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Analysis of gender construction in South African hip-hop music and videos

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Plagiarism Declaration

I Zgagulula Nyirenda (Student number: 607175) am a student registered for Masters by Research only in Media Studies.

I hereby declare that this is my original work, and that it has not been copied or cited without the relevant referencing.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Abstract

This study contributes to the growing body of research in South African hip-hop by analyzing gender construction in the music and videos of the selected artists, Hip-Hop Pantsula, Slikour and Zulu Boy. South Africa is the chosen country as it is one of the most developed in terms of hip-hop in Southern Africa. The overall purpose is to investigate ways in which the three selected hip-hop artists represent and articulate gender in their music lyrics and videos. It is of the assumption that the chosen hip-hip artists' songs contain social change messages, therefore, it is expected that their articulation of gender would be more progressive than other mainstream hip-hop artists who are known to portray ideas that objectify women. The literature review discusses a brief overview of research that has been done in the field and a discussion of some key issues identified by theorists. Here, themes discussed include music and popular culture, hip-hop music and identity, hip-hop music and gender, and hip-hop music in the South African context. The theories chosen and discussed include theories of feminism, theories of the male gaze and media representation, which encompasses gender and representation and theories of identity. This study uses a qualitative research approach as it seeks to understand and make meaning of media texts, specifically using thematic analysis. The research findings and analysis have revealed interesting results. Two themes were found during the presentation of findings section. The first theme encompasses sub-themes: objectification of women, stereotyping of women, hyper-masculinites, as well as demeaning and un-acknowledgement of women. These sub-themes highlighted problematic gender representations. The second theme focuses on intersection of class, race and gender. Here the relationships between gender, race and class are examined on multiple levels to explicate various inequalities that exist in society. Finally, explanations of problematic gender representations are also explored. These include 'commercialisation of the music industry', 'patriarchal economy in the South African music industry' and 'consumerist and celebrity culture'.

Dedication

I dedicate this paper to my late Mother, who is also my guardian angel, Sister Nthakomwa.

Acknowledgements

Firstly, this study was made possible by the almighty Father; I truly thank you my God for making this happen. 1 Thessalonians 5:18 “Give thanks in all circumstances, for this is God’s will for you in Christ”.

I also thank my late mother, for the courage and motivation she has given me all my life. I truly worked very hard in every way possible because I always knew how happy I made her when I do well. Even though she left us on the 3rd of May 2012, she has still been my rock and motivation in the course of my Masters Dissertation and the rest of my studies. She is forever my guardian angel and food to my soul.

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Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Aim

This study contributes to the growing body of research on hip-hop by focusing on a critical analysis of South African hip-hop music and videos of three hip-hop artists: Hip-Hop Pantsula (HHP), Slikour and Zulu boy. The paper investigates the ways in which these chosen artists represent and articulate gender in their music lyrics and videos. These artists are chosen because although they operate in the mainstream hip-hop music industry, their music is seen as socially progressive. Hip-hop music that operates as a form of resistance to dominant narratives is termed 'consious hip-hop'. Studies on conscious hip-hop, gender, race and identity in South Africa by Haupt (2008) and Marco (2009) for instance, show that conscious hip-hop artists deliberately move away from the sexist, misogynist and partriachal narratives characterising mainstream hip-hop music. Kunzler (2011) states that these studies rely on hip-hop groups formed in the late 1980s and 90s whose music developed as forms of resistance to apartheid and was informed by Black Consciousness thought. This study intends to bring new insights into issues of gender and identity by focusing on a 'new breed' of hip-hop artists, operating in the context of formal democracy. These artists are bringing a new form of energy and social consciousness to mainstream hip-hop music. This study therefore aims to analyse how these selected artists represent and articulate gender in their lyrics and videos.

1.2 Background

In South Africa, over the past two decades, hip-hop and a local post-apartheid form of hip-hop termed 'Kwaito' have been referred to as symbols of youth culture. Hip-hop music, or more generally the hip-hop culture, started in the early 1980s in the Cape Town area as a form of resistance to apartheid (Whitaker, 1994:24). Musicians, artists and playwrights played a key role in acquiring support for their struggle against the oppressive apartheid regime. With its diffusion to other areas and to different social groups, however, hip-hop became more heterogeneous (Whitaker, 1994:24). Soon, young hip-hoppers went beyond imitation of the mainly American role models and started to adapt hip-hop to local South

African conditions, characterised by a state of emergency and riots (Nutall, 2004: 432). From its inception in the late 1970s, hip-hop music culture was constructively known to be rebellious and a form of expression by the previously oppressed black communities in the United States of America. It was a culture which was at loggerheads with the dominant discourses of disregarded black people's identity and roles in the society. The same can be said about hip-hop culture and music in other countries such as South Africa (Clark, 2007).

However, it should be pointed out that hip-hop music has been subjected to a lot of criticism from religious, cultural and feminist groups. It has come to be widely conceived to glorify certain conducts or behaviours such as gangsterism, which is one conduct notoriously known to be closely associated with the genre. Hip-hop music is often underpinned by videos which depict women in a demeaning manner, labelling them "bitches" and all other derogatory names (Hutchinson, 1999:62). The music is seen at best to communicate a message that women are nothing other than objects who are easily lured by wealth and material possessions such as cars, houses and expensive clothes (Cohen, 2008:7). The sheer proportion of women to men in these music videos effectively indicates strong gender and power relations favouring men. The fate of women is thus one which has left them voiceless and without real substance in music videos and in the studio (Tarrant, North & Hargreaves, 2001:141).

In South Africa, music was often used in the past to creatively object to the racial inequalities that were enforced. However a large majority of youth music began receding from protest politics as its defining feature after apartheid. In fact, the most popular youth movement in South Africa presently is kwaito, a form of music that often eschews dealing with serious issues. In 1996 kwaito was a new style of township dance music that expressed the aspirations and experience of urban black youth, particularly in Gauteng (Allen, 2004:15).

In its early years, kwaito was a "South Africanised" blend of hip-hop with European and American dance music, especially house and techno, and pop (Allen, 2004:15). In addition, while kwaito is often associated with street culture i.e., the black youths who still live in the poverty stricken ghetto-areas created by pre 1994 racial segregation, waito also represents the emerging black middle class and elite (Allen, 2004:15). Ultimately, what was first a form of entertainment through kwaito, around events of political mass mobilisation and considered by some activists as a distraction from the political struggle, soon turned into an expression of

anger against the apartheid system. Furthermore, it helped to connect likeminded people and to raise socio-political awareness (Allen, 2004:15). This led to the emergence of conscious hip-hop groups like Prophets of Da City (POC), from Cape Town (Magubane, 2004:211).

These groups were termed conscious as their rap music was a form of resistance to apartheid, adding pleasure and style to the struggle. During South Africa's transition to democracy, POC's use of hip-hop as a tool for raising the critical consciousness of their audiences played a significant role in ensuring that the country's disenfranchised youth found ways of accessing the public sphere (Haupt, 2008: 184). Similarly, Brasse Vannie Kaap (BVK) is another conscious hip-hop group from Cape Town that used their music to address real social ills, and stood for struggles against class, corruption, gender, violence, racism and poverty (Jared, 2013). In addition, Godessa, an all women group from Cape Town focused on social, economic and political issues that directly and indirectly affected their communities. As women in hip-hop, the group was driven by the need for more representation of positive black women as role models within all forms of media and entertainment (Haupt, 2008: 166).

With the change of times, 20 years later after apartheid, the current status of hip-hop embraces and values rapping about money, cars and the 'bling-bling' culture which is mainly targeted at the South African youth. Commercial hip-hop is a success today than conscious hip-hop which is termed as 'boring' (Jared, 2013). South African hip-hop is no longer the same way it was 10 years ago. "The clothes have become tighter and brighter, the flow of music has become slower and lighter. The lyrical content moved from revolutionary rhymes to gangsta, then rap to 'swagger', some call it evolution" (Jared, 2013).

Hoebee (2014) adds that with today's commercial hip-hop, most views on hip-hop in South Africa are misconstrued and most certainly, the public have been misinformed by none other than the media. Urban media distorts the public's understanding of what urban culture is, and it often serves to reinforce negative stereotypes because that is what sells papers and attracts a larger audience (Hoebee, 2014). "The media also serves to give us an identity crisis because we are led to believe that keeping it real or being black is all about being thugged out and misogyny" (Hoebee, 2014).

Nevertheless, what is unique about South Africa is the 11 official languages which allows every hip-hop artist to sing in the language they choose. Jack Parow is one example of this, an Afrikaner rapper that started out rapping in English but later found success in Afrikaans

(Jared, 2013). In addition, HHP, who is very talented in singing in various languages, and is liked by a vast majority of those who listen to hip-hop in South Africa as well as Zulu-boy, who embraces his mother tongue isiZulu, and Slikour, who sings both in English and isiZulu. Artists such as these hold the South African hip-hop flag, representing the rainbow nation (Jared, 2013).

Briefly looking at the artists individually, HHP is one of South Africa's most liked and recognised artist, whose real name is Jabulani Tsambo. He has been known to be a musical phenomenon who performs in Setswana, isiZulu, Sesotho, English and other local languages. He is an artist recognised with his progressive and conscious hip-hop music (Wessels, 2010). Secondly, Slikour, whose real name is Siyabonga Themba Metane is a South African musician best known as one of the founding members of a hip-hop group Skwatta Kamp. Slikour sings in English as well as isiZulu. Of late, he has been the centre of debates in South Africa with his new rebellious song, "Blacks are Fools" (Makeng, 2011). Lastly, Zulu boy is a South African hip-hop artist whose real name is Mgingqeni Majozi. With such a creative blend of influence, Zulu boy mainly sings in his mother tongue, isiZulu. His music and lyrics contain a wide range of topics from xenophobia, human trafficking and hope for a virus free generation (Govender, 2011).

What makes the three artists interesting is not just the languages they use, but their accents, tones and the nearly always proverbial personalities (identities). Even more importantly, their music a lot of the time represents and reflects certain facets of the South African society (Centauri 2013). Therefore, it is the purpose of this research to investigate and find out if problematic narratives on gender are contained in the music and videos of these artists.

1.3 Research Problem

The hip-hop genre was precisely selected for this study because it has played a big role in healing black communities of South Africa. South African black communities suffered immensely during the apartheid era. Almost two decades have passed since the advent of the country's democracy, and many people are still in the process of finding their place within this new era. As Steve Biko points out: "Battle songs were a feature of the long march to war in the olden days. Girls and boys never played any games without using music and rhythm as its basis. In other words, music and rhythm were not luxuries for Africans, but part and parcel of a way of communication" (Segalo, 2013: 28).

Furthermore, this study focuses on gender as it was found that the portrayal of women in some hip-hop songs can have a causal relationship between hip-hop and sexual aggression. In their research, Barongan & Nagayam (1995:58) found that men who listen to misogynous hip-hop music were more likely to choose to show a film vignette featuring the assault of a woman. This proved to be the case as 30% of these men showed an assaultive vignette as compared to 7% of the men who listened to neutral hip-hop music (Barongan & Nagayam, 1995:58). The study believed that choosing to show a woman as an assaultive vignette (when they had the option of choosing a neutral vignette) represented a "sexually impositional or sexually aggressive act". The men who did so were largely aware that their choice made the female viewer uncomfortable (Barongan & Nagayam, 1995:58).

Moreover, the rate of sexual violence in South Africa is among the highest in the world. According to the report by the United Nations Office on Crimes and Drug, "for the period 1998 to 2000 South Africa was ranked first for rapes per capita" (Lowiz, 2013:12). "In 1998, one in three of the 4,000 women questioned in Johannesburg was raped", according to Community Information, Empowerment and Transparency (CIET) Africa (Lowiz, 2013:12). While women's groups in South Africa estimate that a woman is raped every 26 seconds, the South African police estimate that a woman is raped every 36 seconds (Lowiz, 2013:12). According to Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, "Police crime statistics released in September 2012 state that in 2011/2012, there were a total of 64 514 sexual offences reported to the South African Police Services (SAPS) country wide of that period. However, many cases remain unreported and if all rape cases were reported, the figures could go as high as 500 000 for the country" (Lowiz, 2013:12).

This research engages in a critical analysis of HHP, Slikour and Zulu boy's hip-hop music and videos. The study brings new insights into the current state of South African hip-hop and how it constructs gender issues. As stated earlier, the assumption framing this research is that the music by HHP, Slikour and Zulu Boy is counter to the perceived mainstream genre of hip-hop music which is widely conceived to portray the ideas that commodify women and that subordinate them to men.

Furthermore it is hypothesised that these artists use their popularity and power to communicate ideas that are more progressive to mainstream hip-hop. As such, they serve to challenge and question traditional and accepted norms in society, and also provide their own

social and political ideas and opinions through their music, performances and identity. They focus on creating awareness and imparting knowledge. Their songs contain educational, positive, uplifting messages. They decry violence, discrimination, and other societal ailments and they aim to subtly inform the public about social issues and form their own opinions instead of aggressively forcing ideas and demanding actions from them. Furthermore, they serve as activists through their portrayal and representation of societal issues in their musical and visual content.

1.4 Hypothesis

Since these chosen hip-hip artists' songs contain social change messages, it is expected that their articulation of gender would be more progressive than other mainstream hip-hop artists who are widely conceived to portray ideas that objectify women.

1.5 Research Question

In what ways do South African hip-hop artists, HHP, Slikour and Zulu Boy, represent gender in their music lyrics and videos?

1.6 Rationale

This research will contribute to literature on hip-hop, gender and popular culture in South Africa. It will also highlight the imperative role of the arts specifically hip-hop music in shaping societal discourses on gender. Artists have been granted power to communicate messages which at times may seem progressive to traditional and accepted societal norms through their music. Under the circumstances, they largely serve to challenge and question these traditional and accepted societal norms while at the same time providing their own social and political ideas and opinions through their music, performances and identities. Thus, from a positive point of view, artists may serve as activists through the musical and visual content they create for a different portrayal and representation of gender. This research will demonstrate how popular culture challenges or entrenches popular notions and representations about gender identity and gender roles.

A number of studies on hip-hop in the South African context read it as a genre of music but also as a form of contestation to mainstream media; contesting mainstream ideas about gender, politics and race. Existing literature on South African hip-hop still focuses, to a

considerable extent, on Capetonian rappers and especially the group, Prophets of Da City (Marco, 2009:8). Adam Haupt is one of a few South African academics who has written on some of the aspects this research will cover. Haupt's work covers issues on gender, coloured identity and hip-hop as well as the way in which hip-hop proves to be a form of contestation to mainstream media and hegemonic understandings of culture and economics at a global level (Haupt, 2001; 2004; 1996; 2008). Lee Watkins is another South African academic who has covered some aspects of hip-hop and gender, of which this study will examine. (Watkins, 2001; 2004) Haupt's work makes specific reference to conscious hip-hop acts such as Prophets Of da City, Brasse Vannie Kaap, Black Noise, and Godessa. Many of these groups played an important role in deconstructing dominant ideas about gender and other social ills (Marco, 2009:8).

Marco's research on conscious hip-hop focused on the groups BVK and Godessa. The research found that BVK and Godessa's assertions about gender prove that the way in which women and men are perceived in society are still largely based in the confines of patriarchal definition. This proves a long way toward gender equality in society as situations and discourses pertaining to women are still framed by/in patriarchal constructs. Women's agency thus still needs to be regarded in opposition to these dominant discourses. The research also showed how conscious hip-hop provides a critical space to question and shape various contexts that the mainstream media does not prioritise (Marco, 2009: 152). It is also for this reason that, despite the various shortcomings of BVK and Godessa (and conscious hip-hop in general), conscious hip-hop can be seen as a platform for meaningful change and critique and can be used as a form of critical engagement with gender, identity, culture and problematic histories of race in post-apartheid South Africa (Marco, 2009: 152).

Haupt's (2008) research on hip-hop group Godessa found that this all-female group demonstrates that hip-hop continues to be useful for engaging critically and creatively with the realities of marginalised subjects and creates the necessary space for self-representation (Haupt, 2008:179). Godessa's success presents a difference in South African hip-hop circles precisely because they are women emcees and their political messages are uncompromising. Godessa's work suggests some of the ways in which capitalism and patriarchy can be challenged within the realm of cultural practice (Haupt, 2008:179).

As mentioned earlier, there is little recent research done on conscious hip-hop. Most research done on this subject is outdated as it focuses on hip-hop groups from the 1990s that have since collapsed. Hence this research seeks to cover a different angle, focusing on current mainstream hip-hop artists who have not been studied before. What informed the choice of these artists is the fact that they have massive followers and one would not mention only one of them when talking about South African hip-hop. This shows the power and influence they have on the people who follow them with regard to the messages that they convey in their lyrical contents. Thus, what is significant in this research is to show how these popular South African hip-hop artists construct and articulate gender issues in their music and videos.

1.7 Principle theories on which the study is constructed

Theories used in this research include:

Theories of feminism: These theories will help to illuminate the nature of gender and to bring an understanding of the nature of gender and to an understanding of the status of women and men in society.

Theories of representation: These theories encompass gender and representation and theories of identity and they will help articulate how the media, through popular culture (hip-hop in particular) represent gender.

Theories of the male Gaze: The gaze is a concept used for "analysing visual culture that deals with how an audience views the people presented". The types of gaze are primarily categorized by who is doing the looking. In this research, these theories will help to explore how men view the women represented in the selected hip-hop music.

1.8 Methodological Approaches

Research design used include:

Qualitative research approach: This study uses a qualitative research approach because it seeks to understand and make meaning of media texts. This approach consists of a set of interpretive material practices that make the world visible (Creswell, 2007:36). These practices transform the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the observer (Creswell, 2007:36).

Sampling methods used include:

Purposive and convenience sampling: This research uses purposive sampling method because the study purposefully selected three preferred hip-hop artists. The study also uses convenience sampling method to select the songs and music videos.

The data analysis methods used include:

Thematic analysis: Thematic analysis minimally organises and describes data set in rich detail. However, it also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). Braun and Clarke's guide to the six phases of conducting thematic analysis include: Becoming familiar with the data, Generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, producing the report (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82).

Through thematic analysis, this research analyses the song lyrics and videos. Analysing song lyrics is suitable for this method because primary sources used, take the form of songs by the hip-hop artists selected. CD's are therefore the primary sources in this analysis. Lyrics are one way an artist tells us how to listen to them, how to put meanings into their music. Lyrics are not only about artists telling stories, but also communicating about their identity (Frohmann, 1992:365). Thus, by listening to what the messages the artists are conveying in their song lyrics, and then transcribing them, it will be very possible to analyse gender construction from these lyrics. In analysing the videos, this research looks at both men and women in the videos, the way they behave, their aspects of speech such as intonation and other vocal characteristics. Thematic analysis is also suitable for this as YouTube videos are therefore the primary source in this analysis.

1.9 Conclusion

In summary, this chapter introduced the research topic and aim, which is to investigate ways in which HHP, Slikour and Zuluboy represent and articulate gender in their music videos and lyrics. The research background and research problem was discussed, followed by an exploration of the rationale which briefly discussed what this research will contribute as well as the informed choice of the artists. The research question that the research seeks to explore was also outlined. Principle theories used as well as methodological approaches of the research have also briefly been discussed.

1.10 Chapter Outline

This Research is divided into six chapters

Chapter one discusses the Introduction and Aim as well as the background of the research. A research problem is broadly explored. The research Hypothesis as well as research question is specified. The research question reads: In what ways do South African hip-hop artists, HHP, Slikour and Zulu Boy, represent gender in their music lyrics and videos? In addition, the rationale and the principle theories to be used in the research as well as methodological approaches to be used are briefly introduced.

Chapter two discusses the literature review on the subject of hip-hop and gender. The literature review presents a brief overview of research that has been done in the field of hip-hop and gender and a discussion on some key issues identified by theorists This chapter is first introduced and followed by themes that are discussed in this subject matter, which include: Music and Popular Culture, Hip-hop Music and Identity, with a sub-theme Hip-hop Music and Gender and then Hip-hop Music in the South African context.

Chapter three discusses the theoretical framework that this research uses. Here, theories of Media Representation are discussed. Under these theories, gender and representation is explored as well as theories of identity, which help in understanding representation as well as identity issues that delved in the research. Additionally, feminist theories were discussed, which help to come to an understanding of the nature of gender and to an understanding of the status of women and men in society. The radical branch of feminist theories was used to analyse data. Finally, theories of the male gaze are explored which discuss how women are viewed by men from the way they are represented by the media in popular culture such as hip-hop.

Chapter four discusses the research methodology and design used. Research designs applied are qualitative methods, which are explored. The Sampling methods are discussed, which include purposive and convenience sampling. Data collection and analysis methods are described, which are in the form of thematic analysis. This is done through sourcing the selected South African hip-hop artist's songs and videos to get the lyrics and hip-hop videos.

Chapter five presents the research findings. In this chapter, the methods used to analyse the song lyrics and videos are briefly outlined. The contextualisation of singers is explored as

well as the description of the lyrics and the videos, to make it easy for the actual analysis to take place. Here, the themes found in the findings section include: 'Representation of gender', with a sub-theme 'gender, power and hyper-masculinities' and another sub-theme found is 'female sexualities and objectification of women'. Secondly, another theme found is 'representation of identity and race'. A sub-theme to this is 'social economic status and class '.Thirdly found is the theme 'speaking truth to power', and 'critique of consumerism' as the fourth theme.

Chapter six presents the analysis of this research paper which answers the research question. Here, two themes emerge: Representation of gender is the first theme, which encompasses sub-themes: objectification of women, stereotyping of women, hyper-masculinites, as well as demeaning and un-acknowledgement of women. The second theme is intersection of class race and gender. In addition, explanations of the found problematic gender representations are explored. These include 'commercialisation of the music industry', 'patriarchal economy in the South African music industry' and 'consumerist and celebrity culture'.

Chapter seven presents a research conclusion where a summary of this study takes place. Furthermore, limitations of the study and areas for further research are discussed.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature review presents a brief overview of research that has been done in the field of hip-hop and gender and a discussion on some key issues identified by theorists. In this case, the literature that has delved in the subjects of South African hip-hop music and the issues of gender representation are considered. Since the research seeks to answer the question 'In what ways do South African hip-hop artists, HHP, Slikour and Zulu Boy, represent gender in their music lyrics and videos, it is felt that particular themes are important in doing the research. The themes included in this review are Music and Popular Culture, Hip-hop Music and Identity, Hip-Hop Music and Gender, and Hip-hop Music in South Africa. Although this study draws on popular culture from Western scholars, I am aware of the growing body of literature on African popular culture (e.g. Barber 1997, Newell 2009) that might offer different readings and analysis of the chosen artists.

