UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL

Struggle Songs and Multidimensional Black Identities: A Phenomenological Study on the Meaning of Struggle Songs for Black University Student Activists in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa

Thabo Sekhesa (203514725)

A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

School of Applied Human Sciences

Discipline of Psychology

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Supervised by Prof. Nhlanhla Mkhize

March 2021

Declaration

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, Thabo Sekhesa, declare that:

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:

a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced.

b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.

5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References section.

Signed

……

Place: Pietermaritzburg

Date: 03 March 2021

Abstract

This study sought to explore the meaning that contemporary black student activists from universities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa hold towards the struggle songs that they sing. This study was undertaken to gain some understanding into how black student activists use struggle songs to define and construct their identities. A qualitative exploratory design was used. This study was divided into two phases. Phase 1 of the study included the sampling of the commonly sung struggle songs (2015-2018) by black student activists from the YouTube platform (N=21). Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) (van Dijk, 1997) was used to analyse these songs. Phase 2 employed individual interviews with black student activists (N=10). Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith & Osborne, 2003) was used to analyse these interviews. The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) (Sellers et al., 1998) was the theoretical framework used in this study. A comprehensive understanding of the political history of South Africa and its racial tensions provided the canvas upon which the songs and the lived experience of singing them could be interpreted and understood. Major findings from the study were that discourse strategies such as topics, textual schemata, local semantics, lexicon, syntax, rhetoric, expression structures and speech acts were employed in struggle songs sung by student activists. These discourse strategies were used to varying degrees in the songs to construct the identities of the student activists who sang them. The findings of the study are substantiated by the African notion that the process of constructing an identity is an incomplete and ongoing one to achieve full humanity. Student activists who participated in this study experienced the songs as tools that enabled them to identify with and re-experience the anger and pain of apartheid tyranny. This in turn motivated them to fight against injustice. The conclusion of this fight was interpreted to be a state of generalised acknowledgement of injustices perpetrated against black people in South Africa and the continued pursuit of a just and fair society. The overarching theme of these songs is that of encouragement to become a contemporary black activist who is brave and determined in their quest for the achievement of a complete humanity for all.

***Keywords*:** Struggle songs; Student activists; Racial identity

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank and acknowledge each of the participants in this study. Thank you for taking the time to share your experiences with me. What I learnt from each of you is the importance of service and purpose. Thank you.

I would like to thank and acknowledge my supervisor Prof. Mkhize who has guided and supported me throughout this journey. I am forever grateful to you for your contribution to my academic and personal development. Thank you.

I would like to thank and acknowledge our parents, the sons and daughters of ‘Matsosane and ‘Mamare. We love you. Thank you for everything.

I would like to thank and acknowledge my best friend and my partner ‘Matsosane Nandisa Sekhesa for the immense support she has given me during this time. Tag, You’re it! I love you.

Tholoana le Thabelo-Love

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations

ANC-African National Congress

APLA-Azanian People's Liberation Army

ASA-African Students' Association

BCM-The Black Consciousness Movement

BRICS- Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa

CES-D-The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale

COSAS-Congress of South African Students

CRIS-Cross Racial Identity Scale

DBN-Durban

DUT-Durban University of Technology

EFF-Economic Freedom Fighters

EFFSC- Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command

ERI-Ethnic and Racial Identity

IPA-Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis

IPR-Interview Protocol Refinement framework

KZN-KwaZulu-Natal

MDC-Movement for Democratic Change

MEIM-The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure

MIBI-Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity

MK-Umkhonto we Sizwe

MMRI-The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI)

NEA-Native Educational Association

NEC-Native Economic Commission

NYP-National Youth Policy

NMMU-Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University

NSFAS- National Student Financial Aid Scheme

NUSAS-National Union of South African Students

NWU-North West University

PAC-Pan Africanist Congress

PASMA-Pan Africanist Student Movement

PDA-Political Discourse Analysis

PI-Personal Identity

PMB-Pietermaritzburg

PMRC-Parents' Music Resource Centre

RGO-Reference Group Orientation

RIAA-Recording Industry Association of America

RIAS-Racial Identity Attitudes Scale

SA–South Africa/South African

SABC-South Africa Broadcasting Corporation

SACP-South African Communist Party

SADC- Southern African Development Community

SNCC-Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee

SANNC-South African Native National Congress

SASCO-The South African Students Congress

SASO-South African Students' Organisation

SU-Stellenbosch University

TAU-Transvaal Agricultural Union

UCT-University of Cape Town

UFH-University of Fort Hare

UJ-University of Johannesburg

UKZN-University of KwaZulu-Natal

UP-University of Pretoria

USA-United States of America

WITS-University of the Witwatersrand

WSTVL-Westville

ZANLA-Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army

ZANU-PF-Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front

#RMF-Rhodes Must Fall movement

#FMF-Fees Must Fall movement

List of Tables

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter introduces the reader to the study and its key aspects. In order to accomplish this, the chapter begins with the background of the study. This background provides the context and highlights the key arguments that motivated for the execution of this study. It also highlights the value of this study and its contribution to psychological scholarship and research. The statement of the problem and the aim of the study is followed by a presentation of the research objectives and the research questions. The key terms used in the study, and a summary of the different methodological steps that were followed in the study, are then presented. The chapter concludes with the study delimitation/scope.

Background

The year 2015 saw the emergence of the #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) and #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movements amongst university students in South Africa (SA). These movements ignited a re-examination of the transformational challenges facing SA post-1994. Nyamnjoh (2015), reflecting on these protests and movements, noted that they represented collective black pain due to slow socio-economic and transformational efforts. This pain is often communicated in some of the lyrics of the struggle songs sung by members of these movements, many of whom identify as student activists. Student protests and the activities of these movements were accompanied by the singing of struggle songs.

Struggle songs are a common feature of the higher education context in SA and have been since the apartheid years. What was unique about the #RMF and #FMF movements however is that their protests represented the seemingly unified and collective voice of mostly black students across most university campuses throughout SA and which also seemed to resonate with what was felt by many other sectors of SA society. This was different from what was commonly witnessed with most other student protests that have occurred during the post-

apartheid period. For a period of two years the #RMF and #FMF movements managed to dominate the economic, social and political discourse of the country. This led to developments and concessions that had often previously been postponed by leaders of the current democratic dispensation. Most notable was the introduction of the first phase of free higher education (Zuma, 2017). This plan was proposed and presented by the then President Jacob Zuma on 16 December 2017 as a response to the Heher Commission of Inquiry into Higher Education and Training. According to former President Zuma, the plan was part of the government's radical socio-economic transformation programme (Zuma, 2017). According to this plan, free higher education in SA would be phased in over a period of 5 years beginning in 2018. Under this plan, students from households with a combined annual income of R350K or less would not have to pay fees for tuition, books, meals, accommodation and transport (Zuma, 2017).

Parallels have been drawn between these movements and the class of 1976 and their achievements (Swartz et al., 2016). These contemporary movements drew international attention and discussions around socio-political issues in SA post-apartheid (Hauser, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2015). What we learn about these movements is that they were driven by black students (Nyamnjoh, 2015) who were expressing the ideological and political beliefs, concerns and aspirations of their members and the students they represented (Swartz et al., 2016). These beliefs, concerns and aspirations are also expressed in the lyrics of the struggle songs that these movements and their activists sang. Furthermore, these beliefs, concerns and aspirations speak to a collective identity, shaped and created by the struggle songs of those who sing them (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014). The literature on student movements and student activists in SA has not previously empirically explored how these songs have been used to construct a particular identity; a black identity. Furthermore, the meaning of these songs for black student activists today has not been explored.

These struggles songs can be divided into three categories. The first category consists of struggle songs composed during the apartheid and struggle periods in SA e.g. *Senzeni na?* (What have done?) *Solomon*, etc. The second category is composed of adjusted forms of the apartheid struggle songs e.g. *Decolonised Nkosi Sikelela*. The third category is formed of newly composed struggle songs e.g. *Nobody wants to see us together*. Mtshali and Hlongwane's (2014) paper examining struggle songs from the apartheid period and some during the post-apartheid period noted that these songs shaped and created different collective identities for those who sung them (see also Allen, 2004 for the role of music in identity formation).

This particular study explored the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists who sing them today. Secondly, this study applied Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) (van Dijk, 1997) to struggle songs that are commonly sung by black student activists in SA. This was undertaken to explore how the discourse strategies of these songs are used to construct the identities of the black student activists who sing them.

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) (Sellers et al., 1998) is the theoretical framework that was used in this study. The racial composition of the majority of members of these student movements and activists is predominantly black. An examination of the lyrics of the struggle songs they sing (during their activities such as protests), demonstrate that race is significant in how they define themselves. Perceptions towards blackness and their blackness in particular are also expressed in the lyrics of some of the struggle songs sung by student activists. These are aspects and dimensions of racial identity that are captured in the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). Racial identity shapes beliefs, attitudes and values of people (Norgaard, 2015), plays a role in determining self-esteem (Rowley et al., 1998), can account for some psychological distress in black people (Sellers & Shelton, 2003; Sellers et al., 2003) and affects academic achievement of the activists (Chavous et al., 2003).

The question of identity (including racial) according to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012a), is central to the historical, social and political experience of SA. The historical, social and political contexts thus cannot be separated from the struggle songs sung by actors living in such contexts (Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; le Roux Kemp, 2014; Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014; Schumann, 2008). In this study these actors have been delineated as black student activists at universities in the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province of SA, specifically the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) and the Durban University of Technology (DUT).

There are numerous studies and writings about the identities of young South Africans born after 1994 and the challenges they face. This demographic is often described as sharing some of the concerns of their predecessors but are often criticised for lacking a clear struggle of their own. Movements such as the ones under discussion here and their instigating activists, have shown that these sorts of criticisms are not completely accurate. They demonstrate that there is a real struggle facing the youth and their communities today (Swartz et al., 2016), which these activist are attempting to confront directly. These movements and their activists identify themselves as materially and ideologically conscious of the colonial and apartheid history and reality and the persistent inequalities of the democratic era (Swartz et al., 2016). The issues they raise, amongst others, include racial and associated privilege disparities in SA society, gender and sexuality issues, class struggles and access to quality education for all (Swartz et al., 2016). These issues are often described in the lyrics of the struggle songs that student activists sing. It is as though these movements and their student activists represent a continuation of the same, earlier struggle, now simply operating under new political leadership that has created a different yet similarly disparate social environment. This makes these movements and activists an interesting population to study. Unlike the 1976 students who were unified in their struggle against one common enemy - the apartheid government and its policies - this current group of activists seem to have two objects of struggle. Like

their predecessors, the apartheid government and its policies remain an object of struggle however the current democratic dispensation and its ineffective response to black students' marginalisation and socio-economic despair has become the second object of struggle (Nyamnjoh, 2015; Swartz et al., 2016). This too is communicated in the lyrics of the struggle songs that they sing. However, these songs and their meanings for students/student activists who sing them have to date not been studied.

Statement of the Problem

The problem that has necessitated this study is what seems to be the exclusive focus on some of the behaviours of young black student activists at the expense of understanding who they are and what they are struggling to create. Identity, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012a) asserts, is at the heart of understanding the SA experience and the relationship between racial identity and constructions of self-esteem (Rowley et al., 1998), psychological well-being (Sellers et al., 2003) and academic success (Chavous et al., 2003), to name but a few psychological insights. An understanding of identity is likely to contribute significantly to our understanding of behaviour and other individual and societal dynamics.

Literature and theories on black racial identity continue to reflect largely an African-American experience. The paucity of the SA voice embodied by SA literature and theorising around racial and black identity remains a concern. This is despite the unique apartheid and post-apartheid experiences of the black community in SA. Definitions of blackness and racial identification in SA were monopolised by the apartheid government (Posel, 2001). The consequences thereof are still in place, argues Nyamnjoh (2015), who also suggests that this was one of the causes of the 2015 student protests. Everywhere, the slow rate of transformation, and collective black pain, are evident (Nyamnjoh, 2015). The absence of a strong black SA voice in discussions of racial identity and black identity in particular,

inadvertently perpetuates the continued powerlessness experienced by black South Africans, a staggering two and a half decades post-apartheid.

Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014) and Allen (2004) are but a few writers who have noted the ability of struggle songs to construct and define the identities of those who sing them. These songs remain a huge resource drawn upon by black youths and student activists to express their pains, aspirations and arguably their identities. These songs and the meanings they hold for black student activists, have received very little empirical attention despite providing some valuable access into the processes of identity construction.

As such, this study sought to explore how black student activists at universities in KZN, SA, use and have used struggle songs to define and construct their identities in general, and their racial identities in particular. It is hoped that this study will contribute to the discussions and theories surrounding racial identity construction, especially those of a politically and socially active group of young black people in SA. The activities of these young activists have already left an indelible imprint on the social, economic and political discourses of SA and are likely to continue to do so well into the next decade. Let us get to know them.

Aim of the Study

The main aim of this study was to gain a deeper understanding of the processes involved in the racial identity formation of black student activists in SA today. This was achieved through the exploration of the discourse strategies used in a sample of commonly sung struggle songs that are currently employed by black student activists. Secondly, the lived experience of singing struggle songs and their meaning for black student activists was also explored.

Objectives of the Study

The objectives of this study are the following:

1. To explore the discourse strategies that are used in the struggle songs that are currently sung by black student activists in SA.
2. To explore how the discourse strategies employed in struggle songs currently sung by black student activists in SA are used to construct their identities.
3. To explore the lived experiences of singing struggle songs for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu-Natal.
4. To explore the meaning of struggle songs for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu-Natal.

Research Questions

The research questions in this study are the following:

1. What discourse strategies are used in the struggle songs that are currently sung by black student activists in SA?
2. How are the discourse strategies employed in struggle songs currently sung by black student activists in SA used to construct their identities?
3. What are the lived experiences of singing struggle songs for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu Natal?
4. What do struggle songs mean for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu-Natal?

Significance of the Study

The significance of this study lies in its contribution towards enhancing our understanding of the processes involved in the construction and shaping of the identities of

black student activists in SA universities today. This group has already proven their strength in drawing attention to unresolved grievances inherited from the apartheid era as well as influencing ongoing social, economic, political and psychological discourses in SA (Nyamnjoh, 2015). Identity and racial identity continue to shape the lives of many South Africans today (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). In light of this, understanding the process and processes of construction and shaping of identities, and in particular, the racial identities of the sampled black student activists in this study, is likely to further our understanding of the lived experiences of the continually evolving social, political and psychological environment in SA, as well as responses to this evolution by a socially, politically and economically powerful demographic.

The growth and prominence of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) may also be associated with the growing use of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI) as was or has historically been the case with the original Nigrescence Theory and the Racial Identity Attitude Scale-Black (RIAS-B) (see Vandiver et al., 2002). This speaks to a preference for employing quantitative study methodologies when the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) is the preferred theoretical framework. This methodological preference also seems to suggest a methodological preference in the study of racial identity. This preference has left a lot of room for the use of the model in studies employing a qualitative methodology like the present one. The phenomenological emphasis that is often emphasised and associated with the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) finds expression in this study, in terms of where the interviews with student activists were held.

Overview of Methodological Approach

Constructivist/Interpretivist and critical paradigms (Guba & Lincoln, 1994) were chosen for this study. These paradigms are consistent with the chosen methodology and

design of the study. A qualitative research methodology (Snape & Spencer, 2003) was employed in this study. This research methodology was deemed to be useful for this study because it was interested in exploring the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists. A qualitative exploratory design (Durrheim, 2006) was used. The study was divided into two phases. Phase 1 explored the discourse strategies used in a sample of commonly sung struggle songs (N=21) by student activists drawn from the YouTube platform. PDA (van Dijk, 1997) was used to analyse these struggle songs. Phase 2 explored the meaning that struggle songs hold for a sample (N=10) of black student activists from the respective Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses of DUT and UKZN. Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith & Osborne, 2003) was used to analyse interviews with the sample of black student activists.

Definition of Terms

Discourse strategies: In PDA these are understood to be the strategies used by political actors to enhance their political communications whether in talk or text. In political discourse the most commonly used discourse strategies are: topics, textual schemata, local semantics, lexicon, syntax, rhetoric, expression structures, speech acts and interaction (van Dijk, 1997).

Racial identity: This refers to "the significance and qualitative meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within the Black racial group within their self-concepts" (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 23).

Struggle songs: Struggle songs, often referred to as liberation songs (Gray, 2004), revolutionary songs (Pring-Mill, 1987), freedom songs (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014) and political songs (Groenewald, 2005) can be defined as songs that anti-apartheid activists and movements sang during the apartheid era, and which are still sung today during protests and political rallies and events. In this study these terms will be used interchangeably to refer to

songs that are often used as a form of communicating messages and propaganda, and where artistic value and expression are not a priority (Gray, 2004), generally have no identifiable author/composer (le Roux Kemp, 2014), are sung collectively, are communal in nature (le Roux Kemp, 2014) and are often accompanied by chanting and a form of dance commonly known as *toyi toying* (Groenewald, 2005; le Roux Kemp, 2014).

Student activist(s): In this study, this term refers to university students who have participated in student protests and sung struggle songs in SA during the period 2015-2018. SA has a long history of student activism, with the earliest organised politicisation of black university student activism being motivated by the introduction of the Extension of University Education Act (1959) (Ndlovu, 2016).

Overview of the Chapters

Chapter One has provided the background of the study, its aims, objectives and the research questions. Key terms used in the study were also defined.

Chapter Two discusses the relevant literature and is divided into four parts. Part 1 focuses broadly on the nature of the relationship between Africans, music and politics. Part 2 presents international and continental examples that illustrate the use of music within the political domain. The black civil rights movement in the United States of America (USA) (Reagon, 1987; Sanger, 1995; 1997) received a strong focus due to some of the commonalities between the USA civil rights movement and the anti-apartheid movement in SA. Chimurenga songs from Zimbabwe represent songs from the African continent that most resemble SA struggle and as such they receive some detailed attention in Part 2 of this review. Part 3 comprises a critical examination of student politics and protests in SA both pre- and post-apartheid. Part 4 examines the major arguments regarding the role that music plays in the construction of identity. The overall aim of the chapter is to provide some

background into the possibilities of what struggle songs could mean for black student activists singing and using them in SA today.

In Chapter Three, the MMRI, which forms the conceptual framework for this study (Sellers et al., 1998), is discussed. This model is useful in expanding our understanding of the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists who sing them, namely the process of defining their racial identity. Chapter 3 concludes with a discussion on racial identity development and Ethnic and Racial Identity (ERI) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). ERI represents a development in the field of black racial identity and black racial identity development.

The research methodology is discussed in Chapter Four. A qualitative research methodology (Snape & Spencer, 2003) and a qualitative exploratory design (Durrheim, 2006) were used. The methodology was implemented in two phases. Phase 1 explored the discourse strategies used in a sample of commonly sung struggle songs drawn from the YouTube platform. Analysis of these discourse strategies was implemented using PDA (van Dijk, 1997). Phase 2 explored the meaning that struggle songs hold for a sample of black student activists from the respective Durban and Pietermaritzburg campuses of DUT and UKZN.

The results for Phase 1 of the study are presented in Chapter Five. This chapter outlines the discourse strategies that were used in the sample of struggle songs identified in this study. The various ways in which these discourse strategies were used to construct identities for the students who sang these struggle songs is also discussed in this chapter.

Results for Phase 2 of the study are demonstrated in Chapter Six and include the presentation of the superordinate or key themes (Smith & Osborn, 2003) that emerged from the analysis of the transcripts derived from interviews with student activists. Extracts from

the transcripts or meaning units are provided as evidence for the authenticity of the superordinate themes.

In Chapter Seven, the results from the two phases of the study are discussed in relation to the literature reviewed, the theoretical framework chosen and the unique context provided by the history and continued legacy of apartheid in SA.

Chapter Eight provides a conclusion for the study by summarising its major findings. The unique contribution of the study, implications for policy, research, practice and theory are also discussed. The study limitations and recommendations for future research, are highlighted.

Delimitation and Scope

This study explored the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists who participated in student protests and sang struggle songs during the period 2015-2018 at respective university campuses located in KZN, SA. It also explored the discourse strategies that were used in a sample of commonly sung struggle songs by black student activists in SA available on the YouTube platform. The findings of this study cannot be generalised beyond the scope of the students who participated in this study as well as the sample of struggle songs identified on the YouTube platform and analysed. It is however hoped that the findings in this study are transferable, to some extent, to other black student activists from similar contexts as well as other commonly sung struggle songs during the same period.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided, amongst other topics presented, a background for the study, the aims and objectives of the study, and the manner in which the resulting thesis is organised. The following chapter reviews the relevant literature that has informed this study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter discusses relevant literature in relation to the study objectives. This is accomplished in four parts. Part 1 broadly outlines the nature of the relationship between Africans, music and politics. Its primary objective is to present and discuss the theoretical aspects of the relationship between music and politics. The works of Mbaegbu (2015) and Street (2012) are used to describe the place that music occupies in the lives of Africans and the nature of the relationship that exists between music and politics respectively. This part concludes by retrospectively answering the question: What is political in music? Part 2 hones in on the international literature, with a strong focus on the role of music in the black civil rights movement in the USA (Reagon, 1987; Sanger, 1995; 1997), which shares some similarities with the liberation struggles witnessed in SA and continentally. As such, special attention is given to the Chimurenga songs of Zimbabwe. Chimurenga songs and traditions have strongly influenced the singing and performance of struggle songs in SA. The discussion of Chimurenga songs is followed by a specific focus on the SA experience of struggle songs. A major goal of this part of the review is to delineate struggle songs sung by student activists in SA from music used for political purposes in other parts of the world. Struggle songs in SA have a unique history and character that make them stand out from music/songs used for political ends in other parts of the world. This history and the emergence of struggle songs as a preferred protest tool among black student activists in SA, is discussed at length. Part 3 deliberates over student politics and protests in SA both pre- and post-apartheid. It is only with a detailed understanding of the higher education context in SA, past and present[1], that we are able to begin to discuss what the lived experiences of singing these songs are, as well as their meaning for black student activists who sing them today.

[1] A special focus will be given to the activities of the #RhodesMustFall (#RMF) and #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movements that dominated the social and political discourse of SA from 2015-2018.

Part 4 is a consideration of some of the major arguments found in the literature regarding the role that music plays in defining and constructing identity. This is followed by a discussion of black SA identity with specific focus on black SA youths. Many of the student activists in this study can be defined as youths[2].

Part 1: Music and Politics in the African Context

According to Mbaegbu (2015), music can be found in all aspects of the lives of Africans; this includes the way Africans define themselves. Mbaegbu (2015) elaborates on this point by emphasising the following: "African music is one of the cultural characteristics that make the African who he [she] is as a distinct cultural being in the world, for it binds Africans together and gives them common characteristics" (p. 172). In saying this, Mbaegbu (2015) elevates the value of music within the broader and larger repertoire of African cultural artifacts. This Mbaegbu (2015) does by associating music with principles of interconnectedness and unity, which are highly regarded by Africans (Asante, 1987). Mbaegbu (2015) goes on to suggest that music favourably distinguishes[3] Africans as a people and cultural grouping. The common characteristics or a collective identity that music facilitates, according to Allen (2004), can also be seen in the importance given to national anthems in Africa. This is also demonstrated in the catalogue of music that was dedicated to specific social groups, such as initiates and maidens, in pre-colonial times.

There are three broad categories of music in Africa (Mbaegbu, 2015). These are traditional/folk, popular, and classical. According to Nwamara (2009, as cited in Mbaegbu, 2015), traditional/folk African music can be described as music that is transmitted by oral

[2] In SA, youth are defined as the population aged between 15 and 35 years (National Youth Development Agency, 2015).

[3] Not to be read as separateness, but rather, as a celebration and acknowledgement of an idealised identity.

means from one generation to the next, and can be altered without destroying its tone or continuation[4]. The composers of these songs or music are largely unknown because the music and the songs are understood to belong to the community. This definition of traditional/folk music in some ways describes the characteristics of the struggle music and songs that are of interest in this study. Notably, many of the struggle songs that are sung by black student activists in SA today, are struggle songs that were composed and sung during the colonial and apartheid periods in SA. Some examples of these songs are *Solomon* and *Senzeni na?* (What have we done?) These two examples and many others have no identifiable author(s), much like the traditional/folk songs that Mbaegbu (2015) speaks about. According to Mbaegbu (2015), with the advent of democracy on the African continent, political music has also entered into the catalogue of music that has found its way onto the African continent. Political music can appear in any of the three types of music present in Africa.

Mbaegbu (2015) argues that traditional African music serves a moral role. Mbaegbu (2015) seems to borrow this argument from Asigbo (2012, as cited in Mbaegbu, 2015) and Soyinka (1976, as cited in Mbaegbu, 2015) who assert that the role of the traditional African musician/artist is to protect the moral codes of their people. Furthermore musicians/artists should be the drivers of change when those codes no longer serve their desired initial goal. This is a view that is shared earlier by Allen (2004), who posited that African musicians are expected to use their access to the musical platform to engage on socio-political matters. For example, Sibanda (2004) elucidates how the music of Zimbabwe's musical legend, Oliver Mtukudzi, addressed socio-economic and political issues.

Traditional music, as described here, differs from the folk genre described earlier. The difference lies in the fact that the composers of traditional songs and music are often

[4] This also seems to have been the case with some of the struggle songs explored in this study.

identifiable and are professional musicians. This music seems to meet the criteria of what le Roux Kemp (2014) refers to as politically motivated music.

