hop, I argue that in order to understand the state of the country today and the future it presents, it is necessary to look at the content of hip hop as it is representative of South Africa today. Caroline Mose (2013), argues that an "analysis of hip hop in relation to the urban space within which it has grown and developed is necessary" as linkages between hip hop and the city are inevitable (Mose,

2013: 107). She further states that "every particular city- its' spaces, its' history, its' socio-political and economic ethos is unique, and as a result bestows these unique identities on hip hop" (Mose, 2013: 107).

For Dimitriadis, hip hop has ventured into a place where youth 'perform' their identity, their culture and their aspirations. He states that "the movement of young blacks, their music and expressive styles have literally become weapons in a battle over the right to occupy the public space" (Dimitriadis, 2001: 22).

## 9.5. Hip Hop & 'Sophiatown Jazz': The meeting points

Having explored the hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz' communities and cultures, this section serves to bring forth the major themes reoccurring between the two. This exploration of 'common themes', and perhaps uncommon, between hip hop and 'Sophiatown Jazz' serve as fertile ground for applied drama and theatre practitioners to begin looking at possible approaches to addressing and possibly re-negotiating the "generational gap".

The themes, individually, can be used as metaphors and/or pretexts in applied drama processes, giving participants an opportunity to explore them from a phenomenological perspective. This, I suggest, will bring participants to a solid knowledge of themselves in the situations and possibly see the 'barriers' that need to be overcome. Methodologies and techniques such as process drama, newspaper theatre, forum theatre or developmental theatre may be suitable approaches.

I do not intend to look at how the two generations differ but how these differences may come together. The World Youth report states that "instead of pursuing arguments about intergenerational transfers, governments should be researching interactions" between them (World Youth Report, 2003: 402). Such a stance offers both the older and younger generation opportunities to begin viewing hip hop reflectively, or as reflexive of their music past; as well as the younger generation to gain insight about where the core influences of their music begin.

Common themes between older and younger generations include:

### 9.5.1. Homeness/'Comradery'

Both music styles have been met with "negative response[s] that propelled its makers to establish a feeling of community that insulated them against the public's derision (Gerard, 1998: 84).

Nkoala (2013) talks about the 'comradery spirit' (or camaraderie) that was experienced by struggle veterans during the apartheid era, "as people sang in unison about their struggles as well as their hopes", further stating that such a dynamic would have been unachievable outside the group context (Nkoala, 2013: 53). I liken this to what I term 'homeness' in hip hop culture. The sense that young people can be understood as a unit, and accepted despite 'who' or 'what' they are. Hip hop, for young people, presents itself as a sort of 'non-structured family', where life is expressed outwardly through crumping, graffiti drawing, rhyming, being messy, vulgar, opposing norms and being allowed to do so.

For both the older and younger generations, they have shown allegiance to their music eventh though it has been met with discord by disapproving on lookers- for example, how some struggle songs were banned from radio stations and public platforms as well as most hip hop songs. However, their music styles brought/bring them together as a community who understand one another's desires and feel content accepted despite external factors. Cheryl Keyes (2004) refers to this notion within both the hip hop nation and 'Sophiatown Jazz' population as an "imagined community- a psychological bond that joins people and differentiates the subconscious convictions of its members from all other people, dividing the community into creative expression and unity" (Keyes, 2004: 97). Members of both musical styles have an allegiance to the community on a long term basis.

### 9.5.2. Underground meetings

The 'marabi' music was mostly enjoyed in underground musical cultures and was not recorded as it was frowned upon "by both white authorities and more sophisticated black listeners" (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). 'Marabi' star groups included 'The Jazz Maniacs', 'The Merry Black Birds' and 'The Jazz Revellers'.

For the older generation, resistance towards apartheid caused local black communities to band together, holding underground meetings and began a notable resistance through arts, more specifically through music (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). “For jazz, the main creative spaces were the unlicensed music clubs that developed, particularly in Johannesburg” (Ansell, 2005: 145). The morale of such movements is similar to “the underground spaces of hip hop called ciphers” (Spady et al, 2006 in Petchauer, 2009: 966). Hip hop artists tend to have private meetings where they display their rapping, beat boxing or break dancing skills to an inner circle of community members.