2.2 Music and Popular Culture

In order to define popular culture, the term "culture" needs to be unpacked. According to Williams (1958:12), "culture is ordinary. Culture includes the organization of production, the structure of the family, and the structure of institutions which express or govern social relationships, the characteristic forms through which members of the society communicate. A culture has two aspects: the known meanings and directions, which its members are trained to; the new observations and meanings, which are offered and tested (Williams, 1958:12). Gender as a social order and institution is used to organise people in hierarchies of importance. Gender is a product of culture and you cannot talk of gender without considering the culture that produces it. By analysing how the artists' music and videos articulate and represent gender, this research is inevitably dissecting how aspects of South African culture are expressed.

Different scholars have defined popular culture in differing ways. Street (1997:7) defines popular culture as a form of entertainment that is mass produced or is made available to a large number of people through television or radio for instance. According to Dolby

(2006:32), popular culture is a component of people's lives and identities in societies throughout the world and is a central force of effective investment for people: "it grips their hearts and minds and strongly influences the possibilities of their imagination. Popular culture has often been framed in a dichotomous manner, it is either good or bad, it evokes either anxiety or celebration" (Dolby, 2006:32). Storey (2001:6) argues that an obvious starting point in any attempt to define popular culture is to say that popular culture is simply culture which is widely favoured or well-liked by many people.

With no doubt, music such as hip-hop is no exception to the form of popular culture which is widely favoured or well-liked by many people. "Popular music is a spontaneous product of individuals (both musicians and fans) who come to it outside the highly capitalised recording industry itself, and have poached new technologies to make and listen to topics on their own terms" (Barker & Beezer, 1992:86). It is this inciting and socially flammable nature of hip-hop music that makes it worthy of serious academic inquiry.

According to During (2005:124), although popular music is genuinely popular, it is also divisive, "segmenting communities by generation, class, race, ethnicity, tastes and, if less so, gender. Music quickly germinates something larger than itself; micro-communities and lived styles, each tied to a genre or sub-genres" (During, 2005:124). The big multinational corporations that dominate the music industry themselves organise their music divisions into units each concentrating on a different genre and audience. Black audiences are marked out from white, and certain genres (notably so called 'modern rock') are given more attention because of their history of popularity (During, 2005:124). It is because music's capacity to segment and germinate that, for instance, the concept of the 'sub-culture', appropriated from sociology, has been developed in cultural studies terms via work on popular music (During, 2005:124). And it is because of that capacity that cultural studies work on African diaspora cultures and drug cultures tends to be mediated through music, even if this emphasis exposes the study of music to certain distortions (During, 2005:124).

Adorno (1991: 58) adds that popular music produced by the culture industry is dominated by two processes: standardisation and pseudo-individualisation. The idea here is that popular songs come to sound more and more like each other. "They are increasingly characterised by a core structure, the parts of which are interchangeable with each other. However, this core is hidden by the peripheral frills, novelties or stylistic variations which are attached to the songs

as signs of their supposed uniqueness" (Adorno, 1991:58). Standardisation refers to the substantial similarities between popular songs, pseudo-individualisation to their incidental differences. Standardisation defines the way the culture industry squeezes out any kind of challenge, originality, authenticity or intellectual stimulation from the music it produces, while pseudo-individualisation provides the 'hook' (Adorno, 1991:58). The apparent novelty or uniqueness of the songs are becoming more alike and their parts, verses and choruses more interchangeable. Pseudo-individualisation disguises this process by making the songs appear more varied and distinct from each other (Adorno, 1991:58).

2.3 Hip-hop Music and Identity

According to During (2005:130), over the last decade hip-hop has itself split into numerous genres and audiences, from mass market figures such as Jay-Z or Eminem whose relation to their labels is conventional, to entrepreneurial collectives such as Wu Tang, to regionally situated independent crossovers into the big time such as the duo OutKast. Eventually, to an increasing number of "avant-garde" and "out there" artists whose appeal is indeed largely middle class, to those producing versions of canonical genres such as Prince Paul of the hip-hop-opera, *King of Thieves*, and, lastly to fusions with raga and other genres (During, 2005:130). Despite this segmentation, During (2005) also argues that hip-hop is still regarded as primarily oppositional in its force, hip-hop is at the very least ambivalent about commodity culture and is to be understood as 'urban renewal', regrouping of devastated communities (During, 2005:130). This research seeks to unravel how the artists selected could be said to re-enforce the idea of empowerment or "regrouping of devastated communities" when it comes to gender issues, more specifically women as they have been long known to be among the traditionally marginalised groups.

Shiach (1989:107) adds that "hip-hop's fascination with commodities (gold chains, fast cars) is a playful and hyperbolic mimicry of dominant culture, an expression of adolescent fantasy which contains within it a subversive sense of its own extravagance. Such analysis do need to be qualified, especially in relation to the macho slanging of 'bitches' and 'hos' which constitutes one dominant commercial hip-hop convention" (Shiach, 1989:107). "Of course that convention works precisely because it scandalises women, liberals, family values and so on; it performs rebelliousness" (Shiach, 1989:107). "But it possesses other functions too: it provides the constraints within which it is possible for a hip-hop artist to assert his mastery of

a specific rhetoric" (Shiach, 1989:107). "And, more problematically, it may express a certain crisis of masculinity among urban African Americans too, a kind of sadism from social position that combines systemic subordination with widely recognised glamour and street cred as well as the capacity to create fear among middle-class whites" (Shiach, 1989:107). This research therefore seeks to explore whether the selected artists are in the same lane of "hip-hop's fascination with commodities and dominant culture, where slanging of 'bitches' and 'hos' takes place. Which constitutes one dominant commercial hip-hop convention". However, it is of the assumption that these artists are opposite to this commercial, mainstream hip-hop and that their ideas promote equality, fairness as well as empowerment around issues of gender.

Foreman (2004:201) considers hip-hop music as a way of creating an abstract space for commentary on the meaning of urban space and race. The root of hip-hop culture was located in the underprivileged neighborhoods in America or the ghetto populated by racial minorities living within a broader socio-political society (Foreman 2004:201). Hip-hop music therefore seemed to offer a commentary on the racial identities that emerged within the confines of these specific urban neighborhoods. It was important that hip-hop musicians remained true to the place where they had grown up in order to remain authentic (Foreman 2004:201).

Therefore hip-hop music created a social discourse for performers and listeners to perform and enact ideas around the meanings of urban spaces and the connections to racial identities in a way that was congruent with their local surroundings and cultures (Foreman 2004:201). Similarly, hip-hop in South Africa has been very powerful in creating and maintaining identities as it has enabled conscious hip-hop artists such as POC to accomplish the kind of image that is not easy to accomplish in reality. It has helped artists in expressing themselves about how they feel, how they should be treated, about societal inequalities, about pain and hope. However, the question to be answered in this research is whether the progressive artists selected are able to extend this social consciousness to issues of gender.

Magubane (2006:209) argues that the process of creating hip-hop music originated from a climate where there were often scarce resources. Within the urban ghettos of America there was seldom recreational space available to youths to practice making music and few hip-hop musicians had the benefit of formal musical tuition (Magubane, 2006:209). The ethos behind the creation of hip-hop music allowed for people to participate within their culture in an

accessible way and the line between the performers and artists blurred (Lashua & Fox, 2005:268). Consequently, Huq, (2006:5) says that the format of music can be enacted all over the world in any urban space regardless of the resources of the participants. The aesthetic of participation also extended to the other dimensions of hip-hop music culture like break dancing, MC'ng, spray painting and DJ'ng that each possessed different creative rituals available to enact hip-hop culture within the course of everyday life (Huq, 2006:5). "Perhaps it was due to the practical and simple nature of engaging with hip-hop culture that many places around the world have adopted hip-hop music and some of its cultural practices" (Huq, 2006:5).

As time progressed, Baldwin (2004:160) adds that hip-hop music grew in popularity and became a global financial commodity. Hip-hop music had given birth to an industry that gave black youths a voice for cultural expression. The hip-hop music industry facilitated the emergence of a generation of creative black entertainers that were able to become affluent and celebrities (Baldwin; 2004:160). Furthermore several hip-hop stars have created innovative business models in the music industry by insisting that they earned the full profits from their music production. This was done by starting their own record companies that countered the perceived exploitation of hip-hop artists by the established music industry (Ogg, & Upshall, 1999:34). It is therefore an interest in this research to explore if the selected artists are able to separate their music and videos from the mainstream money making commercial hip-hop industry which portrays issues of gender in line with i.e. hyper-masculinities, objectification or demeaning of women.

2.3.1 Hip-hop Music and Gender

According to Palan (2001:10), gender is the cultural definition of behaviour defined as appropriate to the sexes in a given society at a given time. Hence, gender is a set of cultural rules that may be applied at a subcultural level. These cultural rules are enacted time and time again, and the iteration of these performative gestures establishes our gender identities (Butler, 1988:519). Music has the potential to act as a medium through which gender relations are negotiated and (re)articulated. Music, as a globalised localism, has had a casual effect on gender relations (Butler, 1988:519).

Koskoff's study (1987:2) helps to explain how music such as hip-hop can influence gender relations in four different ways: it may reinforce the established gender division; it may

maintain the established order so that more important values in society are upheld; it can contest the established order but it is unable to change the gender hierarchy; and finally it can serve as a platform for gender equality and empowerment (Koskoff's, 1287:2). Through music, it is possible to re-enact social constructions regarding gender behaviours and roles and maintain traditions. Hence, music can reinforce and perpetuate the traditional gender hierarchy. The globalisation of world music markets and its profit-oriented mechanisms has led to the commodification of the 'gendered otherness' (Koskoff's, 1287:2). Here, it means the money making industry of hip-hop that has come with globalization has created the quality of not being alike or being different when it comes to representation of gender in hip-hop music. This creates imbalanced, unequal or unfair representations. It is therefore of interest to find out if the artists selected represent gender in a way that "may reinforce the established gender division; may maintain the established order so that more important values in society are upheld; can contest the established order; and finally they can serve as a platform for gender equality and empowerment" (Koskoff's, 1287:2).

Stokes (2004:47) concluded that the globalisation of music has maintained hegemonic racial and gendered hierarchies. Forces of the market are unbalanced. That is, Western music is able to infiltrate and dominate in the developing world while the opposite is less likely to happen (Stokes, 2004: 47). Musical cultures are compared to one another and ranked according to their origin. Thus, Western music is considered of more importance to multinational music companies and to audiences than, for instance, World Music. As a consequence, some cross-cultural musical styles are extremely commodified and favoured, such as the Anglo-Saxon/Latin. Others are marginalised and not equally distributed, such as the African/Latin ones (Stokes, 2004:47).

This unbalanced force of market creates music that loses its sense of identity and a 'uniform' of some sort is created it the way hip-hop should be. This creates implications in a sense that it becomes a norm for instance, for women to appear naked in a music video or for a man to rob a bank or beat a woman in the video as that is how American gangsta hip-hop is. Artists in other countries like South Africa follow suit as that is the way hip-hop is shown to be, in order for it to progress and to make money. This slowly dissolves the consciousness or progressiveness in hop-hop music. It is therefore of interest to know if the artists selected are also drawn into the force of the market or if they are able to maintain their status quo.

2.3.1.1 Objectification of women and Female sexualities in hip-hop

Even though there has normally been a few hip-hop artists in the industry, Wallach (2001: 222) argues that "Men have normally been in the majority while women often feature as dance troupes performing in the background to the music. This has resulted in the misuse of the gender role of women as sex symbols (Wallach (2001: 222). The term 'sex symbol' was first used in 1910 to describe beautiful stars in the film industry. Since then, the film industry has been playing a role in the further projection of sex symbolism through its dissemination of beautiful people all over the world. However, sex symbolism is taken to an alarming dimension in the music industry where women are seen as a commercial venture, basically useful for commercial purposes" (Wallach (2001: 222). This is because generally in Western culture and societies that follow the West, a woman's body is considered sexually provocative to a man, and thus there is a growing concern over the near naked female posture in some music videos (Oikelome 2013: 86). This is very relevant to this research as in South Africa, this culture has also been adopted, where women are also portrayed as sex symbols. It will be of great interest to find out if the artists selected are counter to that or stand positively and practice such portrayals.

The globalisation of music by Latino female artists, especially in its visual form, has only exacerbated the sexualisation of Latino women. In Denmark, the explosion of Latin music videos from artists such as Shakira or Jennifer Lopez has sexualised the Latin female body (Lundström, 2009:707). This is because, unlike any other promotional device, the images in a music video "after repeated viewing" become more relevant than the song. As a consequence, the Latino female in the diaspora became immediately stereotyped as hot and exotic (Hawkins & Richardson, 2007: 606). It is a common sight to see in these videos scantily cladded young women prancing seductively around the singers in the videos. Subsequently, the imagery and lyrics of popular hip-hop music and videos is normalising the degradation of women. Thus, as a male-dominated culture, hip-hop has forced women to become victims of misogyny and violence (Adams and Fuller, 2006:939).

Additionally, a woman's identification with her gender has always been a product of her identity, and the social constructions of society, and as such, gender is socially constructed, and consequently, hip-hop has constructed the role of women in a negative way, and therefore encouraging them to play characters such as the "gold digger" (Adams and Fuller,

2006:939). Pardun, L'Engle, and Brown (2005:75) found that music, in particular, contained substantially more sexual content than any other media outlets. Sexually explicit and derogatory lyrics are especially apparent in hip-hop music, which has been criticized for its graphic derogatory presentation of women using lyrics that objectify, exploit or victimize them. Adams and Fuller (2006:940) assert that hip-hop music reduces women to objects "that are only good for sex and abuse, which perpetuate ideas, values, beliefs, and stereotypes that degrade women".

Weitzer and Kubrin (2009:12) conducted a follow-up study analyzing the portrayal of women in 403 hip-hop songs through a content analysis study, in which themes of derogatory naming and shaming of women; sexual objectification of women; distrust of women; legitimation of violence against women; and celebration of prostitution and pimping appeared at the greatest frequency. Sexual objectification was found to occur in 67% of the misogynistic lyrics in their songs sampled (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009:12). This study further examined the frequency of explicit music content found in the past decade's worth of popular hip-hop music. Furthermore, stereotyped gender roles emerged from lyrics containing sexual imagery that promote the "acceptance of women as sexual objects and men as pursuers of sexual conquest" (Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009:12). This shows that in many hip-hop songs and videos, representation of women is of a negative stance. It will be of interest to find out if such portrayals will be found in the findings and analysis of this research.

Writing on the negative effects of hip-hop on the American youths, Ayanna (2004:13) observed that "all women, but mostly black women in particular are seen in popular hip-hop culture as sex objects (Ayanna, 2004:13). She stressed further that almost every hip-hop video that is regularly run today shows many dancing women (usually surrounding one or two men) wearing not much more than bikinis, with the cameras focusing on their body parts. These images are shown to go along with a lot of the explicit lyrics that commonly contain name calling to suggest that women are not worth anything more than money" (Ayanna, 2004:13).

In South Africa, the dominance of American hip-hop in the market has devaluated its native forms and diluted its local messages of struggle (Lowiz, 2013). Not only are South Africans consuming foreign music but also assimilating cultural values that also rest on misogynistic gender divisions (Lowiz, 2013). Typical images of hip-hop display males with guns fighting

for prestige and wealth; they also portray women as their sexual objects. Thus, the consumption of foreign sexist and capitalist musical forms may prevent native musical forms from flourishing and renders it difficult for local artists to address real societal problems, in particular the ones related to gender (Lowiz, 2013). However, it is an assumption that such portrayals will not appear in this research analysis as the selected artists are conscious in their messages, and that they deliver native messages of struggle, awareness, peace and hope.

2.3.1.2 Hyper-masculinities and Patriarchal

Hip-hop began as a pacifist artistic and musical movement against racism in the United States. It shares with other musical styles, such as punk, the attitude of "detachment, and of some degree of opposition to mainstream, polite, co-opted society" (Brooks & Conroy, 2011: 5). With time, Haupt (2003: 22) adds, it has suffered the influence of the markets to become a distinct form of expression. Now, it is often associated with misogynistic and violent values that are massively consumed by global audiences. Like so many American products, it became a "part of our everyday lives" (Haupt, 2003: 22). Thus today's hip-hop is the opposite of what the main purpose was when it originally started. Although, some conscious artists still deliver music that contain some of the original messages of class, race and gender struggle, Loots (2003) argues that "the globalisation of struggles has often rendered the specifics of race, gender and class struggles in the South silently" (Loots, 2003: 67). Evidently, gender struggles in the North differ greatly from gender struggles in the South. It will therefore be an interesting result to see what outcome this research brings after analysing the hip-hop artists selected, that's if they are conscious in their representation of gender or not.

The vast majority of musicians performing are men. Even some musical genres originally performed solely by women, such as Raï in Algeria, now have men as leading artists (Loots, 2003: 67). According to Stankiewicz & Rosselli (2008:581), popular American hip-hop artists, such as Eminem, Ludacris and Ja Rule, have increasingly depicted women as objects of violence or male domination by communicating that "submission is a desirable trait in a woman" (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008:581). These songs condone male hegemony in which "men find the domination and exploitation of women not only to be expected, but actually demanded". Thus, these messages glorify violence against women, including rape, torture

and abuse, and foster an acceptance of sexual objectification and degradation of women, whilst advertising hyper-masculinities (Stankiewicz & Rosselli, 2008:581).

Adams & Fuller (2006:940) noted three themes common in misogynistic rap music: derogatory statements about women in relation to sex; statements involving violent actions toward women, particularly in relation to sex; and references of women as usable and discardable beings (Adams & Fuller, 2006:940). Prushank (2007:161) conducted a content analysis study of 490 hip-hop songs from 1987 to 1993. His study classified hip-hop songs into different categories. Here, it was found that hip-hoppers either pride themselves on sex acts appearing to harm women, justify other acts of violence, warn women who challenge male domination that they will be assaulted, and/or seem to invite male violence against women (Prushank, 2007:161).

Haupt (2001:187) asserts that hip-hop nationalism and its history can be largely associated with "sixties black militancy by positioning women who do not conform to the ideals of patriarchal family structure as ungrateful wives or gold-digging lovers" (Haupt, 2001: 187). This has implications for both the kinds of masculinities represented as idealized and the overall positioning of women within hip-hop culture. Hip-hop nationalism attempts to position women within the confines of patriarchy and the struggle against racism is seen as a confrontation between black men and white men. This view is consistent with the patriarchal belief that the public sphere, the sphere in which the aims of imperialism and colonialism are furthered by men, is an exclusively male sphere (Haupt 2001: 187). From this, we can see that the roots of misogyny in hip-hop have a long history that has gone unchallenged for a long time.

Today, Lowiz (2013) adds, the development of a hip-hop music genre on male-privileged domains and practice is breaking down. The popularity of and identification with redefined feminine hip-hop discourse are reshaping the hip-hop music experience. As conflicting gender dialogues are created, hip-hop music will continue to change (Lowiz, 2013). New extreme female hip-hop groups have emerged to challenge extreme male hop-hop artists, "'Bitches' with problems and 'hos' with attitudes are pushing the definitions of feminine and masculine even further" (Lowiz, 2013).

Black female hip-hop artists and their music illustrate many of the changes underway that challenge the socially mandated norm of female sex roles. Black women artists project a

dualistic message that is a direct result of their dualistic experience in American society (Lowiz, 2013). In addition, these women often use their music to "interpret and articulate the fears, pleasures and promises of young black women whose voices have been relegated to the margins of public discourse. It is interesting that women in hip-hop take on this role while men in hip-hop often depict questionable gender politics" (Marco, 2009:98). However, it is of the assumption that the male artists selected for this research are an exception and do not depict the questionable gender politics that most male hip-hop artists do.

As these women's popularity continues, so too must the consciousness of social and political stereotypical roles. With that consciousness, there should come an eventual understanding and significant dismantling of the patriarchal business of hip-hop music. The presence of black female hip-hoppers has toppled the stereotypical ideas of what and where women are supposed to be (Cook & Tsou, 2004:196). Their lyrics present positive feminine images and messages that have begun to overshadow or at least call into question the stereotypical negative images and messages imparted by many male hip-hoppers. Through their public rhythmic voices, these women are glorifying female prowess, redefining male practice and domain, and revolutionizing the black feminist experience. They have entered the privileged space of men, and because of their unity, strength, and talent, they have earned the right to belong (Cook & Tsou, 2004:196).

A good example of the above is Sarah Jones, a successful poet, actress, playwright, and women's rights activist. Jones came onto the hip-hop poetry scene in 1999 with her spoken word poem, "*Your Revolution*". Since then, she has written and performed several shows including *Bridge & Tunnel*, for which she received a Tony Award (Block, 2000: 79). Through these shows, Jones has expressed her views on political issues and promoted activism. Jones continues to develop new material for shows and began working on a television project in 2014 (Block, 2000: 79).

In South Africa, a good example includes the group *Godessa*, which was formed in 2000. A female hip-hop group from different parts of the Cape Flats in Cape Town. The group focus their music on social, economic and political issues that directly and indirectly affected their communities. As women in hip-hop, the group is driven by the need for more representation of positive black women as role models within all forms of media and entertainment (Haupt, 2008: 166). Godessa's entry into South African hip-hop scene is particularly significant as

they present an anomaly to a largely male-dominated genre of political and artistic expression. The entry also gives artists and consumers the opportunity to explore alternative representations and values. These explorations therefore make it possible for artists and consumers to offer challenges to the operation of Empire/ global capital. The idea of reworking identities is the thread that runs through the work of *Godessa* (Haupt, 2008: 166, Marco 2010: 57).

2.4 Hip-hop Music in the South African Context

As stated in the last chapter, hip-hop in South Africa began in Cape Town, in the Cape Flats during the 80's. Its introduction took place during a time when and where racial discourses were largely segregated, as were other aspects of socio-economic life (Watkins, 2004:46). Musicians, artists and playwrights played a key role in acquiring support for their struggle against the oppressive apartheid regime. Hip-hop thus offers an interesting perspective of the way in which certain South African publics interact with and engage with media texts placed in the popular culture category (Watkins, 2004:46).