Although traditional African music has been described with some degree of positivity in this summary, Mbaegbu (2015) reminds us that this is not always the case by arguing that the loss of morality that one sees today in some performances and demonstrations of African music seem to stem from the growing Western and European influences that have affected the lives of many Africans. Mbaegbu (2015) seems to echo some of the reasons presented for the censorship of music across the globe. Depending on one's political and ideological stance, songs/music and their performance can be considered immoral and improper. One would imagine that the apartheid regime and its supporters in SA found many of the struggle songs, which were the soundtrack to that historical period, to be immoral and improper. The current protests by young black youths against the perceived slow pace of socio-economic transformation in SA have in some sense made them a nuisance to those in power (Kusá, 2018). Much like the traditional music and musicians described by Soyinka (1976, as cited in Mbaegbu, 2015), Asigbo (2012, as cited in Mbaegbu, 2015) and Mbaegbu (2015), student activists sing struggle songs to draw attention to and to contest a widely accepted moral dilemma currently facing contemporary SA society. According to Hundenborn et al. (2018) the levels of inequality in SA have remained very high since 1994. Worst affected by this inequality are black youths who represent the largest proportion of unemployed people (Stats SA, 2018). These conditions have implications for how black youths in SA view and understand themselves, and this finds expression in the struggle songs that they sing.

Focusing narrowly on the relationship between African music and politics, Allen (2004) discusses at great length, the growing tendency for contemporary Africans to make use of popular music to voice their views on contemporary topics, what they believe in, their aspirations as well as their needs. Allen (2004) argues that part of the reason for the observed

preference of Africans to make use of music to express themselves, stems primarily from the fact that radio is still one of the most accessible communication mediums. Schumann (2008) identifies low literacy levels engineered amongst black South Africans during apartheid as the primary reason for the high value placed on oral expression, however this assertion is not entirely accurate. This is because oral and performative discourse is understood to be the preferred communication medium in African tradition, as it is believed to shorten the distance between the author/speaker and listener(s) by drawing in the audience to participate. Allen (2004) reminds us that unfortunately radio and music in many African countries and around the globe are vulnerable to political meddling and manipulation by ruling political elites, who still control much of the media and its contents, and which according to Street (2012), is one of the most common examples of the relationship between music and politics.

Music and Politics

In the introduction to his book, aptly titled *Music and Politics*, John Street (2012) argues that music (irrespective of genre) and politics are interrelated. This view is based upon the following three factors: (1) how music works on people, (2) how people use or act upon music and (3) ultimately how these two acts or activities are interrelated in terms of how people think and act politically. For Street (2012), the manner in which music affects people (including as a pleasurable experience) and the ways in which people make use of music are processes that are intimately connected with the politics of their societal context. If one were to study the dominant political machinations of a context one would understand the music of that context and how people use it. This extends our understanding of music beyond the commonly presented view that music simply reflects the political and social context (Gray, 2004; Schumann, 2008). The political context in fact defines and shapes music in as much as the music defines and shapes the context and its politics. This is not to say that music and

politics are the same thing however. The following discussion will elaborate on Street's (2012) views by focusing on censorship and music policy.

Street (2012) argues that states and governments organise people through the management of music. In defining politics, Street (2012) draws from Colin Hay (2007, as cited in Street, 2012), who contests that there are four distinct features of what can be considered political.

Firstly, for situations to be considered political, they must provide people with options or choices from which they can act upon. Secondly, people must have agency. Thirdly, in exercising this agency, people must be able to deliberate publicly with others on matters, and the outcomes of these deliberations should have an impact on others too. Fourthly, decisions must be social and not personal (Hay, 2007, as cited in Street, 2012). These definitional features, according to Street (2012), have a number of implications on the relationship between music and politics. One of these implications is that when musical pleasure/displeasure spills into the public domain and into the exercise of power within this domain, music becomes political. When music begins to inspire or influence forms of collective thought and action, it becomes political. When music becomes a site for public deliberation, and not a private reflection, it becomes political. These definitional features of politics represent a reasonable standard for what can be considered political. Using the above-mentioned definition of politics, it follows that identity and racial identity in SA appear to be political constructs. The struggle songs that are of interest in this study and the black student activists operating in higher education spaces in SA also meet these standards comfortably. Furthermore, these songs meet the requirements for being considered political discourse, as defined by van Dijk's PDA (1997), and established by Al-Sowaidi et al. (2017). A more detailed discussion of political discourse is found in Chapter 4.

Censorship of music and music policy are two of the most commonly used examples for illustrating the relationship between music and politics. These two topics will be dealt with in the following few pages.

Censorship. Censorship of music is one the common topics discussed when exploring the relationship between music and politics; it is as old as music itself (Street, 2012). Street (2012) contends that throughout the world and in every century, there have been examples of how those in positions of power, whether they be the state or the church, have used or use their powers to censor certain sounds and/or performers. Street (2012) maintains that a regime's treatment of music, in part, seems to be one of the ways in which their image comes to be defined. Music's ability to help shape the identity of the people who use it, is widely reported on (see Allen, 2004; Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014). As such, Street (2012) seems to suggest that even a negative interaction with music, such as silencing it, can define the 'silencer'.

Music, according to Street (2012), can represent freedom and a means through which people can communicate their freedom. In the same breath, music can still be trivial and inconsequential. In this sense, Street (2012) illustrates how the true brutality of a regime can be measured by its censorship of the trivial; music. For Street (2012) it is often not just the words or images created by music that are the cause for their censorship, but rather, the processes by which this music comes to be considered offensive by those in power. For instance, the banning of music in Taliban-governed Afghanistan was not necessarily driven by any religious view or content of the music. Rather it was the political association that had been made by the Taliban between music and the Soviet-backed regime that ruled before them. The Soviet-backed regime had used music to help maintain its rule. Authoritarian regimes are not the only ones that censor music. Street (2012) also makes use of the example of the tensions between the politically connected Parents' Music Resource Centre (PMRC)

and the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) in the USA that led to the introduction of Parental Advisory stickers on music. These tensions stemmed from the PMRC's concerns around what they termed 'obscenities' and 'violence' in rock music.

Street (2012) further contends that the censorship of music lies at the heart of key political principles such as the realisation of the freedom of speech. In substantiation of this contention, Street (2012) draws on a key human rights question valued in the US Constitution as well as in other parts of the world including SA. By postulating that music forms a part of the types of speech that require protection, Street (2012) is able to argue that censorship of music is a violation of people's human rights. This he does while also acknowledging the entertainment value of it. For Street (2012), it is the power of music that is at the centre of the arguments for freedom of speech/free expression, including those who wish to censor it. Aspects of its power lie in its ability to "harm sensibilities, and even the moralities of its audience" (Street, 2012, p. 22). This is to say that music has the ability to affect and change the hearts and minds of people. It is this power as well as the political principle of free expression that places it squarely in the sights of political leaders and actors and at the centre of political life itself (Street, 2012).

In SA there remain sectors of society who argue that certain struggle songs composed during apartheid do not belong in the context of a democratic SA (Pillay, 2013). The labelling of the song *Ayesaba Amagwala* (These Cowards are scared/terrified) as hate speech by the South Gauteng High Court in 2011 is one such example (Pillay, 2013). This case was brought against Julius Malema by right wing organisations AfriForum and the Transvaal Agricultural Union of South Africa (TAU-SA). At the time, Malema was the leader of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League.

The contention of these organisations was that the singing of this song was:

> intended to symbolise the form of exploitation and oppression of black people in the country, and it targeted white Afrikaners as being the enemy who must at the very least be shunned or at the very most be killed. They further alleged that the objectionable utterances perpetuated systemic disadvantage to Afrikaners, undermined their human dignity, affected their equal enjoyment of constitutional rights and freedoms and further constituted hate speech on the grounds of ethnicity, social origin, culture or language (Pillay, 2013, p. 223).

According to Malema and the ANC however, this song was just one example of many such struggle songs that served to represent an important part of SA's history; the experiences of the oppressed black masses of SA under apartheid and music's ability to unite them (Pillay, 2013). Ironically, this song and many others are still sung today but under a different political dispensation, one that is led by a primarily black government. The singing of these songs today seems to support Khanyile's (2018) assertions about the state of SA post-1994, wherein the black masses continue to be dominated but this time by members of their own race. This continued domination of black people is communicated both implicitly and explicitly in many of the struggle songs that are still sung by student activists today. Despite living under a democratically elected black government, black youths comprise the largest proportion of marginalised people in SA society (Stats SA, 2018). This, according to Khanyile (2018), is by design and a consequence of structural and economic anti-black racism. Labelling these songs as hate speech in contemporary SA society is comparable to censorship of views, experiences and essentially the identity of many black people who do not experience the democratic dispensation as transformed. This study seeks to explore how student activists who continue to sing struggle songs such as *Ayesaba Amagwala,* construct their identities within such a context where voicing their concerns is considered discriminatory by no less than the structures approved by their political icons. For those who composed and sang these

songs during apartheid, their processes of composition and of identity formation were presumably less complicated.

Music Policy. Street (2012) pays attention to another common topic that is often discussed when exploring the relationship between music and politics: music policy. The crux of Streets' (2012) argument is that states and governments are the creators of propagandist music and thus largely determine how music is understood and the role(s) it serves in society. There is a distinct difference between political movements using music to package their political messages and propagandists (Street, 2012). The key difference is that propagandists also invest "those sounds with specific political meaning" (p. 27).

In his earlier publication, Street (2003) proposed that music works well as a form of propaganda because of its ability to evoke particular feelings, emotions and identities, and he highlights significant events across the world where popular music has been used as a form of propaganda. These include the original use of the song "God Save the Queen" in Britain to legitimate monarch rule. Other examples include the use of popular music by the Soviet Union to promote communist ideology. The Nazi government also made use of popular music to promote its racial ideology. The British and the North Americans made use of music as a propaganda tool during the Second World War. In some Scandinavian countries and in Canada, governments have made use of quotas to promote their indigenous music and strengthen their associated identities (Street, 2003). Former president of Zaire (now known as the DRC), Mobuto Sese Seko, used music to promote himself and his rule, as did Daniel Arap Moi of Kenya (Street, 2003). In SA, the apartheid government used popular music to promote its homeland policy by encouraging 'rural' music (Street, 2003). Using music as a tool for propaganda becomes even more powerful when it is turned into policy.

Once sounds have been invested with specific political meaning, propagandists ensure that they are implemented as policy that reflects their values. Put another way, policy is the lived experience of the political philosophies and values of those in power (Street, 2012). There are differences in how music policy is affected in authoritarian and liberal capitalist regimes. The most obvious of these differences is the number of players that are involved in the articulation of policy. There seem to be fewer players in authoritarian regimes and more in the liberal capitalist regimes. Street (2012) draws our attention to five areas identified by Cloonan (1999, as cited in Street, 2012) in his survey of state policies on music, all of which have a specific impact on the kind of music that is composed and produced: censorship, broadcasting, law and copyright, cultural policy, and identity. Street (2012) elaborates that these policies address questions such as whether music is to be considered a part of culture or industry or both, and whether it can or should be used to promote particular collective identities and values. What is clear to Street (2012) however, is that music policy, whether in authoritarian or liberal capitalist regimes, matters politically for both.

There is also a need to describe and discuss what makes music political beyond generalised definitions of the political previously discussed; definitional features that can be transferred to multiple phenomena, situations and experiences. It remains important in this study to examine the specific components of music to determine exactly what makes it political. What follows is perhaps not the most comprehensive discussion on the topic but one that picks up on the most widely acknowledged and discussed aspects of music and what makes it political.

The Political in Music

According to Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) there are three essential elements to music that make it political. These are the lyrics, rhythm and sounds, and the performance (see Street, 2000; for a more detailed discussion on these elements). Lyrics of songs can be

political and address political topics. Naturally this can characterise music as political. Connected to the element of lyrics are the names of music groups or bands. The example that Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) use is that of the British rock band "UB40". The name "UB40" is derived from the unemployment form that many people from Birmingham had to complete during the 1970s. The language that singers use can also characterise music as political. For example, neo-Nazi groupings in Germany have for a long time insisted that German artists sing in German. For them, singing in the language of 'The Motherland' demonstrates patriotic and nationalist ideals. The history of Germany thus makes it difficult to distinguish between artists who sing in German for personal reasons and those who sympathise with neo-Nazi ideology.

Interpreting the lyrics and use of language in the songs requires that one understands the socio-economic, political and historical contexts both during the time that the songs were composed and during the time that the songs were/are sung. For instance, it is only when one understands the socio-political and historical context of living in Birmingham during the 1970s that one is able to identify the political statement being made in the name "UB40". Similarly, it is only when one understands the history and politics of Germany, post the First World War, and the role Nazism played in it, that one can understand that the language one chooses to sing in can be interpreted as political. This is the case with many of the struggle songs vocalised by black student activists in SA today. One needs to understand the socio-economic, historical and political context from which the songs emerge in order to make sense of their political nature and significance. It is with this understanding and consideration that the likes of Gray (2004), Groenewald (2005), Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014), le Roux Kemp (2014) and Schumann (2008) argue that struggle songs cannot be separated from their historical, political and social context. The lyrics of some of the struggle songs sung by black student activists address political topics (and figures/actors) and as such can be characterised

as political using the explanation provided by Martiniello and Lafleur (2008). Many of these songs are also sung in indigenous languages and make use of metaphors and innuendo best interpreted when one understands the socio-economic, political and historical context with which the activists identify and critique. The use of indigenous languages also seems to serve the political purpose of differentiating the political players; the oppressors versus the oppressed.

Rhythm and sounds can also characterise music as political. To demonstrate this point, Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) argue that many rap musicians borrow and/or build on the rhythms and sounds from older music associated with African Americans and their culture, which can be interpreted to be symbolic of a political statement. This political statement would be to acknowledge African American cultural roots and history. The instrumental works of Abdullah Ibrahim of SA, have also been widely accepted and acknowledged as political, as they were inspired by the forced removals in District 6 during the 1970s (Lucia, 2002). This supports the argument that it is not only the words or lyrics of songs that make them political but also the instrumental sounds and rhythms. Many of the struggle songs sung by student activists in SA make use of a militarised call and response format. The origins of this can be traced to the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) camps during the liberation struggle in SA. The physical performance of these songs also takes on this very militarised character. Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) discuss the role of performance in characterising songs as political in the next section.

Live performances of music worldwide have provided many musicians a space from which to communicate their political views and messages. This is also true for many musicians in SA. During apartheid, musicians who empathised and identified with the anti-apartheid movement often had to disguise their anti-apartheid messages through the use of code and metaphors in recorded copies of their works. During live performances however, they would

speak to and sing the original, often political, versions of the songs. Furthermore, the clothing worn by musicians, the place where the performance is held and the displays that often take place during the performance, can all be interpreted to characterise music as political.

The use of the *toyi toyi* dance is a common feature of the performance of many struggle songs throughout history and currently in SA. The *toyi toyi,* according to Groenewald (2005), originates in the liberation army camps of 1964-1979 in Zimbabwe. The *toyi toyi* thus came to characterise many of the protests in SA in the 1970s and 1980s and much like the aspect of rhythm discussed earlier, the performance of *toyi toyi* in these songs today to dramatise and communicate political protest messages, is borrowed from the liberation struggle in SA. Although the *toyi toyi* generally characterises most protests in post-apartheid SA, it remains a primarily militant exhibition of what seems to be the current socio-economic struggle facing the majority of black youths in SA; in essence, an exhibition of who they are.

Black youths are confronting this struggle by borrowing from their political predecessors. The liberation struggle in SA was fought using a number of methods, one of which was the armed struggle. The fact that student activists and black youths today appear to have a preference for the militant approach is telling in so far as how they view themselves as well as the university space.

Universities in SA today have the largest number of registered black students than ever before (Naidoo, 2016). Quantitatively then, one can assume that university spaces are finally beginning to resemble the racial composition of SA society in general. The effect of these changes is that what were once spaces occupied by the privileged and fortunate few, are now slowly becoming spaces for even the underprivileged. The number of students across universities in SA who are funded by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) is testimony to the transformation of universities (Bronkhorst & Matukane, 2017). This

transformation however seems to bring with it pain and suffering experienced by many of the black students who now occupy these spaces. It is widely acknowledged that aggression and acts of violence are common themes for the display of unhappiness and marginalisation in SA society. Whereas in the past, *toyi toying* and protests characterised mostly the former black universities, today we are also seeing more protests, some of them violent, in former white universities. In fact it has been argued that part of the reason why so much attention has been given to the student protests that dominated SA universities during 2015-2016 was that they were partially driven by students from these previously white universities. This response is reminiscent of the response to some of the fears of blackness expressed mostly from white quarters prior to the dawn of democracy in SA (Osaghae, 2002).

What is clear from the characterisation of music as political is that the three elements discussed need to be understood within the socio-economic, political and historical context from which they emerge. Martiniello and Lafleur's (2008) focus is primarily on popular music and artists where just one of the three elements may be present to characterise music as political. What we see with struggle songs of black student activists in SA today, is that most often all three of these features are present, highlighting the intensity of the political nature of these songs that is needed to communicate their messages of protest as convincingly as possible.

This section has broadly discussed the relationship between Africans, music and politics as well how music can be characterised as political. The following section will discuss some international and continental examples of the use of music within the political domain.

Part 2: Music and Politics: International Perspectives

The use of music for political goals has been written about extensively both internationally and continentally (see Mutonya, 2004). Members and leaders of political

movements, political parties and liberation movements are some of the most highly cited parties that have recognised the value of music in their respective efforts. The following section presents a few examples of the use of music in the political arena. A few European (Germany & Britain) and North American examples (Street, 2003), were discussed in Part 1.

The overall goal of Part 2 is to delineate the struggle songs that are currently sung by student activists in SA from the various other genres of music and song used for political purposes in other parts of the world.

Middle Eastern Examples

There are a few studies that have looked at the use of music in the political arena in the Middle East. Massad (2003) comprehensively traces the changes in music in Palestine between 1948-2003 in terms of how these changes are reflected in or correspond to the changes in the Palestinian struggle for liberation. Massad (2003) argues that songs and music served to record the hopes and aspirations of the dispossessed people of Palestine. Solidarity with the struggles of Palestinian people demonstrated by nationalist and left-aligned organisations in SA, speaks to the oppressed minority ideology (Sellers et al., 1998). Certain leaders of the #FMF movement (e.g. Mcebo Dlamini), were seen wearing Palestinian *keffiyehs* (a type of head scarf), during their protest activities and like Palestinian music, some of the struggle songs sung by student activists in SA also communicate the hopes and aspirations of those who sing them. However the genres of music that Massad (2003) discusses cannot be used to categorise the struggle songs in this current study.

Massad's (2003) focus is on the politically motivated songs and music of individual, established musicians (see Gray, 2004; le Roux Kemp, 2014). Other more recent examples of the use of individually composed politically motivated music by an established musician in the Middle East are reported on by Zangana (2009) and by Issa (2018). Zangana (2009)

explored the use of Iraqi songs to communicate and resist the occupation of Iraq following the American invasion. In his study of the music of Ibrahim Qashoush during the Syrian uprisings and revolution in 2011, Issa (2018) found that Qashoush's music had been used by Syrian protestors and activists as a tool for inspiration, hope and optimism to critique the government and regime of Bashar al-Assad and his Ba'th Party. In contrast, the struggle songs of SA are a collaborative representation of the collective voice of the people who are not necessarily established musicians.

South American and Caribbean Examples

Pring-Mill (1987) is a commonly cited source on the subject of revolutionary songs. He presents a Nicaraguan perspective and contends that the term or expression 'protest songs' became commonly used and identifiable in the 1960s during the anti-war movements in the USA. According to Pring-Mill (1987), this term was also applied to describe songs that have their roots in the traditional folk music of many Latin American countries and which focused on socio-political matters in those countries, with the understanding that these songs are representations of both struggle and hope. Through their vocalisation, events in the lives of the people are passionately recorded to reflect a collective interpretation of those events. The themes generally covered in these songs are the praising of heroic figures, the denouncing of tyrants, campaigning against abuses, and alerting people to the moral aspects of some of the issues raised (*concientización*). Many of these themes are similar to those communicated in the struggle songs of SA, both pre- and post-apartheid. These 'protest songs' described by Pring-Mill (1987), also accomplish a practical purpose by making use of the mnemonic power of music and song to instill particular routines useful for particular struggles. These routines most commonly included instructions regarding the production and maintenance of home-made weapons. There are not many instances of instructions such as these in struggle songs in SA however. Furthermore, despite the usefulness of this definition

of ‘protest songs’, Pring-Mill (1987), like Massad (2003), is primarily concerned with music that can more aptly be described as politically motivated and that is recorded by professional musicians, such as the *Grupo Panca*, who produced much of the politically motivated music that became popular in Nicaragua at the height of its revolutionary war.

Vatuk (1964) provides an analytical discussion of what he terms the protest songs of East Indians in British Guiana (known as Guyana since independence in 1966). Vatuk (1964) seems to have defined these songs as protest songs based on socio-political commentary in the song lyrics. This is in line with one of the three elements that make music political (Martiniello & Lafleur, 2008; Street, 2000). According to Vatuk (1964), these songs tell of the harsh realities that Indians were exposed to on their journeys to the sugar plantations and during their lives as indentured workers of British Guiana. These songs also reflect on the political situations in India and later British Guiana as well as concerns about the decline in Indian moral values and consciousness. The historical and socio-political subject matter of these songs is similar to the struggle songs of SA. When performed however, the East Indian protest songs are often accompanied by Indian musical instruments such as *tabla* (drum played by women) and *sarangi* (stringed instrument played by men). Many of these songs are sung in what Vatuk (1964) has described as creolized Hindi in attempts to demonstrate the transformation of these indentured Indians and the contextualised nature of the songs. It is also not clear whether these songs were/are sung during any form of protest activity or were merely a collection of songs composed by indentured Indian workers of British Guiana as a form of oral history. The use of the instruments described seems to suggest however that these are not songs sung during massive protest activities. Many of the struggle songs sung by student activists in SA are often accompanied by *toyi toying* and chanting but with very little or no use of any instruments beyond the voices of the singers.

Attempts to overcome oppression are an obvious similarity across all the examples of music that have been presented thus far. Over the period 2015-2016, black student activists managed to contribute substantially to the economic, social and political discourse in SA. Part of their efforts were achieved by the singing of struggle songs. Through local and international recognition of these songs, the struggles that face the majority of black youths in SA and which thereby define their identities, were legitimised. This process of legitimisation occurred in much the same way as it has for other oppressed groups. The irony in SA is that the end of apartheid held promises for the cessation of black oppression and struggle, which would have rendered these songs redundant. However, the ongoing oppression experienced by the majority of black youths, as is evidenced by the slanted statistics of unemployment and access to resources (Stats SA, 2018), has maintained the relevance of these songs as an outlet for the expression of these injustices and as a tool for change.

A discussion of the black civil rights movement in the USA is another useful area to explore. This movement and its use of song further demonstrates the power of music in defining a struggle and its members as well as the uniqueness of the genre of struggle music used by South Africans.

The Black Civil Rights Movement

The civil rights movement in the USA shares some similarities with the liberation movement and struggle in SA. A large body of writing, research and theorising on black racial identity can be traced to the USA and the experiences of many African Americans. Central to many of these experiences is the black civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. This is also a key period in the political history of the African continent and SA in particular. The 1960s was a period in which many African countries fought to achieve independence from colonial rule. In SA however, the 1950s and 1960s were a more

repressive period for black South Africans. In 1948 apartheid was formally legislated. Many black political leaders and activists were imprisoned in the 1960s and political movements such as the ANC and Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) were banned. One would assume that this would have paralysed black political activity in SA but instead the opposite occurred. From the 1960s in SA we see the militarisation in many of the struggle songs (Gray, 2004).

According to Reagon (1987), music was vital in African Americans' struggle for freedom in the USA. Since the period of slavery, African Americans have made use of song to communicate their struggles and fight their oppression (Sanger, 1995). These songs, according to Hartford (2011), are not to be confused with performance singing that was also common during the black civil rights movement e.g. the works of Nina Simone and Ray Charles, to name but a few. With freedom songs, participation was more important than the entertainment value or the quality of the music (Hartford, 2011). This seems consistent with how Gray (2004) described struggle songs in SA. Many of these African American freedom songs were adapted from existing songs. In some cases only certain words were altered and in others entire verses were replaced but the melodies were kept the same (Hartford, 2011). This is consistent with how Mbaegbu (2015) later defined traditional/folk music in Africa. Many of these African songs originated and were inspired by African American Christian churches (Hartford, 2011; Goertzen, 2016; Stefani, 2015) as well as the labour movement (particularly the songs of the Appalachian miners and Southern Agricultural workers) (Hartford, 2011). Although there is no clear and concise record of the number of freedom songs that were sung during the black civil rights movement, the influence of Christianity seems to dominate the vast majority of these songs (Reagon, 1987; Hartford, 2011). The role of the church in the civil rights movement and in the development of freedom songs is one that is dealt with in some detail by Neal (2006). Gray (2004) has also reported on the influence of the Christian church on struggle songs in SA between 1900-1950.

Sanger (1995) argues that freedom songs sung by civil rights activists are an example of a useful communication tool (see Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; le Roux Kemp, 2014; Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014; Schumann, 2008; for the communicative use of struggle songs during the fight against apartheid in SA) that allowed civil rights activists to define themselves (see also Sanger, 1997) and their movement. These songs also fuelled the activities of the movement. The power of these songs embodied in their lyrical vocalisation by the activists is captured in the following words by Sanger (1995): *"*Both the act of singing and the lyrics sung contributed to a positive definition of the activists as capable of improving the conditions of African Americans in the United States" (p. 3). Freedom songs, according to Stefani (2015), assisted African Americans to reconnect with their unique, historical culture and achieve liberation from their oppressors. Thus through the collective singing of these songs, African Americans who participated in the civil rights movement were able to transcend their issues as individuals and focus on their collective goals and aspirations (Stefani, 2015). This point was also acknowledged by Hartford (2011) and later by Goertzen (2016), who illuminated how these songs broke down social and class divisions (to mention a few) and built solidarity amongst people/singers. Writing about the value of freedom songs in Hattiesburg, Mississippi 1964, Goertzen (2016) notes that these songs were described by Cordell Reagon, one of the key song leaders and organisers in the Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), as what kept the civil rights movement together.