Such meetings for both generations serve/d as a platform to birth new ideas, strategies or styles. As with the older generation during apartheid who could, through such meetings, “gain a voice and fight back ‘safely’ in a ‘non-confrontational” way (Pheto, 2012: unpaginated ); the hip hop youth today use such meetings to do the same. Additionally, these meetings, for both hip hop and ‘Sophiatown jazz’, brought/brings global artists together and was/is a lucrative means to disseminate ideas and information.

These community members are what Bakker and Bakker refer to as an “interpretive network”. An interpretive network is a community of social agents engaged in semiosis- the study of signs and sign systems which constitute languages of different modes. Members of an interpretive network use operational representations as sign-in-practice to mediate reality among themselves (Bakker & Bakker, 2006: 72). It is the interpretive network of a said community that determines the reality of that community. Members from these underground meetings were/are the interpretive network who determine/d the functioning and identity of the community. Therefore, underground meetings are significant for both the ‘Sophiatown Jazz’ as well as hip hop generations.

### 9.5.3. Dress code & Style

As mentioned earlier, ‘Sophiatown jazz’ culture emphasized a smart appearance, “an explicit and exquisite dress code which accentuates, above all, cleanliness”. Typically the dress code was “classic Humphrey Bogart manier à la Mafia originating from 1940’s New York Bebop generation” (Mapaya et al, 2014: 63). The men were famous for their elegant suits, top hats and shiny shoes, while the women boasted smart fashionable dresses and flamboyant hairstyles. The style and dress code which started during the ‘Sophiatown Jazz’ era was so

iconic that some youth today still wear it on various occasions under the theme of 'vintage wear'.

Even though the styles are not the same, such passion for appearance is similar in essence to that of hip hop. For hip hop, dress code is noticeable by baggy jeans, gold chains, flat caps and expensive sneakers. The hip hop generation use the word 'swag' to epitomize style (being 'cool'). In the research I did for my PAR, most of them referred to the dress code mentioned above as the main image of hip hop (see attached pictures).

For both generations, it seems their appearance mattered not in terms of personal taste but how the community defined their appearance. The attention to detail was another way they showed allegiance to their musical styles and community. They could/can be identified by how they look. "Mimicry of Italian Mafioso, martial arts villains, and the like also challenge the discrepancy between how these figures are received, interpreted, and glorified"(Mapaya et al, 2014: 63).

### 9.5.4. Swag

Attending to social codes such as dress code meant that members of the 'Sophiatown Jazz' and hip hop community gained status. Caroline Mose (2013) defines it as 'swag'. As "the element or component made up of braggadocio, lyrical and performance skill that first, gives a [person] a unique 'street' identity and secondly, a symbolic capital that gains him the credibility crucial in producing an aesthetic and being representative of a marginalized periphery" (Mose, 2013: 112).

On the basis of this definition, both hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz' demand of its members to have 'swag' outward, materialistic appeal. Both hip hop and Sophiatown jazz culture "have to adopt a particular style of social behaviour to which there is strict adherence" because the "regular gathering for common activity, members developed interpersonal skills" (Mapaya et al, 2014: 63).

### 9.5.5. DJ'ing

During 'Sophiatown jazz' sessions, members would take turns to play their personal collection of music. This practice is similar to that of Hip Hop called DJ'ing. According to

Hans and Theo Bakker (2006), the performance accomplished by a DJ is regarded as a situational manifestation of the pervasive human ability to engage in symbolic communication and in meaning-making (Bakker, 2006: 71). For both generations, playing your personal collection of music to a group of appreciative listeners (DJ'ing) was a way of communication between the person playing and those listening. The choice of song and atmosphere created could communicate the state of mind the community was/is in.