2.4 1 Kwaito, youth and redefinition of SA identities

The most popular youth movement in South Africa was Kwaito, a form of music that often eschews dealing with serious issues (Allen, 2004:15). Kwaito music is a richly textured and expressive urban sound that is uniquely South African. Its pulsing dance beat, which emerged in the 1990s, exhibited a mix of rhythms including the marabi sound of the 1920s, Kwela from the 1950s, Mbaqanga and Maskandi from the hostels, the Bubblegum music of the eighties, and Imibongo (African praise poetry) (Ballantine, 198:305).

There have been several comparisons made between hip-hop music and Kwaito; some writers had even gone as far as saying that Kwaito is a South Africa's version of hip-hop music (Swartz, 2003; Magubane, 2004:211). There is no doubt that there are several similarities between hip-hop music and Kwaito, however, there are also stark differences between the two styles of music and the cultures that existed alongside them in South Africa. Swartz (2003) compared Kwaito and hip- hop using Hall's (1997:12) concept of the "circuit of culture" that allowed for exploration of five levels of meaning that included representation, production, consumption, identity and resistance (Swartz, 2003). The research entailed exploring narratives that were related to several aspects of Kwaito culture. Swartz (2003)

concluded that "Kwaito was not South African Hip Hop but rather a local form of music that had evolved to meet the needs of the youth living in South Africa" (Swartz, 2003). However, Swartz (2003) "also acknowledges some of the parallels between Rap and Kwaito by noting that both genres of music served as agents of identity and empowerment. Perhaps it was because Kwaito and Hip Hop both attempt to negotiate new but different definitions of black identity that there is a discernible difference between their respective cultures" (Swartz, 2003).

Magubane (2004) traces this difference to their relationship to American culture. "Rap music evolved as the music of an underprivileged minority not entirely averse to American amalgamation whereas Kwaito was the music of an often underprivileged majority within the South African population that did not readily identify with American rap culture" (Magubane, 2004). For many South Africans, kwaito thus represented the reclamation of a black cultural identity, asserted for the first time in popular culture. Kwaito has come to represent black pride in a country where black culture and identity were always marginal despite a black majority population. In other words, one was more likely to hear foreign music on radio or television than black traditional musical forms (Ballantine, 198:305).

Moreover, in South Africa, the use of performance as emotional support or outlet strongly inhabits the history, or lived experience, of marginalised communities. In 1976, 1980 and 1985, black students and workers took to the streets to show resistance to a racist, militaristic and capitalist state (Gilroy, 1897:156). Many youths used the performing and visual arts as weapons; street theatre and community arts centres flourished as more and more youths realised that their canvasses and musical expressions could be used to inform and mobilise. At the time, hip-hop music became a convenient vehicle for mediating the concerns and fears that youths experienced and for mobilising their resistance to oppression (Gilroy, 1897:156). After 1994, South African hip-hoppers increasingly used African languages such as Setswana, isiZulu, Sesotho, and Creole languages such as Tsotsitaal[1]. It would be tempting to link this to the emerging 'African Renaissance' cultural campaign that was advocated by Thabo Mbeki, Mandela's deputy and successor in 1999. This campaign may have offered additional momentum to this growing use of local languages in hip-hop music, as the official

[1] Tsotsitaals are a variety of mixed languages mainly spoken in the townships of Gauteng province, such as Soweto, but also in other agglomerations all over South Africa.

adoption of a multiple language policy (with eleven official languages) may also have done (Haupt, 2008:184). Thus, the use of local languages by the artists selected in this study a cultural significance to South Africa as it bolsters pride in black South Africans. It is of the assumption that because of that, their music may be viewed not only as gender conscientious but also as culturally empowering and relevant.

However, 'codes switching', the use of new urban slang and a variety of African languages, are typical features of the adaptation of hip-hop music to local conditions, and can be observed across sub-Saharan Africa and elsewhere. Local languages are used to develop a new feeling of self-assurance and to position the rappers in the post-apartheid society rather than to express different ethnicities (Haupt, 2008:184). Haupt (2001: 176) writes that while it is the employment of "gamtaal" or "ghetto code" in some of the South African hip-hoppers music that sets them apart from their American counterparts, one aspect that links POC and BVK's music "with the work of 'old school' American hip-hopper such as KRS-ONE, for example, is their continual commitment to the Black Consciousness ideals of spiritual and intellectual upliftment. These ideals are often expressed in hip-hop by the phrase "knowledge of self" (Haupt, 2001: 173- 174).

Amidst the excitement of the hip-hop revolution in South Africa, the appeal to younger audiences and how through hip-hop young people have found a deeper purpose in life, the issue of language is still to be explored. UN-Habitat states that hip-hop "is powerful as a major communication tool in the worst urban ghettos on the planet" (UN-Habitat 2005:1-4). Although hip-hop has such a profound impact in society, one wonders whether or not the artists are aware of their influence and the influence that their music has on the community, especially the youth. These influences come across strongly through themes in their songs, the creative rhyme, the clothing, or there is something in hip-hop that simply commands such an effect (Shandu, 2007: 265).

2.4.2 Socially conscious hip-hop and hip-hop as a political protest

During apartheid, music for black South Africans functioned much like blues music for blacks during and after slavery in the US. It sustained black South Africans during apartheid, enabled them to maintain a sense of humanity and acted as a healing force (Peart, 1994:7). Political prisoners would sing freedom songs to maintain morale during indefinite terms of imprisonment without trial, during which family members were often unaware of their

whereabouts. Former South African president, Nelson Mandela, has spoken about how soul and Motown music provided comfort during his imprisonment (Peart, 1994:7).

Furthermore, Kunzler (2011:30) argues that during the build-up to South Africa's first democratic elections in 1994, some hip-hop artists such as POC refused the new master narrative of reconciliation that replaced the old one (apartheid). They did caution against what they saw as the conning of the people with reconciliatory rhetoric of the 'rainbow nation', with its all-encompassing nationalism celebrating diversity as wealth (Kunzler 2011:30). Here the group POC challenged, as they had done before in their resistance to apartheid, the hegemonic discourses of the political establishment and older generations, with what could be interpreted as 'counter discourses' in what Nancy Fraser calls 'subaltern counter publics' (Kunzler 2011:30).

Formerly voiceless young people began to articulate their meanings to counter the 'myth of consensus' and hegemonic representations of identity (Marco, 2009:14). For Foucault, this is practical engagement in political struggles and resistance. "It is a destabilisation of hegemonic discourses by a polyvocal cultural discourse, which allows oppositional interpretations and the framing of certain issues as social problems" (Foucault, 1980:44). Hip-hop music provides young people with a voice and, from this perspective, hip-hop artists are agents of social change. In the case of POC, the reaction to their 'counter discourse' led to the banning of their album "Age of Truth" (Swartz, 2003:31). However, according to Haupt (2001:175), the development of such counter discourses enriched the emerging democracy in South Africa.

Kunzler (2011:31-32) adds that from "2004 to 2006, the ANC continued its neoliberal policies, neglecting social balance, but was confronted with several political scandals and strike movements. Some hip-hoppers continued their radical 'counter discourses'" (Kunzler, 2011:31-32). Haupt (1996: 52) adds that "As members of the Universal Zulu hip-hop nation, hip-hoppers are supposed to foster co-operation and group loyalty among crews. POC and Black Noise played a pivotal role in the struggle against apartheid because of this strength. Subjected to the whims of censors and harassment by the police, they were nevertheless able, through song and dance, to articulate the interests of the community of which they are part" (Haupt, 1996:51).

What does the deployment of ethnic strategies in post-apartheid South Africa signify? The post-apartheid government encourages people to construct narratives of representation (Haupt, 1996:51). For instance, along with land restitution claims, indigenous peoples formerly classified as coloured are now asserting their own identities as Khoi, San and Griqua. They want to be recognised as separate groups that inhabit vast tracts of land away from each other. Here they can remember their separate and distinct cultures (Haupt, 1996:51).

Gilroy (1987:156) adds that hip-hoppers in the black consciousness movement faced a double bind in supporting black empowerment in South Africa. "And the failure of the government to restore sanity to the Cape Flats, the area where they live and breathe, is a point of contention" (Gilroy, 1987:156). For both colouredist and black consciousness hip-hoppers, performance then becomes a creative way of dealing with these frustrations. In an environment such as theirs, performance is the only medium through which they can restore a sense of balance and control (Gilroy, 1987:156). Unlike those stages in South African history in which ethnicities were invented and reinvented to facilitate oppression, the ethnic identities embraced by hip-hoppers are symbols of strength and resistance (Gilroy, 1987:156). "When juxtaposed with hip-hop globally, it can be seen that the deployment of ethnicity among hip-hoppers in Cape Town is a strategy that helps to determine the dynamic of the mythical Universal Zulu hip-hop nation. For the citizens of the hip-hop nation, imagination is, in itself, a source of power" (Gilroy, 1987:156).

Stokes (1994: 6) argues that through the performance of dance, music and spray painting in their marginal space, hip-hoppers continue to mediate ways of countering dominance. Hip-hop enables participants to bring attention to their plight and to move, tentatively, away from their status as victims (Stokes 1994: 6). Thus, participation in hip-hop leads to a situation where they derive a sense of power that is, ironically, not the power to change things; rather, hip-hop and performance provide them with the capacity to initiate and sustain a sense of self-worth in an environment of denial (Stokes 1994: 6). It is therefore the purpose of this research to explore if the artists selected mediate ways of countering dominance and initiate, as well as sustain a sense of self-worth when it comes to gender issues in South Africa.

2.4.3 Race, gender and identity

Watkins (2001:40) explains that the apartheid government was notorious for its system of social engineering. It was a period that witnessed the implementation of immense and violent displacement of much of South Africa's population in terms of a master plan, in which the differentiation of spheres of life based on race and culture was enforced. Watkins (2001:40) observes that this master-plan was accompanied by a master-narrative taught in all the schools, portrayed in monuments, recited at churches and performed in the sacred rituals of the state. The master plan was rendered as an ideology in which differences were used to inflame cultural biases (Watkins 2001:40).

These differences infiltrated music. Music for the white Afrikaans speaker dealt with his rootedness in Afrikanerdom. As a result of media policy and their commitment to `Englishness', white English speakers adopted white Anglo-American popular music as their own (Watkins 2001:40). Black musicians were encouraged to entrench tribalism in their music, and music by and for the coloured person was an early hybrid of east and west, with the stark exclusion of overt African influences (Watkins 2001:40). Simply read, Cape Town's hip-hoppers perpetuate a tendency initiated during colonialism and entrenched under apartheid by disassociating with distinct African tropes. Therefore through their music and other creative expressions, hip-hoppers do not merely passively reflect reality (Watkins 2001:40). Rather, these expressions are the means by which the hierarchies of place within hip-hop and society at large are continually being contested, negotiated and transformed (Watkins 2001:41). Here, ‘meaning’, even in hip-hop music is a construction based on subjective personal experience of the artists, rather than a piece of reality. It is an expression instead of a reflection. Seen this way, it behoves the researcher to analyse and dissect the arrays of meanings coated within the artist’s music as this study aims to do. This is particularly pertinent when it comes to politics of identity, race and gender since identity represents the essence of who we are and how we are perceived.

Haupt (1996: 52) explains that ownership of space gives hip-hop artists a sense of belonging and the desire to control their own destiny. “The identities through which hip-hoppers experience life cannot be seen as created in a vacuum. Rather, a part of their construction of identity involves situating the crew in the context of relations with the state and with other crews, and specifying its position in a set of relationships and statuses” (Haupt, 1996:52). In this sense, hip-hop identities are constructed as heterogeneous and partially connected. The embrace of coloured and black identities and the assertion that these are their own suggest

that continuing disparities in wealth, power and status mark South African society (Haupt, 1996:52). Crew members see their ethnic identity as an important feature of their lives and, depending on the extent to which they interact within and across boundaries, these feelings of association or disassociation evolve into practices particular to the group (Haupt, 1996:52).

In present day South Africa, where racism still thrives, hip-hoppers could be accused of instigating racial politics. Hip-hoppers identify themselves as coloured, black, human, African (Lowiz, 2013). The strength lies not only in being able to choose for themselves; rather, power is derived from choosing and then acting with conviction. In assuming some form of ethnicity, they assert the power to define themselves (Lowiz, 2013). Having the least or no access to economic and political power means that it is partly through ascribing labels that hip-hoppers are able to exercise some control over their situation. For hip-hoppers who champion black consciousness, a relationship with black people in other parts of the world is proposed by what they see as a global struggle against white domination (Lowiz, 2013).

According to Pennycook (2007: 103), hip-hop has managed to promote the isiZulu language and attracted scores of listeners and huge following. “Its success is evident in the many sales figures and accolades awarded to isiZulu hip-hop singers” (Pennycook, 2007: 103). Indeed, Shandu (2007:271) adds, something has to be done to ensure that in as much as artists take isiZulu to the masses, this act will be the legacy that they will be proud to leave, without compromising either of the quality of music and flow of quality of the music. “This, as Zulu-boy has shown, is not impossible. This hip-hop artist is successful in South Africa and the rest of the world” (Pennycook, 2007: 103).

2.5 Conclusion

In sum, this chapter has presented the literature review with an overview of research that has been done in the field and a discussion on some key issues identified by theorists. A general discussion of the definition of culture as well as popular culture has been undertaken as well as hip-hop music in relation to identity. This brought about the discussion of hip-hop music and gender where the themes of objectification of women, female sexualities and hyper-masculinities were explored. In the South African context, it was stated that hip-hop music’s introduction took place during a time when and where racial discourses were largely segregated, as were other aspects of socio-economic life (Watkins, 2004:46). It was argued that hip-hop in South Africa is a genre of music but also is a form of contestation to

mainstream media; contesting mainstream ideas about gender, politics and race (Marco, 2009:8). Themes discussed here include: Kwaito, youth and redefinition of South African identities; socially conscious hip-hop and hip-hop as a form of political protest; race, gender and identity.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the theoretical framework on which this study is based. It is divided in three important components which will be utilised in this study, the first of which discusses the theories behind media representations. Within this chapter, gender and representation in the media and theories of identity are discussed. These will help to reach to an informed conclusion on how the media, such as popular culture (hip-hop in particular) represent gender through music. Following that, Feminist theories are discussed. This section explicates the theories and different schools of thought behind the main units of analysis, namely, gender, sexuality and feminist identity. As such this section engages with theories of feminism as the fundamental mode of understanding theoretical constructs of gender. Radical feminist theory is the branch that this research uses to analyse, radical feminist logic does not allow for hierarchies in society as far as gender is concerned. Additionally, a brief discussion of theories of the male gaze is explored. Here, the focus is on how women are represented by the media and how they are then viewed by men.

3.2 Media Representation

The concept of representation has come to occupy a new and important place in the study of culture. Representation connects meaning and language to culture and is produced and exchanged between members of a group, community, race or even nation (Hall, 1997: 17). Representation does involve the use of language, of signs and images which stand for or represent other things (Hall, 1997: 17). There are two systems of representation. First, there is the system by which all sorts of objects, people and events are correlated with a set of concepts or mental representations which we carry around in our heads (Hall, 1997: 17).

Without these systems of representation, we could not interpret the world meaningfully at all. We also form concepts of rather obscure and abstract things, which we can't in any simple way see, feel or touch. For example, our concepts of war, or death, or friendship or love (Hall, 1997: 17). The second system of representation consists, not of individual concepts, but of different ways of organising, clustering, arranging and classifying concepts, and of

establishing complex relations between them (Hall, 1997: 17). For example, we use the principles of similarity and difference to establish relationships between concepts or to distinguish them from one another (Hall, 1997: 17).

According to Goffman (1959:25), there are three approaches to explaining how representation of meaning through language works, the reflectionist approach, the intentional approach and the constructionist approach (Goffman, 1959:25). The reflectionist approach is rooted in the Greek and Renaissance legacies. The key idea is that language functions like a mirror that reflects true meaning as it already exists in the world (Goffman, 1959:25). The reflectionist approach assumes that reality is accessible through representation, thus the task of representation is adequately to reflect pre-existing meanings of 'the real' (Goffman, 1959:25). However, the intentional approach argues the opposite case. It holds that it is the speaker, the author, who imposes his or her unique meaning on the world through language. In other words, meaning does not exist out there, waiting only to be reflected, but it exists within the speaker. Words mean what the author intends they should mean (Goffman, 1959:25).

Again, there is some point to this argument since we all, as individuals do use language to convey or communicate things which are special or unique to us, to our particular way of seeing the world. The constructionist approach, acknowledges that neither things in themselves nor the individual users of language can fix meaning in language. Things don't mean we construct meaning, using representational systems, concepts and signs (Hall, 1997:17). According to this approach, we must not confuse the material world, where people and things exist, and the symbolic practices and processes through which representation, meaning and language operate. Constructivists do not deny the existence of the material world. However, it is not the material world which conveys meaning it is the language system or whatever system we are using to represent our concepts (Hall, 1997:17).

Perhaps the major contribution of the rich body of research on media representations is its insistence that all representation is fundamentally and inextricably inscribed in relations of power (James, 1997:200). Power relations are encoded in media representations, and media representations in turn produce and reproduce power relations by constructing knowledge, values, conceptions and beliefs (James, 1997:200). It is for these reasons that representations matter. Conception of where power resides and the consequences of that power differs greatly

in different approaches. Three theoretical accounts that highlight the embedded relation of representation in power relations include: representation and ideology; Foucault's theory of discourse and power/knowledge, and the third concerns the representation of difference and the other (Orgad, 2012:25). Power relations are an interesting site of analysis in this research in relation to the representation of gender. This is because issues of patriarchal in the media industry have influenced the way men and women are represented in portraying the 'powerful' and the 'other'.

Firstly, representation and ideology states that the study of the operation of ideology in and through representation is rooted in a long tradition of Marxist scholarship, at the heart of which is 'the wish to understand how it is that social relations based on domination, antagonism and injustice come to be seen as natural, inevitable and even desirable by those who benefit least from them' (Orgad, 2012:26). Ideology is driven by a desire to establish a particular frame of thinking as the most powerful, most valid, or 'the truth'. This is achieved by creating hegemony. Hegemony is not forced, rather it relies on winning approval or consent based on common sense. Ideology operates through the production, legitimisation and sustenance of common sense (Orgad, 2012: 26). Here, antagonistic hip-hop music becomes so popular when it derides women and gains consensus in society due to issues of manhood and patriarchy in hip hop music, as it wins the admiration and consensus of men who are the beneficiaries of misogyny and who end up buying that kind of music.

Secondly, Foucault's discourse, power/knowledge offers a more dispersed and volatile model of the operation of power through symbolic forms, by insisting that power does not, as ideological critique would have it, operate only through repression. Foucault focuses on discourse as the site of political conflict (Orgad, 2012:27). Discourse is what produces knowledge. Although Foucault refers to discourse, not representation, his theory suggests that the act of representation, producing meaning through text and image, itself transforms power relations and subjectivities and the way we experience and define ourselves. In short, that representation is constitutive of power (Capmbell, 1995:24). In that sense, power is embedded in every representational work produced by artists. It means we cannot ignore dynamics of power even where we claim we gain enjoyment i.e. in hip-hop.

Thirdly, unlike the approaches discussed above, here the focus is not on a particular theoretical tradition, but on an area of critical enquiry in the study of representation and

power, which is influenced by various (and sometimes competing) theoretical approaches, including those of ideology and discourse (Orgad, 2012:30). Representation is a site of power because at its heart is the symbolic production of difference and the other, and inspiring a body of work on the representation of race, gender, sexuality, ethnicity and other dimensions of difference and identity (Ferguson, 1998: 34). The representation of difference is necessary both for the construction of identity and the production of meaning, while at the same time it is a site of threat and danger, imbued with negative feelings (Ferguson, 1998: 34). Here, it means that Hip-Hop music is the site that avails opportunities for the 'gendered otherness' of women just as much as it is the site that avails opportunities of empowerment.

3.2.1 Gender and Representation in the media

The theory of representation discusses the way in which race, class and gender have been inflected in relation to media institutions, texts and audiences (Ferguson, 2004:53). The themes gender and representation are considered in this research project as they help in understanding the way the chosen artists represent and articulate gender and sexuality in their music lyrics and videos. Ferguson (2004:53) indicates that issues of race, class, gender and the media should not be studied separately. Where issues of race are discussed and commented, issues of gender or class are never far away (Ferguson, 2004:53). For example, Hall (1997:244) argues that racial difference is signified differently between white and black in the media through the use of binary opposition. There is a powerful opposition between white and black as blacks are represented as subordinate, lazy, primitive and childish whilst, whites are represented as civilised, intelligent and of higher class (Hall, 1997:244).

Gill (2007:7) argues that we live in a world that is stratified along lines of gender, race, ethnicity, class, age, disability, sexuality and location, and in which privileges, disadvantages and exclusions associated with such categories are unevenly distributed. We also live in a world which is increasingly saturated by media and information and communication technologies which tend to inculcate these stereotypes. Starting from the proposition that representations matter, feminist analysis of the media have been animated by the desire to understand and reject the ways in which images and cultural constructions are connected to patterns of inequality, domination and oppression (Gill, 2007:7).

According to Strinata (2004:162), men and women have been represented by the mass media in conformity with the cultural stereotypes which serve to reproduce traditional sex roles.

Men are usually shown as being dominant, active, aggressive and authoritative, performing a variety of important and varied roles which often require professionalism, efficiency, rationality and strength to be out successfully. Women by contrast are usually shown as being subordinate, passive, submissive and marginal, performing a limited number of secondary and uninteresting tasks confined to their sexuality, their emotions and their domesticity (Strinata, 2004:165). In portraying the sexes in these ways, the mass media confirms the natural character of sex roles and gender, which gives credence to stereotypical gender roles. Popular culture offers a fantasy, surrogate world to its consumers, not the real world they actually live in (Strinata, 2004:165).