The ability to define self is not to be taken for granted in a space where the definition of blackness, originating during the slavery years, had been taken away from black people and given to white Americans to serve their own needs (Sanger, 1995). The resultant white definitions of blackness suggested that black people were barbaric, subhuman and dependent on white people (Sanger, 1995). So wide were these definitions of blackness that many black people also held them of themselves and this was perpetuated by the racist experiences of

African Americans. The experience of the dehumanising conditions of living in the USA and how difficult it was to redefine self away from these negative definitions, is also communicated by some of the widely acknowledged black civil rights leaders even about themselves (Sanger, 1995). The need to redefine themselves as autonomous and reject the definitions imposed upon them by white America, as well as contribute towards making a positive change in American society, were acknowledged as the desired goals of the civil rights movement and freedom songs were acknowledged as a key tool in achieving these ends. According to the personal opinions of some African American activists, these songs were one of the most effective and successful rhetorical tools available to them because their singing thereof enabled them to express their emotions, encourage emotional involvement in the movement and facilitate in heightening a sense of spirituality (Sanger, 1997). The contribution of struggle songs towards the fight against apartheid, much like in the civil rights movement, is shared by many authors reflecting on their use in SA's liberation efforts (see Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; le Roux Kemp, 2014; Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014; Schumann, 2008).

Through the continual introduction of new freedom songs, new leaders emerged in the civil rights movement who did not have to compete for positions or titles (Hartford, 2011). Put differently, leading these songs allowed for the emergence of leaders in the civil rights movement who would otherwise have had to compete for them in conventional ways. This observation by Hartford (2011) is very important for the current study because it suggests that the leading of freedom songs defined how leaders were identified in the civil rights movement, which was a major shift away from the customary formal leadership contests seen in many modern democracies across the world. In SA, this observation can also be seen in the connection between those who led the singing and protests in the #FMF movement. Returning to the analysis of the freedom songs of the black civil rights movement however, it

seems safe to conclude that these songs offered a cathartic experience for their singers, which allowed them to rise, in spirit at least, above their oppressive situations. This catharsis is what Pring-Mill (1987) refers to in his argument that revolutionary songs do more than express hopes and aspirations; they also facilitate *concientización*. According to Sanger (1995), these freedom songs offered a way in which activists could communicate messages of positive self-definition and address questions of black identity amongst members of the movement as well as the greater black population. Many of the activists, when describing the rebirth of their black identity as separate from the identity that had been forced upon them by whites, often referred to the songs that they sang. Sanger (1995), notes that in her doctoral thesis, Reagon (1976) argued that for the civil rights movement to succeed everyone had to sing and identify with themselves musically. The value of freedom songs is likely best captured in the words of one of the key players in the movement, namely, Rev. Dr Martin Luther King:

> In a sense, songs are the soul of the civil rights movement…..Since slavery, the Negro has sung throughout his struggle in America….songs of faith and inspiration which were sung on the plantations. For the same reasons the slaves sang, Negroes today sing freedom songs, for we, too, are in bondage. We sing out our determination that 'We shall overcome....together...someday (King & Washington, 1986, p. 348).

Despite the strong similarities mentioned between struggle songs in SA and black civil rights movement freedom songs in the USA, there are some key differences between the two categories of songs. The primary difference is described best by Goertzen (2016), who states that unlike many of the struggle songs that are of interest in the current study, many freedom songs of the civil rights movement, although not formally rehearsed as Reagon (1987) argues, were in fact products of deliberate composition, with some having clear song leaders (e.g. In Montgomery, Alabama, it was the Montgomery Gospel Trio. In the Nashville, Tennessee sit-ins, it was four young men, students at the American Baptist Theological Seminary, known as

the Nashville Quartet) and some distributed to other key sites of the civil rights movement in a coordinated manner i.e. performances of the SNCC Freedom Singers. There are a few instances of similar SA groups (Mayibuye and Amandla Cultural Ensembles) (Gilbert, 2007) but their works and songs are not the focus of this study. Recurrent, collective singing of particular struggle songs and thereby what could be understood to be rehearsals thereof is not uncommon amongst student activists across universities in SA. What is not a feature of SA struggle songs however is the seemingly deliberate and coordinated manner in which the USA freedom songs were composed. Struggle songs in SA, both during apartheid and during the recent student protest movements, were not composed as such but rather developed in a highly improvised and collective manner, often altering and building upon existing non-political songs for the purposes of their movements.

A second distinct difference between the SA and USA songs seems to be the disparity in the influences that characterised the songs. The performances of freedom songs have been described by Reagon (1987) and others as congregational and church-like. This is different from the performances of the majority of current SA struggle songs by student activists, which tend to be more militant and aggressive in nature. This is not to say that there are no choral and/or church influences in some of the current SA struggle songs but this is certainly not as strong a feature as it is with the freedom songs of the civil rights movement (Reagon, 1987). The influence of the Christian church is however a reported feature of the struggle songs of the 1900-1950s in SA, whereas the 1960s saw the development of more militant struggle songs (Gray, 2004). This could speak to the difference in the origins and context of some of the struggle songs and their performance (i.e. *toyi toying*), which borrows to a large extent from the military camps that housed the exiled soldiers and leaders of many liberation movements banned in SA namely, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), formerly known as Poqo. The beginning of the armed struggle in

SA in the 1960s, following the banning of many such liberation movements, created a militant approach towards apartheid, as evidenced by the nature of the struggle songs that developed during that period, which was contrary to the non-violent approach adopted by the black civil rights movement over the same period. These historical facts could account for the differences in influence and subsequent performances of the two categories of songs.

A third noticeable difference between the freedom songs of the civil rights movement and the SA struggle songs seems to be their place or relevance in the social and political spaces of the societies from which they emerged. All music is unequivocally connected to the context in which it is birthed (Gray, 2004), but what is referred to here is the continued relevance of these songs and their endurance in contemporary socio-political discourses and struggles of their singers. In SA, struggle songs have remained a common feature of political activity and many songs continue to evolve to reflect the changing socio-political environment. The singing and performance of many struggle songs thus provides both a nostalgic, motivational message, as a reminder of similar historical struggles and overcomings of oppression, as well as a contemporary critique of current social and political realities and a call-to-action for the oppressed. Freedom songs of the civil rights movement on the other hand, seem to have only retained their historical and nostalgic value, perhaps because the songs have not continued to evolve or perhaps because their socio-political relevance has become largely redundant in the current climate of the USA. This is captured in the words of Reagon (as cited in Goertzen, 2016) as far back as 1975, when she said:

> When the situations and needs that created the songs were no longer present, the songs ceased to be used in the same context. After 1965, it became difficult to get a rousing cultural music statement in areas that were no longer carrying out rousing movement activities (p. 81).

The similarities and disparities between struggle songs and the freedom songs of the civil rights movement are important to consider in a study of this nature, however the civil rights movement only represents as small proportion of songs that have been used in liberatory efforts across the globe. As such the next section reviews some of the important work that has already been undertaken to explore the use and role of music in the politics of Africa.

Music and Politics: A Review of the African Experience

Numerous examples of the use of music for political purposes in Africa exist. This review is not intended to be a complete representation of these examples but rather a discussion of specific examples that illustrate the manner in which music is employed in the politics of certain African countries. Many of the examples in the literature have focused on the use of popular music in politics, so a selection of these will be discussed, however aside from their obvious geographic proximity, the proximity that exists between the nature of Zimbabwean Chimurenga songs and SA struggle songs, makes this the main focus of this section.

As previously noted, there are many examples of the use of music in the politics of various African countries. The first example highlights the use of popular music for political purposes, as illustrated by studies in Malawi (Chirwa, 2001) and Kenya (Nyairo & Ogude, 2005). Chirwa (2001) argues that popular songs were used for politically oppressive purposes in Malawi during the pre-independence years, the Banda era and the post-Banda era in the 1990s. Nyairo and Ogude's (2005) paper focused primarily on the use of the song *Unbwogable,* which was sung by a popular Kenyan band. According to Nyairo and Ogude (2005), this song appears to have played a role in empowering opposition parties, which had a tremendous impact on Kenyan politics, visible particularly during the Kenyan general elections of 2002 and the operations of the National Rainbow Coalition that followed these

elections. However the political role of music is not always as simple and straightforward as is suggested here. In examining the use of songs and music in the Kenyan political space of the colonial era, Mutonya (2004) argues that Kenyan musicians frequently used their music to craft an alternative societal narrative (from the one promoted by the political elite) as well as to promote despotic leaders and their regimes. Mutonya's (2004) argument illustrates the contested nature of patriotism and its link to music.

Zouglou music from Cote d'Ivoire (see Schumann, 2013) is the second example of the use of music in African politics. *Zouglou* music was created in the early 1990s by Ivorian youths from working class backgrounds and was regarded as having a powerful communicative ability for addressing political, social and class problems in Ivorian society. In fact so powerful was this music that the Gbagbo regime commissioned it in order that it become known as Patriotic *Zouglou* music. According to Gunner (2009), Patriotic *Zouglou* music differed from many other forms of music in the post-colonial political period because it was directly intended as political discourse. Opposing political parties also made use of the music to promote their respective political views and ideologies. Schumann (2013) used discourse analysis to examine *Zouglou* songs during the crisis in Cote d'Ivoire from 2002-2007 and concluded that the music led to the "dismantling of the single party system" (p. 444). *Zouglou* music's pull on Ivorian society is demonstrated by its appeal to both those in power and the opposition, however it seems to have exerted more influence and power in the hands of the opposition rather than in the hands of those in power. The use of music has also been cited as having played a significant role in the fight against apartheid. *Zouglou* music differs however in that it forms a sub-genre of popular music and as such is more comparable to politically motivated music, whereas struggle songs are categorised as a sub-genre of folk music.

In continuing to reflect on the political use of popular music and song, Valassopoulos and Mostafa (2014) argue that music played a central role in the 2011 Egyptian

uprisings/revolution. This role included articulating both the hopes and aspirations of those involved in the uprisings as well as the grievances experienced, which led in part to the revolution. Valassopoulos and Mostafa's (2014) larger goal was to explore the use of popular music during periods of social and political changes and disturbances and their conclusion is that popular music seems to be a useful way of capturing and memorialising political and social changes in a society. This argument has been covered quite exhaustively in terms of struggle songs during the liberation era in SA, however, very little attention has been given to the topic post-apartheid. This may be a consequence of the perceived end of liberatory politics with the fall of apartheid, however as most South Africans know, this perception could not be more inaccurate. The student protest movements of 2015-2016 reminded us that the struggle for socio-economic emancipation in SA is far from over (Nyamnjoh, 2015). This view is captured in many of the struggle songs sung by contemporary student activists in SA. The current study seeks to understand the meaning of struggle songs for black student activists who sing them today. In so doing, this study intends to provide some new insights into the processes of identity construction in a vibrant, evolving and highly contested context such as SA. This study then goes beyond Valassopoulos and Mostafa's (2014) goals of simply exploring how music captures socio-political changes, to seek to understand how music is used to construct identity in such a changeable and contested socio-political context.

Dhlamini (2017) made use of a critical discourse analysis framework and hegemony theory to analyse the discourses embedded in *Kalanga* protest music (2000-2013). *Kalanga* music is sung by a select group of Bakalanga musicians in Zimbabwe, a Bantu-speaking people that can be found in the northern parts of Botswana and south eastern parts of Zimbabwe (Mathangwane, 2009). According to Dhlamini (2017), *Kalanga* music is a form of protest art that has been able to communicate some of the injustices and problems in Zimbabwean society and which also has the ability to raise the consciousness of Zimbabwean's regarding

the problematic behaviours of individuals and organisations in the country. Dhlamini (2017) argues that *Kalanga* music not only describes situations but has actually managed to open up discursive spaces in Zimbabwean political life. *Kalanga* music as studied by Dhlamini (2017) however, is very narrowly focused on the perspective of a single group of people (and their musicians) as opposed to the larger Zimbabwean cultural groupings and ethnicities. The majority of the lyrics of the struggle songs currently sung in SA are in isiZulu and isiXhosa, however, the songs are not considered to belong only to the amaZulu or amaXhosa people. Many of these songs can often be heard being sung by black student activists and communities in non-isiZulu and non-isiXhosa speaking provinces and communities. This distinction is an important one to make between *Kalanga* music and the struggle songs studied here. The socio-economic and political struggle in SA, past and present, is often understood as a black one extending beyond tribal lines, and the songs reflect this unity.

Chimurenga Songs

According to Vambe (2004), the term 'Chimurenga' originates from a Shona ancestor named Murenga Sororenzou. Sororenzou was believed to a very big man with a very large head (*soro*), the size of an elephant (*renzou*). Sororenzou was well-known for his ability to fight as well as his ability to compose songs that would keep soldiers motivated to fight against their enemies in pre-colonial Zimbabwe. It was in the 1970s, according to Vambe (2004) that African Freedom fighters in camps in Tanzania, Mozambique and Zambia, together with local Zimbabwean artists also struggling for the independence of Zimbabwe, drew inspiration from Sororenzou and composed songs of a genre that became known as Chimurenga. Thus the term Chimurenga refers to the fight against any form of tyranny or oppression. In keeping with this definition, Chimurenga songs, according to Pongweni (1982), are a genre of songs belonging to unhappy people and disappointed children. These songs, according to Pongweni (1982), speak of death and suffering and a longing for a just

and fair world. Drawing on struggle songs and music from the guerrilla camps of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) in Mozambique, Pfukwa (2008) argues that these songs were an important part of the liberation struggle/war in Zimbabwe. These songs served as a source of spiritual and morale upliftment for Zimbabwean freedom fighters as well as a political conscientisation tool for black Zimbabweans (Pongweni, 1982). According to Coplan (1997, as cited in Pfukwa, 2008) Chimurenga songs were used to maintain an integrated positive self-concept of black people during the dehumanising period of colonialism and the liberation war. These songs were part of the struggle towards creating a new socio-political and cultural identity for black Zimbabweans (Pfukwa, 2008).

The value of Chimurenga songs is captured in the words of C.S. Banana, former president of Zimbabwe (1980-1987) in his foreword to Pongweni's seminal book, "Songs that won the Liberation War", when he wrote: "These songs were the necessary component of our revolutionary struggle. They were the *raison d'état* of our revolution, providing the necessary anchorsheet for successful prosecution of our just struggle for freedom and independence". This view is echoed eloquently by Pongweni in his preface to the same book, when he says that the Chimurenga songs that emanated from the liberation war in Zimbabwe,

> emphasized and asserted both the yearning of our people for human dignity and vitality of folk art. That art was a response to a particular shared experience of the people of Zimbabwe: the so-called unacceptable face of imperialism manifesting itself in the form of white minority rule in the heart of a continent inexorably committed to ensuring the demise of colonialism (Pongweni, 1982, Preface).

These words communicate the deep respect and gratitude that Pongweni has for these songs and their role in the liberation of black Zimbabweans. These words are concluded with

Pongweni's assertion that Chimurenga songs belong to the people of Zimbabwe and form a part of their identity, history and armour to face the future.

Vambe (2004) reminds us that there have been many Chimurenga's fought on many cultural fronts in Zimbabwe, pre- and post-colonialism. It is because of this that it would be incorrect to assume that Chimurenga and its songs died out in 1980 when the liberation war ended and Zimbabweans achieved their independence from white minority rule. According to Nyawo (2012), there have in fact been three Chimurenga's in Zimbabwe with specific music reflecting each one, the first of which was focused on the connection that Zimbabwean people have with their land (for further discussion on the first Chimurenga see Dawson, 2011)[5]. Chimurenga songs that characterised the first war (1896-1897) praised two spirit mediums, Mbuya Nehanda and Sekuru Kaguvi, who were understood to have provided guidance during this war (Nyawo, 2012). These songs were a means of communicating with the spirit world as well as a means to boost the morale of the fighters and the people. During the second Chimurenga, referred to as the liberation struggle of 1972-1980 (Martin et al., 1981), Chimurenga songs once again motivated freedom fighters but they were also composed in a manner that narrated the history of Zimbabwe and how the colonisers had stolen their country from its rightful descendants, thus disrupting native Zimbabweans' lives through oppressing them socially, politically and economically (Nyawo, 2012).

Pongweni (1982) provides a detailed discussion of the songs from the second Chimurenga. Borrowing from Paul Berliner's (1978) studies of Shona music structure, Pongweni (1982) describes three types of structures that feature prominently in Chimurenga songs. These are fixed line types, characterised by the repetition of the same lines and often used to convey political sentiment, narrative types that relay a story, and mosaic types, which include

[5] Land was important in all three Chimurenga wars and retains its importance today (Nyawo, 2012).

improvised lines to a common/traditional song. Pongweni (1982) also identified a number of themes from the sample of songs he analysed, namely conscientisation, appeals to ancestral spirits, and appeals for assistance from and expressions of gratitude to countries that supported their struggle. Additional themes included the liberation army's relaying of events, thoughts about the past, present and future, and Harambee songs appealing to unity amongst the people.

Vambe (2004) argues that post Zimbabwean independence, Chimurenga remains the vehicle through which musicians and artists continue to critique corruption and other failures in governance. Songs composed in the most recent Chimurenga, the third Chimurenga (phase in the Zimbabwean land reform programme July 2000-2002), popularly known as *Hondo Yeminda* (war for the possession of land), borrow from both the first and second Chimurenga (Nyawo, 2012). Many of these old songs have in the third Chimurenga (especially those borrowed from the first Chimurenga) been adjusted to make them more relevant to the current context and its problems. In some instances these songs have also been used to communicate a continuing struggle (Nyawo, 2012). Songs borrowed from the second Chimurenga, often sung by war veterans and the Zimbabwe African National Union – Patriotic Front (ZANU-PF) youth, have been used to remind white people of their sordid history in Zimbabwe. This has and is being done in the wake of the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), which is often seen to be a political party for white people (Nyawo, 2012). However Nyawo (2012) argues that some of the borrowed songs no longer speak to the experiences of many Zimbabweans today. Many of the songs in the third Chimurenga, according to Nyawo (2012), have had a more polarising effect on Zimbabwean life and continue to hamper its democratic aspirations. This argument appears evident in the ruling reached in the court case between Malema and AfriForum in SA (see Pillay, 2013). Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Willems (2009) draw our attention to how many African regimes

facing contest and weakening power have harnessed music and other cultural mediums to communicate a version of nationalism concerned exclusively with retaining power.

There are important parallels that can be drawn from the study of Chimurenga songs with struggle songs in SA. The first of these is that struggle songs and Chimurenga songs both borrow from a similar history and discourse of liberation struggle against a brutal European colonialist. Through the use of music and song, the fight against European tyranny and oppression was waged and the memory of that remains politically valuable for those seeking power and those seeking to retain it. It is through music and song that those who can legitimately (as a function of one's proximity to the liberation war and or movement) lead and sing them are able to continue to hold onto power and recreate themselves (Langa, 2018; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012b; Ndlovu-Gatsheni & Willems, 2009). It is with this conclusion in mind that a discussion of music and politics in SA can resume and be elaborated upon.

Popular music, or rather music performed by professional musicians, seems to dominate much of the work that has studied music and its use and role in the politics of many African countries. This is not too different from the trends in SA. This is unfortunate because what this inadvertently communicates is a preference for organised forms of struggle. This preference lies in the face of a vast amount of evidence that suggest that the success of the liberation struggle in SA was a result of operating outside of the boundaries of formality and structure, much like the struggle songs sung by black student activists in SA today.

Music and Politics: The South African Experience

The purpose of struggle songs is a topic that has been widely discussed in the literature on struggle music in SA. The likes of Gray (2004), Groenewald (2005), Schumann (2008), le Roux Kemp (2014), and Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014) to name but a few, have written about the role that this music has played and how these songs have changed over

time, particularly over the course of the history of the anti-apartheid movement and the events that characterised the different phases of the struggle. What is commonly acknowledged in much of the literature reviewed is that struggle songs served as communicative tools of resistance against apartheid tyranny and oppression. These songs also communicated the hopes and aspirations of their singers (Nkoala, 2013). The preference for and emergence of particular struggle songs and even genres of struggle music changed at specific points or phases of the anti-apartheid movement. For instance, Gray (2004) discusses how in the period 1900-1950 the preference for struggle songs and music seems to have been largely influenced by Christian choral music in the form of *Imusic*. This Gray (2004) attributes to the elite English mission school educated black political figures who were at the forefront of the early liberation efforts and whose approach against the colonial state was diplomatic and non-confrontational. Enoch Sontonga's hymn, *Nkosi Sikelel' I'Afrika*, which was not intended as a political or struggle song, was adopted in 1925 by the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) (later the ANC). At the time, in the face of an uncompromising colonial state aided by capitalistic international allies, the liberation movement was just beginning to gain momentum. The choice to adopt such a hymn is contrary to the preferred types of struggle music and songs from the 1960s and 1970s that reflected a more militaristic and youthful nature that characterised the emergence of the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and youth involvement in politics, culminating, eventually, in the 1976 uprisings (Gray, 2004). The struggle songs that dominated in the 1980s and the early 1990s also reflect the changing political climate. In essence, what Gray (2004) was able to articulate was that struggle songs/music cannot be separated from their context; the context defines the songs. Gray's (2004) view is supported by Mtshali and Hlongwane's (2014) discussions around the shaping and creating of different collective identities of the singers of different struggle songs over the course of apartheid.

Schumann (2008) provides a chronology of musical influences in SA that were prominent in the 1920s to the mid-1930s. Schumann (2008) argues that, American-influenced (vaudeville and minstrelsy shows) SA music of the 1920s began incorporating African influences indicating the emergence of a musical political consciousness. So as early as the 1930s musicians in SA were already using their music for political purposes. However much of the music from this time including the 1940s was not considered to be political. The content of the music of time touched on the injustices experienced by black South Africans but was not considered political until the 1950s, which saw the ANC engaging deliberate political conscientisation of black people and their communities and this affected how music became interpreted. According to Schumann (2008), in the 1950s many SA musicians had also begun to join the anti-apartheid movement. Furthermore, during the 1950s there was an overlap between recorded political music/songs by musicians and political songs sung in many of the political rallies and meetings. Many of the songs that musicians had composed and recorded were being sung by people in the streets and struggle songs composed and sung during political rallies and meetings were being recorded by musicians. This can explain the fine line that still exists with regards to the origins and definitions of some of the struggle songs sung by black student activists in SA today.

Schumann (2008) goes on to argue that the political component of songs was not only found in the lyrics of the songs but also in how the songs were used. To illustrate this point, Schumann (2008) posits that songs like *Bye Bye Sophiatown* by the Sun Valley Sisters, *Sophiatown is gone* by Miriam Makeba and *Meadowlands* by Strike Vilakazi were interpreted (based mainly on their lyrics) by the apartheid government to be supportive of the removal of people from Sophiatown, when in fact they were political in their use, demonstrable also by their popularity.

The late 1950s and 1960s saw the intensification of oppression by the apartheid government. It was during this period that certain opposition political parties (ANC & PAC) were banned, political leaders arrested, people were forcibly removed from Sophiatown, and the Sharpeville massacre occurred. This period and each of these events were also accompanied by the banning of much of the music that had been previously tolerated by the apartheid government (Schumann, 2008). However, these dehumanising events did not deter musicians in the 1970s from producing political music; they just hid the messages in their songs and subtly hinted at them. An example of this is a song such as *Senzeni na?* (What have we done?), where the words "what have we done?" are themselves not threatening or political but when repeated over and over again, as the song does, begin to have the effect of mobilising people against their perceived aggressor. Other examples of popular songs that had hidden meanings were "Winnie Mandela" by Yvonne Chaka Chaka, known as "Winning my dear love" by the apartheid government and Lucky Dube's song, "Slave", in which he refers to the "liquor slave" but the people who supported the abolition of apartheid knew the actual words were "legal slave". As mentioned previously, the recorded versions of these songs made use of these hidden messages or codes but during the live performances artists revealed the true intended messages of their songs. Schumann (2008) also draws our attention to the political arrangement and influences of certain instrumental music, such as the music of Abdullah Ibrahim. As has been noted, the 1980s saw the political situation in SA become even more violent and the struggle more militant and this was also reflected in the music. This is a topic that is covered in some detail in Amandla! (Lee, 2002).

A chronology of the historical events that have influenced and possibly shaped struggle songs in SA is incomplete without a discussion of the two key cultural groups, Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble and Amandla Cultural Ensemble. Both of these groups played an instrumental role in the liberation struggle in SA through the use of music.

Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble and Amandla Cultural Ensemble

Allen's (2004) discussion on the role of music in politics is one that is also taken up by many other authors. One such author is Gilbert (2007), who focused on the use of music to garner international support against apartheid. His discussion centres on two ANC cultural and musical groups/projects; Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble and Amandla Cultural Ensemble. These groups travelled the globe in the 1970s and 1980s sharing with the world some of the problems facing black people in SA. Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble was a London-based ANC grouping of largely amateur artists that was established in 1975 by ANC activists Ronnie Kasrils and Barry Feinberg. According to Gilbert (2007), the motivations for the formation of the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble were to incorporate or integrate artists into the anti-apartheid struggle and movement. This ensemble also sought to engage young South Africans who might not have been drawn to the ANC or its activities at this point. The ensemble also sought to raise funds for the ANC, consolidate relationships with other anti-apartheid movements, make connections with other exiles and try to reconnect them to the anti-apartheid and liberation movement. For five years the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble travelled the world raising awareness about the anti-apartheid movement until it eventually broke up as a consequence of many of its members leaving the group to pursue other interests. The role and value of the ensemble though has been noted as key in inspiring the formation of a more organised and professional musical and cultural group; Amandla.