### 9.5.6. Dance

During jazz sessions, members of the jazz community would form circles and take turns to 'dobol' or 'dig'- a solo dance improvisation where a group will clap hands in rhythm in support of the solo dancer in the middle (Mapaya et al, 2014: 63). This style of dance is similar to the culture of 'break dancing' or 'breaking'. A group of dancers stand in a circle and each takes turns to go in the middle and show off their unique styles of dancing or 'crumping'. Both generations define/d themselves according to yet another social code of dance to come together and display.

### 9.5.7. Subtext

Hugh Masekela, when referring to a song titled 'Ndodemnyama Vervoed' by Vuyusile Mini states that, "the song sounds like a fun song [,] but it's really like 'Watch out Vervoed, here comes the black man, your days are over" (Masekela in Vershbow, 2010: unpaginated). This applies to a majority of hip hop songs which are upbeat and loud and are often danced to in clubs and parties but carry important messages when you pay closer attention to the lyrics. Comedian, Trevor Noah, once made a reference to the way in which struggle music made it seem as though black people were not suffering at all because they would appear singing and dancing while saying a different thing all together. This spirit of being about to invoke a feeling of solidarity, joy is common to both musical styles, often leaving outsiders to think differently.

### 9.5.8. Call and Response

The call and response tradition is from Afro-American sacred and secular music, in which "musical ideas developed out of exchanges between a leader and chorus". According to Ogren, this process encourages audience participation in the creation of music (Ogren, 1989: 13). Toyi-Toyi- ANC chants or call and response songs were used as a form of interaction between the performer and audience. For example, phrases such as "Amandla! (power) Awethu (ours)!" were used to get a response te.from the hundreds of crowd members during struggle protest. Such actions communicated to the people watching and listening that black people were reclaiming their power.

Similarly in hip hop, call and response became a trendy style of performing or DJing where a popular or catchy phrase 'rapped' by the DJ and 'evoke a response from a crowd who began to call out their own names and slogans" (Cummings, 2009: 509). Phrases such as "ha re tsamaye rona, re robalamo" (meaning 'we are not leaving, we will sleep here') or "everybody scream" are common at hip hop shows and concerts. Dimitriadis states that these call-and-response routines give an indication of the "familiar and friendly relationship between artist and audience. He further states that,

> "rap grew out of a dialogic and interactive tradition, one that linked artists and audiences in some concrete fashion. These important but largely ignored aspects of early hip hop become evident when we begin mutually investigating early texts and contexts of use" (Dimitriadis, 2001: 18 & 19).

Both 'hip hop' and 'Sophiatown Jazz' display/ed a form of interaction between performers and audience.

### 9.5.9. Gangsterism& Drug use

The 'marabi' style of music was associated with illegal liquor dens and with vices such as prostitution (South African Music, 2011: unpaginated). The image of 'Sophiatown jazz' culture was "based on the influence of American movies and glamour attached to the flamboyant gangsters who were an integral part of Sophiatown life". Sophiatown jazz appreciation groups could find expression through dance, and socio-political discussions that went with smoking and drinking in high fashion clubs (Mapaya, et al, 2014: 60).

Gerard states that within jazz communities, drugs became part of the glue that held them together. He refers to Red Rodney who states that;

> "[drugs] became our thing. That was our badge. It was the thing that made us different from the rest of the world. It was the thing that said, 'we know, you don't know'. It was a thing that gave us membership in a unique club, for this membership, we gave up everything else in the world" (Red Rodney in Gerard, 1998: 84).

As mentioned before, 'hip hop' carries an image of vulgarity, obscenity, materialism which is often frowned upon. Hip hop stars such as Tupac Shakur and Notorious B.I.G were notorious for violence. Nowadays, rappers still thrive on rivalry to gain publicity for their music. Recently, rapper AKA and Cassper Nyovest were said to be involved in a long standing dispute. Coincidentally, both rappers are some of the best-selling hip hop artists in South Africa today.

While it is true that some hip hop romanticizes violence or crime, there are other examples that suggest a different position that explains and makes a case for listeners to evaluate social conditions. Even the "paranoid meanderings" of a gang member expressed through a rapper often presents a realistic expression of the psychological impact of being caught in the underworld web (Douglas & Cummings, 2010: 571). Both the 'Sophiatown Jazz' and hip hop communities embrace/d a culture of 'gangsterism' which emerged from American cultures.