Modleski (1986:38) argues that gender has a fundamental relevance for the concept of mass culture and for the study of popular culture more generally. This might now seem un-contentious, but Modleski's argument is about the categories which are used to understand popular and mass culture. Her view is that gender is merely another aspect which needs to be included to make the picture of popular culture more complete and representative than it has been before. She adds that "our ways of thinking and feeling about mass culture are so intricately bound up with notions of the feminine that the need for a feminist critique becomes obvious at every level of the debate, women have been held responsible for mass culture and its harmful effects, while men are privileged to have the responsibility for high culture, or art, since mass culture is identified with femininity and high culture with masculinity" (Modleski, 1986:38).

Dyer (1982:72) adds that the terms used to assess mass culture and define its inferiority to high culture are derived from, and refer to, the sexiest constructions of femininity and masculinity in the wider society. It is not merely of adding in gender as another feature of popular culture, but of understanding and challenging the hierarchy of categories which elevates the masculine and subordinates the feminine in examining popular culture (Dyer, 1982:72). Thus, for example, the fear expressed by high culture critics about how audiences are made passive, vulnerable and prone to consumerism by mass culture, is equally a fear about how audiences are becoming feminine, which suggests, for Dyer, how central gender is to our understanding of popular culture (Dyer, 1982:72). Perhaps it is for this reason that popular hip-hop songs are obsessed with narratives about women either for better or for worse, because women in mass media have become a symbol/image of what we all need to rise above.

Studies of gender and media were transformed throughout the 1990s by the new interest in masculinity, or, better, masculinities (Gill, 2007:29). This developed in the west as a direct result of feminism's sustained interrogation and critique of masculinity. Prior to that, male experience had often been treated un-problematically as human experience, and, historically, most of what passes as history, anthropology, sociology, psychology, literature has been by and about men (Gill, 2007:29).

One of the most important notions in masculinity studies is the idea of 'hegemonic masculinity' (Sonnekus & Van Eeden, 2009:81). This notion comes directly from the recognition that there is no single masculinity but rather multiple masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is intended to capture the sense that different masculinities are not equal; some are more dominant or powerful than others (Sonnekus & Van Eeden, 2009:81). Hegemonic masculinity may not be the most common form of masculinity, in fact it is most likely to be because only a few men can ever achieve it, but it is dominant in the sense of being socially valued and culturally powerful (Sonnekus & Van Eeden, 2009:81). Masculinity studies have had as significant impact in media studies literally transforming research on women and media into something that is properly about gender and media and with studies of representations of women, there have been concerns (Sonnekus & Van Eeden, 2009:81).

According to Gill (2007: 33), there are generally concerns about the narrow range of representations of masculinity on offer in the media. Secondly, a focus has been on the dramatic trend towards idealised and eroticised presentations of male bodies that have transformed the visual landscape over the past two decades. Thirdly, there is a new interest in the role media play in constructing new forms of masculinity, new man, new lad and metrosexual are some examples (Gill, 2007:33). Producing reflexive knowledge about gender is one of the key roles played by the media in the twenty-first century which displays a meta-interest in transformations in gender (Odhlambo, 2008:71). Finally, throughout the 1990's and early nineties whenever one heard the word 'masculinity' in the media, one knew that 'crisis' could not be far behind (Gill, 2007:33). Thus another key interest has been in examining the media's role in pulling together random unconnected facts, such as the decline in the manufacturing industry, the change in the gender composition of middle-class educational success, and the increasing use of Viagra, to construct a palpable sense of masculinity in crisis (Odhlambo, 2008:71). It is this research's interest to investigate how the

artists selected represent and articulate gender, hence also revealing the masculinity representations in the songs and videos.

3.2.2 Theories of Identity

To begin with, gender identity is the degree to which an individual identifies him or herself with masculine and feminine personality traits (Kimmel and Tissier-Desbordes 1999:14). Masculinity and femininity are not polar opposites on a single dimension but are separate constructs that one can assume with varying degrees of intensity (Kimmel and Tissier-Desbordes 1999:14). Hence, an individual may identify him or herself with both masculine and feminine traits to varying degrees (Kimmel and Tissier-Desbordes 1999). Masculine traits include dominance, independence, self-confidence, assertiveness, strength, virility and ambition (Kimmel and Tissier-Desbordes 1999:14). In contrast feminine traits include emotional, affectionate, yielding, submissive, gentle, dependent, and gullible (Kimmel and Tissier-Desbordes 1999:14). Theories of identity are used in this study as they will help in understanding the way the chosen artists represent identity issues when it comes to men and women in their music lyrics and videos.

While an individual is not likely to change the essence of his or her gender identity, in a gender relevant situation, beliefs and behaviours will be gender-based because of the salience of gender in that situation (Palan 2001:50). Hence, the measurement of gender identity may produce different results in a gender relevant situation relative to a situation where gender is (Palan 2001:50). Furthermore, identity is more salient in a public situation as opposed to a private situation. That is, in a public setting, young males feel that they have to perform their masculinity, and act as a male as expected to, and subsequently they will only consume masculine products, whereas in a private setting they are more likely to consume products in line with their actual self-concept irrelevant (Palan, 2001:50). This speaks to how masculinity and concerns attached to masculinity or even emasculation only become potent in the public domain in the area where mass media has the greatest reach. This explains how many hip-hop songs in the public domain are expressions of many men who need to assert their masculinity, unfortunately, at the expense of deriding women.

Social psychology has had a long standing interest in identity formation in general and adolescent identity as a sub-component thereof. The literature focused on identity is therefore extensive. It is also unsurprising that defining the concept is difficult. However, the following

definition appeared to capture some basic sub-items implied by the literature. Therefore for the purposes of introducing the concept of identity as a starting point, it could be defined as "A well-organised conception of the self, made up of values, beliefs, goals to which the individual is solidly committed" (Berk, 1989:439).

The origins of formal psychological identity theorising can be traced back to William James (1890) over a century ago. He divided the self into the "I" and the "me". The "me" is the dimension of the self that is perceived by society. However the "I" had the capacity to reflect upon the "me" (Hargreaves, Miell, & Macdonald, 2001:15). The social self was seen as being ever changing whereas the private-self remained constant. The social self also was seen as having four dimensions that expressed different parts of the self: a material self, a social self, a bodily self and a spiritual self. Psychoanalytic theory did not focus on identity specifically (Louw, 1991:40).

However the developmental theories conceptualised by Freud had many repercussions for understandings of identity. Erik Erickson extended Freud's developmental theory by emphasising the importance of society and not only the intra-psychic aspects of growth (Louw, 1991:40). Erickson's theory is useful as it addresses the concept of identity and foregrounds adolescence as a crucial period for identity formation across several psychosocial stages of development. During each stage there is a need to negotiate internal needs and the demands of society (Kroger, 1986:21). This suggests that all people's identities are shaped by what they see, hear and learn from their external environment. It is crucial for the purposes of this research to consider the media as one of these external factors which has the ability to shape people's perceptions of themselves and the world. This means that we cannot afford to be nonchalant about the messages and texts produced by the media.

Tajfel (1981:45) focuses on identity, particularly within a social context. His social identity theory (SIT) assumes that all people identify with varying social groups. Hence, individuals segment society into different groups and consider themselves as either members of a particular group or outsiders. Members of "in" groups behave in a way that will be congruent with the values or norms of their group. Tajfel (1981) also noted that individuals compared themselves to members of other groups and try to represent their own groups as being superior to external groups. Essentially the interpersonal behaviour of individuals may often be influenced by group membership. Being part of a group can affect the way that a person

may interact with others in group members and the way that members of different groups interact (Tajfel, 1981:45). In extreme situations such as war, interactions could be based only on group membership as opposed to interacting with the personalities of other individuals (Tajfel, 1981:45).

Under a postmodern framework, individual identity may be understood as the place where social and discursive relations are negotiated (Amiran & Unsworth, 1994:2). Postmodern framework acknowledges the multiple influences that play a part in the fluidity of identity formation and maintenance, including gender, sexual, racial, social and economic factors. Hall (1996:17) prefers the term 'the subject' as opposed to terms like 'identity' that privilege the view of the self as complete, consistent or autonomous. "For Hall the self is internally fragmented, incomplete, multiple and was produced and positioned, that is subjected to and determined within discourse" (Hall, 1996:17). The post-modern conception of identity becomes useful to research. This conception of identity helps to frame identity in a more complex way. As a result, it is essential to note that even representations of identity in hip-hop may not always be coherent or stable. Some hip-hop songs choose to be ambivalent about many subjects including identity, race and gender. "All of these theories, however, play an important role in the evolution of understandings around the concepts of identity" (Hargreaves, Miell, & Macdonald, 2001:16).

3.3 Feminist Theories

With the current proliferation and fragmentation of feminist theory and politics, reviewing feminist perspectives on the media has become a hazardous task. Classifying feminism in three neatly separated ideological currents is certainly at odds with the present fragmentation of feminist thought. It seems hard to include, for example postmodern and psychoanalytic trends satisfactorily in this tripartition (Press, 2000:30). In addition, feminist theory and practice is often rather diverse, incorporating elements from different ideologies as circumstances and issues necessitate (Press, 2000:30). As a result few feminist media studies can be unequivocally classified in one of the three categories. However, taken as ideal types, they are indicative of the various ways in which feminists perceive the media. Although less dominant than the seventies and early eighties, they still underline many feminist self-perceptions and analysis (Press, 2000:30). For the purposes of this research, it is impossible to talk of representation of gender without referring to some key perspectives of feminism

since feminism is concerned with gender, sexuality and fair treatment and representation of women everywhere.

In the liberal feminist discourse, irrational prejudice and stereotypes about the supposedly natural role of women as wives and mothers account for the supposedly natural role of women in society (Van Zoonen, 1996:33). General liberal principles of liberty and equality should apply to women as well. 'Equal Rights' or 'reformist' feminism are other labels for these principles which find their political translation in attempts to change legislation , in affirmative action programs, in stimulating women to take up non-traditional roles and occupations and to develop masculine qualities to acquire power (Van Zoonen, 1996:33). Such role reversal is much less strongly advocated for men. Sex role stereotypes, prescriptions of sex-appropriate behaviour, appearance, interests, skills and self-perceptions are at the core of liberal feminist media analysis. When women appear in the mass media, they are normally depicted as wife, mother, daughter, girlfriend; as working in traditionally female jobs (secretary, nurse, receptionist); or as sex-object. Moreover, they are usually young and beautiful, but not very well educated (Van Zoonen, 1996:33). This research will therefore explore how women are portrayed and what roles are allocated to them in the songs and music videos.

Media act as socialisation agents, along with the family, teaching children in particular their appropriate sex roles and symbolically rewarding them for appropriate behaviour (Gauntlett, 2010:15). It is thought that media perpetuate sex role stereotypes because they reflect dominant social values and also because male media producers are influenced by these stereotypes (Gauntlett, 2010:15). The solutions liberal feminism offers are twofold: women should obtain more equal positions in society and/or enter male-dominated fields and acquire power. With a time lag mass media may reflect this change. Meanwhile, media can contribute to change by portraying more women and men in non-traditional roles and by using non-sexist language (Gauntlett, 2010:15).

An essential feature of feminist theory is that feminism challenges male intellectual hegemony (Evans 1983:18). In asserting, describing and documenting the existence of woman, proposes a radical change in "the theoretical organization of the universe" (Evans 1983:18). This is because much of the social inequality and power differences between men and women, are reflected in the forms and contents of existing knowledge.

In radical feminist discourse, 'patriarchy', a social system in which all men are assumed to dominate and oppress all women, accounts for women's position in society (Van Zoonen, 1996:35). Patriarchy is conceived to be the result of men's innately wicked inclination to dominate women, a genetically determined need which they can fulfil, in the last instance, by exercising their physical strength (Van Zoonen, 1996:35). Radical feminists have been in the forefront of exposing male abuse of women and politicising issues formerly considered as private: sexual violence, wife battering, incest, pornography, and more recently, sex tourism and trafficking in women. It is obvious that men can have no place in radical feminist utopias. In order to free themselves completely, women have to cut off all ties with men and male society and form their own communities (Van Zoonen, 1996:35). It is however, doubtful that this would be the long lasting solution to women receiving equitable treatment and representation in the world of mass media.

Since mass media are in the hands of male owners and producers, they will operate to the benefit of a patriarchal society. In radical feminist media analyses the power of the media to affect men's behaviour towards women and women's perception of themselves is beyond discussion (Gauntlett, 2010:25). The media strategies of radical feminism are straightforward: women should create their own means of communication. Technological developments in print and audio visual media made the proliferation of feminist writing, newsletters. Magazines, radio and TV programmes, video and film groups possible. Radical feminist logic does not allow for hierarchies; they are thought to be a perversion of masculine society. Contributions are anonymous or signed with first names only since it is assumed that all women share the same kind of patriarchal oppression (Gauntlett, 2010:25).

Unlike radical and liberal feminism, socialist feminism does not focus exclusively on gender to account for women's position, but attempts to incorporate an analysis of class and economic conditions of women as well. Central concepts are 'the reproduction of labour' and 'the economic value of domestic labour' (Van Zoonen, 1996:36). Although not recognised as such, the nurturing, moral, educational and domestic work women do in the family is said to be indispensible for the maintenance of capitalism. Were all this labour to be paid, the profit margins of capitalism would be critically diminished (Van Zoonen, 1996:36). Socialist feminism shares with liberal feminism an emphasis on the need for women to take up paid labour. However, at the same time a fundamental restructuring of the labour market is called

for, in which the average labour week is reduced to 25 hours so that women and men have time left to share nurturing and domestic responsibilities (Van Zoonen, 1996:36).

More recently, socialist feminism has tried to incorporate other social divisions along the lines of ethnicity, sexual preference, age, physical ability, since the experience of, for example, black lesbian and single women did not fit nicely in the biased gender/class earlier model (Cook & Tsou, 1994:180). This has resulted in an increasingly complicated and incoherent theoretical project, which until now has not produced a satisfactory account of the way material and cultural conditions interact (Cook & Tsou, 1994:180). In socialist feminist discourse, power remains in social-economic structures, be it mediated through the relatively autonomous level of ideology. The solutions socialist feminism offers are not different from liberal or radical media strategies. Usually a double strategy is advocated: reforming the mainstream media as well as producing separate feminist media (Cook & Tsou, 1994:180). In this case, must women create their own separate communities, must they join the world of men with the hope of reforming it or must they be happy with their housewives duties while doing a little bit of commercial work? These are the questions that this study seeks to contribute to. This research takes the position that in order to get to the solution of gender injustice and inequality, rigorous questioning need to be made and thorough interrogation and analysis of our social structures, such as the media need to be undertaken.

"In popular culture and art alike, it is quite rare to see the male body displayed in ways similar to the exhibition of women's bodies. To be sure, we see more than enough images of men but seldom are they subjected to the gaze of the female or male viewer, and it is even more uncommon to see them undressed" (Cook & Tsou, 1994:184). According to Cook and Tsou (1994:184), this invisibility is a relatively new phenomenon. For the ancient Greeks male nudity was unproblematic. The male body was a normal image in art which personified gods, and the erect penis was openly on view in the image of satyrs or as an image in its own right, symbolising patriarchal power and fertility. People used representations and sculptures of erect penises as tokens of good luck, as scarecrows or as guards to their estates (Cook & Tsou, 1994:184).

Post-modern feminism is an approach to feminist theory often linked to poststructuralist feminism and is also referred to as French Feminism (Fourie 2002:401). This form of feminism asserts that "difference" is the most powerful tool that females possess in their

struggle against patriarchal domination. Thus, the fact that women are women, is seen as an empowering tool in establishing females in society as being in the same positions as males. This movement however, is against equating males, and females and feminism (Fourie 2002:401). Post-modern feminists reject the traditional assumptions of truth, knowledge and power, as they believe that they are centred on an absolute male style (Fourie 2002:401). Thus, this theory emphasizes that traditional assumptions such as truth, knowledge and power are informed and defined from the masculine or patriarchal perspective. This disregards a gender dimension where a transformation is possible. This arm of feminism sees gender as being a fundamental theory, consisting of individuals and social relations and criticizes other theories for their lack in this notion (Fourie 2002:401). Gender is thus not seen as inherent, but is socially constructed, it may be chosen by individuals, and is constructed and chosen through experience.

The feminist movement for black women has evolved into a powerful and necessary cultural dynamic in recent years. Critics within this discourse have found a significant difference between feminist theory and black feminist theory. Both movements grew out of the need for women to speak for themselves, yet the message of black women is different from that of white women because their circumstances are different (Cook & Tsou, 1994:184). The major connection between the black feminist and feminist movements is the finding of voice, ultimately public voice. As a result, questions of gender roles, perspectives, and images have led to a rethinking of traditional ideology, particularly music (Cook & Tsou, 1994:184).

3.3.1 Media and Patriarchy

The media have always been at the centre of feminist criticism because of the media's power in imparting patriarchal and ideological messages (Fourie 2002:383). Thus, the media are seen as key contributors of communicating patriarchal messages, such as the role of the father as head of the family, the power men hold over women in the working environment, as well as other representations of the subordination of the female to the male. Ideologically, this may be demonstrated by the media's portrayal of men of all classes and races, as being oppressive towards women. Feminist theories, thus, seek separatism from male dominance, especially in terms of the production of female representations in the media (Fourie 2002:383).

Macarthur (2010:90) argues that cinematic practice is directly related to patriarchal. Film reflects, reveals, and even plays on the straight, socially established interpretation of sexual difference which controls images, erotic ways of looking and spectacle. To the patriarchal unconscious, the woman signifies sexual difference and more particularly she connotes the lack of a penis which evokes fear of castration and un-pleasure. Thus the woman is icon, displayed for the gaze and enjoyment of men, the active controllers of the look, always threatens to evoke the anxiety it originally signified (Macarthur, 2010:90). The portrayals of gender in the media are central to understanding relations of power and the structure of patriarchy. Mainstream media is a powerful monopoly created and maintained by the elite in order to purport the narratives that best serve the corporate agenda. Patriarchy is embedded deeply within those institutions, as well as a dualism in the public versus private mentality.

3.4 Theories of the Male Gaze

Many feminist media critics argue that women's self-consciousness is created through the complex interaction between women and the media. According to Keohane and Gelpi (1982), the feminine self-consciousness regards the female body as the object of another person's attention. In the mass media, even more common in hip-hop, a woman is often defined by the male gaze, construct, and desire. She becomes the sex object in a patriarchal society (Keohane and Gelpi, 1982). This gaze becomes a site for power when the viewer is male and the one gazed at is female. The male gaze, however, is not exercised exclusively by men. Patriarchal systems ensure that the male gaze is internalized by women as explained by art critic, John Berger (1972) "Men act and women appear. Men look at women. Women watch themselves being looked at. This determines not only most relations between men and women, but also the relation of women to themselves. The surveyor of women in herself is male, the surveyed female. Thus she turns herself into an object, and most particularly, an object of vision" (Berger, 1972:47).

Berger argues that women are rarely in a private space. They are constantly under this male gaze, which provides voyeuristic pleasure to men. Berger's concept of the male gaze is formed on Marxist criticism of the economic and social structure that perpetuates a patriarchal power base. Unlike Berger, Laura Mulvey (1975:13), in her seminal essay of the male gaze from the Lacanian psychoanalytical perspective, she argues "In a world ordered by sexual imbalance, pleasure in looking has been split between active/male and passive/female.

The determining male gaze projects its fantasy on to the female figure which is styled accordingly (Mulvey, 1975:13). In their traditional exhibitionist role, women are simultaneously looked at and displayed, with their appearance coded for strong visual and erotic impact so that they can be said to connote *to-be-looked-at-ness*" (Mulvey,1975:13). In applying this to many traditional misogynist hop-hop videos, one cannot help but notice that most men offer their performance skills and their art, while women in the videos offer their looks and master the skill of being looked at.

Mulvey, (1975:10) offers the term 'Scopophilia', where pleasure comes from using another person as an object of sexual stimulation through sight as a primary driving force behind the male gaze (Mulvey,1975:10). Mulvey's concept of the male gaze can be found in three distinct points: first, the look of the camera when the situation is being shot. This is often voyeuristic and presents a patriarchal perspective to the viewer. The second point involves the gaze or look of the male characters in the screen that makes the woman an object. The third point involves the look or gaze of the spectator that initiates the first two looks. These three factors combine to replicate the structure of uneven power relations between men and women (Mulvey, 1975:10). Both Berger (1972) and Mulvey (1975) argue that "women are the object of the gaze as opposed to the subject of the gaze".

Berger and Mulvey's concept of the male "gaze" can be found in both print and television advertising, where a woman's body is represented as an object of the masculine gaze and a producer of voyeuristic pleasure. The gaze in advertisements provides codes to the viewer to make sense of the social behaviour (Carilli & Campbell, 2005: 40). According to Fiske (1987), the mass media construction of a masculine reading position for a woman from which she can make sense of her own body through masculine eyes is a deliberate economic strategy at the media industry.

Furthermore, Psychoanalytical theory, a theory born form psychoanalysis, which offers a universal theory of the "psychic construction of gender on the basis of repression" provides a framework within which femininity can be understood with regards to the representation of women in the media (Fourie 2002:297. Psychoanalytical feminists criticize the psychoanalytical theories of Freud, as well as post-structuralist readings of Freud (Fourie 2002:297). The main ideas in this theory come from psycho-analysist and philosopher Sigmund Freud, who initiated the idea that sexual desire is basic to human existence. Thus a

fundamental part of Psychoanalytical Feminism is the criticism of the display of woman as "a spectacle to be looked at, subjected to the gaze of the male audience" (Van Zoonen 1994:87). The depiction of women as decorative elements and as objects of desire, such as in advertising, show woman as a spectacle for "voyeuristic pleasure" (Fourie 2002:297). This means that females are constructed in the media to suit the male gaze, and thus, are produced in a manner in which to provide erotic pleasure to the male.

Macdonald (1995) also points out that advertising messages consistently present women in "narcissistic poses enthralled by their own mystery. Self-contemplation and self-absorption envelop the women in the shrine of her own making, and poise the spectator uneasily between the contradictions of identification and voyeurism that Mulvey sees as the characteristics of the male gaze"(Macdonald, 1995: 107). Theories of the male gaze have predominantly been written about film, television, print and advertisements. This research seeks to apply these theories in the area of hip-hop music videos.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter has mapped out and explained the core, fundamental theories guiding this study. The chapter begins with an in-depth discussion of representation in the media, which encompasses gender and representation and theories of identity. This is followed by a discussion of feminist theories. A discussion of these specific theories speaks to a way in which representations of gender may be explained and understood in this study. The relevance of theories of media representation and feminist theories in this research is to provide an understanding of how the subject of gender has been conceptualized and contested in the domain of media. These theories have been selected because they offer an insight into gender representation in the media and public domain. Lastly, theories of the male gaze are also briefly discussed, which demonstrated how women are gazed at by the male viewers. Here, the focus is on how women are represented as objects of the masculine gaze by the media and how this provides pleasure to men.