Amandla Cultural Ensemble was formed largely by ANC exiles based in MK camps mainly in Angola. Amandla Cultural Ensemble was primarily led by Jonas Gwangwa[6]. For much of the 1980s this ensemble managed to operate as an ambassador for the ANC across the

[6] Jonas Mosa Gwangwa was a SA Jazz musician, songwriter and producer. He was an important figure in SA jazz for over 40 years. He is widely recognised as one of the musicians who used their music to critique and challenge the apartheid regime.

African continent, Europe, South America and the Soviet Union to mention but a few localities. Amandla Cultural Ensemble, unlike the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble, incorporated largely professional performers in its performances. The ensemble made use of choral music, jazz, theatre and dance. The aim of these performances, much like the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble, was to raise international awareness about apartheid as well as to present an alternative for a democratic SA (Gilbert, 2007). Amandla Cultural Ensemble was the culmination of the efforts within the ANC to incorporate culture and the arts more into its arsenal of liberation and anti-apartheid efforts. The value of this incorporation according to Gilbert (2007), was communicated by the then president of the ANC in 1985, Oliver Tambo, following a National Executive Meeting, on the importance of "cultural workers" and the formation of an ANC internal cultural journal, titled *Rixaka*.

Whereas the songs that were sung by the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble were more in line with the genre of struggle songs that are sung by student activists today, the songs sung by the Amandla Cultural Ensemble were mostly composed and arranged by Gwangwa and other members of the ensemble (Gilbert, 2007).

In the majority of the literature that has been cited and discussed thus far, the distinction between politically motivated music and struggle songs (at least the struggle songs that are of interest in this study) although noted, has been treated as generally unimportant. What seems to be the trend is the focus and recognition of the role of music in the political space, irrespective of genre. There are however some instances where some attention has been given specifically to genres of music and song that fit more closely with struggle songs that are of interest in this current study. One such study is by Maree (2011), who explored the multiple layered meanings of the performance of a select number of struggle songs, poems and plays performed by the Mayibuye Cultural Ensemble. In her paper, she emphasised the importance

of non-verbal elements in these performances and amongst other findings, Maree (2011) remarked on a glorified masculine conception of the liberation struggle.

Another study was undertaken by Ramaite-Mafadza (2016) who investigated the significance of what she termed indigenous protests songs performed by three groups of VhaVenda women from Limpopo, SA. Ramaite-Mafadza (2016) provides valuable insights into the impact and relevance of these songs for the gender clauses in the Bill of Rights in SA.

More closely related to the current study however is the work of Langa (2018), who illustrated how struggle songs have been used by politicians today (namely Jacob Zuma and Julius Malema), to embolden their political stature and ideas by borrowing from the history of the liberation movement. Langa's (2018) words are powerful when he says:

> Malema deployed '*Dubula ibhunu'* in an attempt to lay claim to an identity that remains significant in post-apartheid South Africa: that of the brave freedom fighter. Through his performance of '*Inde le ndlela'*, Zuma wanted to bring his struggle credentials to the fore and position himself as a respected MK veteran, pursuing unity within the party and following in the footsteps of the iconic Mandela (p. 111).

Langa (2018) places these songs, their use and their value, squarely within their political historical context. It is when this political history is known and understood that these songs are most powerful, so powerful that they can be used to legitimise the revolutionary identities of those who use them today as well as to validate their political ideas and messages.

So far the discussion of the use of music in the politics of SA has focused primarily on its use during the liberation struggle and by those aligned to it. However music was also used by the apartheid government in attempts to achieve its own political ends. It is with this background of music and its varied use by different players in the political space in SA that one can come to an understanding of some of the tensions, mostly racial, that still exist regarding the use of

some struggle songs in contemporary SA society (see Pillay, 2013). What follows is a brief discussion of how the apartheid government made use of music for the promotion of its separate development ideology.

The Use of Music by the Apartheid Government

Schumann (2008) reminds us that the arts and music were not only employed by the ANC as part of its liberatory efforts, but were also harnessed by the apartheid government. Schumann (2008) argues that the apartheid regime and its ideology went beyond separate development and infiltrated the cultural and musical terrain by "infusing it with political meanings" (p. 19). The Publications Act of 1974 is a key demonstrable act that was used by the apartheid government to control and censor the arts for its own political ends and enabled the establishment of the Directorate of Publications (Schumann, 2008). It was through this directorate that complaints about music and other cultural activities could be made by the public and the police. The directorate had the power to assess and ban materials submitted to it, however according to Drewett (2003, as cited in Schumann, 2008), the directorate rarely banned music. What was however used by the state to censor and promote apartheid ideology and policy was the South Africa Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

The SABC was monitored and manipulated to ensure that music and content deemed undesirable for the apartheid policy (separate development) was not played or broadcasted (Schumann, 2008). From 1949, Hamm (1991) argues that that apartheid government made use of radio content and music to drive and promote apartheid policy. It was under the heading of Bantu Radio that the apartheid government ensured that all groups, white and black, listened to radio programming that was in line with apartheid ideology (Hamm, 1991). How the apartheid government made use of music to promote its policy of separate development is articulated by Hamm (1991, p. 169) when he describes Bantu Radio as:

> a complex radio network ensuring that each person would have easy access to a state-controlled radio service in his/her own language, dedicated to 'mould[ing] his intellect and his way of life' by stressing the distinctiveness and separateness of 'his' cultural heritage – in other words, to promoting the mythology of Separate Development.

It is important to note Hamm's (1991) observation of the psychological and behavioural intentions implied in his words when reflecting on the apartheid regime's use of radio (Bantu Radio), "moulding intellect" and "way of life". Both of these intentions speak to the engineering of complex psychological processes as well as epistemological positions about the self and preferences. Looked at in this way one recognises the presumed power that the apartheid government believed lay in radio broadcasting and music. This is supported by the words of Piet Meyer, chairman of the Board of Governors of the SABC (1960-1972) (AR 1959, p. 4, as cited in Hamm, 1991):

> It is obvious that broadcasting, the constant companion of man in modern times in all his activities, moulds his intellect and his way of life. [We] must, in these times, be on guard to ensure that all [we] do complies with Christian ideals. Broadcasting can render a service to the whole community by expressing the unique South African way of life, both in its unity and great diversity.

It would seem that the apartheid government displayed a preference for making use of the SABC rather than the Directorate of Publications. This could infer the preference for propaganda over censorship in pursuance of apartheid ideology. This approach however would have far less impact on the power of struggle songs that were composed communally and organically during protests, in military camps (where the likes of the MK were located during the armed struggle) and other liberation movement political activities that dominated the history of SA prior to 1994. By their very nature, struggle songs seemed impervious to the

many censorship efforts thrust upon them, except for the prevention of all forms of gathering and protest, communicated in some respects in the Riotous Assemblies Act[7], Act no. 17 of 1956 (Lambrechts & Maree, 1998).

Universities in SA form one such space where the policing of protests, student activism and singing of struggle songs has been difficult to implement, both past and present. As such, universities have played a vital role in shaping the socio-political landscape of the country. From the grooming of African liberation leaders at the University of Fort Hare (UFH) from 1916-1959[8], to the formation of the Africans Students' Association (ASA) and later the South African Students' Organisation (SASO), to the activities of the #RMF and #FMF student movements that dominated the political scene in SA in 2015. Universities and black student activists enrolled in these organisations and movements, have contributed significantly to the SA that is still becoming. Part 3 focuses on the history of student politics (and protests) in SA including discussions on the highly publicised #RMF and #FMF student movements.

Part 3: Student Politics in South Africa: Pre- and Post-apartheid

The discussion that follows focuses on student politics during the apartheid era as well as in the post-apartheid era. The SA experience is a very racialised and politicised one and university student politics can be characterised as such too. What is more, despite the restructuring and merging of universities in 2002, universities in SA are still described in racial terms. The discrepancies between the previously white and black universities are still evident. These features of universities and especially student politics are in many ways the same today as they were during apartheid.

[7] The constitutionality of this Act is currently being challenged by the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF).
[8] In 1959 the National Party government took control over the university through the Extension of University Education Act. This Act created an ethnically segregated system of what were termed "bush colleges" (Heffernan & Nieftagodien, 2016).

As an analytical tool, this study uses van Dijk's (1997) definition of the political realm that PDA is interested in, as one in which the actors are political actors, performing (text or spoken) political activities within a political context. Student activists are the political actors in this study and struggle songs the political text. The university context historically and today remains a contested political space with the majority of student activists being black/African (Badat, 2015; Naidoo, 2016; Reddy, 2004). The subject of many of the struggle songs and protests/activities of the black student activists is oppression, discrimination and inequality that is often described in racial terms.

Student Politics: Apartheid Era

The Extension of University Education Act. This Act (1959) is a useful place to begin the discussion of the genesis of organised politicisation of black university student activism in SA. According to Ndlovu (2016), this Act could be understood as an extension of the principles of the Bantu Education Act to tertiary education institutions. From its establishment in 1916 up until 1959, The UFH had been an institution that had provided a quality university education for black students from all parts of the African continent. With the implementation of the Extension of University Education Act (1959) the National Party took control of all universities. The UFH was reserved for isiXhosa-speaking students only; a move that turned it into what was colloquially referred to as a "bush college" (Heffernan & Nieftagodien, 2016; Reddy, 2004). In response and in resistance to this act, in 1959 some students at the UFH decided to affiliate themselves with the ANC (Ndlovu, 2016). It was this decision together with the initiative to form an ANC student organisation in 1960 and 1961, as well as the nationwide strikes against the establishment of the Republic of SA in 1961, that saw student protests move away from concerns such as food, fees and corporal punishment, to attempts to challenge the apartheid regime and system (Ndlovu, 2016).

On 16 December 1961 the ASA was launched with the support of the ANC and its Youth League (Ndlovu, 2016). The first president of the ASA was Ernest Gala and his leadership collective included the likes of Thabo Mbeki, Sipho Makana and Sindiso Mfenyane. They were all members of the ANC Youth League (Ndlovu, 2016). The ASA, according to Ndlovu (2016), was concerned with the eradication of racist laws such as the Bantu Education Act of 1953 as well as the Extension of University Education Act of 1959. Additionally, some of the aims and objectives of the ASA were to unite African students, to promote their interests and understand their problems, to create a space from which African students could express their views, and to encourage an interest in the cultural and educational advancement of African students (Ndlovu, 2016). The arrest of some student activists in the 1960s led to the ASA going underground and some members going into exile. One such leader who went into exile was Thabo Mbeki. While in exile, ASA leaders and the organisation encountered numerous difficulties. Many of these difficulties stemmed from the fact that there were few African students in London[9]. Poor coordination between the ASA and other student bodies (including with ASA leaders and members still in SA) that were also involved in the anti-apartheid movement outside of SA, compounded the picture. Reddy (2004) covers student political activism and participation from the 1970s to the 1990s in some detail.

Reddy (2004) discusses the roles played by organisations such as the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS), the BCM, SASO, and the Congress of South African Students (COSAS) in SA university politics. What emerges from this discussion is the valuable role of student activism in the struggle against apartheid. The contributions of these different movements/organisations also highlight the racialised nature of the politics and the actors that participated in the fight against apartheid. These differences are in some ways similar to the dynamic that one sees in student politics today. The formation and the changes

[9] Where the new leader of the ASA (Thabo Mbeki) was exiled to following the death of Galo in 1965.

in the membership of NUSAS in the 1960s and 1970s indicates the differences in appreciation of the struggle against apartheid between black and white students. The exodus of black students from NUSAS (which had been the home for many black student activists in the 1960s following the banning of the ANC and PAC) towards the more radical BCM and its student body SASO (1967) is an example of this. Amongst many of the issues that black student activists had about NUSAS was its narrow focus on academic matters and not on the lived and larger racial issues affecting black students and communities under apartheid (Reddy, 2004). In an interview conducted by Sifiso Mxolisi Ndlovu, Thabo Mbeki noted that the ASA was formed partly because NUSAS could not reasonably be expected to adequately represent the views of black African students due to its primarily white leadership composition and liberal ideology (Ndlovu, 2016).

There is a paucity of literature on the struggle songs that were specifically sung by student activists during the activities of the ASA, NUSAS, COSAS and SASO. The literature on struggle songs over much of the period that these student associations and movements were most active is discussed in relation to larger societal and political matters and not specifically in terms of student politics and movements. This would make sense given that the fight against apartheid was fought on many fronts and to isolate one would limit its overall contribution. This current study focuses specifically on contemporary black student activists, primarily because of the impact that this group has had on the political, social and educational plains at a political point in SA where the antagonist is no longer a clearly violent apartheid one, but a democratically elected one governed by those who led the fight against apartheid. This group of contemporary black student activists make use of tools such as many of the same struggle songs that ironically, were used by many anti-apartheid activists in the past, who now sit in positions of power in government yet seemingly continue to ignore the marginalisation of their people.

Much of the available literature on struggle songs, student activism/activists and identity have been treated separately and not as a coherent whole as will be attempted in this study. The following section provides a more detailed discussion of student protests and activism in the post-apartheid period.

Student Politics: Post-apartheid

Student protests are a common feature of the post-apartheid university context. This was more so the case in previously black universities. However, in 2015 and 2016, we saw previously white universities, which presently have the highest number of enrolled black students than ever before, driving nationwide campus protests (Naidoo, 2016). Naidoo (2016) provides a very detailed description and review of the evolution of student politics from 1968-2016. He emphasises the fact that student politics in the past and more recently have been driven and coordinated by black student activists (see also Badat, 2015 & Reddy, 2004). Nyamnjoh (2015) mentions that the participation of whites in these protests was limited to solidarity, seemingly drawing from Freire's (1968) pedagogy and the leadership of emancipatory efforts. This is not surprising, considering Badat's (2015) and Naidoo's (2016) observations that the members of these movements seem to have been ideologically inspired by Castells, Fanon and Biko.

Many of the issues that form the focus of student politics have changed but some have remained. Racial, class and economic oppression, remain largely unchanged. The subject of many of the struggle songs and protests/activities of the black student activists is oppression, discrimination and inequality that is often described in racial terms. A discussion of the student movements that dominated SA student politics during the period 2015-2016, follows.

Both the #RMF and #FMF student movements, according to Naidoo (2016), can be compared to the 1968-1969 period that led to the formation of SASO by the likes of Steve Biko and the

1976 student uprisings. These movements and the black students who led them, drew inspiration from thinkers such as Frantz Fanon, Steve Biko, Nguyi Wa Thiong'o, Audre Lorde, Robert Sobokwe, Bell Hooks, Amil Cabral and Kimberle Crenshaw, who pursued ideas such as Pan Africanism, black self-empowerment, decolonisation and intersectionality (Naidoo, 2016). This inspiration is captured in both these movements as well as others that emerged during this period at various universities across the country. These include the Open Stellenbosch movement at the Stellenbosch University (SU), UPrising at the University of Pretoria (UP), the Black student stokvel at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU), the October6 movement at the University of the Witwatersrand (WITS) and Transform Pukke at the North West University (NWU) (Naidoo, 2016).

The #RMF movement sparked a year and a period that would be dominated by numerous student protests and the formation of many student movements, some of which were mentioned earlier. In March 2015, black students at the University of Cape Town (UCT) called for the removal of the statue of Cecil John Rhodes from the university's upper campus. This was influenced by what many black students felt was an enduring disregard for the disadvantage and marginalisation of blackness and black people at UCT, years into our democracy and its transformational project; a criticism not only of the university but of the country as a whole. Nyamnjoh (2015), commenting on the #RMF movement, argues that these protests were essentially an expression of collectively held black pain, disgust and frustration at the lack of transformation within the university and in society as a whole. Kuseni Dlamini (a Rhodes Scholar and member of the UP Council, writing in the Sunday Independent, 12 April 2015, opined as follows:

> the 'protests reflect South Africa's unfinished business', reminding South Africans of 'the burden of our history that could not be wished away with the ushering in of the new constitution which guarantees everyone freedom and equality', and 'tell us that

> fundamental freedoms without inclusion and benefit from the economy and society are insufficient to guarantee all citizens a feeling of belonging and empowerment. (Nyamnjoh, 2015, p. 50)

According to Naidoo (2016), #RMF identified three key pillars to its movement: Black Consciousness, Pan Africanism and Intersectionality. In essence, this movement had concerned itself with opposing racism, capitalism, heteronormativity, and all other forms of oppression, which they felt presented themselves in the university and SA society. There was however a slight shift in focus with the beginning of the #FMF movement and its protests; the focus of which was to fight against race and class struggles.

The #FMF movement and campaign began on 14 October 2015 at WITS. It quickly spread to other universities across the country (Naidoo, 2016). The protests of the #FMF movement were largely directed at university management regarding fee increases. This call later extended to a countrywide fight towards free and decolonised education. On 20 October 2015, the Minister of Higher Education announced that there would be a 6% capping of fee increases across all universities in the country. This was an attempt to quell the protests that were spreading across the country, however it was not welcomed by students. On 21 October 2015, students from universities in the Western Cape marched to Parliament during the tabling of the budget, where they asked the Minister of Higher Education to address them. When the Minister did come to address them, the students refused to let him speak. On 22 October 2015, thousands of students from UJ and WITS marched to Luthuli House (headquarters of the ANC) to deliver a memorandum to the then Secretary General of the ANC, Gwede Mantashe. The items on the memorandum included the following:

1. The immediate release of funds to ensure a 0% fee increase for 2016 without universities imposing austerity measures;

2. A specific plan of action to be released regarding the realisation of free, quality education; and,
3. Ensuring that government provides resources to end outsourcing of workers immediately at institutions of higher learning (Naidoo, 2016).

On 23 October 2015, the then President, Jacob Zuma announced via a live TV broadcast, that there would be a 0% fee increase in 2016, but by this stage, most SA universities had become violent spaces with numerous scenes of conflict between police and students. To date many universities continue to employ private security on their campuses (Naidoo, 2016).

According to Naidoo (2016), it was the ANC's insistence that student organisations aligned to it should accept the 0% fee increase as a victory that contributed to the split in the #FMF movement. This position essentially forced on ANC-aligned student organisations led to new hostilities, now between ANC student organisations and other political student movements such the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC) and the Pan Africanist Student Movement (PASMA). EEFSC and PASMA are reported to have wanted to continue to pursue the larger struggle towards decolonising SA universities (Naidoo, 2016). From 11-13 November 2015, representatives from the #FMF movements on different campuses and other black student movements met in Johannesburg for a national student movement workshop. This workshop produced the following long-term national demands for the broader student movement and society to consider:

1. Free, quality, decolonised education from the cradle to the grave.
2. An end to outsourcing and labour brokering.
3. The decriminalisation of protests and protesters.
4. An end to debt.

5. A reformulation of governance structures to promote participatory rather than representative democracy.
6. An end to all oppressive systems including racism, exploitation, sexism, homophobia, xenophobia, and ableism, amongst others (Naidoo, 2016).

2016 saw far fewer protests across universities in the country. Through the use of court interdicts, police, and private security, many protests were curtailed. This forced students to employ other disruptive measures, which led to numerous arrests across SA (Naidoo, 2016).

Badat (2015) argues that what we saw in the 2015-2016 protests was and is a key moment in student politics and SA society. The failure to address transformational concerns that were promised as far back as 1994, at the dawn of democracy, coalesced in these nationwide protests (Badat, 2015; Nyamnjoh, 2015). This, according to Badat (2015), was an organic crisis characterised by three intersecting dimensions: the economic, ideological, and political. These dimensions are further complicated and exaggerated by the historically politicised and confrontational nature of universities in SA.

Badat (2015) cautions against comparing the 2015-2016 protests in SA to similar youth-driven protests such as those involved in the Arab spring and Occupy Wall Street, thereby simplifying the nature of the local movements. Although similarities can be drawn, the historical, political and contextual factors in SA that fuelled the 2015-2016 protests in universities make them unique. Naicker (2016) notes that these protests, and particularly the movements they represented, contributed to the trajectory of popular politics that have gripped SA since the 2012 Marikana Massacre. Naicker's (2016) emphasis on the movements that drove these protests is shared by Badat (2015), Nyamnjoh (2015) and Pillay (2016), to name a few. Badat (2015) characterises these movements firstly as forms of collective action and then proposes a further two ways in which to characterise the movements.

The first characterisation by Badat (2015) is drawn from Jacks (1975) and Hamilton (1968). This view argues that not all student organisations will form part of a student movement but some will. Student movements are generally not extensions of one student organisation. Secondly, the movement can include individuals who are not aligned to any student organisation. Their participation in the movement is generally dependent on the issues being contested and other conditions that motivate them. The third group is composed of individuals, not necessarily students, who have different relationships towards the student movements and protests. These include those who can be described as militants and who are involved in student and even national political movements. Those who can be described as sympathisers, who are not consistent participants but sometimes support the protests, are differentiated from non-participants, who are those students, who for a variety of reasons, show very little interest in student politics.

The second way of understanding the composition of student movements that is proposed by Badat (2015) is taken from Lenin (1961). This view proposes four groups. The first are those affiliated to particular political positions, the second are those who are indifferent, the third are those who are opposed to the movement and the fourth group is composed of academics who believe that student movements should be concerned with academic matters only.

For the purposes of this study, both of the above characterisations of student movements and their members were used with the exception of non-participants, those who are indifferent, those who are opposed to the movements, and academics. The current study was interested in black student activists who have been (or are currently) active in university student politics, participate (or have participated) in university protests/movements during the period 2015-2018, and who are familiar with and sing struggle songs. Many of the movements discussed earlier are not necessarily still operating in universities in SA so a definition broad enough to

capture students who participate in student politics at universities was necessary for the current study.

As previously noted, the issues that were the subject of the protests in the 2015-2016 period are similar in some respects to ongoing student concerns inherited from the apartheid era. However the movements that characterised 2015-2016 stand out from previous ones because they represented collective black pain, anger and frustration at the slow pace of transformation and the persistent white privilege that ensures the endurance of this pain and anger (Nyamnjoh, 2015). These issues are usually the subject of many of the struggle songs that are sung by black student activists in SA.

It is within this context that this study is located. A context where the historical and present clash and in the process reinvigorate discussions around processes of transformation, social justice, culture, race, and identity. It is in this context that we find that black identity, pain and anger are being directly interrogated in opposition to hegemony in all its forms, including white identity, preference and privilege. These issues stem from a demographic that has been labelled 'born frees'. The 'freeness' of this demographic is not completely inaccurate when one considers what Nyamnjoh (2015) argued, that freedom allows black people to express their pain and anger towards white aggression, a freedom that did not exist under apartheid.

The current study has the potential to provide useful insights into the use of revolutionary tools such as struggle songs to construct the identity of contemporary student activists. This is a demographic that has contributed greatly to the political, social and educational landscape of SA over the past few years. At a time when the successes of many youth movements across the world (including in SA) have been associated with the use of contemporary technological tools such as the internet and social media, these young South Africans have chosen to draw from a tool used by their political predecessors against the apartheid state, in

order to redefine themselves and resuscitate transformational programmes; an exercise that may resemble the African (Akan) philosophy of Sankofa (Temple, 2010).

The following section focuses on the relationship between music and identity. The students who participated in the student movements mentioned above made use of struggle songs during their activities. It is argued that these struggle songs that were sung by students and student activists in SA during the period 2015-2018 were used to construct their identities, specifically their black identities.

Part 4: Music and Identity

Allen (2004) regards music as a powerful medium through which individuals are able to define themselves. Allen (2004) argues that because of the privileged space that music occupies in the lives of most contemporary societies, defined as a leisure activity, one can freely exercise the choice to listen to one form of music over another. However in making this choice, a person is either consciously or unconsciously engaging in a process of self-identification and construction. It is this characterisation of music as a leisure activity that Allen (2004) believes is the source of much of its power in the lives of people. For instance, if people can experience joy and happiness because of the music they listen to, then in spaces where they are oppressed e.g. apartheid SA[10], the act of joy and happiness experienced when listening to this music is itself a form of resistance and empowerment. This empowerment is the consequence of a person identifying with a type of music or song based on their experiences. According to Allen (2004), this identification is affirming, validating and consequently empowering to the individual. Another self-empowering aspect of music lies in the fact that virtually all people have the ability to vocalise, either by chanting or singing, and through these mediums, people can emotionally and somatically own the songs and lyrics that

[10] Not an emphasis of Allen (2004).

they vocalise (Allen, 2004). This empowerment can potentially contribute to the resilience of people living in repressive circumstances who would otherwise have no other validating experiences to draw motivation from. Furthermore, collective vocalisation of songs can contribute to people feeling a sense of social connectedness (Allen, 2004).

Allen (2004) notes that governments that have tried in the past to censor the kinds of music people can listen to, have often failed because of people's commitment to have access to and preserve cultural artifacts that resonate with them. Allen (2004) argues that when a song appeals to a person there is also a conscious expression of resistance. From this understanding, the song operates as a tool for critiquing dominant discourses as well as expressing dissent towards these discourses and the powerful elite who perpetuate them for their own ends. Music is also able to do this on a larger public/societal level, as can often be observed when a song becomes an identifiable and popular resistance song. Two such songs that emerged during the activities of the #FMF movement were *Nobody wants to see us together* and the *Decolonised national anthem*. When a number of people can identify with a song or a type of music in the manner described above, a veritable political force can be formed. Allen (2004) argues that music that speaks to identity becomes political when that identity is a contested one; where the inclusion and exclusion from a group is or becomes strategically important. The politicisation of identity, especially in SA, is a subject that Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012a) has discussed in some detail.

Much of what Allen (2004) has argued about the power that music holds for people has been reported on in the literature already reviewed regarding the role that struggle songs played in the lives of black South Africans as well as in the liberation struggle in SA (see Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; le Roux Kemp; 2014; Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014; Schumann, 2008). The emphasis on how this power of music is and has been used to define and construct identities has received far less empirical study in SA.