### 9.5.10. Language

During the 'Sophiatown jazz' era, "as with the development of any subculture there was an accompanying lingua franca, previously associated with thugs. Also referred to as 'tsotsi-taal', this style became the language of status, and the 'lingo' for those who were literate and equally streetwise" (Mapaya et al, 2014: 61). In hip hop, 'slang' is the term used to refer to an unofficial way of speaking. According to Petchauer (2009), "performing language, dress, gestures associated with hip hop functioned as cultural capital used to authenticate a black identity based on traditional gender roles" (Petchauer, 2009: 957). I believe this also applied to the use of tsotsi-taal.

### 9.5.11. Black Power: Critical Race Pedegogy

The 'hip hop' and 'Sophiatown jazz' cultures were both born of disaffect, disappointment and near desperation- a desperate need to give voice to oppressed and disposed people (Cummings, 2009: 499). Both 'hip hop' and 'Sophiatown jazz music' depended on the situation [an] artist is responding to in order to function politically (Fischlin & Heble, 2003).

In an essay titled 'From Civil Rights to Hip Hop: Towards a Nexus of Ideas", Derrick Alridge discusses the issue of generational tensions between civil rights and Hip Hop generations. Alridge argues that;

> …socially and politically conscious Hip Hop shares common ideas and ideology with Civil Rights- Black Power Movement and the larger Black Freedom struggle. By illuminating the shared ideas and ideology of the two generations, a common ground can be identified as a means to encourage dialogue between civil rights and hip hop generations (Alridge & Steward, 2005: 193).

The Civil Rights- Black Power Movement shares the same ideals as the South African black liberation movement, and both parties belong to an older generation. In that way I believe the statement made by Alridge equally refers to the relationship between the South African black liberation movement and hip hop generation.

# 10. Conclusions

In this paper, I have tried to offer an in-depth exploration of the cultures of older and younger generations of South Africans by analysing hip hop music and 'Sophiatown jazz' as their primary forms of identity formation.Through the lyrics/content and broader culture of both musical stylesof hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz', I have tried to extract recurring 'themes' as represented in Johannesburg, South Africa. Through Critical Race Theory, I have argued that hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz' as movements, used narrative expression to response to socio-political injustices faced by marginalized 'black' people.With the further useof 'semiotics', I have tried to delve deeper into the exact social codes and behaviour traits that were common among the two generations, that pointed to a more psycho-social response.

From this analysis, usinga qualitative-phenomenological methodology, I have argued that there is a lot that older and younger generations share in common as far as how they portray themselves through the mediums of hip hop and 'Sophiatown jazz'. Through this comparison I have tried show that both movements exist/existed out of a need to express the views of marginalized black South Africans and that both strive for racial justice, economic freedom and the assurance of a secure future.

However, the ramifications of the apartheid regime have damaged the way in which both generations view each other and how they perceive one another's ideals. Furthermore, conditions such as the "generational contract" serve as barriers between the two generations. Through an exploration of various applied drama theory and principles, I have tried to show the ways in which more 'barriers' can be engaged and how issues concerning inter-generational relations can be approached by applied drama practitioners and others seeking to hold interventions and campaigns. Through the exploration of causes and effects and the generational gap, as well as the commonalities between the two generations, this research report has tried to provide seeds for informed and conceptualized interventions and campaigns. I wish to acknowledge that such a discussion ought not to overlook the importance of interrogating American cultural imperialism and the hegemony of Eurocentric culture. However, this discussion is beyond the scope of the research report.

Primarily, this research report has argued that communication/ 'dialogue' is within the best interests of the country.It is my hope that this paper has at least begun to address any misconceptions towards either generation based on the way they portay themselves through their musical styles. This paper has also tried to arguethat educational campaigns ought to involve both generations and not be addressed to youth alone. I suggest that applied drama interventions aimed as older and younger generations in all social avenues, will express more fluently the issues faced by South Africans.

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