Chapter Four

Research Methodology and Design

4.1 Introduction

Research methodology is the beginning of any research. In order for research to be complete and acceptable, certain steps have to be taken. Hence, the research question that this research explore was first determined to assist in the selection of the research methodology, the choice of which is explained below. This research uses qualitative method, thematic analysis, in determining how the songs and videos of the selected artists portray gender.

4.2 Data Collection and Sampling methods

Creswell, (2007:36) defines qualitative research as "an activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world. They turn the world into a series of representations, including field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings, and memos to the observer". Analysis begins as soon as data begins to be collected. Analysis and data collection proceed in a cyclical fashion, where preliminary analysis informs subsequent data collection (Creswell, 2007).

According to Wigston (1995: 152), a qualitative approach aims to "be more critical in nature and can be used when we need to penetrate the deeper layers of a message" (Wigston, 1995: 152). Qualitative analysis is a heterogeneous area of study, where "the textual contents of the technological media, but also their materiality, scheduling, and social uses, are studied by qualitative research in order to explore empirically how the media generate meaning." (Jensen, 2002: 236). Blanche et el (2006:278) notes that social constructionist research methods, like their interpretive counterparts, are qualitative, interpretive, and concerned with meaning. But where those working within the interpretive tradition focus on the subjective understandings and experiences of individuals or groups, social constructionist researchers want to show how such understandings and experiences are derived from (and feed into) larger discourses (Blanche et el, 2006: 278).

This study uses a qualitative research approach because it seeks to understand and make meaning of media texts, specifically using thematic analysis to achieve its research aims. A thematic analysis thus fits the aim of the study. Data collection is done through sourcing South African hip-hop songs to get the lyrics and hip-hop videos. These methods are used bearing in mind that the purpose of the research is to analyse gender construction of South African hip-hop.

The sampling methods used include purposive and convenience sampling. A sample is defined as a representation of a population and it is selected to determine the characteristics of content within the universe of all units being studied in order to make inferences about phenomena within the media (Riffe et el 1998: 81-82). Purposive method is used because the study purposefully selected three preferred hip-hop artists. These artists include: HHP, Zulu boy and Slikour. This research also purposefully selects an equal number of songs and music videos produced by the chosen artists. In this case, a total of six songs are selected, two from each artist. One song from each artist in terms of videos is selected, and one song from each artist in terms of the lyrics is selected. Convenience method is used because the research uses convenient ways to find the songs and music videos (Du Plooy, 2009:108). Thus, the targets are the internet (YouTube) and CD's and DVD's produced by the chosen artists.

4.3 Data Analysis methods

4.3.1 Thematic Analysis

Data was analysed through thematic analysis. "Thematic analysis is a qualitative analytic method for: identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data. It minimally organises and describes data set in rich detail. However, frequently it goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic" (Braun & Clarke, 2006:79). This method is useful for analysis of media texts.

Thematic analysis involves coding. Coding in thematic analysis is a process of identifying themes or concepts that are in the data collected (Ezzy, 2002:86). It is an inductive process, this is because the categories into which themes are sorted are not decided prior to the coding data; the categories are induced from the data (Ezzy, 2002:88). The aim of thematic analysis is to identify themes and examine latent meanings within media texts. An ideal method for generating new theories or interpretations. Thematic analysis pays greater attention to the

qualitative aspects of the material analysed (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82). A theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 82). Braun and Clarke's (2006:82) guide to the six phases of conducting thematic analysis include: Becoming familiar with the data, Generating initial codes, searching for themes, reviewing themes, Defining and naming themes, and producing the report.

According to (Boyatzis, 1988), not only does thematic analysis organise and describe data set in (rich) detail, it also often goes further than this, and interprets various aspects of the research topic (Boyatzis, 1998). The range of different possible thematic analyses definitions will further be highlighted in relation to a number of decisions regarding it as a method (Boyatzis, 1998). "Thematic analysis is widely used, but there is no clear agreement about what thematic analysis is and how you go about doing it" (Boyatzis, 1998; Tuckett, 2005, for other examples).

It can be seen as a very poorly branded method, in that it does not appear to exist as a named analysis in the same way that other methods do (e.g. narrative analysis, grounded theory) (Braun & Wilkinson, 2003: 30). "In this sense, it is often not explicitly claimed as the method of analysis, when, in actuality, we argue that a lot of analysis is essentially thematic, but is either claimed as something else (such as discourse analysis, or even content analysis, or not identified as any particular method at all, for example, data were "subjected to qualitative analysis for commonly recurring themes"" (Braun & Wilkinson, 2003: 30).

Murray (2003:112) states that "a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question, and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set". An important question that was addressed in terms of coding is what counts as a pattern/theme, or what size does a theme need to be? Ideally there will be a number of instances of the theme across the data set, but more instances do not necessarily mean the theme itself is more crucial (Murray, 2003: 112). As this is qualitative analysis, there is no hard-and-fast answer to the question of what proportion of your data set needs to display evidence of the theme for it to be considered a theme (Murray, 2003: 112).

According to Singer & Hunter (1999:70), "It is not the case that if it was present in 50% of one's data items, it would be a theme, but if it was present only in 47%, then it would not be. Nor is it the case that a theme is only something that many data items give considerable

attention to, rather than a sentence or two. A theme might be given considerable space in some data items, and little or none in others, or it might appear in relatively little of the data set. So researcher judgement is necessary to determine what a theme is" (Singer & Hunter, 1999:70). For this research, thematic analysis becomes the best way to unpack the gender oriented power relations encoded in the artists' songs and videos.

Thematic analysis is suitable for this method because primary sources used take the form of songs and Videos by the hip-hop artists selected. CD's are therefore the primary sources in analysing the lyrics and YouTube is the primary source in analysing the videos. Lyrics and videos are one way an artist tells us how to listen to them, view them and how to put meanings into their music. Lyrics and videos are not only about artists telling and showing stories, but also communicating discourses about their identity (Frohmann, 1992:365). Thus, by listening to the messages the artists are conveying in their song lyrics as well as watching what they are conveying in their videos, and then transcribing them, the researcher analyses gender issues found. Thus, when analyising data collected after watching the selected artist's videos and listening to their music, the researcher came up with themes. These themes were influenced by issues of gender construction that came up since this is the aim of the research. However, other issues are also exposed from the songs and videos, which are also unpacked into themes, to further help in the explanation of the findings and analysis.

4.4 Conclusion

In sum, this chapter discussed the research methodology that this research uses. The research design applied is qualitative method. The sampling methods are discussed, which include purposive and convenience sampling. Data collection and analysis methods are also explored, which are done through sourcing South African hip-hop songs and videos to get the lyrics and hip-hop videos. This is done in order for the researcher to conduct thematic analysis of the lyrical contents of the songs and videos. A total of six songs were chosen.

Chapter Five

Research Findings

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss and explore the themes that arise in the songs and videos of selected artists, HHP, Slikour and Zuluboy. The main purpose of this research as explained before is to investigate ways in which the three selected hip-hop artists represent and articulate gender in their music lyrics and videos. It seeks to unravel the embedded meanings and ideas of gender representations. Here, the aim is to determine whether the representations of gender in their music and videos are progressive and counter to the dominant portrayals of gender in mainstream hip-hop, which is widely conceived to portray ideas that objectify women. In this chapter, media representation, feminist theories and theories of the male gaze are central as a form of enquiry and analysis in understanding the meanings of the songs and music videos. The methods used to analyse lyrics and videos are briefly explained. The contextualisation of the selected artists and a description of the songs and videos are also explored to help with the findings. The full song lyrics of the above mentioned songs are included in Appendix 1. The music videos of the selected songs are available on YouTube, and Appendix 2 contains the URL links from which to access them.

5.2 Methods used to analyse lyrics and videos

Some steps are taken in order to analyse the lyrics and videos through the method mentioned in the methodology section. This method includes thematic analysis. Firstly, sources to collect the lyrics and videos are established. Furthermore, the lyrics are extracted from CD's. This is done through listening to the songs and transcribing them. Those that are in other languages like Tswana or Zulu are transcribed in those languages, then translated in English. Videos are sourced from YouTube and are uncovered and narrated whilst looking at all possible details that thematic analysis requires. Both videos and lyrics are then put down into themes that help in deriving to the findings. The themes found in the findings also help in the final section of analysis and conclusions. Through coding of these themes, organisation of data is neatly presented and helps in arriving to the results which then help to answer the research question "In what ways do South African hip-hop artists, HHP, Slikour and Zulu boy represent gender in their music lyrics and videos?"

The artists' songs and videos selected for analysis include:

Artist	**Songs**	**Videos**
Slikour	1. *Blacks are fools*	1. *Dreamer*
Zuluboy	1.*Nomalanga*	1.*Hail to the king*
HHP	1.*Bosso*	1.*Music and lights*

These songs and videos were selected as they are some of the popular songs that these artists have produced and gained popularity from.

It was therefore an assumption that these songs and videos contain progressive messages since they derive from progressive hip-hop artists, therefore**,** making them better choices for analysis.

5.3 Contextualisation of the Singers

5.3.1 Zuluboy

Mgingqeni Majozi, well known as Zuluboy is a multi-talented and now internationally acclaimed ethnic rapper, known for his love to politic, dialogue and boldness in his freedom of speech. Zuluboy tells his stories in the manner and style that best epitomizes his love for hip-hop culture and rap music, whilst staying true to his identity and to his native roots (Zuluboy Biography, 2014). Zuluboy's music and lyrics touch on wide range of topics from xenophobia, human trafficking and hope for an HIV and AIDSs free generation. Known for blending Zulu with urban hip-hop culture without compromising, Zuluboy's ethnocentric hip-hop sound has been described as infectious and his rapping forceful (Zuluboy Biography, 2014).

Since the release of his albums, *Masihambisane* (2006), *Inqolobane* (2008), *iGoda* (2009) and *Crisis management* (2012), Zuluboy has received recognition both in South Africa and on the continent with an Award for Best Rapper at the 2008 Metro FM Awards, and Best Vernacular Rapper for 2009 South African Traditional Music Achievement Awards (SATMAs) (Zuluboy Discography, 2014). He has also received two nominations for Best

Male and Best Hip-Hop Artist at the 2009 MTN South African Music Awards and nominations for Best Hip-Hop Artist for 2009 MTV Africa Awards (Zuluboy Biography, 2014).

5.3.2 Hip Hop Pantsula

Jabulani Tsambo, known as HHP, is one of South Africa's most loved and recognized Rap and Hip Hop performers. He has won South African Music Awards (SAMA) including Best Male Artist, Best Rap Album, and Best Hip Hop Artist. HHP has been known for performing in Setswana, isiZulu, Sesotho, English and other local languages. He is known as an ambassador for the colourful linguistic diversity of South Africa, an aptitude recognized by Pan-South African Language Board, which presented this artist with the Multi-Lingualism Award in 2008 (Hip-hop Pantsula Biography, 2014).

His music related accolades over the years are as numerous as the languages in which he performs, including Best Record Label (Botswana Hip Hop Music Award 2004), Best Male Artist (Kellogs' Star-in-You Kids awards 2006), People's Choice and Best Music Star (Maftown Golden Awards 2007) and the Mzansi Music Star Award (Stars of Mzansi Awards 2008). While his award nominations include Most Promising Act In Africa (KORA 2000), Best Male Artist, Best Rap Artist and Best Director (Channel O Awards 2007) and Best African Act (MTV Europe Music Awards 2007) (Hip-hop Pantsula Biography, 2014).

HHP has had successful albums which include, among others: *Introduction* (2000) *Maftown* (2001) *O Mang?* (2003) *Omang Reloaded* (2004) *YBA 2 NW* (2005) *Special Edition Mega Mixes* (2007) *Acceptance Speech* (2007) *Acceptance Speech Re-written* (2008), *Dumela* (2009) and other singles. HHP is constantly pushing the boundaries of his genre, "Motswako", meaning "mixture" in Setswana. Blending Afro-beat and hip hop rhythms with ground-breaking vocals (Hip-hop Pantsula Discography, 2014).

5.3.3 Slikour

Siyabonga "Slikour" Metane is a South African musician best known as one of the founding members of the hip-hop group Skwatta Kamp. As a member of Skwatta Kamp, Slikour noticed a niche in the market and developed a successful solo career. In 2005 Slikour released his first album *Ventilation Mixtape Volume.1,* followed by *Ventilation Mixtape Volume. 2* in 2007. The Ventilation Mix-tape series is about merging young artists that think alike in a

space of creativity. Slikour has been said to give both albums an assertive tone but still shows his human side of sincere fears and vulnerabilities (Slikour Biography, 2014).

Slikour was nominated for SAMAs (South African Music Award) at the 14th and 15th Annual South African Music Awards, a Channel O Music Award and was a winner of the public vote category Hit Single of the Year at the 2008 Metro FM Music Awards for the record Umsindo. The chart-topping track *Dreamer* from *Ventilation Mixtape Volume.2* was selected to be the official song for the Heart lines Stand for Good Campaign, which encouraged members of the public to perform acts of kindness to their fellow countrymen (Slikour Biography, 2014).

Slikour is also an ambassador for The Reach for a Dream Foundation. He is half owner of Buttabing Entertainment (with Lebo "Shugasmakx" Mothibe), a record label and artist management organisation started in 2002. Slikour's album *"Ventilation Vol. 3"* includes the featured song *Blacks are Fools*, which created a lot of controversy among black people (Slikour Biography, 2014).

5.4 Description of the lyrics and videos

The Lyrics

***Blacks are fools* by Slikour (2012)[2]**

Blacks are fools is a song by Slikour where he talks about black people in South Africa not supporting each other and not working together. He talks about how black people stay in an industry for 10 years but achieve very little and yet their white counterparts can get in the same industry for only 2 years and get successful for a life time. He gives an example of the Parlotones, a South African rock group who were represented by a big company, KFC and yet bigger Kwaito star like Zola was only recognised by the likes of Cell-c, a local mobile phone company.

He carries on to say he wishes black executives could be the ones to take the lead for the rest of the society, but instead they embarrass the rest. Slikour adds that black people are stagnant,

[2] Please refer to Appendix 1, page 101 for the complete lyrics of this song.

that they brag of BEE[3] billions and yet black schools are less than average. In his chorus, Slikour states that blacks are fools, all they want is to be fresh and cool. But once they have some little money, they think they rule, but he hopes they are better than that.

He continues to sing that "*nowadays its money and political favours. Politicians want to be celebrities and famous, celebrities want to be politicians, and that our society has gone pretentious and yet when the truth is said, they say you are envious and you are likely to be hated. The media undermines and offends black people, they don't play black peoples music and don't even recommend them, he adds. Journalists misrepresent black people, meanwhile they are busy building companies of the oppressors*".

He carries on saying for minimum wages, black people are made to look lesser, so who do children look up to? America, he asks. He then adds that "*our black heroes are negatively portrayed by editors so why do we blame when we can credit ourselves for our own lack of progression, and yet we think we are progressing…we are delusional!*"

He completes the song with a verse singing, black people show off BMW's and VW's and yet it doesn't trouble us that we are not considered in their marketing strategies. He carries on to say, "*they know that black people have the fashion IQ, and chances are that they don't even like us*". However, they know that black people will make the brand cool because they are fools and so materialistic. "*Spending money on foreign goods such as Gucci, Versaci, Louis and advertise them and yet we can't support our own brands*". No wonder black people do not own anything and will always be job hunting. He concludes to ask, is BEE the only way to be something?

Bosso **by Hip Hop Panstula (2012)[4]**

This song will be translated first before coming up with any themes found as it is in a different language, Setswana. Understanding the song in English helped me to come up with the right themes and also to uncover all issues that were addressed in the song by HHP.

In this song, HHP sings:

[3]Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) is a programme launched by the South African government to redress the inequalities of Apartheid by reversing it and by giving certain previously disadvantaged groups of South African citizens economic privileges previously not available to them.

[4] Please refer to Appendix 1, page 109 for the complete lyrics of this song.

Bosso ke mang, ke mang, “k’wena”.	“*who is the boss, who is it, “you”*.
“Ba re Bosso ke motho’ spinnang koloi asa e namela, Ke ya go tshayela, asa e namela”,	“*They say a boss is a person spinning a car without riding it, I am telling you without riding it*”
Ke moriski, Oja rice crispy ka whiskey, ka whiskey	*“he is a risker”*. “*he eats rice crispy with whiskey, yes whiskey”*.
Bosso ke mang, "k’wena"	“*who is the boss, you”*
“ Bosso ke mang, "k’wena" Ke mang, "k’wena"	“*who is it, you”*.

As the song proceeds, HHP goes to a group of guys as heard in the song, asks one of them saying “this guy looks like he understands what a boss is. My brother, what is a boss” HHP asks. The guy responds and says that he is a boss himself. Another says he has no idea.

As also heard in the song, the men are singing “who is the boss” and the women are answering “wena” meaning “you” in the background.

HHP mentions that they are at a shopping centre in Mafikeng, a town in North West province of South Africa, to ask the audience that same question. He asks another guy “are you a boss my brother” the guy answers “yes I am a boss, we are all bosses, in fact kings”. In the background, male voices scream of joy when this man responds.

He continues to ask other men on who the boss is. One says “I am a boss, a dog nation boss. And a boss is someone who does all good things that bosses do”. Another says “somebody who leads them is our boss”.

HHP then continues to sing, saying:

"Ke lenyora",	*"he is the shit",*
O nwa metsi a rote red bull, ja red bull, red bull,	*"he drinks water but pees red bull".*
O ka se motsware, o kgeila page gare ga Facebook	*"Yo cant hold him, he tears ä page out of Facebook"*
Facebook, mo gare ga Facebook…	*"Inside Facebook*"

The chorus continues with men singing:

Bosso ke mang, "k'wena",	"*who is the boss you*"
Ke mang, "k'wena"…	*"who is it you"*

And the ladies in the background continue to answer "*wena"* meaning *"you"*.

As the song goes to an end, HHP talks to an Afrikaans man and this man answers *"a boss is always in a bad mood, he is a man that dominates, but when he is in a good mood, then he says hurry up slowly"*. This obviously seems to suggest that a boss is just never satisfied.

Nomalanga by Zulu boy (2008)[5]

Just as the song *Bosso* by HHP, this song will be translated first before coming up with any themes as it is in a different language, IsiZulu.

Firstly, the title "Nomalanga" means *"daughter of the sun"*.

Zulu boy starts by singing Ngakushiya we Nomalanga. Meaning, "*I left you Nomalanga"*

[5] Please refer to Appendix 1, page 104 for the complete lyrics of this song.

Nomalanga in IsiZulu

“Nomalanga ngibhala lezincwadi sengiy’joni ehlathini, Ngaphantsi kwa Commando O.R”

“Bathi indliziyo yami ibuhlungu namhlanje” …

“Sas’hlele kwaphantsi kwemthuzi yehlahla sidlala umlabalaba”…

“Mhla ngak’sasa ngizohamba ngathini ngizok’shiya Nomalanga”…

“Ngiyohlezi ngik’cabanga elokuqina lelanga ngikaka ngik’bamba”

“Ngiyazi ngiyahamba haw’kusho kuthi ngizoganga”…

“Ngiyobhala mak’phel’ inyanga ngithumele nemali ingane zethu soze zalamba”…

“Sobabili siyazi uhambo lwami emehlo wemamba”…

“Landele u-peace ngidakwe inyembezi zenkanyamba”…

“Wakhala wangibamba kam’qenga wathamba. Baba k’sasa ngiyahamba ngiy’ eLusaka”…

“Sweety Lavo k’mele ngiyolwela lomhlaba”…

“i-Azania aku’siyeyethu nomasiy’bhanga”…

“Solwel’ umhlamba webaba sfike amabubezi sihlale maweni entaba.”…

“Fak’ igama lami emthandazweni maw’ thandaza”…

“Nomalanga ngiyak’shiya ngiyahamba ngiyozabalaza” ... “*Nomalanga,*

“It was 1985 ngipheth’ ikeje ngisehlathini”…

“Ngicabanga uNomalanga ephamp’ i-stove se-paraffin*”*…

“Siye e-Sophiatown epartyini soqantsela uMahlathini. Ngidlala amaphupho buyela emhlabathini”…

“Qamela espilini vuka amehlo acgwele’ inyembezi ngishay’ idenshini”…

“Ngitontsi ikeje ngichecke i-terrain iqhubeka i-mission”...

“Exile no fiction, incwadi isapheth’ i-matric iseposini”…

“Izolo I had a vison yebuso bakho emvakwe spoon e-kitchen”…

Ngizoyilungisa indaba ka-Bexters injan’ invula iyangena endlini…

“Impendulo ngizoy’thola nini, incwadi zami ayifik’ yini zonke zo-16”…

“Ngizobuya ngoyanga ozayo ungilinde estopini”…

“Mhlaka 12 kuNtlolanja 1990 Mandela will be out of prison”…

“Okwamanje ngisehlathini I’ll write you again Nomalanga working the system”…

“Lafika lelolanga k’dala sililindele”...

“Sek’phele iminyaka emihlanu sicrossile”…

“S’nungana nale nkululeko esilwelile”...

“Sgijima sgijimile sishay’ ijambo phola sijabulile”…

“Kodwa enalamhlanje angeke lishone ngingambonile” …

“Izinto azisafani nelokishi seli-change-ile”…

“ Kodwa nabo Spoti basase khoneni bablomile”…

“Ngiphakamis’ usikili hoezit baf’wethu sengibuyile”…

“Bakhala bekhalile ngopetrol okhuphukile”…

Bangitshela uguthi umngani wami u-Paul ubodile”…

“Ngathi ngifika endlini, ingani zam’ zonke seyikhulile”…

“Bonke babethokozile ne-O’lady lijabulile”…

“Langibhuka emehlweni langibuza ukuthi ngihambe ngidlile”…

“Langihlalisa phantsi lang’buza ukuthi kukhona yini engik’zwile”…

“Lang’tshela ukuthi u-Nomalanga uswelekile”…

“Bathi indliziyo yami ebuhlungu namhlanje”,

Nomalanga in English

“Nomalanga, I write this letter for I have joined the army under command O.R”.