There are however a few existing studies that have explored how music has been used to construct identities internationally, continentally and locally. Continentally, one such study explores the rise of the *Mugithi* music and performance in Kenya (Mutonya, 2007). This author argues that this growing genre of Kenyan music is an example of how urban identities can and are being constructed in large metros like Nairobi, Kenya. Through a complex process of redefining space (urban vs. rural), culture and morality, the *Mugithi* musician and their audience are embroiled in an identity formation process that Mutonya (2007) argues is transforming how urban-dwelling Africans define themselves and their lived spaces. The *Mugithi* musician and audience borrow from their shared history and values and re-appropriate them in a manner that challenges traditional and mainstream beliefs about urbanites as corrupted and impure, to one where urbanites can define themselves as in tune with the changing times and thus as forward-thinking and non-conservative individuals.

Despite the power of music, as described here by Allen (2004) and in the examples such as those provided by Mutonya (2007), it is important to note that the music Allen (2004) describes is not identical to the struggle songs that are the subject of interest in this study. One however cannot ignore some of the comments made by this author in terms of how they apply to struggle songs sung by student activists in SA universities today. Some of these powerful characteristics identified by Allen (2004), have been mentioned by others writing about struggle songs in SA (during and post-apartheid), some of which are of interest for this study, to varying extents in terms of their explanations and arguments.

Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014) have extensively explored the relationship between struggle music and identity in SA. Drawing from the works of Ernesto Laclau, John Mbiti, Paul Ricoeur and Alfred Schutz, some struggle songs (especially those featured in Lee Hirsch's Amandla! documentary) need to be understood as ancestral (see Mbiti, 1990) texts (see Ricoeur, 1991) that were used by anti-apartheid activists to create a collective identity. The

singer(s) of a song (struggle song) share in the same musical path and stream of consciousness of the composer(s) (Schutz, 1977, as cited in Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014) and as such a collective identity is formed between singer(s) of songs and those who composed them in the past. According to Laclau (as cited in Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014), it is the existence of unresolved grievances that facilitates the emergence (or re-emergence) of this collective identity. In this study these unresolved grievances can be interpreted as the slow rate of transformation in higher education institutions and in SA society in general as identified by student activists in SA over the past few years (Nyamnjoh, 2015). Yet, despite the severity of these grievances, none have been empirically explored. Thus this current study made use of PDA (van Dijk, 1997) to analyse these struggle songs, some new and some drawn and/or re-invented from the apartheid period, that are currently being sung by contemporary black student activists across universities in SA.

Black Identity (Youth): A South African Perspective

The notion or construct of an identity, specifically a black, South African, youth identity, is one that needs to be understood within a larger conversation about the racialised nature of SA identities. This is a conversation that has been the subject of interest for many political and social commentators. It would be simplistic to assume that a discussion of black African identity in SA begins at the dawn of contact or colonialism, however from a technical and strategic point of view this is a useful place to begin the discussion because the composition of struggle songs in SA became more prominent in the literature of the early 1900s (Gray, 2004), and there are no records of songs that meet the criteria of the struggle songs in this study before the late 1800s and early 20th century.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012a), in a paper titled *Racialized ethnicities and ethnicised races: reflections on the making of South Africanism,* presents a picture of the events and the actors

that have shaped SA identity construction. This presentation foregrounds the later views shared by Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014) about struggle songs/music and collective identity along the historical path of SA's liberation politics. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012a) argues that when one traces the history of SA, particularly from the point of contact (Africans and Europeans), the question of identity, a South African identity, and imaginations of it became problematic. This was an issue that would shape the political, social and economic trajectory of the country. In a sense, this argument places identity at the centre of societal, political, economic and cultural development and evolution in SA.

The Anglo Boer War (1899-1902)[11] represents one of the key events that has influenced the complicated dynamic of the identity question in SA. This is because it amplified the tensions and divisions between white Afrikaners and white British people in SA. In essence, black marginalisation and oppression was driven by a white collective, homogenous only with regards to the marginalisation of blacks. Afrikaner nationalism was rooted in a diminished sense of self-worth and identity that was engendered by the pain and loss experienced during the Anglo Boer War at the hands of the British. Amongst other factors, it is against this history that the ANC and its alliance partner, namely the South African Communist Party (SACP) coined the expression "colonialism of the special kind". This expression signalled the end of colonialism and imperialism in SA in 1910 from the British, but allowed for or instituted the colonialist and imperialist rule of black people from within our country's borders (white settlers), in what culminated in 1948 as apartheid. All the while these events characterised the struggle for an imagined SA identity, Anglicised and Afrikaner.

Colonialism and apartheid fragmented pre-colonial, black, African, ethnic identities (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). As early as 1930, in the form of the Native Economic Commission (NEC)

[11] This war is today referred to as the South African War.

of 1930–1932, black people became known as Bantu-speaking people (Norval 1996, as cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012a) argues that apartheid continued this fragmentation and invented rigid black identities in attempts to prevent African nationalism. Despite these attempts and many others, there is evidence that there were efforts to construct a national black identity in the face of colonialism and cultural imperialism. For instance, the first (1882) African nationalist formation was the Native Educational Association (NEA), which was established to promote African interests in education, social morality and welfare. In September of 1882, *Imbumba Yaba Mnyama*, the first African political organisation, was formed in response to the Afrikaner bond that was considered a threat to black African people's interests (Odendaal, 1984, as cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). In an effort to protect black Africans and their identity, the responses of these African political formations to oppressive colonialist conditions led to the formation of the South African Native National Congress (SANNC) in 1912, which later became the ANC. It is vital to note the already emerging centrality of racial identity in the development of the politics and social arrangements that continue to affect SA today.

Ultimately, the resistance to apartheid from black organisations (like the ANC, PAC, and other political and social formations) both from within SA and from the international community, made it an untenable and unsustainable regime. The survival pillars of apartheid, noted by Cohen (1986, as cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a) were becoming intolerable to the international community and the capitalist system, which made apartheid vulnerable. These pillars included: restricting the franchise of black South Africans and centralising state power within Afrikaner people, racial spatialisation of the country with blacks in townships and Bantustans/homelands, instituting and ensuring cheap black labour for whites in industry and in white households, and State active and direct interference in the spheres of education, employment, health and all other aspects of daily life in favour of Afrikaners. Despite the

eventual abolition of apartheid, and the dawn of the democratic dispensation in 1994, these survival pillars, with the exception of the black franchise and state power, still remain prevalent today and continue to favour white people.

Most black people in SA currently still live in townships and homelands that remain under-resourced. Black people in SA still provide cheap labour for the majority of white-owned industries including in their homes. Black people represent the largest population of the unemployed in SA (Stats SA, 2018). Black youths represent the largest demographic of both high school and tertiary education drop-outs and still make up the largest portion of the illness and disease vulnerable population. Some of these are issues that are raised by many black youths in protest and in the lyrics of their current struggle songs. Ndlovu-Gatsheni's (2012a) observations about the challenges facing the definition and construction of a SA identity continue to persist and are a concern for black youths and their identity in particular. A closer look at black youths, ironically labelled 'born frees, will elaborate this point further.

According to Norgaard (2015), the notion of 'born frees' to describe the "obvious and freely crafted" (p. 233) identity of SA youth born with no living memory of apartheid, is misleading and inaccurate. Notably, the term 'born free' is an identity that was created by corporates in SA to differentiate the youth and their needs and aspirations for their corporate gains. Norgaard (2015) argues that there is no shared identity of SA youths and that their identities are as varied as they have always been. What we have, he argues, is a youth that constantly renegotiates their identity based on their lived realities, which differ dramatically depending on class and race. Furthermore, Norgaard (2015) contends that black youth are uncertain about their identity. This is likely due to what Taylor (2007) calls 'post-blackness'; a concept that captures the *"*African Americans' simultaneous debt to and distance from their favoured historical dynamic" (p. 243). According to Norgaard (2015), for South Africans this same dynamic may stem from the first democratic election of 1994 and its promise of freedom.

According to Taylor (2007), 'old black' represents identities that were fixed on the socio-political environment, its limitations, constraints and the struggle to overcome these constraints. 'Post-black' on the other hand represents a "renegotiation of a received identity" (p. 243). For Norgaard (2015), this concept proposed by Taylor sheds some light on how we can also understand SA youth identities, where our history shares some similarities to those of African Americans. The identities of SA youths are typified as renegotiated, complex and uncertain due to the changes brought on through the democratic era (post-1994). These changes included the break from the apartheid era that theoretically imposed clear identities for all, and the present structural and systemic realities that do not completely reflect this break. This complexity and uncertainty about the identities of SA youths can also be said for their attitudes and beliefs. Notably though, Norgaard (2015) acknowledges that racial identity does still play a major role in shaping attitudes, beliefs and values of these youths. So in the face of what Norgaard (2015) suggests is an uncertain youth identity, he recognises that racial identity is not as uncertain. In light of this it becomes possible to assume then that there is some certainty when exploring black identity in SA. In this study, the contention is that this is more so the case with black student activists, who have and continue to demonstrate and communicate their concerns, aspirations and in a sense their identity in protest and the singing of struggle songs. This certainty presents itself in the racial composition of many student protests since 1994, which are dominated almost exclusively by black youths. The collective grievances communicated during these black dominated protests through songs and other artistic forms (banners etc.), suggest that there is the possibility of a shared identity amongst younger members of the black population in SA.

The reasons proposed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012a), make racial identity a particularly important area for current study in SA. As the literature has revealed, the question of identity has been at the centre of socio-political developments in SA for many centuries. However,

questions of identity concerning contemporary black student activists whose activities are characterised by a preoccupation with their black identities, communicated through struggle songs they sing, have not yet been subjected to much study. These songs and their lyrics appear to communicate how these activists define themselves, their concerns, aspirations and political and ideological beliefs. Some of these definitions have been noted in the SA struggle song available literature but have not yet been subjected to extensive empirical study.

As noted, there have been very few empirical studies in SA that have looked at how music has been used to construct and define identity and even fewer empirical studies that have explored how struggle songs have been used to construct and define racial identity. The absence of this empirical literature is startling due to the centrality that racial identity holds historically and currently in the social, economic and political lives of South Africans. It is startling because of the dominance of the theme of racial identity in the struggle songs that characterise the political landscape of SA, including higher education.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the role of music in the political lives of most peoples across the world. The use of music by political agents for their political goals is widely documented in the history of most parts of the world, including SA. Zimbabwean Chimurenga songs seem closest in their origins and use to struggle songs used by contemporary SA black student activists. This association is key because it locates the history and use of struggle songs in SA within the larger history of African liberation movements and their tools, and emphasises the wisdom of the African adage of communality, coexistence and the cyclical nature of being. The following chapter presents the study's theoretical framework, which as previously mentioned is the MMRI (Sellers, et al., 1998). This discussion touches specifically on identity, music and struggle songs

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study adopted Sellers et al.'s (1998) Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) as its theoretical framework. It is argued in this chapter that the singing of struggle songs by contemporary black university students is a means through which they construct and define their racial identities. This chapter begins with the history of the concept of racial identity (black), which provides the backdrop and motivation for the MMRI as the preferred theoretical framework. An overview of some of the studies that have employed this model is then presented in an attempt to locate the current study and its possible contribution to the field of racial identity theory. Some of the critiques that have been made about the MMRI, which are relevant to this study, are then highlighted. A discussion of racial identity and Ethnic and Racial Identity (ERI) (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014) concludes the chapter. ERI represents a valuable development in the field of black racial identity studies and provides further enhancement of our understanding of the racial identity of the students in this study.

Defining Racial Identity: A Historical Account

Racial identity remains one of the most popular and highly researched topics in African American psychology (Cokley & Chapman, 2009). A discussion of racial identity theories is incomplete if it is not placed within its historical context, which according to Cokley and Chapman (2009), begins with the work of W.E. Du Bois in 1903 in his book titled *Souls of Black Folks,* where he refers to the concept of 'double consciousness', which referred to struggles and tensions experienced by African Americans regarding the nature of their dual souls - American (white) and African (black). This concept can be understood to be the precursor to the contemporary and/or modern notion of racial identity.

The intellectual foundations of racial identity theories, argue Cokley and Chapman (2009), can be traced to the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s and the French Negritude

movement of the 1930s. The Negritude movement, which was influenced by the Harlem Renaissance, was a literary and political movement initiated and developed by Aime Cesaire, Leopold Senghor and Leon Damas who were black students from Martinique, Senegal and Guyana respectively. They sought to develop a common black identity as well as a global African Identity. These efforts, according to Cokley and Chapman (2009), were the predecessor of Afrocentric psychology[12] by the likes of Wade Nobles.

The Harlem Renaissance was a literary period in which African American writers focused on black life and perspectives. This renaissance and the subsequent development of early racial identity theories was driven by Black American writers and thus acknowledged the influence of African culture primarily on Black Americans (Cokley & Chapman, 2009). The Negritude movement on the other hand was represented by writers who held more pan-Africanist perspectives. This history led to the development of many influential racial identity theories in the 1970s.

The seminal models of racial identity, according to Cokley and Chapman (2009), can be traced back to three American scholars, namely Charles Thomas (1971), William Cross (1971) and Bailey Jackson (1976). In 1970, Thomas introduced the concept of '*Negromachy*', which he defined as a mental illness inherent in Black Americans and which is characterised by internalised feelings of racial rejection. The five stage model of Negromachy identified and described perceived stages that Black Americans go through from racial rejection to racial acceptance (Thomas, 1970; 1971).

In 1971 William Cross constructed the five stage '*Nigrescence*' Model, which described the process of becoming black. This model is discussed in more detail later in this section as one of the racial identity models that have been the most empirically researched. One of the

[12] See Nobles (2015) for a more detailed discussion on history and developments of an African-centred psychology.

reasons for this has been the research interest of the Racial Identity Attitudes Scale (RIAS) (Parham & Helms, 1981), which was designed to operationalise the Nigrescence Model.

In 1976 Bailey Jackson developed the five stage model for Black Identity Development. This was followed in 1990 by the Psychodiagnostic Model of Racial Identity Development (an ego status model) by Helms.

Sellers et al. (1998) then developed the MMRI and later the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity (MIBI), in attempts to address what they perceived to be inconsistencies with the racial identity literature that drew on the Nigrescence Model (Cross, 1971).

Nigrescence Theory

Vandiver et al. (2002) note that Nigrescence Theory as developed by Cross (1971) was a key theory in terms of existing black racial identity theories. This theory was revised by Cross in 1991 and the following sections provide a history of the theory's developments and revisions. This history is important because of the continued recognition and use of the original theory in research on racial identity even today (Vandiver et al., 2002). The original Nigrescence Theory was proposed during the civil rights movement in the USA by William E. Cross Jr. in 1971 (Vandiver, 2001). The term '*Nigrescence*' is the French term for the expression: 'turning black' (Vandiver, 2001). This term describes the process of acceptance and affirmation of a black identity for African Americans. Put another way, '*Nigrescence*' is a resocialisation process which entails a transformation from a non-Afrocentric identity to an Afrocentric one (Cross, 1995).

The original Nigrescence Model had/has five stages that characterised this acceptance and affirmatory process. These are/were: *Pre-Encounter, Encounter, Immersion-Emersion, Internalisation* and *Internalisation-Commitment* (Vandiver, 2001).

At the *Pre-encounter* stage black individuals are understood to hate themselves and to adopt a pro-white identity. The results of this self-hate are, amongst other mental health problems, low self-esteem and an impaired personality (Vandiver, 2001).

The *Encounter* stage represents the process during which the black individual begins to question the role of race in society and re-evaluate their racial identity. Cross (1995) refers to this stage as one in the Nigrescence process where circumstances and experiences of the black person induce a change in their identity. Cross (1995) suggests that for this change to happen the encounter must be meaningful and impactful enough to disrupt the worldview and the present identity of the person and also provide a solution to the disruption. There are often many disruptions that characterise this stage of encounter, with each one chipping away at the present worldview. It is the cumulative effect of these encounters that stimulates the process towards Nigrescence (Cross, 1995). Furthermore the encounter, positive or negative, must be personally meaningful for the person for it to be effective.

Immersion-Emersion is the transitory stage from the old racial identity to the new. This is characterised by an immersion into black culture, which frequently affects most areas of the life of the person going through this stage. It is at this stage that individuals will often adopt a strong pro-black identity and a strong anti-white one. This process is also associated with what Cross (1995) calls *Weusi* (Swahili word for black) or black anxiety. This is where the transforming black person is confronted with question(s) about the quality and authenticity of their blackness. The move out of this third stage is referred to as *Emersion*, which is another re-evaluation process, during which individuals are often less emotional and more rational about their experiences of racial identity and as such they begin to move away from the anti-white sentiment towards a more balanced one.

The *Internalisation* stage is characterised by the emotional and intellectual acceptance of one's blackness. At this stage other aspects of one's identity (aside from race/blackness) begin to be considered to be as equally important for the individual.

Finally, the *Internalisation-Commitment* stage is characterised by a black self-acceptance that is involved or committed to participating in social change efforts and activism.

The Revised Nigrescence Theory

Based on empirical work and the evolution in Cross' thinking, the original theory of Nigrescence was revised. Most of the revision was made to the *Pre-Encounter* and *Internalisation* stages of the original theory. There was also an emphasis on Reference Group Orientation (RGO) and Personal Identity (PI). PI refers to the general personality or psychological make-up of human beings and is considered to be a minor part of Nigrescence Theory. The reason for this, according to Vandiver et al. (2002), is that blackness is not a personal identity but rather a reference group or social identity. Alternatively the RGO is understood to be a key aspect of Nigrescence Theory as it refers to social group(s) that an individual uses (and has) as a reference for themselves in order to make sense of themselves as social beings. Vandiver et al. (2002, p. 72) summarise the difference between the two in the following way "RGO is based on social affiliation preference, whereas PI refers to an individual's sense of personal uniqueness".

The addition of racial salience was another notable revision to the original theory (Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver et al., 2002). Racial salience refers to the importance that race holds for a person in how they approach life and replaces pro-white identity proposed in the *Pre-Encounter stage* of the original theory (Vandiver, 2001). Racial salience is captured in two dimensions: the first is degree of importance and the second is direction of valence (Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver et al., 2002).

In the *Pre-Encounter* stage blacks are understood to hold attitudes towards race that range from low salience or neutrality to anti-black (Cross, 1995). Those black people who hold low racial salience accept that they are black but do not believe that race affects them much in their day-to-day activities and experiences. For those black people who hold anti-black attitudes however, being black is considered to be important for them as a negative reference group as they dislike other black people and feel alienated from them. Black people who hold an anti-black attitude often believe in negative stereotypes about black people and positive ones about white people and culture. Cross (1995) notes that low salience and anti-black attitudes transcend social class divisions and categorisations of black people.

Two new *Pre-Encounter* identities are introduced in the revised theory. These are *Pre-Encounter Assimilation* and *Pre-Encounter Anti-Black* (Vandiver, 2001). *Pre-Encounter Assimilation* is characterised by an adoption of the mainstream American identity, which has a low racial salience. The *Pre-Encounter Anti-Black* identity is characterised by blacks who hate blacks and as such race has a high negative salience here. According to Cross (1991, as cited in Vandiver, 2001) this hatred of blackness by blacks is a consequence of miseducation based on an acceptance of negative stereotypical characterisations of black people. Black self-hatred is a consequence of the fusing of the negative stereotypes into one's identity.

There were no proposed changes to the *Encounter* stage. Two changes were made to the *Immersion-Emersion* stage. In the revised theory, the strong pro-black identity that characterised the *Immersion* phase is viewed as positive internalisation of being black (high racial salience). Furthermore, the two aspects of the *Immersion* stage, (pro-black and anti-white), are treated as one identity with two parts. An individual can hold either one or both. As with the original theory, *Emersion* to *Internalisation* is facilitated by lowered emotion and balanced views. Some black people may not move from *Immersion* to *Emersion*. Depending on the circumstances that individuals are exposed to, some will regress to earlier stages and

various *Pre-Encounter* identities, some will remain fixated on stage 3, and some will 'drop out' from an interest and participation in black issues, either when the individual becomes overwhelmed by the race problem and drops it, or when a person adopts an attitude where they decide to move on to issues they believe to be more important such as ethnicity. This Nigrescence experience is often called the ethnicity phase (Cross, 1995).

The *Internalisation* and *Internalisation-Commitment* stages in the revised theory are collapsed into one stage referred to only as *Internalisation*. There are three identities in the *Internalisation* stage: Black Nationalist, Biculturalist and Multiculturalist. The identities are differentiated only by the number of other identities that accompany the black one common to all three. According to Cross (1995), from a psychodynamic point of view, the internalised identity serves three functions in the life of the person: firstly to defend the person from psychological insults, secondly to provide a sense of belonging and social support and thirdly, to provide a means through which to navigate interactions and relations with other people, cultures and situations beyond that of blackness.

Expanded Nigrescence Model

The revised theory was then expanded upon in 1995 (and revised again) after Cross and colleagues developed the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) that was intended to measure the revised theory (Vandiver et al., 2002). In this expanded model the four stages from the revised theory were retained but the identities were expanded in the *Pre-Encounter* stage to include *Assimilation*, *Miseducation* and *Self-Hatred*. The definition of the *Assimilation* identity adopted in the revised theory remained the same. The *Miseducation* identity represents the negative stereotypes that blacks have about the black community. The *Self-Hatred* identity characterises those black people who hold a negative view about

themselves because of their membership to the black race. There were no changes to the *Immersion-Emersion* stage or to the *Internalisation* stage of the revised theory.

The table below is a graphical representation of each version of Nigrescence Theory alongside its stages and associated identities.

Table 1

Nigrescence Stages and Identities as Proposed by Cross

Model	**Stage**	**Identity**
Nigrescence Theory: Original (1971)	Pre-Encounter	Pro-White/Anti-Black
	Encounter	
	Immersion-Emersion	Anti-White/Pro-Black
	Internalisation	Humanist
	Internalisation-Commitment	Humanist Social Activism
Nigrescence Theory: Revised (1991)	Pre-Encounter	Anti-Black Assimilation
	Encounter	
	Immersion-Emersion	Anti-White Intense Black Involvement

	Internalisation	Multiculturalist
Model	**Stage**	**Identity**
Nigrescence Theory: Expanded (1995)	Pre-Encounter	Assimilation Miseducation Self-Hatred
	Encounter	
	Immersion-Emersion	Anti-White Intense Black Involvement
	Internalisation	Black Nationalist Biculturalist Multiculturalist

Note: Adapted from Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Psychological Nigrescence Revisited: Introduction and Overview. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 29*(3), 165–173.

The Nigrescence Model and its subsequent revisions provide a very helpful tool for understanding aspects of the racial identity of black student activists in SA. The strengths of this model lie in its ability to capture the processes/stages of developing a black identity or rather becoming black. These stages seem to suggest degrees in blackness that are achievable as well as a degree of agency on the part of the person in defining themselves and their identity. This is a welcome move away from enduring essentialist views of blackness in SA, which are largely a consequence of apartheid and its persistent effects on contemporary SA

society. Degrees of blackness seem appropriate in a context such as SA where being defined and defining oneself in terms of one's racial group is an unfortunate reality but the degrees of such definition, as this model proposes, are more amenable to subjective interpretation.

This theory also provides a helpful way in which to interpret the variety of possible meanings that struggle songs hold for black student activists who sing them, which if based on the history, performance and lyrics of these songs, cannot ignore the implicit and oftentimes explicit messaging about an identification with a 'radicalised' blackness captured in the *Immersion* stage. It is also likely that these meanings will resemble in part what has been captured in the *Internalisation* stage and the identities that characterise the various versions of this model.

The various revisions of the Nigrescence Model represent a meaningful evolution in the conceptualisation and understanding of black racial identity that finds itself now at a juncture aptly named the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI) (Seller et al., 1998). What follows is detailed discussion of the MMRI and its value in heightening our understanding of the meaning that struggle songs hold for the black student activists in SA.

The Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI)

The theoretical framework that has been chosen for this study is the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). According to the authors, race is a concept that is socially constructed, which is also the defining characteristic for membership as an African American. The history of America and its classification of people into racial groups has resulted in the psychological unification of people who often differ in many ways both culturally and in everyday experiences (Sellers et al., 1998). It is because of these differences that it has become important to understand the significance and meaning that race holds for membership within the black racial group. Race varies in its importance in terms of how people define

themselves. Furthermore, despite the evidenced significance of race in defining identity, a person and/or people still differ in how they define or understand the meaning of blackness. For Sellers et al. (1998, p. 19) racial identity is thus "the significance of race in the self-concepts of African Americans and the qualitative meanings they attribute to being members of the racial category". In essence an African American person's racial identity is a function of more than what they look like.

This MMRI is built on the combination of two main approaches to African American[13] racial identity construction. Firstly, the *mainstream approach* has focused primarily on widely accepted or universal properties associated with racial and ethnic identities. Secondly, the *underground approach* has focused on qualitative reports from African Americans about their cultural and historical experiences. This model of racial identity is not South African but has been chosen for this study for a number of reasons.

The first reason for choosing this model lies in the history of its development. The *mainstream approach,* is heavily influenced by the work of Allport (1954), amongst others and the *underground approach* by the work of Du Bois (1903) on African American identity (Sellers et al., 1998). Allport's (1954) definition of the African American identity assumed that as a consequence of the racist environment African Americans lived in they had developed an unhealthy, stigmatised identity with a self-construct characterised by self-hatred (Cross, 1991, as cited in Sellers et al., 1998). Developments of the *mainstream approach* moved to a more universalist framework where cognitive processes and structures of different group identities within self-constructs became the primary focus. In summary, this approach has contributed greatly to our understanding of the underlying structures of group identity but little towards the qualitative meanings associated with membership to specific racial groups.

[13] In the current study this should be read as black, denoting race.