“We are looking forward to coming back home, and be with our loved ones, I will write you letters and please send me pictures of the little ones. But for now we have to fight for the freedom of mzansi”.

“They say my heart is sore today”.

“we were sitting under the shade of a tree playing a game”.

“The day before I told you I will leave you Nomalanga”.

…“I Will always remember you and that very day”.

“I know I am going, but it doesn’t mean I will cheat”.

“I will write to you month-end and send money for you and our children. You won’t go hungry”.

“Together we know my journey, the eyes of a snake”.

“I am going for peace, you will rejoice after victory”.

“Dad tomorrow I am going to Lusaka”.

Sweety, I have to fight for the world”.

“*Azania, is not ours, though we fight for it*”.

“*We will fight for the world dad”.*

“*Put my name always when you pray”.*

I am leaving you, I am going to war”.

“It was 1985, I was carrying a weapon in the forest”.

"Thinking of Nomalanga pumping the paraffin store".

"*Going to Sophia town at the party listing, dancing to mahlabathini, I am diving with life*".

"*I am looking at the mirror, my eyes are full of tears"*

"Me carrying my weapon, checking the town, the war is still going on".

"Exile no fiction, the letter carrying my metric is still in the post box".

"*Yesterday I had a vision of your face my love".*

"*I will fix the Bexters issue, how are the rains? Do they enter in the house?".*

"*When am I getting my replies? Haven't you received my 16 letters that I havesent?*"

"I am coming next month, please wait for me at the station".

"*on the 12th of February Mandela will be out of prison".*

"*As of now, I am in the forest, I will write you again Nomalanga".*

"The day we've all been waiting for has finally arrived".

"*Its five months now, since we crossed the border".*

"*We are rejoicing the freedom we fought for".*

"*We are celebrating".*

"Today the sun won't set, without me seeing you".

"*Things are no longer the same, the township has changed ".*

"But Spoti's are still sitting at their usual spot/ corner ".

"I am greeting the guys the township way, telling them I am back".

"They are complaining because of petrol increase".

"They are telling me that my best friend Paul is dead".

"When I got home, I found that all my kids have grown up".

"*All of them rejoiced in seeing me, including my own mother*".

"*My mum asked me if I had eaten*".

"*She sat me down and asked me if I heard anything*"

"*She then told me that Nomalanga had passed away*".

"*They say my heart is sore today*".

The song Nomalanga speaks to the issues of the situation in South Africa during the hard times of apartheid and the hardships of those in the camps exiled in foreign countries. The song recalls a blique and uncertainty regarding the reunification of the people left at home and their loved ones abroad. As the song starts, it speaks of the fact that Nomalanga was left behind (*Ngakushiya we Nomalanga*) and today the heart of the one who went to exile is really hurting (*Bathi inhliziyo yam' ibuhlungu namhlanje*).

The song sympathetically captures the dangers and also the important role of memories of loved ones back home in South Africa. It also highlights that the fond memories of family life are playing an important role in instilling hope for the survival of those drifted apart because of the political tensions in the country. This song carefully documents and builds up expectations of a happy reunion and ending.

The Videos

Hail to the King by Zulu boy (2009)[6]

In this video, there is a black background with smoke and hut houses in the background. Then a young boy comes around chasing a chicken, followed by a traditional Zulu dressed woman passing by.

Inside one of the hut houses, Zulu boy and a man who seem to look like a ritualist (Sangoma) are sitting beside a fire. This man is talking to Zulu boy in what sounds like a Jamaican

[6] Please refer to Appendix 2, page 112 for the URL links from which to access this video.

accent. He then takes blood from a bowl and put some of it on Zuluboy's cheeks and says "*Zulu boy has the Zulu emperor*".

Zulu boy comes out of the hut house, and spins around, all of a sudden fire surrounds him and he is dressed differently soon after that, a red long robe (yet before that, he was only wearing shorts with no top/shirt on). As Zulu boy raps, an old man dressed in traditional outfit talks in the background. Zulu boy sings "*Give praise to the king, the one that lives within. Not of a legend, but tradition because colour black is still a victim in the powers of your system*". In one of his words as he sings, he mentions "*mama Africa*", showing the same woman that was shown in the beginning. This time she is in the kitchen, in a hut house blowing the fireplace, possibly getting the fire stronger.

In the video, most of the time as Zulu boy sings, an older man is shown next to him, wearing a traditional Zulu outfit, with a sword in his hands, this looks more like a statue that is made for Zulu boy to stand next to, showing that this man is Zulu boy's protector of some sort. The background of the video is in red just as his robe, with a darker background around the sides, with smoke and fire from a far.

As he sings, the cameras show him close up, showing his eyes and teeth and his face is mostly covered by his red robe hoodie as well as the darkness, due to the absence of much light in the video.

Next, Zuluboy is shown wearing a red hat, that seems to represent a king. On this scene he sings "*the people have spoken, the hip-hop king is chosen*". He then spits fire from his mouth as though he was at a circus. Next, Zuluboy comes out wearing a yellow boxing robe with another man, who is Caucasian in race, in a red boxing robe. There are audiences on both sides as they pass, cheering for them. They then fight (box) and in the end, Zulu boy wins.

As the song gets close to the end, a group of Zulu men are seen dancing a traditional Zulu dance, this is done next to a fire. As the words "the end" appear, Zulu boy stands next to the man with the sword again. Zulu boy in his red robe, covers his face completely with the hoodie and turns back towards the man.

Music and Lights by Hip Hop Panstula (2007)[7]

[7] Please refer to Appendix 2, page 112 for the URL links from which to access this video.

The music video starts with HHP with American singer Amerie together dancing as HHP sings and she sings along.

The music video is in black and white with bright light in the background. Generally, the video shows that it is a "party time mode" song as HHP sings: "*Music and lights, man we pass time with the blues delights. Move only in the heat of the night. Get down to a flow in sight. Get made by the end of the night"*

The women and the men in the video are shown together as they dance in the background. The women dancing on that background scene are wearing short skirts, short dresses and shorts. Men are wearing trousers, T-shirts and shirts.

At some point HHP dances in the middle of a group of girls as he sings, the girls surrounding him as they also dance. At other times, there are only two girls dancing for him.

HHP sings as he lies on a bed next to a girl. Using his hands, moving them around, he shows that he is enjoying the song. The girl on the other hand is only there sleeping, with eyes closed, next to him.

Later, a group of girls together with HHP are shown on a picture/mirror frame of some sort. HHP is busy singing and the girls are busy fixing their hair, make-up, nails and fixing HHP. He sings, "*Other girls come from Pietersburg, check on me, track me, check me at the back of the lorry, I make girls go crazy from Pretoria*".

At one point, HHP is seen with guys only, they move with the rhythm, rather than hectic dance, nothing intense like the girls. They wear clothes that are gangsta like, with hats turned backward and big T-shirts and baggy jeans. Somewhat like the way HHP is dressed.

Women's dancing on the other hand is heavy and animated. They shake their waists and show their legs as they move slowly seductively, in a sex appeal manner of some sort. Men's faces are shown very closely to the camera as they sing along. Women on the other hand are shown closely around their naked wastes as they dance shaking their buttocks. Their faces are not closely shown as much as their bodies.

Dreamer by Slikour ft RJ Benjamin (2007)[8]

[8] Please refer to Appendix 2, page 112 for the URL links from which to access this video.

This music video starts with a dark background. Words appear and they say “The community is like a band, one’s success depends on the others”.

The surroundings of the environment in the township areas are shown first, then Slikour and some guys sitting on the pavement are shown. Slikour sings “*there is no obsession of success where I am from. Kids mother before they have breasts where I am from*”. As he sings these words, a young girl is shown pregnant. Also, young boys are shown standing, doing nothing else other than drinking on a fence, looking like they are thugs.

Slikour then sings “*Life is a failing test where I am from, nobody wants to be the best where I am from, but rather to be the worst where I am from*”.

The video shows a man, with two (invisible) guys on both sides; these two guys are both Slikour’s faces, telling this man what to do in both ears. The other is telling him to do good, whilst the other is telling him to do bad (like an angel and the devil).

Later, a young man is shown lying on the ground, very drunk with a bottle of alcohol right next to him. Then Slikour goes to this man and pulls him up, holds the bottle of alcohol, shakes his head in disagreement to such behaviour.

Slikour and Benjamin then sing the chorus “*I can see the light and the future is bright because I am a dreamer. And if we all just try to keep our dreams alive, we will be believers*”.

Then a man is shown looking for food in a disposed garbage bin. On the other side Slikour is shown standing in front of an Audi (car), somewhat comparing the two of them. As this is shown, Slikour then talks about how *“if blacks succeed in life, it would be great as there would be ownership of things, no debts, there would be plans to invest and living off salaries*”.

Another man is then shown in the township seating on a roadside, eating bread. Here, Slikour goes there once again, well dressed, and pulls this man up, rescuing him in a way. The guy is suddenly transformed to better clean clothes.

Similarly, another man is shown struggling to come out of a fence as though he is in prison, or bondage. The guy is shown looking at himself on the other side (mirror like), dressed better and free of bondage. However, the man is shown going (as he is in his bondage look)

to rob a car, hiding a knife in his hands. The man driving the vehicle opens his window and the robber looks in disbelief as he sees himself being the driver of the vehicle.

Slikour and Benjamin carry on to sing the chorus and say "*I believe we were meant to dream. I won't let hopelessness bring me down for the rest of my life, because I am a dreamer*".

The video ends showing that Slikour was actually dreaming about the song and the video and that it is his dream in a way to change young men that are hopeless, and help them to do better things in life.

5.5 Presentation of findings

5.5.1 Theme 1: Representation of Gender

As discussed in chapter 3, Koskoff's study (1987:2) under media representation theory helps to explain how music such as hip-hop can influence gender relations in four different ways: it may reinforce the established gender division; it may maintain the established order so that more important values in society are upheld; it can contest the established order but it is unable to change the gender hierarchy; and finally it can serve as a platform for gender equality and empowerment. Through music, it is possible to re-enact social constructions regarding gender behaviours and roles and maintain traditions. Hence, music can reinforce and perpetuate the traditional gender hierarchy (Koskoff's, 1287:2).

In the song *Bosso*, by HHP, which means "Boss", a number of observations are evident. In this song, it is found that from the beginning of the song till the end, only men are asked about "being boss" as well as addressed as bosses. No woman has been mentioned nor has any woman been put in the spotlight to be asked the same question of what 'she' thinks a boss is and whether or not she is a boss. Instead HHP interviews not less than seven men to give views of what a boss is. All the men questioned have a view of what a boss is, and each of their views insinuate that only a man is a boss, and not a woman (Hip Hop Pantsula, 2012). With that being said, one would wonder whether the song reinforces the established gender divisions that society has long established, or if it is maintaining the established order, or if the song is a platform for gender equality. The artist, HHP did not only fail to include women in the song, but he also did not question why all the interviewees seemed to have already gotten a preconceived idea that the question was only applying to men as they only referred to this 'boss' as ' a man'.

In addition to this, one would note that in Zuluboy's "*hail to the king"* music video, only men are shown, even among the audience that are shown cheering for Zulu boy as he sings or as he battles with a white man in the video. Zuluboy sings about "*giving praise to the king the one that lives within*". As he sings, himself, a ritualist (Sangoma) and another older man are seen as the main role players' or rather main characters of the video. There is no woman that is shown playing any kind of significant role that contributes to Zuluboy's kingship. However, only one older woman is seen in the kitchen (Zulu boy 2009).

This woman is shown during the beginning of the video, dressed in Zulu traditional outfit, and the same lady is also shown in a hut, around the fire place in the kitchen, trying to get the fire burning. This portrays the usual domestic work that women do, which mostly leaves them in the kitchen. This raises a few questions on how "woman" have been represented here. The woman cannot be the "chosen one" just as Zuluboy has been chosen, chosen or be an important pillar like the man who keep re-appearing next to Zulu boy, but rather, she only maintains her role in the kitchen, where she is busy making fire, likely for food (Zulu boy 2009).

Even in the scene where Zulu boy fights the Caucasian man, it is only other men cheering him, suggesting that only men are capable or deserving of being part of important social battles. No woman took part in obtaining freedom and getting the king attain his position of kingship from the white man (Zulu boy, 2009). This video re-enforces the very critique offered by liberal feminism. According to liberal feminist's, women in the media are usually depicted as wives, mothers, daughters, girlfriends; as working in traditionally female jobs (secretary, nurse, receptionist); or, as sex-objects (Van Zoonen, 1996:33). By confining the woman to the kitchen and not giving her any role in the fight for freedom like the men, the music video seems to be sending out a clear message which says that women belong to the kitchen. Her role is household work.

Issues of gender continue to arise in Slikour's video, *dreamer, which is* about hope. Slikour sings to remind South Africans that there is always a solution to the challenges that they face in life. "*Everyone has the power to achieve better things in life and people should not be comfortable with bitter situations*" he says.

In the beginning of this video, a young pregnant girl is shown. She seems to be struggling to find ways to take care for herself. He sings that "*young girls get pregnant at such an early*

age". As the video continues, he shows different men with different kinds of negative behaviours that can lead to their failure. He however, shows ways that these men can overcome such behaviours to become better and responsible people. The pregnant young girl is not shown again, and is not shown overcoming her struggles, and achieving anything better. Here, he portrays women as people that do not dream and are likely not to achieve much. Slikour in the video is like an angel who saves men and helps them move forward from criminality, alcoholism and other bad behaviours (Slikour &Benjamin, 2007). Ironically, even though it is clear that both women and men are dogged by failure, the music video only bestows attention to men and disseminates a message of hope for broken men but excludes the plight of women.

In Zuluboy's song *Nomalanga*, which means *"daughter of the sun"* Zuluboy narrates a relationship situation between a man and woman which will be used to speak about gender roles during the apartheid period. He talks about how men left their wives during this time and how this left the women and children at home without the husbands/fathers, hence separation of families. He talks about leaving his children and wife for five years for a contractual obligation with Teba, a big mining company at the time. He tries to console her and tells her to "*dry her tears because everything will be alright*". He vows that he will never end up living in hostels for good, where young men used to live and where women were not allowed. What he means is that he will not be broken by the system as many young men ended up disillusioned and left their families for good or became alcoholics due to the shame of being unable to provide for their families (Zulu boy, 2008).

The fact that men had to go away and fend for the families and women had to stay at home shows the role of the woman, as he sings "*I will write to you month-end and send money for you and our children. You won't go hungry*". However, he sings about these roles as they were during that period. Zulu boy does not in anyway, discuss these gender roles as persisting or happening now. He basically sings what was happening during that period (Zulu boy, 2008). Similarly, in Slikour's *Blacks are Fools*, Slikour does not speak about gender or portray gender precisely. Slikour strongly puts emphasises on the South African society. In his words, black people in South Africa still have a lot to do in order to improve their lives. He sings that black people can do much better by being very supportive each other and not just criticise and misrepresent each other. He does not make any comment on women, or men precisely. However, he takes the approach of an artist that is trying to represent the

generation that should try to leave a mark and make a difference, by trying to make things different through voicing out what is not usually voiced out by the black community (Slikour, 2012).

Sub-theme: Gender, Power and hyper masculinities

Power issues and hyper masculinities on gender seem to have played a big role in these songs and videos as found in this sub-theme. To begin with, all the men interviewed in HHP's song *"Bosso"* answer that a boss is a man who leads, he is a king. Which can easily be assumed that a boss is not a "queen" or rather a female. "*He is a dog nation boss*", as one of the interviewed man responds, which could mean "a womaniser", as society has many times labelled men as "dogs" for their womanising habits. Also, one man answers that a boss is a "man who dominates and always in a bad mood" and when in a good mood, he says *"hurry up slowly",* meaning that a boss, who is a man for that matter, is arrogant and rude, at the same time, never satisfied (Hip Hop Pantsula, 2012).

In addition, HHP sings that "*a boss is a man who is a risker, that he spins a car without riding it. Also that he eats rice crispy with whiskey*" (Hip Hop Pantsula, 2012). This could mean that a boss is a reckless man who indulges himself into risky behaviours, as the song even says "*he is a risker*", which basically creates an assumption that women can never be bosses. He adds on to say "*a boss pees red bull, and cannot be touched as he also rips off a page out of Facebook*" (Hip Hop Pantsula, 2012). All this just shows that this boss is a man who has money and uses his worth lavishly, hence "peeing red bull". In addition, this man is famous as he probably is well known in society as well as on social networks, hence he can never be moved as he is the centre of attention (Hip Hop Pantsula, 2012).

Another point that one would note is that as the song plays, HHP and all the men sing the words "*who is the boss*" and women respond on the other part, saying "*you*". The women have not been given an opportunity to ask or even to be asked on this question, but they have only been given an opportunity to respond on behalf of the men, that they, "the men", are the bosses (Hip Hop Pantsula, 2012).

According to Strinata (2004:162) men and women have been represented by the mass media in conformity with the cultural stereotypes which serve to reproduce traditional sex roles. Men are usually shown as being dominant, active, aggressive and authoritative, performing a

variety of important and varied roles which often require professionalism, efficiency, rationality and strength to be out successfully. Women by contrast are usually as being subordinate, passive, submissive and marginal, performing a limited number of secondary and uninteresting tasks confined to their sexuality, their emotions and their domesticity. In portraying the sexes in these ways, these music videos seem to confirm the traditional character of sex roles and gender. Lyrics of *Bosso* are a good example of men and women being represented by the mass media in conformity with the cultural stereotypes which serve to reproduce traditional sex roles. This then raises doubt on whether he is a progressive artist, or rather, the same as all other extreme commercial mainstream hip-hop artists.

Cohen (2008:7) states that the sheer proportion of women to men in some music videos effectively indicates strong gender and power relations favouring men. What becomes clear is that the idea of "the Jezebel" still holds a firm place within the media, particularly in hip-hop lyrics and music videos which continue to objectify women and reinforce stereotypical notions that a female's value is in ensuring men's sexual gratification (Cohen, 2008:7).

In HHP's video *Music and Lights*, HHP is shown singing on a bed whilst a woman is sleeping next to him. She looks as though she is there as a statue for decoration, trying to make HHP look good and show his powerful self. In this case, HHP is singing and she is sleeping, as though she has no duty or job, but to sleep next to HHP, the boss (Hip Hop Panstula 2007). Men in this video are wearing gangsta outfits, i.e. baggy jeans, if not, decent outfits. Their dress code portrays strength and power either way.

The men are not dressed in a shabby way revealing any part of their bodies or looking like cheerleaders. This is in sharp contrast to the women who are wearing short and revealing clothes. The men's baggy jeans and long t-shirts symbolise the strong men from the township who can get any girl and do whatever he wants to with her. In this video, this type of strong gender, power and hyper masculinity portrays women as though they cannot do much and that they are only sex symbols (Hip Hop Panstula 2007).

This is also seen in Zulu boy's music video *Hail to the King*. Here, Zulu boy is chosen as the king and dresses like one by wearing a red long robe. Zulu boy is shown wearing a red hat, that represents a king. Kings are well respected in the African culture and power is one thing that they are given. He sings "*the people have spoken, the hip-hop king is chosen*" (Zulu boy 2009). In addition, Zulu boy has a Zulu traditional guard next to him in this music video. This

is obviously as a body guard that is there taking care of his security needs as the king deserves. Moreover, as seen, Zulu boy shows power in a supernatural way as well, for instance, the ritualist (Sangoma) taking blood from a bowl and putting some of it on Zulu boys cheeks and saying that "Zulu boy has the Zulu emperor". This gives Zulu boy some interesting powers as he comes out wearing a red long robe (yet before that, he was only wearing a short with no top/shirt on). He then spits fire from his mouth as though he was a powerful dragon (Zulu boy 2009).

The background colour of the video red and dark with smoke at the same time connotes danger, urgency and power. In addition, showing blood being put on Zulu boy's face is another way of showing power as blood can only be extracted from a living thing by one who is greater than the source of blood itself (either an animal or a 'weaker' human being) (Zulu boy 2009).

Sub-theme: Female sexualities and objectification of women

According to theories of the Male Gaze developed by feminist, Mulvey (1975), "the audience, or viewer, is put into the perspective of a heterosexual male. The concept of the gaze is one that deals with how men view the women presented". Mulvey (1975) states that in film, women are typically the objects, rather than the possessors of gaze because the control of the camera (and thus the gaze) comes from factors such as the assumption of heterosexual men as the default target audience for most film genres (Mulvey 1975). Hamilton (2012) adds that the male gaze occurs when the camera puts the audience into the perspective of a heterosexual man. It may, for instance linger over the curves of a woman's body. The woman is usually displayed on two different levels: as an erotic object for both the characters within the film, and the spectator who is watching the film (Hamilton, 2012).

The male gaze is very evident in HHP's music video *Music and Lights*. One can easily see the how women's dressing as opposed to men's dressing in the video reveals women as objects to be sexually looked at. Women are wearing clothes that reveal their bodies. Their legs, waists and chest areas are very much exposed. The women's dancing is in a very sexual manner for instance, shaking their waists and going down and bending as they dance for the men. Also, women dancing around HHP appear as if they are there to entertain, please and serve him as the man (Hip Hop Panstula 2007).

In the video, men's faces are shown closely to the screen in the video as they sing along, while women's bodies are fragmented, with only their wastes and legs emphasised and closely shown on the screens, not their faces (Hip Hop Panstula 2007). In this video, the man emerges as the dominant power within the created film fantasy. The woman is unapologetically presented pleasure of the active male gaze. Mulvey (1975) also argues that, in mainstream cinema, the male gaze typically takes precedence over the female gaze, reflecting an underlying power asymmetry (Murvey, 1975). The Male Gaze typically focuses on: emphasizing curves of the female body, referring to women as objects rather than people, displaying of women is how men think they should be perceived. A feminist may see the male gaze as either a manifestation of unequal power between gazer and gazed, or as a conscious or subconscious attempt to develop that inequality (Hamilton, 2012). This is more than clear in the way HHP's music video portrays women. "It has been pointed out by some feminist thinkers that women in our society are more identified and associated with their bodies than are men, and, to a greater extent than men, they are valued for how they look" (Bordo 1993, 143; Bartky 1990).