The current study welcomes the contributions of the *mainstream approach* with regards to the underlying structures of the identity that this approach has contributed to the original 1998 model and is important for the current study because it provides key knowledge in the field of racial identity and the key cognitive process involved in its expression.

The *underground approach* and the early views proposed by Du Bois (1903, as cited in Sellers et al., 1998) acknowledged that racial oppression affected the development of self-concepts of African Americans and that culture has a positive influence on the development of a strong and positive self-concept. According to Shelton and Sellers (2000), the focus of the *underground approach* was/is to provide a qualitative description of what it means to be black in terms of a person's attitude and beliefs about the African American community. The majority of the writers who align themselves with the *underground approach* view the structural properties of racial identity as stable, at least over short time periods and situations (Shelton & Sellers, 2000). There seems to be general agreement amongst writers aligned with this approach that over the developmental lifespan of the person, racial identity beliefs and attitudes can change. According to Shelton and Sellers (2000), the Nigrescence Model by Cross (1971, 1991) is one of the most highly cited underground models. The RIAS is the primary instrument that assesses the Nigrescence Model and assumes the cross-situational consistency in racial identity as a measure of the reliability of the scale (Helms, 1990, as cited in Shelton & Seller, 2000). The cultural aspect to the development of a self-concept is important for this study given the role that music and singing, both of which are cultural artefacts (Allen, 2004), play in the lives of Africans (Mbiti, 1969).

According to Mbiti (1969) music and song are used in many aspects of the lives of Africans, for passing on religious knowledge, strengthening feelings of solidarity, marking ceremonies of birth, initiation, marriage, death etc. Mbiti's (1969) views on the role of songs and music for Africans is captured best in the following quotation: "Singing and dancing reach deep into

the innermost parts of African peoples, and many things come to the surface under music inspiration which otherwise may not be readily revealed" (p. 67). It is likely then that the struggle songs in this study may hold a spiritual meaning for the black student activists, which may assist in the development and/or construction of their identities.

The *underground approach* has focused mainly on the specificity of African American racial identity and providing descriptions of what it means to be black (Sellers et al., 1998). Despite the commonalities that may exist and have been identified regarding black student activists in SA (e.g. Nyamnjoh, 2015), the meaning of blackness for these activists could still differ dramatically from one activist to another and this model accommodates for that. Struggle songs are a part of the history and experience of race relations for black people in SA and seem to still hold relevance for black student activists today. Analysis of struggle songs and the meaning they hold for black student activists is likely to reveal the dynamic nature and role of these songs in the lives of these activists and the manner in which they are used to articulate and construct their dynamic racial identities in a racially defined political context.

The second reason for choosing this model is based on how it defines racial identity as "the significance and qualitative meaning that individuals attribute to their membership within the Black racial group within their self-concepts." (Sellers et al., 1998, p. 23). Nyamnjoh (2015) and Badat (2015) have both noted that the majority of protests over the past 5 years have been largely driven by black students. However, despite acknowledging the objective reality of race and membership to a particular racial group, the definition by Sellers et al. (1998) insists that the meaning of this (race) still rests with the individual in how they define themselves. This is important for this study so as to avoid the replication of the imposition of racial identities. Racial classification is a consequence of apartheid and continues to be relevant today although not necessarily for the same purpose(s). The lyrics to many of the struggle songs that student activists sing, speak to definitions and identification with

blackness and the consequences thereof both past and present. Nonetheless, these aspects of the songs are likely to hold different meanings for each individual student activist and this is an important aspect to investigate. This study does not insist on the homogeneity of black student activists in a multicultural (including class) context such as SA. This study seeks to deepen this understanding by analysing these songs and their meanings for black student activists in a context where race and racial classification are still very important and relevant.

The third reason for choosing this model is the assumptions (4) that underpin the model. The first assumption is that identities are situationally influenced and stable properties of a person, however they may change over the lifespan of the person as their social environments change. The second assumption is acknowledgment of multiple hierarchical identities of people as evidence by the MMRI's emphasis on the importance of race (in relation to other identities) in how African Americans define themselves. The third assumption is that a person's perception of their racial identity is the most valid indicator of their identity. This assumption acknowledges that societal factors can shape an individual's identity but the individual's perceptions are still key in constructing their identity. The fourth assumption is the variable importance/significance of the meaning of race for individuals at specific moments in their lives. The identified meanings and purposes of the struggle songs that have been referred to in the literature review suggest that the songs speak to all four assumptions. The songs reflect the contexts within which they are used and shape the identities of singers. Contemporary SA student activists sing struggle songs from the apartheid era, adjusted versions of apartheid era songs and new ones. These different types of struggle songs reflect the situational sensitivity under which these songs are composed as both vibrant and dynamic. The subject matter in the lyrics of many of the struggle songs seems to consistently focus on oppression and discrimination based on race and inequality. From the lyrics and history of these songs, race seems key in how the singers define themselves and those who

oppress and discriminate against them. This holds true in relation to whatever other possible factors the singers may identify themselves with, such as being students, female/male etc. Because the songs reflect the context and the subject matter prioritises race, one can assume that the fourth assumption is also met in this study. There are no available studies of the meaning of struggle songs for student activists except for what has already been reviewed regarding the purpose of struggle songs for political activists during the apartheid era. It is vital to explore the meaning of these songs for student activists who sing them today within the context of an ostensibly democratic dispensation, many of which were composed by their political predecessors and now leaders (oppressors) during their oppression under apartheid.

The African American experience is very different from the black SA experience. This model is able to bridge these differences in some respects through its appreciation of oppression and the psychological impact this has had on most black peoples in the USA and SA. The political and historical appreciation of this model also accommodates the views presented by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012a) who attests that a SA identity has been the subject of much contest and friction that has affected race relations, the social architecture of SA and its people. A model such as the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) is important in a context where student activists sing struggle songs and lead protests to confront contemporary societal challenges that were primarily created by a history of racial injustice. This model is well-placed to frame this exploratory, phenomenological, qualitative study due to its flexibility and appreciation of subjective reports of lived experiences of the participants. Furthermore this model provides a useful contextualisation of the discourse strategies used in the songs in a country where race still permeates most societal experiences and phenomena.

The MMRI proposes four dimensions to racial identity. These are *salience, centrality, regard* and *ideology* and each are described and discussed below. This model does not claim that these dimensions are synonymous to racial identity, but are rather ways in which racial

identity is manifested. The *salience* and *centrality* dimensions generally speak to the significance of race attached by individuals when defining themselves and the *regard* and *ideology* dimensions speak to the perceptions that individuals have towards blackness (heterogeneity in the black experience).

Racial Salience

This dimension refers to the dynamic and situational aspect of racial identity. Under certain situations and conditions people can either identify or not identify with their racial identity as a result of their individual differences and proclivity to define themselves in terms of race (McCall & Simons, 1978; Rosenberg, 1979, Turner et al., 1994, as cited in Sellers et al., 1998). For the dimension of *salience*, the situation/context is the primary unit of analysis (Sellers et al., 1998). An example of this dimension is poor service in a restaurant. One black person may assume that this is because of their race and the waitron is being racist while another black person may assume the waitron is just having a bad day. What this example illustrates is the importance of understanding *salience* for possible behaviour prediction (Sellers et al., 1998). The situation/context as the unit of analysis for this dimension is key for the current study, where the context has been defined as two KZN universities where student protests occur and where struggle songs are often sung. The songs are inseparable from the context/situation (Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; le Roux Kemp, 2014; Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014; Schumann, 2008) and as such are key to defining the situation/conditions.

Commenting on the 2015-2016 student movements, Nyamnjoh (2015) noted that they represented collective black pain. Student activists in these protests sung songs such as *Solomon*, and *Nobody wants to see us together* to mention a few. The song *Solomon* describes the life and struggle of a young man (Solomon Mahlangu) who during apartheid left his home to join the armed struggle against the apartheid state. He was later executed by the apartheid

state (accused of murder, tortured and hung). It is possible that student activists identify with this song because the protagonist was a young person whose fight was against injustice much like they themselves experience in terms of inequality, discrimination and lack of transformation (Nyamnjoh, 2015) inherited from the racial policies of apartheid. *Nobody wants to see us together* is song that borrows from Senegalese-American pop icon, Akon's hit single *Nobody wants to see us together*; a love song about two lovers who against all odds 'fight' to remain together. The version sung by the student activists seems to speak to their unity and fight against those in power. In both of these songs and others like them the word race is not used, however the context within which these songs are sung implies that race is the defining factor. Thus it can be argued that the student activists singing these songs are identifying with their blackness and the struggle to overcome injustices associated with this blackness within the university context and society at large. These songs and others and their associated meanings for current student activists have yet to be analysed in much depth.

Universities in SA today are still described and categorised in relation to their previous racial profiles e.g. a previously white/black university based on whom they were intended to accommodate. This is an important contextual/historical issue to consider when discussing this dimension of racial identity as the legacy of apartheid (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a) still affects university contexts and possibly the behaviour of student activists (Badat, 2015).

Racial Centrality

This dimension refers to the more stable aspect of racial identity. In other words, this aspect speaks to the extent to which a black person normatively defines themselves in terms of their race. Situations and context with regards to this dimension are not the unit of analysis but rather their (the individual's) normative perceptions of self across multiple situations. As previously discussed by Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012a), the apartheid government intervened in all

aspects of SA life and racial identification as the normative posture was arguably the overarching pillar of its (apartheid) sustainability efforts. Norgaard (2015) states that despite uncertainties about their identities, the racial identity of many SA youths continues to shape their attitudes, beliefs and values. Student protests currently and in the past couple of years have been mainly orchestrated by black student activists (Nyamnjoh, 2015). The slow rate of transformation within universities and society as a whole is likely to affect the black population more, which may explain the predominant racial composition of student activists in SA universities. However, black activists cannot be packaged into one homogenous grouping and it would interesting to explore if this dimension is addressed in the experiences and meanings that student activists hold towards struggle songs. Furthermore, race seems to monopolise the topics of most struggle songs sung today and an exploration of the discourse structure(s) used in the songs with the intention to present the activists' ideological square[14] (van Dijk, 1997, p. 30) is likely to reveal interesting insights that speak to this dimension.

Regard

This dimension refers to the affective and evaluative judgement of the individual regarding their race. There are two components to this dimension; the private and public. The private component refers to how the individual feels (positive or negative) about black people and how they feel (positive or negative) about being a black person. The public component refers to how a black individual perceives the way in which black people are viewed in society. As previously discussed, struggle songs in the past served as communicative tools against apartheid oppression (Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; le Roux Kemp, 2014; Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014; Schumann, 2008) as well as for the hopes and aspirations of their singers (Nkoala, 2013). These songs also reflect the socio-political context of the time (Gray,

[14] In political discourse this refers to the structuring of messages and or argument in a manner where there is positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation (van Dijk, 1997).

2004; Schumann, 2008). According to Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014), these songs have been used by activists throughout history to create a particular collective identity; one that is/was in opposition to the apartheid state and its injustices. In the accounts presented above regarding the purpose of struggle songs, there is some suggestion about the likely private and public regards for racial identity that the activists might hold. During the protests of 2015-2016, responses from most sectors of society regarding the activities of student activists were mixed. Where the responses were negative this was often due to the violence and damage to property that was incurred by these protests. The introduction of the first phase of free higher education by government can be interpreted as support for some of the ideas presented by the student activists of that time. Student activists of the 2017-2018 period may not receive the same response from the public. The choice and use of struggle songs has changed slightly in the post-apartheid era but many of the songs sung during apartheid are still sung today, which alludes to some consistency regarding interpretation of this dimension by the student activists. In exploring the meanings these songs hold for activists today, it is likely that some of their experiences will reflect both personal and public perceptions of these songs, which may or may not speak to this dimension of their racial identity.

Ideology

In this context ideology refers to the philosophy that an African American holds about how African Americans should live and interact with others in society. In this regard there are four ideological philosophies: nationalist, oppressed minority, assimilation and humanist. The nationalist ideology places emphasis on the uniqueness and preference of blackness and self-determination by black people. The oppressed minority component emphasises the similarities between African Americans and other oppressed groups while the assimilation ideology focuses on the commonalities between African Americans and the wider American society within which they seek to fit into. The humanist ideology is based on the similarities

shared by all human beings. Important to this study is the observation that the humanist ideology shares some commonalities with the African concept of *Ubuntu* that recognises the importance of our shared humanity (Mkhize, 2004). All these philosophies are understood to manifest across four areas of functioning: individual attitudes towards political and economic development; cultural/social activities; intergroup relations; and perceptions of the dominant group (Sellers et al., 1998). The ideological preferences of the students singing struggle songs are captured in many of the lyrics, e.g. the *Decolonised National Anthem*:

Xhosa Part:
Nkosi sikelel' iAfrika (God Bless Africa)
Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo, (May her spirit rise high up)

Zulu Part:
Yizwa imithandazo yethu, (Hear thou our prayers)
Sibe moya munye (To be united in one spirit)
Noma sekunzima emhlabeni (Even through hard times in this world)
Sihlukunyezwa kabuhlungu (When we are painfully abused)
Nkosi siph' amandla okunqoba (Lord give us strength for victory)
Silwe nosathane. (To fight the devil)

Shona Part:
Ishe komborera iAfrica (God Bless Africa)
Ngaisimudzirwe zita rayo (May her name be exalted)
Inzwai miteuro yedu (Hear our prayers and petitions)
Ishe komborera, (God Bless)
Isu, mhuri yayo. (Us her offspring/children)

From a reading of these lyrics the nationalist and pan-Africanist ideology seems present. The cry for a more humane society also seems to be communicated in the calls and pleas to God for unity and the end to pain and the abuse of Africans.

Badat (2015) has suggested that the student protests of 2015-2016 were influenced by the anti-colonialist philosophies of Fanon and Biko. It has already been argued that student activism during apartheid resembles some of the activism seen post-apartheid. For instance, the influence of the BCM was key in many of the activities of students in the 1970s, including the move by black students from NUSAS to SASO. The response of government to some of the demands of the current activists seems to also suggest some acceptance or shared philosophy between them. This is likely the case because one of the key texts for the ANC, its alliance partners and left aligned parties such as the EFF is the Freedom Charter (1955), which speaks to many of the philosophies associated with this dimension:

> The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace; Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children. Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit (Congress of the People, 1955, para, 8).

The purposes of the struggle songs earlier discussed can also be categorised along some of the ideological positions identified with this dimension. The appropriateness of some of these struggles songs and the ideologies they communicate have been questioned and in some cases found to be inappropriate for our current political dispensation (Pillay, 2013). The MMRI has been proposed as the theoretical framework for this study for all the reasons provided above. Most notable though is that struggle songs and their meanings fit well within this model's assumptions and dimensions and thus find expression in this model. However, this MMRI is a North American model originally designed for African Americans. As such this model is likely not going to be able to address all issues regarding SA struggle songs and their meaning for student activists but despite this challenge, this model seems to be consistent with the methodological design of this study and its respective phases.

Studies that have employed the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI)

The MMRI has been used in numerous studies of various African American psychological issues. For example, this model has been used by Rowley et al. (1998) to explain the relationship that exists between racial identity and personal self-esteem within 173 African American college students and 72 African American high school students. The study made use of the MIBI to assess three dimensions (centrality, ideology and regard) of the MMRI and the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1979) to assess self-esteem. Results from this study revealed some positive relationships between the MIBI's dimensions of racial identity and self-esteem as measured by the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale. The authors note the importance of a phenomenological approach to any study of racial identity.

Another more recent study by Sellers et al. (2003) investigated the relationship between racial identity and discrimination, perceived stress, and psychological distress within a sample of 555 African American young adults (including some African American college youths). In this study the MIBI was also used to measure racial identity in terms of centrality and public regard. A summary of the findings from this study suggest that there is a direct relationship between racial centrality and psychological distress. The study also found that there is an indirect relationship between centrality and public regard and psychological distress. In this study racial centrality was found to be risk factor for experiencing racial discrimination as well as a protective factor by buffering against the negative impact of racial discrimination.

Yip et al. (2006) used a cluster analytic method to create four ethnic identity statuses (achieved, foreclosed, moratorium and diffused) amongst a sample of 940 African American adolescents (13-17 years old), college students (18-23 years old) and adults (27-78 years old). These ethnic identity statuses are based on Phinney's Model of Ethnic Development (1989), which borrows largely from Marcia's (1966 & 1980) operationalisation of Erikson's (1968)

theories of ego development (Yip et al., 2006). Ethnic identity development and thus status, can be understood to be a function of the extent to which an individual has explored the meaning of ethnicity in their lives and the importance and/or their commitment to this definition of ethnicity (Phinney 1989, as cited in Yip et al., 2006). One of the key questions in this study was whether individuals in different ethnic statuses of identity development differ with regard to what their ethnicity or race means to them. Another key question was to investigate whether there was a difference between identity status occupied and psychological functioning i.e. whether individuals in less advanced ethnic identity statuses have less optimal functioning than those in more developed ones. The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) (Phinney, 1992, as cited in Yip et al., 2006) was used to measure ethnic identity development and a condensed version of the MIBI (the MIBI-S) was used to measure racial identity (racial centrality, private regard, public regard, nationalism, minority, assimilation and humanist ideology). The Center for Epidemiological Studies Depression Scale (CES-D) was used to measure/assess the frequency of depressive symptoms (Radloff, 1977, as cited in Yip et al., 2006). Findings reflected that identity status was related to identity content i.e. achieved status individuals reported higher levels of racial centrality and private regard. Further, a significant interaction was observed between the developmental stage and identity status for depressive symptoms i.e. diffused college students reported higher symptoms of depression than achieved college students.

Another study by Sellers and Shelton (2003) sought to explore the relationship between the dimensions of racial identity (racial centrality, racial ideology and racial regard) as measured by the MIBI, and accounts of the degree of racial discrimination that 267 African Americans experience(d) in their time as students in predominantly white colleges. The consequences of held perceptions of racial discrimination and the extent to which the dimensions of racial identity can buffer the consequences of perceived racial discrimination were also examined.

Findings from the study indicated that racial centrality was positively associated with later held perceptions of racial discrimination. Racial ideology and public regard in this study was also found to moderate the positive relationship between racial discrimination and psychological distress.

Using the MMRI as a theoretical framework (and the MIBI as the racial identity measuring scale) Shelton and Sellers (2000) sought to investigate the situational and stable properties of an African American college student's racial identity, in line with the core tenets of the MMRI, namely, the meaning of being an African American in society. The findings from this study were that although an African American's racial identity generally remains the same across situations, certain experiences are able to influence some dimensions of their racial identity. Another finding was that racial identity can influence perceptions of events that are ambiguous. This findings of this study are important for the current study because they imply that over a shorter period of time there is stability in how racial identity is defined but this is likely to change over longer periods. Discussions with the student activists regarding the meaning that these songs currently hold for them, may differ from the meaning they attributed to them and aspects of their racial identities at the time at which they sang them.

Although the review above does not represent an exhaustive list of studies that have employed the MMRI (or aspects of it) as their preferred theoretical framework, there seems to be strong evidence to suggest that this model is fast becoming a popular in studies of racial identity. The growth and prominence of this model is reflected tellingly in its use for the validation of the Cross Racial Identity Scale (CRIS) (Vandiver et al., 2002), a tool designed to measure the theoretical constructs in the revised version of the Nigrescence Model, which has been widely acknowledged as the most commonly used and cited theory on racial identity (Vandiver et al., 2002). The growth and prominence of the MMRI may also be associated with the growing use of the MIBI as has historically been the case with the original

Nigrescence Theory and the RIAS-B (Vandiver et al., 2002). This speaks to a preference for employing quantitative study methodologies when the MMRI is the preferred theoretical framework, particularly in a study of racial identity. This preference has left room for the use of the model in studies employing a qualitative methodology like the present one. The phenomenological emphasis that is often associated with the MMRI finds expression in the interviews with the student activists in this study.

Another common trend with the use of the MMRI in empirical studies has been the focus on college students. Struggle songs are a common feature of SA socio-political life. The student protests of 2015-2016 represented a widely acknowledged key point in the history of the country, extending beyond the higher education space to reach socio-political and economic discourse. There is thus a case to be made that the activities of SA student activists, including the singing of struggle songs, can in some ways be compared to other larger socio-political movements that have used this genre of song and variations of it. More so, the student activists represent a highly influential political body, whose efforts have reawakened a definitively SA struggle around racial identity and its significance in everyday life.

Critiques of the Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity (MMRI)

Harvey et al. (2012) argue that despite the growth of literature on African American racial identity there are still some limitations that would seem to extend to the different models that have been developed on African American racial identity. These limitations include the lack of a conceptual basis for what is considered to constitute identity and blurred differentiation between identity and identification. These criticisms and limitations can be seen in how African American racial identity has been conceptualised and measured.

Another critique of the MMRI is that it is based on an understanding of racial identity in adults and emerging adults (Scottham et al., 2008). These authors argue that this creates a

problem because of the developmental and environmental differences that characterise the lives of adults and adolescents. This critique regarding the age and developmental level not being adequately captured in the MMRI also extends to racial socialisation (Neblett et al., 2009). From their study on racial socialisation and identity, Neblett et al. (2009) concluded that there was still a gap in the theory explaining how the racial socialisation of adolescents contributes to the manner in which their racial identities are shaped, as well as how adolescent experiences shape parental racial socialisation. Both these critiques are very important for the current study. The age and developmental stage that the participants in this study fall under is significant due to the socio-economic (Stats SA, 2018) marginalisation of this group as well as their place in the larger history and politics of SA (Swartz et al., 2016). The participants in this study are considered to be 'born frees' who have no lived experience of apartheid (Norgaard, 2015). One would imagine that their experiences of living in SA and of who they are reflects these socio-economic and historical considerations (Norgaard, 2015).

A further critique of the conceptualisation of the MMRI identified by Scottham et al. (2008) is that gender does not seem to have been given due consideration. The subject of black women's gendered racial identity is one that is dealt with in some detail by Jones and Day (2018). Although not explicitly critiquing the MMRI, their study exposes the omission of the intersection between gender and race in its conceptualisation of racial identity.

Racial Identity Development

According to Yip et al. (2006), the developmental nature of racial identity construction for African Americans over a lifespan has been studied by the likes of Cross and Fhagen-Smith (2001) as one component of ego identity. According to Yip et al. (2006), Cross and Fhagen-Smith's (2001) study proposes three patterns of racial development over the lifespan, which are not progressive and can occur at different developmental stages of the

person. The first is Nigrescence Pattern A, which emphasises the socialisation that African American children and adolescents are exposed to with regards to the meaning of race in their lives. This pattern, according to Yip et al. (2006), is considered to be normative for the majority of African Americans. Nigrescence Pattern B is characterised by a process of conversion, in which as a consequence of some experience(s), an individual goes through a process of re-evaluating and re-thinking their racial identity, the result of which is the emergence of a new identity. Nigrescence Pattern C is characterised by a re-examination of one's identity beliefs as a consequence of perceived inconsistencies between one's experiences and developmental life tasks. Individuals who find themselves in this pattern often return to a heightened identity exploration phase before they commit to a new identity.

Ethnic and Racial Development

Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) provide a very detailed discussion and presentation of the development of an ethnic and racial identity and begin by arguing that making distinctions between ethnic and racial identity is unnecessary. According to the authors, the terms ethnic and racial, when used to describe identity, are generally based on nominal conventions. The authors argue that there is not enough empirical evidence to support these commonly made distinctions. In fact the empirical work that does exist, indicates that the two are interrelated and that the development of conceptions of ethnicity and race follows the same trajectory from a very young age. In light of this, Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) propose what they refer to as a meta construct; Ethnic and Racial Identity (ERI). Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014) define ERI as "a multidimensional, psychological construct that reflects the beliefs and attitudes that individuals have about their ethnic–racial group memberships, as well as the processes by which these beliefs and attitudes develop over time" (p. 23).

The ERI was conceptualised and operationalised by drawing on existing theories and frameworks of ethnic and racial identity such as cognitive development theories (e.g. Piaget & Inhelder, 1966/1973), Erikson's theory of psychosocial development (1968), Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory (1986), Cross' Nigrescence Theory (1971) and the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). This conceptualisation of ERI incorporates both content and process components of the metaconstruct. Content refers to the attitudes and beliefs that one holds about one's group and relations with other groups and process refers to the mechanisms employed by individuals to explore, form and maintain their ERI. The development of certain aspects of ERI occur at different points in the cognitive and socio-emotional development of an individual (Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014). Moreover, the authors argue that an individual's context and experiences also play a role in the development of aspects of ERI. These contexts may include schooling and relationships with peers, which have varying impacts and values over different developmental stages in a person's life.

Ethnic and Racial Identity Development in Early and Middle Childhood

During early to middle childhood, the salient components of ERI are ethnic-racial labelling of self and other, knowledge (including behaviours) and constancy. These components speak to the process of ethnic identification and in early childhood create fertile grounds for ERI development. Coupled with cognitive and socio-emotional development in adolescence, these experiences assist in enabling/facilitating the interpretive/meaning-making capacities that result in ERI (Cross & Cross, 2008, as cited in Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Ethnic and Racial Identity Development in Early to Late Adolescence

During early and late adolescence, individuals presumably have increased social and cognitive maturity and have developed some understanding of how their ethnicity/race impacts on their life opportunities and social experiences. As such the process of ERI at this

stage of development includes exploring one's ethnic-racial identity and internalising values from one's ethnic and racial group (Quintana, 1998, as cited in Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014).

Ethnic and Racial Identity Development in Young Adulthood

According to Umaña-Taylor et al. (2014), individuals in late adolescence/young adulthood are assumed to have developed advanced cognitive perspective-taking skills, which allows the individual to determine what ERI means to them with respect to their ethnic-racial reference group; a meaning that may differ from that which their parents hold.