5.5.2 Theme 2: The representation of identity and race

It should be borne in mind that issues of gender do not operate in a vacuum. Therefore intersectionality becomes a useful approach to better problematize issues of gender which are interrelated with other social identities such as class and race. According to Knudsen (2006), intersectionality seeks to examine the ways in which various socially and culturally constructed categories interact on multiple levels to manifest themselves as inequality in society. "Intersectionality is used to analyse the production of power and processes between gender, race, class etc., and is involved with analysing social and cultural hierarchies within different discourses and institutions. Finally, intersectionality stresses complexity (Knudsen, 2006:62-63).

In his song, Slikour addresses the issue of race from the beginning, with the title of his song "*Blacks Are fools*". Slikour addresses this boldly, even though race is a very sensitive topic in South Africa due to the legacy of apartheid. One can easily note that Slikour's approach to the issues of race does not differ with the way previous groups such as POC tackled social issues like these in their music. POC's songs were often filled with socio-political messages about the state of South Africa's racial, social and economic issues in the urban areas. This, to

some extent could be what Slikour intends to achieve in his music. He also questions why black stars are not considered in their marketing strategies, making an example of the Parlotones being used by KFC and Zola only being recognised by Cell C after a long and illustrious career (Slikour, 2012).

In this song, Slikour sings that:

"I wish black executives could take the lead, but instead they put black people down like we embarrass them and give us deals that equate to embarrassment and when we are broke, they blame it 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? Because blacks 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're better than that (Slikour, 2012).

To Slikour, the song is to be viewed in the context of lifting the self-esteem of a psychologically defeated people and ridding blacks of that mentality which seeks to blame apartheid even for those things over which they now have control (Mbele, 2012). Some of the factors shaping the discourse around the song could arise from the fact that, after 1994, blacks in South Africa have been gradually socialised into uncritically imbibing a skewed notion of racial reconciliation, leading to the absurd notion that blacks will jeopardise racial reconciliation simply by reflecting on their own condition (Mbele, 2012). The song uses "fools" to reflect the collective failure of blacks to realise that despite the political independence of African states, today, as a group, blacks are trapped in a precariously self-destructive social and economic quagmire (Mbele, 2012). This song is also a compelling attempt by the artist to invite the South African black nation into a more prideful and dignified sense of collective identity. The words of the song "*I hope we are better than that*" clearly articulate the yearnings of someone who wishes for change and is calling black people to rise to the challenge of being their selves.

Likewise, whilst addressing political issues, Zulu boy, in his *Nomalanga* song is also talking on behalf of the black community and the Zulu nation in South African. He is addressing the issue of race as he explains the suffering that took place among black families during the Apartheid period. One would not assume that the message in this song applies or rather represents a white South African. However, he is also discussing the white South African government that was there during Apartheid in relation to all the oppression under which they

subjected black people. In this case, if a white or black person should listen to the song and understand its meaning, each of them would relate to the song in a racially different manner and they would not feel the same about it (Zulu boy, 2008).

According to Lowiz (2013), in South Africa, where racism still thrives, hip-hoppers could be accused of instigating racial politics. Hip-hoppers identify themselves as coloured, black, human, African. The strength lies not only in being able to choose for themselves; rather, power is derived from choosing and then acting with conviction (Lowiz, 2013). In assuming some form of ethnicity, they assert the power to define themselves and use that to reach listeners. It is clear that a non-black person singing the same lyrics of *'Blacks are fools'* would have been vilified as racist or even taken to court for hate speech under South African law. The fact that Slikour was able to sing this song and make it a success speaks to the fact that he considers himself, not just African, but black and therefore having the moral jurisdiction to dare use language that would otherwise have been considered racist.

Yet again, in his music video *Hail to the king*, Zulu boy is in a fight with a white man during a boxing match. The white man is seen wearing a red robe, and Zulu boy is wearing a yellow robe. They then fight and after that the white man loses and Zulu boy wins the battle. One should note that winning over the white man during the boxing match not only symbolises winning over the white man from all the oppressions that he had committed to the black people of South Africa. Thus, the black man has won and took over from the white man (Zulu boy 2009). This song clearly has racially empowering sentiments which seek to re-affirm the strength and dignity of black people in South Africa as champions and winners. For hip-hoppers who champion black consciousness, a relationship with black people in other parts of the world is proposed by what they see as a global struggle against white domination (Lowiz, 2013).

Furthermore**,** in Slikour's video, *Dreamer*, apart from Benjamin, who featured Slikour in this music video, there was no any other white person shown or discussed. In this video he is addressing black men and how they should run from poverty. It is easy to know that this song is addressing black men as it shows and talks about the townships as well as how township life is like for those that don't have financial means to take care of themselves. In addition, he sings in his song saying *"if blacks succeed in life, it would be great as there would be ownership of things, no debts, there would be plans to invest and living off salaries"*. This

shows how directly he is addressing the black man re-affirming that the race of the artist, not just the music video itself, is the medium that makes addressing other black people possible.

Sub-theme: Social economic status and class

Addressing the issue of class, Smith (2007) argues that "as the country's remarkable and peaceful transition to democracy unfolds, millions, both urban and rural are trapped on the margins of society, contending with the multiple crises of unemployment, landlessness, homelessness, lack of basic services, HIV/AIDS, food insecurity and unacceptable levels of crime and violence" (Smith, 2007:12).

With the above economic summary, Slikour felt the need to address this in his video, *Dreamer.* Here, he shows the need for a better life for black people, which somewhat is similar to his song "blacks are fools". He shows that a homeless person on the street dressing in better looking clothes and fending for himself is a better way of life than looking shabby and begging. He emphasises the need for black people to work hard in life and be able to be something. He shows comparisons of homeless, dirty dressed men and those that seem to do well in life. By these comparisons in the video, he tries to show the viewer that being on the affluent side is much more rewarding than being on the side of begging (Slikour &Benjamin, 2007). He also shows that the act to of being an alcoholic or criminal is deadly and takes one nowhere. But working hard and fighting to be the best that one can be is the goal in life.

5.5.3 Theme 3: Speaking truth to power

In his song 'Blacks are fools', Slikour sings "*I guess our society has gone pretentious and when you tell the truth they say you are envious"*. To Slikour, having to come up with a song that emphasises the need for change is speaking the truth to the nation. Just as during South Africa's transition to democracy, POC's use of hip-hop as a tool for raising the critical consciousness of their audiences played a significant role in ensuring that the country's disenfranchised youth found ways of accessing the public sphere. Haupt (2001) among other authors differentiation between conscious hip-hop and mainstream hip-hop is that conscious hip-hop is music that speaks to social problems in society, racial issues within the constraints of certain South African spaces, and the artists also speak to a larger political reality. Furthermore, this music serves as a platform for agency and the contestation of ideas

regarding politics, society as well as understanding difference through, a lot of the time, Black consciousness rhetoric (Haupt, 2001: 177).

Slikour starts by singing that *"a nation without education will not know its worth. And that what he is about to say will determine whether society knows it's worth and if they don't know, then this is not book education, but it's their present!* ". In his words, Slikour sings *"Nowadays its money and political favours, Politicians want to be Celebrities and famous. Celebrities want to be politicians, buy faces, I guess our society has gone pretentious. And when you tell the truth they say you have 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 with scandals to misrepresent us, meanwhile they building companies of the oppressors for minimum wages they make us look lesser" (Slikour, 2012*).

Slikour is exploring the corruption that takes place in South Africa among government sectors and those that have money as well as between politicians and celebrities. Thus, both celebrities and politicians think alike and want to play each other's role. Here, political leadership has become bling leadership just as celebrity lifestyle (Gumede, 2010). Slikour questions whether there is a difference between a socialite, a political party, business and public administration elite in South Africa as power has been abused and misdirected in all these areas. "It is one of getting rich quickly, using shortcuts. Once one has made it, one feels entitled to live lavishly" (Gumede, 2010).

5.5.4 Theme 4: Critique of Consumerism

Slikour, in his *blacks are fools* sings that status and class is the reason why black people chose to rather show off in life instead of investing and working for themselves. Slikour removes himself from the mainstream hip-hop artist who is likely to sing about bling, money and cars. Instead, he questions the behaviour by some black people of exposing and bragging about wealth and material possessions (Slikour, 2012).

He sings "*We show off the BMW's, and VW's but doesn't that trouble you that they don't consider you in their marketing strategy, that's 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 because we so materialistic we're such fools. They don't give a buck to the same hoods spending money on extravagant foreign goods Gucci, Versace, Louis. We advertise them so*

much you think we get loeries, and supporting our own is such a duty. That's why we don't own nothing, because we think of ourselves as nothing. Black people will always be job hunting, is BEE the only way to be something?" (Slikour, 2012).

Here, Slikour has put himself strictly under the ideal conscious hip-hop artist whose lyrics deal with social issues and parallel to what the mainstream hip-hop artist sings about i.e. bling, cars, and expensive worth. Instead, Slikour criticises such things. Slikour questions black people's love of material things and how the image of fitting in is what they care much about. "This kind of culture is what is called the bling culture in South Africa, which encourages corruption, dishonesty, and builds a society based mostly on relationships of patronage. It corrupts our souls" (Chiumia, 2013). 'The South African dream', reported *Times Live*, is more about buying a car than owning a house. "And we are spending less on education than on clothing". According to the Statistics South African figures, South African households do indeed spend on average more on clothing and footwear than on education or health. Households, according to these figures, devote 4.5 percent of monthly spending to clothing themselves while just 2.7 percent goes on education and 1.4 percent on health (Chiumia, 2013).

5.6 Conclusion

Four themes and three sub-themes are explored in this chapter. The most dominant is 'gender', as it applies in most of the themes. Firstly, the theme 'representation of gender' emerges due to the representations of both men and women. The sub-theme for this theme is 'gender, power and hyper-masculinities'. These issues played a big role in the way men and women are portrayed. Women are stereotyped or kept in silence, whilst men are represented as more powerful, and wise. Another sub-theme to representation of gender found is 'female sexualities and objectification of women'. Here, women that appear in some of the videos are viewed in sexual ways and portrayed as commodity without regard to their personality. Thirdly, another common theme found is 'representation of identity and race'. Here, artists are found to give messages of a better South Africa among the black community, also encouraging the struggle against the white power that was there during apartheid. They indicate that not only white people are capable, but black people as well. A sub-theme to this is 'social economic status and class', which encourages the South African society, among black people for a better status in society, economically. Thirdly, in the theme 'speaking truth

to power', artists speak boldly about issues of abuse of power by the government, politicians and business people among the black race. The fourth 'critique of consumerism', here, Slikour removes himself from the mainstream hip-hop artist who is likely to sing about bling, money and cars. Instead, he questions the behaviour by some black people of exposing and bragging about wealth and material possessions.

Chapter Six

Research analysis

6.1 Introduction

Although the three chosen artists operate in the mainstream hip-hop music industry, their music is seen as socially progressive. Therefore, this research sought to analyse whether this social consciousness extends to issues of gender. The study starts from the assumption that the music by HHP, Slikour and Zulu boy is counter to mainstream genre of hip-hop music which is widely conceived to portray the ideas that commodify women and that subordinate women to men. Another assumption is that these artists use their popularity and power granted to them to communicate ideas that are more progressive to mainstream hip-hop. Additionally, it is of the assumption that these artists seek to challenge and question traditional and accepted norms in society, and also provide their own social and political ideas and opinions through their music, performances and identity. Subsequently, it has been established that these artists are indeed socially progressive in their songs and videos when it comes to social, economic and political issues as they give progressive messages of change, awareness as well as motivation to the black community in South Africa. However, it has been found that this progression does not extend to issues of gender in their songs and videos. This is the case as there seems to be portrayals of exaggerated and extreme stereotypical traits of masculinity and femininity. There also seems to be a mostly patriarchic understanding of gender roles. Men are portrayed in hyper-masculine ways while women are reduced to being sexual objects that 'serve' men and in turn assert their masculinity. Such representations and articulations reflect on the contradictions of the artists being seen as socially progressive on the one hand and producing music with problematic gender constructions on the other. In the analysis chapter, themes that emerged in answering the research question are briefly outlined Representation of gender is the first theme, which encompasses sub-themes: objectification of women, stereotyping of women, hyper-masculinites, as well as demeaning and un-acknowledgement of women. The second theme is intersection of class race and gender. In addition, explanations of the found gender representations are also explored. These include

‘commercialisation of the music industry’, ‘patriarchal economy in the South African music industry’ and ‘consumerist and celebrity culture’.

6.2 Presentation of Analysis

After unpacking the themes in finding section, the theme ‘social, economic and political consciousness’ came up in this chapter. This theme does not directly relate to gender issues, however, it falls under conscious or rather progressive hip-hop as this study stands on the assumption that HHP, Slikour and Zulu boy use their popularity and power granted to them to communicate ideas that are more progressive to mainstream hip-hop. Additionally, that these artists seek to challenge and question traditional and accepted norms in society, and also provide their own social and political ideas and opinions through their music, performances and identity. This was found to be the case precisely with Slikour and Zulu boy as they do integrate a political, social and economic conscious stance in their music and videos.

When South Africa was colonized by the English and Dutch in the seventeenth century, strategists in the National Party invented apartheid as a means to cement their control over the economic and social system. Initially, the aim of apartheid was to maintain white domination while extending racial separation (Dugard et el, 1992). With the enactment of apartheid laws in 1948, racial discrimination was institutionalized. Race laws touched every aspect of social, economic and political life including a prohibition of marriage between non-whites and whites, and the sanctioning of “white-only” jobs (Dugard et el, 1992). Watkins (2001:40) explains that the apartheid government was notorious for its system of social engineering. It was a period that witnessed the implementation of immense and violent displacement of much of South Africa's population in terms of a master plan, in which the differentiation of spheres of life based on race and culture was enforced (Watkins, 2001:40).

During apartheid, spearheaded by groups like POC, hip-hop music was a form of resistance to apartheid, adding pleasure and style to struggle. These groups played a pivotal role in the struggle against apartheid. Subjected to the whims of censors and harassment by the police, they were nevertheless able, through song and dance, to articulate the interests of the community of which they are part (Haupt, 1996:51). Musicians, artists and playwrights played a key role in acquiring support for their struggle against the oppressive apartheid regime (Whitaker, 1994:24).

Today, post-apartheid South Africa is faced with the stubborn reality of widespread poverty and growing inequality. As economic empowerment benefits are expanding, mainly urban black middle class, the majority of people continue to live in poverty and mass unemployment (Smith, 2007). South Africa remains a polarized society, in which the fault lines of race, class and sector run deep. Some leaders in government, business and civil society still lack a basic understanding of the role or potential of other sectors. Many of the inequalities created and maintained by apartheid still remain in South Africa. The country has one of the most unequal income distribution patterns in the world. Poverty in South Africa is still largely defined by skin colour, with blacks constituting the poorest layer (Smith, 2007).

In post-apartheid, hip-hop artists are not the same as they were. Hip-hop has now become commercialised, mostly due to issues of funding and ownership. This process has placed the creative control of artists and culture in the hands of a powerful few (Smith, 2007). However, artists such as Zulu boy and Slikour do have potential in the conscious hip-hop lane. A recent research done on Zulu boy by Mhlambi (2014a) reveals that "Zulu boy's work speaks to the marginalscapes constructed by South Africa's post 1994 neoliberal, nation building policies. Zuluboy's music appeals to the marginal and the youth's notion of social justice and materialistic culture" (Mhlambi, 2014a:86). Mhlambi adds that "this reading of Zuluboy's *Hail to the King* allows for engagement with a wide variety of issues on black identity, black subjectivity, marginalization and exclusion that continue to constitute present day global black politics in the age of the new empire" (Mhlambi, 2014:86).

In another of Mhlambi's (2014b) research, a comparison is done between Caiphus Semenya's *Nomalanga* (1999), and Zuluboy's *Nomalanga Mntakwethu* (2008). Here, Caiphus Semenya's song and Zuluboy's song "demonstrate that popular arts register social facts drawn from people's observations about their material contexts and lived experiences" Mhlambi (2014b:240) argues. "The marginalized, (non-)standardized language varieties fermenting at the margins of mainstream culture help in historicizing dominant political and cultural economies and in activating the emergence of a new consciousness" (Mhlambi,2014b: 240).

6.2.1 Theme 1: Representations of gender

After discussing and analysing the presentation of findings, the following outlined themes answered the research question "in what ways do South African hip-hop artists, HHP, Slikour and Zulu boy, represent and articulate gender in their music lyrics and videos". These themes will not be discussed in detail as they have already been discussed in the findings.

Sub-theme: Objectification of women

As outlined in the representation of findings, this research analyses that women are objectified in the way they are represented. It is my conclusion that women are objectified in the music videos, especially in HHP's Music and lights video. From sexy dressing, acting and dancing in a sexual manner. In this video, there is a perfect portrayal of women as sex objects. Women are exposed half-naked. This further imposes the idea of a woman as being the object of a male's pleasure. The woman's faces are not shown, instead, their bodies are shown as a showpiece of display. This depicts the women as not having an identity or a sense of individualism thus, reinforcing their role as a sex symbol. The women's bodies are dismembered and treated as separate parts, perpetuating the concept that a woman's body is not connected to her mind and emotions.

This research uses the radical feminism branch in its analysis. Kant (1988:209) emphasises that radical feminists' view objectification as playing a central role in reducing women to what they refer to as the "sex class". "Radical feminists, particularly those identified with sex-positive feminism, take a view of sexual objectification as a problem when it is not counterbalanced by women's sense of their own sexual subjectivity". For Kant (1988:209), each person respects humanity in others, as well as humanity in their own person. Humanity must never be treated merely as a means, but always at the same time as an end (Kant 1988:209).

Sub-theme: Stereotyping of women

This research also analyses that women are stereotyped when it comes to their roles as women, where there is perpetuation of gender stereotypes. There is reinforcing the stereotypical role of women as they are being presented in a sexual manner, doing their job in fulfilment of sexual fantasy.

In this analysis, it is found that the women are constrained while the men are presented as confident, responsible and hardworking individuals. The women are used to further develop the powerful image of the man, where he shows his dominance over women. In addition, the woman is shown to be the traditional woman that is meant to be in the kitchen i.e. in Zulu boy's song, hence women being subordinate, passive, submissive and marginal, performing a limited number of secondary and uninteresting tasks confined to their sexuality, their emotions and their domesticity.

Sub-theme: Demeaning and un-acknowledgement of women

It has also been found that in these hip-hop music songs and videos, women are seen in supporting roles beside, behind and below male counterparts. This is done in a subtle way, but with close scrutiny you see how these women are not portrayed as strong, independent, and driven. Instead, the focus is completely on the man, on getting his attention and keeping it by all means necessary. Thus, this demeans the portrayal of women. The perception created is that women have little integrity, low self-image, her body is nothing but an object. In addition, as discussed in the research findings, chapter 5, men are mostly the ones that are referred to or featured in the songs. Women on the other hand are either not present in the artists' videos, or they are present but not acknowledged or they were sexually objectified.

Sub-theme: Hyper-masculinities

It is also found that there are hyper-masculinities in the videos and music lyrics analysed. Hyper-masculinity representations involve beliefs about what it is to be a man. It consists of inter-related beliefs such as toughness, emotional self-control, and rough attitudes toward women. In these videos and songs, it is found that men are the ones that are given the necessary power to change the world, to be better in life, to be the bosses, to be the king and to be the king.

6.2.2 Theme 2: Intersection of class, race and gender

As pointed out earlier, intersectionality analyzes how social and cultural categories are intertwined (Collins, 1999: 25). Thus the relationships between gender, race and class in this case are examined on multiple levels to explicate various inequalities that exist in society. As indicated earlier, these social categories are not independent of one another but instead are

interrelated forms of oppression that are manifested in multiple forms of discrimination (Collins, 1990: 25). Today's Feminist theories reflect on the lives of middleclass white women, and on the other hand, intersectionality accounts for the complexity of women of colour and how the various facets of their lives were often disconnected from White middle-class women (Collins, 1990).

Knudsen (2006: 62-63) argues that while intersectionality was useful to explore the oppression of women within society, today sociologists strive to apply it not only to women, but also to discussions of all people. Knowing that Black people live in a racist society is insufficient for describing their experiences. It is also necessary to know their ethnicity, gender, generation, class, sexual orientation and more. Likewise, intersectionality explains that hegemonic institutions and cultures as well as social semiotics reinforce oppressions, and shape them (Knudsen, 2006).

As seen in this research, issues of gender have not emerged independent of issues of race and class. In Slikour's video *Dreamer* for instance, Slikour shows the need for a better life for black people, which is similar to his song *blacks are fools*. Slikour uses "fools" to reflect the collective failure of blacks to realise that despite the political independence of African states, today, as a group, blacks are trapped in a precariously self-destructive social and economic quagmire. Here, Slikour emphasises the need for black people to work hard in life and be able to be something, therefore, intertwining of race and class in his song and video. Likewise, Zulu boy, in his *Nomalanga* song is also talking on behalf of the black community and the Zulu nation in South Africa. He is addressing the issue of race as he explains the suffering that took place among black families during the Apartheid period. Yet again, in his music video *hail to the king*, Zulu boy has racially empowering sentiments which seek to re-affirm the strength and dignity of black people in South Africa as champions and winners.

6.3 Explaining problematic gender representations

The hypothesis of this research states that these chosen hip-hip artists' songs contain social change messages, it is expected that their articulation of gender would be more progressive than other mainstream hip-hop artists who are widely conceived to portray ideas that objectify women. However, analysis of their songs and videos reveal that there is much presence of men, but few females who are represented in a manner that is problematic. Thus,

women are either not acknowledged, or they are present but portrayed in a sexual manner or objectified i.e. HHP's *music and lights*, stereotyped or undermined. This leaves a major contradiction in the way the artists represent gender as they are not progressive as far as gender issues are concerned.

Therefore, I am of the view that the hip-hop artists chosen are meant to create a space in which to discuss gender because it exists within the ideals of a conscious society. Their discussions and representation of gender, race, politics, economic or other social issues are meant to empower, educate, create awareness, give people hope and make them feel better about life and what is going on around them. Still, it did not go unnoticed that artists such as Zulu boy and Slikour, as discussed in theme 1 under social, economic and political consciousness, are very much enthusiasts in giving out messages that can help their people (blacks), to do better in life and they remind them of all the struggles that their people went through, and encourage them to continue fighting the battle.