Ethnic and Racial Identity Development in Young Adulthood to Adulthood Proper

The development of ERI during this period is a continuation of the process salient in adolescence. Individuals have presumably accumulated a reasonable amount of experience and perspectives by this stage. Implications of this for ERI development are that it involves greater exploration, deeper reflection and increased flexibility. Complexity is the key distinguishing feature of this developmental stage as individuals begin to engage with other aspects of their identity e.g. gender, social class etc.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided justification for the selection of the MMRI as the preferred theoretical framework. The vast amount of empirical literature all seem to reach the same conclusion: racial identity is primarily based on the significance that race holds for the person in question. This is key for the SA context where the understanding of race as a biological construct has led to historical racial classification and in turn to forced racial identification at the expense of individuals' subjective identity understandings. When applied as a framework, the MMRI acknowledges race and racial identity as important constructs for identity formation in SA. Struggle songs as political and cultural artefacts retain much of the historical and political baggage of SA and as a consequence have definitional implications.

The relationship between music and identity as framed by Allen (2004) and Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014), imply that struggle songs remain one of the most explicit forms of racial identity expression by black youths in SA. Moreover, these songs dispel the myth that race and racial identity are no longer central issues for youths born post-1994 and this has forced those in power to revisit the historical, economic, socio-political and psychological discourses that prevail in racial identity construction in SA.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

In this chapter the methodological choices that were made in attempts to address the objectives and research questions of this study, are discussed. Firstly, the study methodology is presented, followed by a discussion of the research design that was applied in Phase 1. The population and sampling procedures for Phase 1 are followed by a discussion of the data collection methods, the instruments used in Phase 1, and the analysis of Phase 1 data. A consideration of the reliability, validity and transferability of Phase 1 are then considered. The methodological steps followed in Phase 2 of the study are then presented and discussed. This chapter concludes with a discussion of the ethical considerations relating to the study.

Phase 1

Method

A qualitative research methodology was employed in this study. Snape and Spencer (2003) note that there is general consensus that qualitative research is a naturalist and interpretivist approach that is interested in understanding the meanings that people attach to particular phenomena in their social worlds. This research methodology was useful for the current study, which was interested in exploring the discourse strategies used in struggle songs to construct black student activist identities. The objectives of this study are in line with the constructivist/interpretivist and critical paradigms chosen for this study.

Guba and Lincoln (1994) define the constructivist paradigm as one that believes in pluralistic, interpretive and contextualised perspectives of reality. The critical paradigm emphasises the researcher's responsibility towards uncovering the hidden assumptions about how narrative accounts of participants in a study are constructed, read and interpreted.

Research Design

Maxwell's (2009) model for designing qualitative studies was applied in this study. This model draws attention to the importance of continually checking and evaluating the design features of a study as it progresses. This was very important for this qualitative study that employed an exploratory design. Stebbins (2001) discusses the value of exploratory research in the social sciences. The focus of his discussion and argument is that this kind of approach to research is significant because of how little we still know about our physical and social worlds. According to Arthur and Nazroo (2003) and Durrheim (2006), qualitative exploratory research designs are commonly used by researchers when the area of interest is one that has not received much attention and as a result there is a scarcity of information on the area. A comprehensive review of available literature confirms that no studies have been conducted in SA exploring the discourse strategies employed in struggle songs sung by black student activists. An exploratory design accommodates the flexibility (Silverman & Marvasti, 2008) required in order to address the objectives of this study, which includes the analysis of a sample of struggle songs commonly sung by student activists using PDA (van Dijk, 1997).

Population and Sampling

Population

The population of interest in Phase 1 of the study was the YouTube videos of struggle songs sung by student activists in SA (2015-2018).

Sampling

The population was sampled using the stratified method (Teddlie & Yu, 2007) that is a commonly used for videos on YouTube (see Thorson et al., 2013). According to Askanius (2012), YouTube was the biggest video posting platform available at the time of his writing and still is today. This platform allows individuals and organisations to post video content

that is accessible to the public, or at least those with access to the internet, for a number of purposes such as advertising (Thorson et al., 2010; 2013). The use of videos posted on YouTube for research purposes is growing with some studies (e.g. Thorson et al., 2010) exploring the use of videos for political ends. The current study argues that struggle songs sung by student activists are a sub-genre of political discourse; a view that is also held by Al-Sowaidi et al. (2017). Thorson et al. (2013) argue that amongst the many purposes for sharing videos, social movements and activists post video content on platforms such as YouTube to develop collective identities amongst their audiences and activists. There are other platforms where videos taken of student activists protesting and singing struggle songs are uploaded, but these are harder to access and often targeted at specific audiences.

Sampling Procedure. The researcher was able to access the YouTube platform on the internet and collect the video IDs or Universal Resource Locators (URLs) of the struggle songs sung by student activists in SA (2015-2018). Using YouTube's search engine the researcher inputted the following keywords to search for these songs: struggle songs, student struggle songs, SA struggle songs; student protests SA, student protest SA singing; protest song SA; protest SA; Freedom songs SA. The inclusion criteria for songs in this study was struggle songs sung by black student activists in SA during the period 2015-2018. These songs needed to be sung during some form of student protest or event involving student activists (e.g. electioneering activities, student organisation meetings, night vigils etc.). Videos of people singing struggle songs who were not identifiable as university students were not included in the study. Videos of black university students singing struggle songs as part of what can be characterised as organised choirs or music groups were not included in this study. Videos where the audio visual quality was too poor for the researcher to see the singers and hear the words to the song(s) were also excluded from this study.

The population (244) of struggle songs identified following the YouTube search were separated into two groups. This was in line with stratified sampling (Teddlie & Yu, 2007). Group 1 included 80 videos of struggle songs sung by black student activists filmed during the #FMF protests. Through simple random sampling, every fourth song was included in Group 1 thus the total number of songs sampled for this group was 20 songs. Group 2 included 164 videos of black student activists singing struggle songs during protests and events other than the #FMF protests but also during the period 2015-2018. Again, through simple random sampling, every fourth song was included in Group 2. The total number of songs sampled for Group 2 was 41 bringing the study population of songs to 61.

Each of these 61 videos was viewed and the names of the songs sung in each video were recorded. Most videos had students singing more than one struggle song. As such, the researcher counted the number of times a song was sung across all the videos in order to determine the most popular songs. Songs that were sung by students and appeared under two or more videos (21) were included in the final selection of song samples for the study.

Strategies for Data Collection.

The data collected in Phase 1 of this study was the video recordings (from the YouTube platform) of black student activists singing struggle songs during the period 2015-2018. Once the research and sampling were complete, YouTube video IDs of the 21 randomly sampled videos were recorded and saved. All struggle songs that were sampled were transcribed using the transcription model proposed by Dressler and Kreuz (2000) for oral discourse (see Table 2 below). This transcription model was developed through drawing on the most commonly used transcription notations from discourse studies and is not specific to any language. Details of the context under which the videos were filmed including observed actions and dances that accompanied the singing of songs were noted and recorded.

Detailed observation of participants (in this case videos of student activists singing struggle songs) in their natural environment is not uncommon when conducting discourse analysis (Starks & Trinidad, 2007).

Table 2

Transcription Model and Symbols

Symbol	**Meaning**	**Examples**
Capitals	Capitals show heavy stress or indicate that speech is louder than surrounding discourse.	DAMN
Degree sign °	Utterances spoken more softly than the surrounding discourse are framed by degree signs.	°dearest°
Double quotes " "	Double quotes mark speech set off by a shift in the speaker's voice.	says "oh"
(number)	Numbers in parentheses indicate timed pauses.	(.10)
(..)	a truncated ellipsis is used to indicate pauses of one-half second or less.	I thought (..) never mind
(…)	A truncated ellipsis is used to indicate a pause of more than a half-second.	I thought (…) never mind
:	The colon indicates the prolonging of the prior sound or syllable.	ha:rd

((aspect of utterance))	Aspects of the utterance, such as whispers, coughing, and laughter, are indicated with double parentheses	((laughs))
()	If you cannot understand what has been said use normal, empty brackets without space in Between.	Today () forever angry
[]	Overlaps	
UKZN01	Use the University/Student coding for the speakers	
Bold font	The repeated catchy phrases used in songs	**THINA amaguerrilla::**
_____	Inserted key messages in songs underlined. Sometimes this is used to illustrate lengthier messages in songs.	<u>Phrase/word(s)</u>

Note: Adapted from from Dressler, R. A., & Kreuz, R. J. (2000). Transcribing oral discourse: A survey and a model system. *Discourse Processes*, *29*(1), 25-36.

Instruments

The instruments that were used in this study were a laptop computer with access to the internet and thereby the YouTube platform.

Data Analysis

The lyrics of the 21 struggle songs (SA 2015-2018) sampled from the YouTube videos were transcribed using Dressler and Kreuz's (2000) oral discourse transcription model (see Table 2 above). These transcripts were then analysed using PDA (van Dijk, 1997).

The process that was followed to transcribe the videos was broken down into four steps. The first step was to listen to the lyrics of each of the 21 songs from the sampled videos and transcribe the lyrics verbatim. This was a lengthy process that required repeated listening to the songs to ensure that the lyrics were accurately being transcribed.

Many of the songs were sung in isiZulu, isiXhosa and Sesotho and so the second step was to translate the transcriptions. The researcher is a first language Sesotho speaker so he was able to translate the Sesotho lyrics himself. These translations were then back translated by another Sesotho first language speaker known to the researcher. For songs sung in isiZulu and isiXhosa, the researcher consulted first language isiZulu- and isiXhosa-speaking students who were familiar to the researcher to assist with the translations. These students are well-known student activists and former student leaders at the Pietermaritzburg campus of UKZN. They have led the singing of many struggle songs during their participation in student politics at the university. The translations were back translated by two first language isiZulu- and isiXhosa-speaking psychologists in Pietermaritzburg known by the researcher.

Once all the transcriptions and translations were complete, the researcher began the third step of watching the videos again to note situational and performance details under which the songs were sung. Situational details included where the songs were sung, the size of the crowds singing and the activity during which the song was sung (e.g. protest, meeting etc.). Performance details included how the singers were dressed and their demeanour, who was

leading the singing and whether the singers were *toyi toying*. Records of all of these details were noted and kept with the transcriptions and translations of all the songs and videos.

The final step was to watch the videos and listen to the songs again and insert Dressler and Kreuz's (2000) oral discourse symbols into the transcriptions. This proved a very lengthy process that required inclusions of symbols to indicate pauses in songs, elevations in phrases in particular songs and extensions of some syllables and phrases in some songs. Watching the videos and performance of the songs was very helpful because the researcher was able to observe the pauses and elevations from the body language of the singing students. This process of including the transcription symbols was repeated numerous times to ensure accuracy. The lengthy process enabled the researcher to become even more familiar with the songs and their meanings. After numerous viewings repetitions of the songs the researcher knew many of the songs verbatim, the contexts under which many of them were sung and how many of the songs were performed (e.g. *toyi toying*). This process proved very helpful in assisting with implementing PDA to the analysis of the songs and their lyrics.

According to van Dijk (1997), a critical reading of PDA defines it as a political approach to discourse and discourse analysis. Put another way, PDA is concerned with political discourse and is critical in its approach. This van Dijk (1997) argues should not be confused or interpreted to suggest the collapsing of political discourse analysis into critical discourse analysis. In light of this, van Dijk (1997) provides a more detailed definition of PDA, namely that it "deals with the reproduction of political power, power abuse or domination through political discourse, including various forms of resistance or counter power against such forms of discursive dominance" (p. 11). These songs represent the resistance or counter power against those with political power, namely government and university management.

Through PDA, it was possible to explore which discourse structure(s) are/were used by black student activists with the intention to present the activists' ideological square, which is characterised by an emphasis and de-emphasis of good and bad about 'us' (black student activists) and 'them' (university management and government) (van Dijk, 1997). PDA has been used to analyse political slogans, posters, wall graffiti, chanting, speeches and songs during the recent Arab uprisings by Al-Sowaidi et al. (2017).

The focus of this analysis was on the following discourse strategies: topics, textual schemata, local semantics, lexicon, syntax, rhetoric, expression structures and speech acts (van Dijk, 1997). Through this method of analysis the study attempted to show how these songs have been used by black student activists to construct their identity, specifically their racial identity.

Topics

The first of these discourse strategies refers to the subjects of interest in political discourse, which are political in nature. That is, topics of political discourse focus on political actors, organisations, events and processes but van Dijk (1997) acknowledges that defining topics in this way is very broad. In order to constrain this broadness, van Dijk (1980, as cited in van Dijk, 1997) argues that these topics should be considered to be semantic macro propositions, in which case the relevant participants in political discourse become only those who can contribute meaningfully to the political process. This suggests that individuals who are not politicians, influential or powerful do not qualify as topical agents. In the case of this study, student activists serve as political agents and the struggle songs that they sing as political topics expressed by them. Black student activists and activism in SA as discussed earlier in Chapter 2 (see Ndlovu, 2016) can be understood to be political agents and the songs

forms of political discourse (see Al-Sowaidi et al., 2017) detailing a variety of political subjects, in this case black identity.

As already stated the researcher watched the sampled videos repeatedly to familiarise himself with the videos and accurately transcribe the lyrics to the songs. Reading the comments on YouTube for each of the videos was also helpful in enhancing the researcher's familiarity with the songs, the singers and the topics being addressed in the lyrics of the songs. The contexts under which the songs were sung and performed were often also discussed in the YouTube comments of the videos. Reading these comments and the observations derived from watching the videos and listening to the songs repeatedly was recorded in the field notes taken by the researcher. These records seemed to confirm to the researcher that in fact the songs were struggle songs and the students singing them were behaving like political actors. This conclusion was in part supported by a historical appreciation of the context under which many of these songs are sung in SA and by whom. The lyrics of the songs spoke to contemporary political and social matters that dominated the news headlines in SA during the period 2015-2018. Some of these issues covered in the songs included topics that spoke to students specifically (e.g. university fees). Other topics covered in the lyrics of the songs were about broader historical and contemporary political and social topics in SA. A viewing of the videos also seemed to demonstrate that university spaces were vibrant political spaces with competing political agents. These political agents are university management and government on the one hand and students on the other.

According to van Dijk (1997), the predicates of semantic macro propositions have particular preferences and are often future orientated. The preferences are the political actors or topical agents and their actions and van Dijk (1997) notes that with these macro propositions the present is often presented in a negative way and the past in ambiguous ways. These preferences and presentations were noted and recorded in the field notes of the researcher

alongside each video. This was done repeatedly as each video was watched and songs listened to. The transcripts and translations of the songs were also read together with the viewing and listening of the songs. This seemed to further enhance the researcher's observations regarding the preferences of the political agents (singing students) and their actions. The full nature of these preferences seemed to become more illuminated with repeated viewings of the videos and listening to the songs. The researcher often had to edit his field notes for each song to accommodate new observations made during repeated viewings and listening.

Also suggested by van Dijk (1997) is that there is a preference to modalise macro propositions in political discourse. This refers to modifying events and actions (Lycan, 1994, as cited in van Dijk, 1997) often by way of describing them in inclusive ways. This can frequently be observed in how activities and events are described in inclusive ways with the use of words such as: probably, possibly, necessarily etc. The researcher kept careful field notes during the repeated viewing of the videos and listening of the songs. Where the modalising of macro propositions was observed in the lyrics this was noted alongside that video/song and its lyrics. Observations of the modalising process altered to varying degrees with some of the field notes taken. The reason for this was that with some songs and their performance modalising was more implicit than with others. It was only after numerous listening and viewing sessions that the researcher was able to observe the inclusive manner of describing events. Performance was powerful in this regard because the coordinated nature of the some of the songs was more telling of the inclusive nature of the activity than the lyrics used.

Another feature of topics was noted by van Dijk (1997) to be the evaluator characteristic. According to van Dijk (1997) evaluations of political events and actions are often presented and described in polarised ways. This is usually done by describing the actions by 'us'

positively and those by the 'other' negatively. This principle of constraining political talk and text in political discourse is often referred to as the ideological or political square (van Dijk, 1995). The evaluator characteristic and its revealed ideological square were also noted and reported on in this study. Through the repeated viewing and listening to the songs the evaluator characteristic and its resultant ideological square became more clearly defined. Careful note taking with each viewing and listening was key in uncovering these ideological squares and also see the patterns visible in the songs. Repeated viewing and listening revealed that there were some preferences with particular songs in how the ideological square was presented. For instance an observation that was made and recorded was that some of the more militant songs seemed (in performance and lyrics) to have a preference for how their ideological squares were presented. The singers' evaluations with these militant type songs were explicitly negative about the actions of university management and the government. The actions of the singers were however very positively described and performed by the singers.

Overall the analysis of the songs for their topics was often easy to identify and note. Repeated viewing of the videos and listening to the songs refined and clarified the topics and the actors.

Superstructure or Textual Schemata

These discourse strategies refer to or represent the textual structures that are used in political discourse genres. According to van Dijk (1997) there are two purposes served by these textual structures in political discourse. The first of these is to present information in a manner whereby the desired message is either made more prominent or de-emphasised to the audience. The second purpose of textual structure is to organise argumentation in such a manner that the political standpoint of the other is challenged and attacked whilst that of the political in-group is protected and defended.

To identify the use of the textual schemata in the lyrics of the songs, the researcher followed a series of steps/process with each of the songs and videos. The first part of the process was to repeatedly watch the videos and listen to the songs whilst also reading the transcribed and translated lyrics of the songs. With each viewing the researcher wrote notes for each song commenting on the use of different discourse strategies including textual schemata. The researcher would also highlight areas in the transcripts (different colour highlights for each discourse strategy) that would serve as proof and as examples of the use of this discourse strategy. The transcription symbols were very important in this process because they demonstrated the manner in which the words were used and uttered to organise the singers' arguments. For instance the use of pauses and heavy stresses on some words and syllables to organise a preferred argument was common. The researcher made a point to record these observations regarding the symbols. Moreover, what was importantly noted alongside the highlighted textual schemata was the identification of the political context and significance of the words and utterances used in the songs. In order to do this, the researcher continually had to refer to literature on historical and political events in SA. Observing and taking note of how songs were performed (e.g. *toyi toying*) was also helpful in contextualising the lyrics of the songs as political. It was sometimes helpful to also read the comments on each of the YouTube videos to get a sense of what other viewers had observed about the messaging around the songs. This was however not always helpful because what drew people to the songs was not always relevant to this study.

Local Semantics

This discourse strategy refers to the preferred use of local semantics by political agents and actors. What is common with the use of these semantics by politicians is that they tend to emphasise positive messages about their in-group and negative ones about their opponents.

Much like with the analysis of the songs and the identification of the previous two discourse strategies, the researcher made use of repeated listening of each song and watching of the videos, alongside the reading of the transcriptions of the lyrics to the songs in order to highlight examples in the transcripts where this discourse strategy was used. Reading YouTube comments for each song was helpful in some instances because they often picked up on more localised nuances that the researcher was not familiar with. Some of the people commenting on the videos seemed to be very familiar with the politics of the protest actions and songs however this was not always useful because some of the comments were about topics and issues unrelated to the current study.

Lexicon

This discourse strategy refers to the use of words and their meanings and how they are used in political discourse. Much like with the use of local semantics by politicians, here too words and their meanings are used to present the in-group positively and the out-group negatively.

The researcher followed a similar process in identifying and confirming the use of lexicon in the transcripts of the songs that were sampled in this study. A different coloured highlighter was used on transcripts to record examples of where lexicon was being used. With each viewing of the same video the researcher was able to pick up on more and more subtleties, which assisted in clarifying the use of lexicon in the songs and how their utterance can alter the meaning of a song. As mentioned the researcher is not a first language isiZulu or isiXhosa speaker so it was important to listen to the songs and read the transcripts numerous times to ensure that the translations made sense. The researcher also consulted the two first language isiZulu and isiXhosa speaking psychologists who assisted with the initial translations of the song lyrics, to aid with clarification and confirmation of the accuracy of the conclusions

reached regarding the use of lexicon in some of the songs. In certain instances the researcher's initial thoughts were confirmed to be feasible by the psychologists and so the researcher retained his observations. Where the conclusions reached by the researcher were judged to be inaccurate, clarifications were sought and the necessary changes made.

Syntax

This strategy refers to how sentences are structured in political talk or text to achieve particular political ends (Fowler et al., 1979; Kress & Hodge, 1993, as cited in van Dijk, 1997). In political discourse this structuring is often implemented by using pronouns such as 'us' and 'them' to denote either membership or exclusion of others. Another syntactic style often used in political discourse is the ordering of words for emphasis and de-emphasis.

In order to identify the use of syntax in the sample of songs, the researcher once again watched the videos and listened to the songs repeatedly. Following each viewing, the researcher made comments about the use of syntax in the song. Each song had a unique way in which syntax was used and it was important to note these carefully. In most instances the observation of the use of syntax style was explicit and stable. This stability was consistent with the political messaging and topic being addressed in the song. What seemed like the stability of the syntax style meant that repeat views of the videos did not necessarily lead to many changes regarding the researcher's observations. However some songs made use of two or more syntax styles, which seemed to draw deeper reflection on the topic being addressed.

Rhetoric

There are a number of rhetoric styles or forms of persuasion used by political actors as another strategy in political discourse. These often include repetition of sound and sentences to draw attention to specific meanings. Additions is another common style that is used in political discourse. This often involves elaborating on certain segments of

information, namely positive for in-group and negative for out-group. Deletion is another common style in political discourse. This operates in much the same way as additions. Substitution or the use of metaphors is another common style. Examples of this are describing the in-group as lions (i.e. strong and brave) and the out-group as hyenas (i.e. cowardly and dirty). Rhetoric is the focus of Nkoala's (2013) piece on struggle songs and represents a common topic for exploration in political studies.

Repeated viewings of the videos and listening to the songs seemed to assist greatly in alerting the researcher to innovative rhetorical methods, which thereby determined the use of rhetorical preferences. In some instances where one would expect to hear certain words repeated, these would be replaced with other words for the purposes of humour and effect. To pick up on the effect that methods such as this had in persuading the listener was a pleasurable exercise. Listening to the songs at different times also meant that what was not perceived to be a persuading use of language and method would during a different listen seem to be an effective one. The transcription symbols were also very helpful in this regard because they visually demonstrated the rhetorical method being used. When reading the transcripts of the songs the researcher would often notice that some songs relied very heavily and consistently on specific transcription symbols, which represented the performative aspect of the songs. Performances of the songs were powerful rhetorics deliberately used to persuade the observer in some way.

Expression Structures

This discourse strategy refers to the sounds and visual presentations that are often used in political discourse. According to van Dijk (1997) preferred meanings are often presented with shouting, high pitch and striking headlines and the opposite for less preferred meanings.

Repeated viewings of the songs' performances and reviewing of their lyrics allowed the researcher to observe the preferred expression structures for particular rhetorical styles that were often consistent with the political message being communicated. The researcher carefully noted these and highlighted them for easy reference.

Speech Acts and Interaction

These are the preferred speech acts in different genres of political talk and text (Blommaert & Verschueren, 1994; Verschueren, 1994, as cited in van Dijk, 1997). Political dialogue generally adheres to identifiable strategies of verbal interaction where actors take turns in presenting their arguments. Struggle songs imitate this strategy in the form of call and response methods. The researcher found that repeated viewings of the videos and readings of the transcripts assisted immensely in identifying the use of this discourse strategy. The transcription symbols were very telling in how a song was being performed. The effect of this was also met by a preference for a particular rhetorical style. The researcher took careful notes of this and highlighted them.

The overall analysis of the sample songs appeared to reveal many overlapping highlights referring to different aspects of PDA's discourse analysis across the transcripts. At times this made it difficult to determine what was going on. The extensive notes taken regarding each song assisted in clarifying many of the overlaps. The visual representation of the analysis method described here was also very useful in allowing the researcher to analyse the songs. How the transcripts looked visually post-analysis (from the use of different coloured highlighters) communicated the very interrelated manner in which many of the songs made use of many of the discourse strategies in one song. The less colourful (i.e. fewer shades of highlighting) a transcript, often seemed to communicate the clear preferences of the singers of the song and the monotony of its performance. All of these strategies seemed to have been

used effectively with most of the songs to communicate a very detailed and clear political message and vision by those who sang them.

Reliability and Validity

According to Golafshani (2003), the terms validity and reliability, which are the measures for the quality of a study using a quantitative paradigm, are replaced with the terms credibility, dependency or consistency and transferability as appropriate measures for assessing quality in qualitative studies. Put another way, credibility, dependency and transferability are measures of trustworthiness in qualitative studies and as suggested by Graneheim and Lundman (2004), these concepts are interrelated and intertwined.

Reliability

Golafshani (2003) provides a detailed account of the common perspectives around the value of reliability for qualitative studies. By highlighting the views of Stenbacka (2001), Golafshani (2003) is able to illustrate the arguments made against the use of reliability as a measure of the value of qualitative studies on the one hand, and the views of Patton (2001) to illustrate the usefulness of considering the concept of reliability in qualitative studies on the other. Golafshani (2003) also highlights Lincoln and Guba's (1985) view that the term for reliability in qualitative studies should be dependability and proposes inquiry audits to enhance dependability. Golafshani (2003) argues that this view is also shared by Clont (1992) and Seale (1999) who propose the concept of consistency. Consistency and dependability can therefore be understood to refer to a study's ability to remain stable over time with regards to its design, data collection strategies and analysis methods (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). According to Campbell (1996, as cited in Golafshani, 2003) consistency can be achieved when the research steps are verified through raw data examination and process notes, for example. Finally, Golafshani (2003) concludes his discussion of reliability in qualitative

studies by noting that Lincoln and Guba (1985) have argued that the achievement or demonstration of validity in qualitative studies is enough to establish reliability; a view Golafshani (2003) argues is also shared by Patton (2001).