However, even in these songs and videos, they seem to relegate gender issues to the margins. By this I mean that they prescribe gender roles within a masculinist framework and assert specific roles to women and men, hence playing into the conservative ideas and constructs pertaining to gender and gendered roles. According to feminist studies, the category of "woman" has become a very contentious term in feminism and comes from the early radical feminist notion that women are oppressed, demeaned, and stereotyped not because of class or race, but simply because of their womanhood (Grant 1993:20). Thus, women are treated in this manner by virtue of the fact that they are women and female.

In this case, there is a contradiction in the representation of gender. This section is therefore going to discuss the themes: Commercialisation of the music industry, Patriarchal economy in the South African music industry and Consumerist and celebrity culture. These themes will help to understand the reasons why there are problematic gender representations found in the findings and analysis of the music and videos of the chosen artists'.

6.3.1 Commercialisation of the music industry

This theme directly relates to issues of gender which was the issue of main focus in this research. Thus, mainstream commercial hip-hop consists of issues such as: hypermasculity

and power which normally includes the exaggeration of male stereotypical behaviour, such as an emphasis on physical strength, aggression, sexuality and power of wealth. Mainstream commercial hip-hop also consists of misogyny, female sexualities and objectification of women. Here, women's objectification (as sexual objects) is normalised and they are sexualised in the ways they look, dress, dance and act.

As stated in the introduction above, one of the assumption of this research paper stands that HHP, Slikour and Zulu boy are counter to the above stated ideals. It is therefore of importance to note that the findings have revealed that the analysed artists' works are trapped in the commercialised and mainstream hip-hop lane and do not counter mainstream hip-hop in portraying the ideas that commodify women and which subordinate them. Perhaps this is because hip-hop's popularity has been used by corporate big-wigs to create consumers and consequently profit. Due to its overwhelming pull, hip-hop has been deployed into a commercial medium through (generally) imagery that has been said to have contributed to hip-hop losing its cultural richness. Hip-hop culture is saturating the mainstream through music and marketing (Coveney, 2004:22).

Companies that partner with hip-hop artists gain credibility, even for long-established products (Verney, 2003). Hip-hop stars define what's cool for fans, naming such brands in lyrics and liner notes and showcasing those brands in videos (Coveney, 2004:22). In other words, if it is in hip-hop, then it is cool, which will ultimately lead consumers to spend money. The investments and interest are directly concerned with profiting off of hip hop, and this is the nature of business (Hoebee, 2014).With hip-hop's selling potential realised, it has been manipulated into a very lucrative commercial medium. Close to the roots of the culture that spawned these media projects, there is heated debate over the effects of hip-hop culture being manipulated by an increasingly corporate ownership (Hoebee, 2014).

In South Africa, commercial radio is partly responsible for the mainstream's generic song format and its silence when faced with issues affecting South Africa's working class and unemployed citizens. Corporate culture, which has been clamouring for South African hip hop's soul over the past five years, also has a part to play in the lack of engagement with real issues (Mnaheng, 2014). Sponsors have their own agendas, and these agendas often don't align with sentiments which may be deemed anti-establishment, or anti-anything. Hip-hop

music in South Africa has surrendered wholly to the embrace of commercial radio song structures (Mnaheng, 2014).

It is no doubt that the process of consolidation and acquisition have placed the creative control of artists and culture in the hands of a powerful few. With this, there is normally a lack of diversity of ownership. Due to this, rappers are left with no choice but to give what they are asked to deliver as they feel that their personal content won't sell or won't have a market in today's music scene. Corporations have helped define urban media; after all, ultimately, they are the ones who fund it (Homan, 2002:228). However, this can have implications as when media is owned by these few corporations, there is a corporate agenda. If media is revenue driven it can hardly stay unbiased as these outlets have to get ratings and an audience (Coveney, 2004:22).

6.3.2 Patriarchal economy in the South African music industry

Furthermore, there are issues of political economy in the running of any media, and that includes popular culture such as hip-hop. This concerns issues of ownership, control, and funding, which in turn have a bearing on the type content disseminated to the general populace. The term political economy suggests a connection between politics and economics. At the most basic level, the study of political economy focuses on the production and reproduction of society (Atton et al, 2008: 26). In South Africa, the reality is that there is patriarchal economy in the popular culture industry, where economic and discursive power to construct truths and reality are most likely held by men. Patriarchy is a political-social system that insists that males are inherently dominating, superior to everything and everyone deemed weak, especially females, and endowed with the right to dominate and rule over the weak and to maintain that dominance (hooks, 1989).

In this case, it is of no doubt that men are the ones that dominate and influence the way hip-hop songs and videos are produced. This somehow explains the contradictions of the artists analysed where they are being seen as socially progressive on the one hand and producing music with problematic gender constructions on the other or gender blindness altogether. Consequently, issues of the male gaze arise in such hip-hop productions where the audience are forced to view the text from the perspective a heterosexual male (Mulvey, 1975:12). Films constantly focus on women's curves and events that happen to them are portrayed at a

male angle (Mulvey, 1975:12). The male gaze denies women human agency, relegating them to the status of objects. Therefore the female viewers experience the text narrative secondarily, by identifying with a man's perspective (Mulvey, 1975:12).

6.3.3 Consumerist and celebrity culture

Problematic gender issues as portrayed in hip-hop music can also be well understood in terms of consumerism and celebrity culture. "Consumerism is defined as the attachment to materialistic values or possessions. In other words, the preoccupation of society with the acquisition of consumer goods" (Mayell, 2004: 66). According to Horowitz (1939: 31), we are all consumers of pop cultural and other products. But consumerism is a common social disease that entails the endless pursuit of more and more goods and services. Consumerism often equates ownership of things with identity which is mostly men. This attitude is captured in the once common phrase, "whoever dies with the most toys wins" (Horowitz, 1939: 31). Beginning in the 1950s, consumerism was even seen as a patriotic act demanding of all citizens. More recently, ethno-consumerism, the market specific ethnic groups and subculture, and the marketing of ethnic cultures and subcultures, has gained momentum amidst neo-liberal globalization. Pop culture drives consumerism both through straight advertising and through the marketing of consumerist lifestyles in film, TV shows, the Web and other mass media (Horowitz, 1939: 31).

Moreover, consumerism among many hip-hop artists involves a celebrity culture that revolves around materialistic things that artists can become attached to such as houses, cars, or money. The artist's expressions range from accessorizing vehicles to consuming expensive illegal drugs, but common through all the expressions is excess: the artists repeat their success through vocalizing lists of their material assets (Matt, 1998:30). Hip hop artists try to make a name for themselves by wearing nice jewellery and drinking expensive champagne with a lot of women around them. The intention behind this is normally the need for attention and some artists believe that they will be respected more if they have nice clothes and nicer cars, and "hot babes" which is perhaps true (Matt, 1998: 30).

Another reason why hip-hop artists are mostly about materialistic things is because there is a steady competition going on between all the artists. No artist wants to be second best, they all want to be on top (Pendergast, 1900:50). Not only do these artists want to have more sales

but they also want to have nicer and more expensive things than their competition. Hip-hop artists feel that they will be superior to everyone else if they have nicer cars, more girls or a bigger house. These artists want people to respect them for all the work that they put in to get where they are (Pendergast, 1900:50).

This kind of culture is what is called the "bling" culture in South Africa. Moreover, Chiumia (2013) adds, "the South African dream is more about buying a car than owning a house. And we are spending less on education than on clothing. People spend as much on their TV subscriptions as on their retirement annuities. The poorest spend more on cell phones and airtime than schools" (Chiumia, 2013). "Even the wealthiest spend only about 4% of their income on education. All in all, South Africans are scorning education and even health, focusing instead on what he called bling culture, Chiumia, (2013) adds.

South African hip-hop is no exception when it comes to consumerism and the celebrity culture. Hence, as seen in many hip-hop artists videos in South Africa, their videos are flashy, shiny, and a little too excited, portraying glamour, power and popularity. HHP's video *Music and Lights* is a good example of this as the men and women shown in this video are glamorously dressed. HHP, just like the rest of the men in this video are wearing baggy jeans, chains, silver earings, eye glasses, and expensive watches. He changes his outfit a few times in the video, and is surrounded by women that are wearing revealing clothes and showing off their glamourous bodies.

Slikour's video *Dreamer* is also no exception to this. For instance, there is a scene in the video where he is seen singing whilst leaning over a white Audi which looks extremely fancy. One would immediately conclude that this is his vehicle. A man is shown visualising himself as the owner of that same vehicle. This shows that a dreamer must have dreams to have such nice cars. Slikour is also seen dressing very smart, adding accessories such as a nice watch, nice head gear and nice sun glasses. He is seen transforming a poor man into a man that dresses really good and fancy, more of the way he, himself also dresses.

Therefore, consumerist and celebrity culture gives a very clear explanation of why the representations in the hip-hop music analysed are not on the conscious/progressive hip-hop level when it comes to issues of gender. Artists find themselves incorporating "bling culture" as well as become consumerists as the media feeds that consumerism and it becomes a norm

to society. Which then compels the artists to follow that route in order to succeed in the industry. And this reinforces the notion that sex sells.

6.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, the research analysis indicated how lines between gender representations and issues such as commercialisation of the music industry are increasingly blurred. The need for profit maximization prompt artists such as Slikour and HHP to present to the market what is attractive to the consumers, and that is the objectifying of women and the portrayal of the male figure as a dominant social actor. This leads also to reinforced patriarchal relations which prevails in the society. Moreover, the issues of consumerism and the notions of celebrity culture also came to be deducted as the biggest role players in the representation of gender. The ever increasing nude pictures of female in the hip-hop videos also serves as testimony of the belief that sex really sells.

Chapter Seven

Research Conclusion

In conclusion, the aim of this research was to engage in a critical analysis of HHP, Slikour and Zulu boy's hip-hop music and videos. This research unravelled ways in which the three selected hip-hop artists represent and articulate gender in their music lyrics and videos. This was followed by a background of South African hip-hop and a research problem which discussed reasons for selecting the hip-hop genre, and reasons for selecting gender and the artists as well as previous research done surrounding the research problem. The research intended to unravel the embedded meanings and ideas of gender representations, to determine whether the representations of gender in their music is progressive and counter to the dominant portrayals of gender in mainstream hip-hop music, which is widely conceived to portray ideas that objectify women. In hypothesis, it was expected that their articulation of gender would be more progressive than other mainstream hip-hop artists who are widely conceived to portray ideas that objectify women. Followed by an exploration of the rationale which briefly discussed the informed significance and choice of the research.

The literature review provided an overview of research that has been done in the field and a discussion on some key issues identified by theorists. A general discussion of the definition of music as well as popular culture was undertaken, as well as hip-hop music in relation to identity. This brought about the discussion of hip-hop music and gender where themes: objectification of women, female sexualities and hyper-masculinities were explored. The South African context was also explored which discussed: Kwaito, youth and redefinition of South African identities, socially political hip-hop and hip-hop as a political protest underlined by issues of race, gender and identity. Furthermore, gender and representation and theories of identity were discussed which helped to come to a conclusion on how the media, such as popular culture (hip-hop in particular) represent gender through their music. Feminist theories were discussed, which encompasses theories and different schools of thought behind the main units of analysis, namely, gender, sexuality and feminist identity. Additionally, a brief discussion of theories of the male gaze were explored. Here, the focus was on how women are represented by the media and how they are viewed by men. With the help of these theories, the research question identified earlier in this paper has now been answered. For

data collection and gathering, the study used a qualitative research methodology with thematic analysis being the primary tool.

This research found that to a certain extent, Slikour and Zulu boy integrate a political, social and economic conscious stance in their music and videos. However, it was found that their representations of gender involve objectification of women, stereotyping of women, hyper-masculinites, as well as demeaning and un-acknowledgement of women. The intersection of class race and gender was also discussed. In addition, an explanation of the found problematic gender representations indicates that the analysed artists are trapped in the commercialised and mainstream hip-hop lane and do not counter mainstream hip-hop in portraying the ideas that commodify women and subordinate them. In answering the research question, the themes and sub-themes that emerged from the findings and analysis brought to a conclusion that the artists progressive message of social change does not extend to issues of gender. Therefore, they are not able to fully be conscious or progressive artists in their music or videos.

7.1 Limitations of Study

It is worth noting that no research goes without some limitations and shortcomings: Firstly, this research was only limited to three hip-hop artists. Secondly, it was limited to only one music video and one song from each of these artists, making a total of only six songs, which cannot represent a huge sample of hip-hop artists in South Africa. Thirdly, there were some time constraints as this is submitted for the purposes of a Master degree in Media Studies, which is limited to twelve months.

7.2 Areas for further research

A comparative study with other hip-hop artists in South Africa could be done in order to have results that would assess if other progressive hip-hop artists and their songs and videos would have similar results as HHP, Zulu boy and Slikour. Moreover, the research could also be done at a larger scale in order to represent the amount of artists that are conscious and progressive in South Africa as this research only focused on three artists. There are also prospects for future research to be done on other aspects as this research only looked at one aspect, which is gender. Other aspects that could be studied include race and class. Finally, there is more

room for further research where other methods could be applied i.e. interviews, surveys, content analysis, visual semiotics and multimodal text analysis.

APPENDIX 1 (Song Lyrics)

Artist: Slikour

Song: Blacks are fools

[Foreword]

A nation without education will not know its 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 is 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 its really just what i see

Zola was the biggest star that we've ever seen

but whats 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 whats 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 mony and they think they rule

but i hop we, but i hope were, but i hope were

but i hope we better than that

we better than that * 2

we better than (that)*5

Verse 2

Now in the struggle we used to burn traitors

i guess thats 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 dont 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 w e 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 tehy 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?

Artist: Zuluboy

Song: Nomalanga

Nomalanga in IsiZulu

"Nomalanga ngibhala lezincwadi sengiy'joni ehlathini, Ngaphantsi kwa Commando O.R"

"Bathi indliziyo yami ibuhlungu namhlanje" …

"Sas'hlele kwaphantsi kwemthuzi yehlahla sidlala umlabalaba"…

"Mhla ngak'sasa ngizohamba ngathini ngizok'shiya Nomalanga"…

"Ngiyohlezi ngik'cabanga elokuqina lelanga ngikaka ngik'bamba"

"Ngiyazi ngiyahamba haw'kusho kuthi ngizoganga"…

"Ngiyobhala mak'phel' inyanga ngithumele nemali ingane zethu soze zalamba"…

"Sobabili siyazi uhambo lwami emehlo wemamba"…

"Landele u-peace ngidakwe inyembezi zenkanyamba"…

"Wakhala wangibamba kam'qenga wathamba. Baba k'sasa ngiyahamba ngiy' eLusaka"…

"Sweety Lavo k'mele ngiyolwela lomhlaba"…

"i-Azania aku'siyeyethu nomasiy'bhanga"…

"Solwel' umhlamba webaba sfike amabubezi sihlale maweni entaba."…

"Fak' igama lami emthandazweni maw' thandaza"…

"Nomalanga ngiyak'shiya ngiyahamba ngiyozabalaza" ... "*Nomalanga,*

"It was 1985 ngipheth' ikeje ngisehlathini"…

"Ngicabanga uNomalanga ephamp' i-stove se-paraffin*"*…

“Siye e-Sophiatown epartyini soqantsela uMahlathini. Ngidlala amaphupho buyela emhlabathini”…

“Qamela espilini vuka amehlo acgwele’ inyembezi ngishay’ idenshini”…

“Ngitontsi ikeje ngichecke i-terrain iqhubeka i-mission”...

“Exile no fiction, incwadi isapheth’ i-matric iseposini”…

“Izolo I had a vison yebuso bakho emvakwe spoon e-kitchen”…

Ngizoyilungisa indaba ka-Bexters injan’ invula iyangena endlini…

“Impendulo ngizoy’thola nini, incwadi zami ayifik’ yini zonke zo-16”…

“Ngizobuya ngoyanga ozayo ungilinde estopini”…

“Mhlaka 12 kuNtlolanja 1990 Mandela will be out of prison”…

“Okwamanje ngisehlathini I’ll write you again Nomalanga working the system”…

“Lafika lelolanga k’dala sililindele”...

“Sek’phele iminyaka emihlanu sicrossile”…

“S’nungana nale nkululeko esilwelile”...

“Sgijima sgijimile sishay’ ijambo phola sijabulile”…

“Kodwa enalamhlanje angeke lishone ngingambonile” …

“Izinto azisafani nelokishi seli-change-ile”…

“ Kodwa nabo Spoti basase khoneni bablomile”…

“Ngiphakamis’ usikili hoezit baf’wethu sengibuyile”…

“Bakhala bekhalile ngopetrol okhuphukile”…

Bangitshela uguthi umngani wami u-Paul ubodile”…

“Ngathi ngifika endlini, ingani zam’ zonke seyikhulile”…

“Bonke babethokozile ne-O’lady lijabulile”…

“Langibhuka emehlweni langibuza ukuthi ngihambe ngidlile”…

“Langihlalisa phantsi lang’buza ukuthi kukhona yini engik’zwile”…

“Lang’tshela ukuthi u-Nomalanga uswelekile”…

“Bathi indliziyo yami ebuhlungu namhlanje”,

Nomalanga in English

“Nomalanga, I write this letter for I have joined the army under command O.R”.

“We are looking forward to coming back home, and be with our loved ones, I will write you letters and please send me pictures of the little ones. But for now we have to fight for the freedom of mzansi”.

“They say my heart is sore today”.

“we were sitting under the shade of a tree playing a game”.

“The day before I told you I will leave you Nomalanga”.

…“I Will always remember you and that very day”.

“I know I am going, but it doesn’t mean I will cheat”.

“I will write to you month-end and send money for you and our children. You won’t go hungry”.

“Together we know my journey, the eyes of a snake”.

“I am going for peace, you will rejoice after victory”.

“Dad tomorrow I am going to Lusaka”.

Sweety, I have to fight for the world”.

"*Azania, is not ours, though we fight for it*".

"*We will fight for the world dad".*

"*Put my name always when you pray".*

I am leaving you, I am going to war".

"It was 1985, I was carrying a weapon in the forest".

"Thinking of Nomalanga pumping the paraffin store".

"*Going to Sophia town at the party listing, dancing to mahlabathini, I am diving with life*".

"*I am looking at the mirror, my eyes are full of tears"*

"Me carrying my weapon, checking the town, the war is still going on".

"Exile no fiction, the letter carrying my metric is still in the post box".

"*Yesterday I had a vision of your face my love".*

"*I will fix the Bexters issue, how are the rains? Do they enter in the house?".*

"*When am I getting my replies? Haven't you received my 16 letters that I havesent?*"

"I am coming next month, please wait for me at the station".

"*on the 12th of February Mandela will be out of prison".*

"*As of now, I am in the forest, I will write you again Nomalanga".*

"The day we've all been waiting for has finally arrived".

"*Its five months now, since we crossed the border".*

"*We are rejoicing the freedom we fought for".*

"*We are celebrating".*

"Today the sun won't set, without me seeing you".

"Things are no longer the same, the township has changed ".

"But Spoti's are still sitting at their usual spot/ corner ".

"I am greeting the guys the township way, telling them I am back".

"They are complaining because of petrol increase".

"They are telling me that my best friend Paul is dead".

"When I got home, I found that all my kids have grown up".

"All of them rejoiced in seeing me, including my own mother".

"My mum asked me if I had eaten".

"She sat me down and asked me if I heard anything"

"She then told me that Nomalanga had passed away".

"They say my heart is sore today".

Artist: Hip Hop Pantsula

Song: Bosso

Starring, starring
Starring, starring
Starring, starring
Starring, starring

Bosso ke mang, "k'wena" …
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"
Ke mang, "k'wena" ..
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"
Ke mang, "k'wena"
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"

who is the boss "you"

who is it, "you"

Ba re Bosso ke motho' spinnang koloi asa e namela

Ke ya go tshayela, asa e namela

Ba re Bosso ke motho' spinnang koloi asa e namela…

Ke ya go tshayela, asa e namela …

Ke moriski,

Oja rice crispy ka whiskey, ka whiskey …

Ja, ga uitsi

Ke moriski, …

Oja rice crispy ka whiskey, ja ga uitsi ..

Dai man ke moriski…

They say a boss is a person spinning a car without riding it

I am telling you without riding it

They say a boss is a person spinning a car without riding it

I am telling you without riding it
he is a risker
he eats rice crispy with whiskey, yes whiskey

..yes you don't know

he is a risker

he eats rice crispy with whiskey, yes you don't know that man is a risker

Starring, starring
Starring, starring
Starring, starring
Starring, starring

Bosso ke mang, "k'wena" …
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"
Ke mang, "k'wena" …
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"
Ke mang, "k'wena" ….
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"

who is the boss, "you"

who is it, "you"

who is it "you"

Starring, stevito
Starring, stevito
Starring, stevito
Starring, stevito

Ke lenyora
O nwa metsi a rote redbull, ja redbull, redbull
Ke lenyora.... he is the shit
O nwa metsi a rote redbull,
di man o old school, o rota redbull
O ka se motsware, o kgeila page gare ga Facebook,

he is the shit
he drinks water but pees redbull
he drinks water but pees redbull.
This man is old he drimks redbull
you cant hold him, he tears a page out

	of Facebook
facebook, mo gare ga Facebook..	*inside Facebook*
O ka se motsware, o kgeila page gare ga Facebook,	*you cant hold him, he tears a page out*
	of Facebook
ja su-suku, mo gare ga Facebook	*Inside Facebook*

Starring, starring
Starring, stevito
Starring, starring
Starring, starring

Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"	*who is the boss "you"*
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"	
Ke mang, "k'wena" ..	*who is it "you"*
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"	
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"	
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"	
Ke mang, "k'wena"	
Bosso ke mang, "k'wena"	

APPENDIX 2 (Video URL links)

The music videos of the selected songs are available on YouTube, and the URL links are below:

Artist: HHP

Song: Music and lights

YouTube URL link: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HTxfr8yYdhU

Artist: Slikour ft RJ Benjamin

Song: Dreamer

YouTube URL link: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HCoQfIGKnAM

Artist: Zulu boy

Song: Hail to the King

YouTube URL link: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WLlsXyljVcM

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