To ensure dependability and consistency in the current study, the researcher consistently employed the reported sampling methods and data analysis methods previously described. In Phase 1 of the study the researcher ensured that all recordings of the sampled struggle songs were analysed in detail using consistent PDA validity procedures proposed for this phase. At no stage did the researcher deviate from the design features of the study earlier discussed.

Validity

According to Creswell and Miller (2000) there are numerous perspectives and terms that have been used in the literature to define validity in qualitative studies. These terms include authenticity, goodness and trustworthiness to mention a few. There seems to be a consensus that qualitative studies need to demonstrate their credibility. More specifically, the accuracy of an account provided by the researcher that represents participants' realities and experience of a phenomena must be considered by the participants to be credible (Schwandt, 1997, as cited in Creswell & Miller, 2000). In order to demonstrate credibility there are a number of procedures that a qualitative investigator may employ. Creswell and Miller (2000) suggest two major considerations when utilising these validity procedures: 1) the lens through which the researcher chooses to validate their study; 2) the paradigm assumptions of the study.

The first lens concerns the researcher, the second lens concerns the participants in the study and the third lens is provided by individuals external to the study. The first lens places the researcher as the source to determine the credibility of the study through measures such as determining the length of time they choose to spend in the field, determining when data is

saturated in order to reveal good themes and categories and the manner in which convincing and persuasive accounts are reached through the analysis of the data. For the second lens, the participants are central in determining whether or not accounts/findings presented by the researcher accurately represent their views. For the third lens, reviewers who are not aligned to the study in any way are used to assess the credibility of the reported accounts/findings.

In Phase 1 of this current study, the first lens was employed. The researcher was responsible for using the search engine on the YouTube platform to collect a wide range of struggle songs sung by black student activists in SA during the period 2015-2018. The individual YouTube video IDs are provided in all reports of the songs. The researcher was responsible for determining the sampling methods chosen and executed as well as the steps of the analysis method implemented with regards to these songs as described in detail under the data collection section of this phase of the study.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1994) there are three paradigm assumptions that are useful when determining which validity procedures to employ. These are post positivist, constructivist/interpretive and critical. For this study the constructivist and critical paradigms were selected. The constructivist paradigm believes in pluralistic, interpretive and contextualised perspectives toward reality. The critical paradigm contends that researchers should endeavour to uncover the hidden assumptions about how narrative accounts by study participants are constructed, read and interpreted.

In Phase 1 of the study, the discourse strategies employed in struggle songs were analysed as a tool used by black student activists to construct their identities, thus the constructivist paradigm was deemed appropriate. However the critical paradigm is also useful in Phase 1 due to the researcher's ability to uncover hidden assumptions within the lyrics of the songs.

Based on the chosen lens and paradigms for this study the validity procedure that was used was disconfirming evidence (Miles & Huberman, 1994, as cited in Creswell & Miller, 2000). When utilising PDA to analyse the struggle songs sung by black activists the researcher also recorded instances where apparent common themes and categories were violated. This is because the discourse strategies were sometimes employed differently in the songs depending on their contexts, a key aspect of this study. Struggle songs draw their composition and power from the contexts in which the singers live including historical contexts (i.e. apartheid). A complete understanding of how and why the songs were sung in the manner that they were, depends on an understanding of the context in which they were developed.

The second validity procedure that was employed in this study was researcher reflexivity (Creswell & Miller, 2000). This requires that the researcher disclose their assumptions, beliefs and biases that could interfere with the analysis and reporting processes. These beliefs and biases were recorded as part of the field notes taken in this study.

Transferability

According to Graneheim and Lundman (2004), transferability refers to the extent to which findings in one study can be transferred to other groups or settings. In order to enhance the transferability of findings, a clear and detailed description of the context and culture is important, together with selection and description of participants, data collection methods and analysis methods (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004).

It may be difficult to guarantee transferability of this study's findings to other groups and settings due to the texts chosen. As comprehensively discussed, struggle songs in SA differ from other songs used for political purposes in other contexts. However, the search terms used on the YouTube platform to identify the songs, and the sampling, data collection and analysis methods used were explicitly described to enhance the transferability of the findings.

Phase 2

Method

As previously stated, a qualitative research methodology was employed in this study (Snape & Spencer, 2003). This research methodology was useful in analysing the lived experiences of singing struggle songs and the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists. This methodology was also consistent with the constructivist/interpretivist and critical paradigms chosen for this study (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Research Design

Phenomenology is the research design that was used in this study. Starks and Trinidad (2007) argue that phenomenology is the study of how people make meaning of their experiences. Creswell (2007) argues that phenomenology is interested in the lived experiences of people regarding a particular phenomenon. More specifically, the purpose of phenomenology is to "reduce individual experiences with a phenomenon to a description of the universal essence" (Creswell, 2007, p. 58). In this study the phenomena of interest was the singing of struggle songs by black student activists in universities in the province of KZN, SA. From the writings of numerous authors who have argued for the use of phenomenology from a philosophical perspective, Creswell (2007) has noted three common philosophical assumptions upon which these different arguments rest. The first is that phenomenology is the study of human experiences. The second is that the experiences are conscious ones. The third is that phenomenology assists in the development and description of the essence of the experience and not explanations for or analyses thereof.

There are a number of different types of phenomenology that can be used in qualitative studies (Creswell, 2007) but for the purposes of this study, Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) (Smith & Osborn, 2003) was used. IPA has its roots in phenomenology and

symbolic interactionism (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). The main aim of IPA is to "explore in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social world, and the main currency for an IPA study is the meanings particular experiences, events, states hold for participants" (Smith & Osborn, 2003, p. 53). IPA thus focuses on participants' understandings, experiences, perceptions and views of a particular phenomenon. In essence, this approach makes the assumption that participants interpret their experiences of particular phenomena in a manner that makes sense to them (Brocki & Wearden, 2006).

Population and Sampling

Population

The population of interest for Phase 2 of this study was black student activists from the respective Pietermaritzburg, Westville and Howard College campuses of UKZN and the Riverside and Steve Biko campuses of DUT. The students identified for sampling had all sung struggle songs and participated in student protests during the period 2015-2018.

Sampling

The inclusion criteria for participants in this study were that the students must be black and have been formally registered with either institution at some point during the period 2015-2018 during which period they had sung struggle songs at two or more student protests. Students who were not registered with UKZN or DUT during the period 2015-2018 were excluded from the study as were non-black students and black students who had only participated in protest struggle songs on one occasion.

The sampling methods used in this phase of the study were purposive sampling and snowball sampling (Ritchie et al., 2003). Here a homogenous sample was chosen. For the purposes of a phenomenological study (IPA), it is important that the researcher identifies participants who are in a position to provide detailed information about a phenomena of interest (Smith &

Osborn, 2003), in this case singing struggle songs in the period 2015-2018 during student protests. It was very difficult to secure interviews with suitable participants using purposive sampling. Many suitable candidates would agree to participate in the study and later fail to arrive for the interview despite numerous attempts to contact them. This was particularly the case with participants at the Steve Biko campus of DUT and the Edgewood campus of UKZN. It is likely that some of the negative coverage and arrests of protesters made many suitable candidates anxious about participating in this study.

Due to the difficulties encountered in recruiting participants using purposive sampling only, the researcher was forced to later employ snowball sampling. Ritchie et al. (2003) suggest that to prevent suitable participants identifying their close friends and the like, those identified people should not be asked to participate but rather asked to identify others whom they might know who fit the required criteria for participation in the study. Given the reasons provided above regarding the difficulty in recruiting suitable candidates, this proposed method by Ritchie et al. (2003) was not followed strictly. Participants that were successfully recruited using purposive sampling referred the researcher to other students often from different campuses whom they believed would be suitable for the study. Their suitability was based on their known participation in student activism and politics in the period 2015-2018 and their familiarity with singing struggle songs.

Sampling Procedure. Permission was sought and granted from the Registrars of the UKZN and DUT at their respective campuses (See Appendix A, B and C for letters to and from Registrars requesting and granting permission). Once ethical approval had been granted by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) at UKZN (see Appendix D for HSSREC approval), the researcher approached student activists known to him who had participated in student protests and sung struggle songs over the period 2015-2018 and asked them participate in the study. These participants were then asked to

recommend other possible participants from other campuses whom the believed met the criteria stated to them as suitable for participation.

Upon arrival at the interview, participants were asked to read the information sheet and informed consent form (see Appendix E) provided. The information sheet included the objectives of the study and a detailed description of the expectations of the participant. The informed consent form included the objectives of the study and described how all ethical guidelines such as privacy, confidentiality, possible risks and benefits, and the voluntary nature of their participation would be managed in the study. Participants were then given an opportunity to ask questions about any aspects of the study. Once participants had indicated that they were comfortable with the objectives and what their participation in the study would entail, they were asked to sign the information sheet and informed consent form. Participants were also asked to provide permission for the interviews to be audio recorded by signing on a designated space on the informed consent form.

Participants

The sampling methods produced 10 participants in this study, all of whom were 18 years or older and had participated in and/or led numerous student protests and sung struggle songs as officially registered UKZN or DUT students during the period 2015-2018. Table 3 below is a presentation of the pseudonyms, gender and registered campuses of each of the participants.

Table 3

Participants in the Study

NAME (Pseudonym)	**GENDER**	**UKZN** Howard College Campus Durban (DBN)	**UKZN** Pietermaritzburg (PMB) Campus	**UKZN** Westville (WSTVL) Campus	**DUT** Riverside Campus (PMB)	**DUT** Steve Biko Campus (DBN)
ANDILE	M	X				
THANDI	F	X				
KWANELE	M		X			
MANDLA	M		X			
NKOSI	M			X		
SANDA	M			X		
THANDO	F				X	
PHILI	F				X	
NTOMBI	F					X
MPUME	F					X

As indicated in Table 3 above, two participants were drawn from each of the five campuses represented in the study. There were five female and five male participants in the study. Four of the female participants were from the two DUT campuses and one was from the UKZN Howard College campus. The male participants were spread across the three represented campuses of UKZN; two each from PMB and WSTVL and one from Howard College.

Strategies for Data Collection

Individual, semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. This is a common method used in IPA where the researcher wants to gather as much detailed and in-depth information as possible about a phenomenon/experience from the respondent/participant (Brocki & Wearden, 2006; Smith & Osborn, 2003). In order to achieve this it was important for the interviews to be as flexible as possible to allow participants to freely express themselves with limited interference from the researcher. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview allowed the researcher to probe the participants especially when new topics related to the principle objectives of the study emerged (Smith & Osborn, 2003). Interviews were transcribed using Dressler and Kreuz's (2000) oral discourse transcription model.

Interviews with participants took place in the researcher's office at the Psychology building at UKZN's PMB campus after working hours (usually after 18:00). Where participants were located outside of PMB, interviews were arranged at suitable places for them, usually far from any distractions. In some cases however, interviews were held at the SRC offices where many of the participants worked so it was difficult to manage some of the distractions and interruptions during these interviews.

Instruments

The instruments that were used in this study were the following: an interview schedule (see Appendix F), an audio recorder and a laptop/computer.

The interview schedule was designed in line with the suggestions made by Smith and Osborn (2003) for studies employing IPA. The questions were framed broadly and openly to allow the participants to freely and openly respond to them. Secondly, in compiling the interview schedule, the researcher made a considerable effort to ensure accurate wording of questions to avoid any difficulties in comprehension. Thirdly the questions were sequenced in a logical

order with what could be considered the more sensitive questions being left for later in the interview. These suggestions by Smith and Osborn (2003) were further supplemented with the use of Castillo-Mantoya's (2016) Interview Protocol Refinement (IPR) framework.

There are four stages to Castillo-Mantoya's (2016) framework. The first is to ensure that the interview questions in the interview schedule are aligned to the research questions. Castillo-Mantoya (2016) propose a matrix method to asses these, which allows the researcher to see where interviews questions are not aligned to research questions and re-compose them if necessary. The second stage requires the researcher to ensure that the wording and sequencing of questions is arranged in a manner that will facilitate 'normal' conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee. The third stage requires the researcher to read the schedule carefully to ensure that it is sound. This can be done by making use of the close reading and thinking aloud activities proposed by Castillo-Mantoya (2016). Stages two and three of this framework are similar to the suggestions made by Smith and Osborn (2013). In stage four of the IPR framework, the researcher identifies a group of participants, similar to those proposed for the larger study, and interviews them using the refined protocol. It is following these pilot interviews that the researcher will be able to determine the usefulness of the questions and make adjustments before commencement of the actual study interviews.

For the pilot interviews, a former student activist and leader from UKZN who is known to the researcher was approached and asked to identify participants such as themself, who are 18 years or older and participated in student protests and sang struggle songs as registered UKZN or DUT students in the period 2015-2018. This sampling method is similar to that used with snowball sampling (Ritchie et al., 2003). The participants in the pilot interviews were given the information sheet and informed consent form (Appendix G) to read and sign before participating in the pilot study. These participants were interviewed using the refined interview schedule (see Appendix H) and transcripts of these interviews were analysed using

IPA (Smith & Osborne, 2013). Following the pilot study certain changes were made to the final interview schedule (see Appendix F), which led to a reduced number of questions in the interview schedule used in the main study.

Audio recorders are very important for studies employing IPA (Smith & Osborn, 2003). The reason for this is that they enable the interviewer to stay focused on the physical interview and capture nuances that might otherwise be missed if they were trying to write everything down verbatim. The recordings were uploaded onto the researcher's laptop/computer.

Data Analysis

As already mentioned, individual interviews in this study were audio recorded. These recordings were transcribed using Dressler and Kreuz's (2000) oral discourse transcription model. IPA was then employed to analyse the interview transcripts of the study participants.

This study was interested in the lived experience of singing struggle songs and the meaning these struggle songs hold for black student activists today. Given its aims, which include exploring how participants make sense of and the meaning(s) they hold for a particular experience (Smith & Osborn, 2003), IPA was deemed a useful analysis tool for this study.

In terms of conducting IPA, Smith and Osborn (2003) explain that this is a process that requires empathic and questioning hermeneutics. Empathic hermeneutics requires the researcher to try and understand what the experience of a certain phenomenon is like from the perspective or point of view of the participant. The subject of struggle songs and black identity is one that the researcher is passionate about and has been since his first year as a university student in SA in 2000. The experience of being and feeling black was a noticeable one that in many ways shaped the university experience of the researcher. Seeing other black students sing struggle songs in attempts to draw attention to and address the negative experiences of feeling black in a white space, was inspiring. What was sad about watching

black students sing struggle songs and protest over the years was the feeling that it was all in vain as no-one with any power was listening and thus very little change was likely to take place. In this sense the researcher was deeply empathic of the experiences of black students.

When the researcher approached this study he was very enthusiastic about interviewing black students who he perceived as pursuing an important cause; that of freedom and justice. It was very important for the researcher to remain vigilant about his personal feelings regarding the study and the participants. As such, the researcher wrote and kept reflective notes following each interview to ensure that he was acknowledging his subjective feelings and experiences with each interview, in order that he maintained his objectivity so as not to interfere with his understanding of the unique experiences that each participant shared. This reflective practice and exercise was also undertaken during the write-ups of the drafts of the results.

Questioning hermeneutics requires the researcher to ask critical questions of the texts and the information that the participants ascribe to them. This entails the researcher questioning themselves regarding what the participant is trying to achieve with certain statements and as such being reflective and reflexive about the researcher's subjective personal experiences when exploring a specific topic. This is a crucial aspect of the approach because in trying to understand a phenomenon from the perspective of the participant, the researcher needs to be aware of their own beliefs, values and moral codes that may get in the way of fully understanding the phenomenon from the perspective of the participant. As earlier noted, the researcher wrote reflective notes following every interview in order to ensure that he separated his own values and beliefs regarding the subject from that of the participant. This process enabled the researcher to be more objectively analytical in order to fully understand the lived experiences of the participants.

To summarise briefly, the researcher's feelings regarding the current problems in SA higher education are that it should be made free for all deserving students. Moreover universities should belong to the people where they are located. This ownership extends beyond the physical objects that make up the university to the actual content taught. Higher education and education in general should serve the people who are the users of it. The researcher also believes that poor black students in particular, are victimised on numerous levels when attending university in SA, the first of which is socio-economic in nature in terms of the materialism that seems to dominate university spaces, which has the potential to make some students feel less human than others. This becomes even more of a concern when one considers other psychological and developmental processes.

The question of identity and belonging occupies a central place at the young adult developmental stage. If this belonging is in part determined by what one owns, this could mean that many black students experience themselves as not belonging. This is unfair because the history of SA (colonialism and apartheid) have influenced the socio-economic accomplishments and expectations of black people. This form of victimisation also speaks to the preparation (or lack thereof) of most black students for university education. In many instances black students are the first in their family to study at university level and this puts great pressure on them. This also makes it difficult for many black students to communicate their concerns because they are often perceived as fortunate by those closest to them.

The researcher believes that victimisation also occurs at a cultural level. Universities tend to place value on individual accomplishment and self-interest. This is communicated in various ways including through teaching and assessment practices. Many black students come from families who place value on the African notion of *Ubuntu*. As such, many black students may feel ostracised by the culture of individuality inherent in most universities.

Questioning hermeneutics thus entails that the researcher must be vigilant in separating his own beliefs as outlined above from those of each participant, in order to better understand participants' individual experiences. The reflective notes made following each interview were helpful in this regard. Furthermore, the researcher needed to acknowledge that his values and beliefs are not shared by all people. This acknowledgement enabled the researcher to delve deeper and more objectively into the themes framing the responses of the participants.

Taking regular breaks from the analysis of interviews was also helpful in managing the researcher's inherent bias. During these breaks the researcher had time to reconsider some of his thoughts and beliefs. Addressing the inherited injustices surrounding identity construction in SA today are works in progress and will be for many years to come. All those involved in their examination also need to value the role of time in their evolution and reconciliation.

In summation, the researcher acknowledges the possibility that despite rigorous efforts to keep his subjective views in check, his forthcoming interpretations of some of the responses provided by the participants may not be completely objective. Complete objectivity is noted by many authors as difficult to achieve with studies employing qualitative methodologies.

IPA recognises the relationship between a person's speech, cognition and emotional states. At times people struggle to articulate and express their thoughts and it therefore becomes important for the researcher to be able to interpret their mental and emotional states through their speech (Smith & Osborn, 2003). In this study, participants did not appear to struggle to express their thoughts but some of their responses revealed a tendency to take many of their experiences of singing struggle songs for granted. Most of the participants often expressed with shock how they had never had an opportunity to reflect on their experiences with the songs. This unexpected opportunity to do so through participating in the study, allowed many of them to confront aspects of their childhoods and life experiences in ways they had not

thought were connected before. When the researcher reflected on this experience with the participants, they often noted a sense of relief; colloquially referred to as a "weight off one's shoulders". These revelations were intimate expressions of self that many of the participants seemed to be surprised to have discovered in the interview discussions around struggle songs and identity. To be present with the participants when these revelations occurred was a very emotional experience for both researcher and participant. To maintain objectivity during these moments, the researcher had to avoid being distracted by the intensity of these emotions. This was very difficult for the researcher because as a qualified psychologist, he was not trained to disconnect from these moments that are often significant turning points in people's lives. It seemed as though once the connection had been made between the value that these songs played and continue to play in the lives of the participants, there was little else left to discuss. The vulnerability brought on by experiencing this realisation in the company of a stranger made for a welcome conclusion.

What follows is a discussion of the IPA analysis steps proposed by Smith and Osborn (2003) in terms of how the researcher implemented each step in this particular study and as part of the larger experiential process of utilising IPA. The steps are described as follows:

1. The researcher read each individual transcript a number of times to become familiar with participants' responses. This was accompanied by taking notes and commenting on parts of the transcript, sometimes referred to as meaning units. Most of the comments made were about the meaning and lived experiences of these songs and the possible aspects of each participant's identity that their responses revealed. Instances where participants appeared to have contradicted themselves or where they had elaborated on certain aspects of their identity were noted in particular. Once complete, the researcher worked through each transcript again in combination with his notes in order to identify possible themes that emerged from each participant's responses.

Although time-consuming and tiresome, this exercise is vital in order to reveal the common themes and develop a picture of the larger narrative conveyed through the participants' responses. However reading the transcripts in terms of their meaning units seemed to simplify and decontexualise the experiences of the participants somewhat. For example, the emotional experience of revelation described earlier was naturally more obvious in the physical interviews. This communicated to the researcher that his face-to-face interactions with the participants were an invaluable experience that in many ways could not be captured by a mere reading of the transcripts, regardless of the depth and quality of the notations. To use a musical metaphor; the live performance is always different from the studio recording.

2. The researcher then had to draw theoretical connections between the themes that had emerged from step one of the data analysis process. Each cluster of common themes identified across the transcripts was given a name that captured the emergent superordinate theme. These superordinate themes were then connected to the actual words of the participants within each transcript. These words (identifiers) of the participants served as examples of the respective individual but connected themes that made up the superordinate themes. In chapter 5 the identifiers are presented and discussed in relation to each superordinate theme identified. The superordinate themes were a product of both the words used by the participants and captured in the transcripts and the lived experiences from the interviews. The depth of these themes and the identifiers chosen was determined by the researcher's larger experience of participants and their reported and communicated lived experiences of the songs. Finally the individual and superordinate themes from the all the transcripts were incorporated to discern repeated patterns and acknowledge new and unique ones. The researcher noted that despite this amalgamation of the participants' responses into one

collective data base, a strong impression of the individuality of each participant remained with the researcher and as such his conclusion was that each of them had contributed equally to the overall interpretation of the findings. A rereading of the analysis and the repeated themes was made more meaningful by what seemed like harmonising contributions from each participant to the overall tune of the song.

Reliability and Validity

Reliability

In Phase 2 the sampling methods employed in the study were adhered to consistently, as were the processes in each step of IPA. The details and challenges encountered in executing each of these were discussed in some detail under their respective sections in the methodology chapter. The researcher did not deviate in any way from the steps and processes described.

Validity

Member checking was the validity procedure utilised in phase 2 of this study. This was undertaken before the final write-up of the results. According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) this is one of the most important procedures to establish credibility and entails checking with participants whether the interpretations made by the researcher of their accounts are accurate. Participants were contacted individually and the findings from their interviews and the larger study were presented to them.

The second validity procedure employed in this study was researcher reflexivity (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Researcher reflexivity was very important in this phase of the study because of the researchers reported beliefs about student protests and struggle songs in general. It was thus vital for the researcher to take careful notes of his feelings following each interview. This allowed the researcher to remain as objective as possible during the analysis process.

Transferability

Transferability of the findings from this study is likely to be moderate. This is because many of the issues facing students (across the country) over the period 2015-2018 have largely been similar. This was especially the case during the period 2015-2016 when there seemed to be a very coordinated system of protest across universities in the country. Detailed description of the contexts, selection and description of participants, data collection methods and analysis methods for this study were included to enhance transferability of the results in this study.

Gatekeeping and Ethical Approval

Obtaining permission to conduct this study with registered students at the two selected universities was the first step undertaken by the researcher and entailed emailing letters of request to the Registrars at the respective UKZN and DUT campuses (see Appendix A). These letters introduced the Registrar to the researcher and stated the purpose of the letter and the title and objectives of the study. Registrars were informed that should they have any questions regarding the study, they should email the researcher for clarification. Registrars at DUT and UKZN provided written consent for the researcher to conduct the study with students at their universities (see Appendix B & C). The Registrar at DUT requested a summary of the main findings upon completion of the study.

Once Gatekeepers' permission from the Registrars had been granted, the researcher emailed letters to the managers of the student counselling centres at DUT and UKZN (see Appendix I & J), requesting permission to refer participants to the centres for psychological support, should the researcher and/or participants feel this was necessary following their participation in the study. Managers of the respective counselling centres agreed for referrals to be made to their counselling centres should the need arise (see Appendix K, L, M, N & O).

Subsequent to obtaining the necessary permissions and agreements as outline above, the researcher submitted his proposal with all the necessary appendices to the internal review committee at the School of Applied Human Science (UKZN). Following approval by this committee, the researcher submitted his proposal to the HSSREC. Ethical approval was granted for the study on 21 February 2019 (see Appendix D).

Ethical Considerations

Emanuel et al. (2000) propose seven ethical requirements that have been numbered, labelled and explained below. Each of these requirements was monitored and adhered to throughout all phases of the study (Markham & Buchanan, 2012).

1. Social Value

This requirement refers to research enhancing or providing some value to people and society. Struggle songs have a long history in the politics of SA and in the lives of South Africans where they have served as tools to communicate the concerns and aspirations of the people and as some have argued, assisted in the fight against apartheid. The social value of a study such as this rests on the continued use of these songs by black student activists to communicate aspects of themselves characterised by pain caused by perceived injustices and inequalities often unheard. This study attempted to expose these issues and contribute towards the literature on struggle songs and their continued contribution to our social and political lives.

2. Scientific Validity

This requirement refers to the methodological rigour and soundness of a study. This study and its design(s) employed validity/credibility procedures appropriate for the chosen paradigms of the study. Furthermore, the dependency and consistency checks, which involve amongst other issues, clear descriptions of the methodological steps to be followed, were

adhered to and monitored consistently throughout the duration of the study. The methodological choices, which included methodological triangulation were judged to be in line with the objectives of this study. Phase 1 of the study employed PDA on a sample of struggle songs. Phase 2 of the study undertook an IPA of interviews with a sample of black student activists registered at UKZN and DUT. This study was independently reviewed and sent to the HSSREC office (HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za) for approval and granting of permission for the study to proceed (Protocol reference number: HSS/0003/019D). The scientific validity of the study was consistently revisited throughout the process of conducting the study.

3. Fair Subject Selection

The selection of participants in this study was in line with the objectives of the study. Those who are excluded from this study did not meet the very narrow criteria for participating in this study. The texts chosen (struggle songs) and the participants in this study fall within the very narrow definitions of political discourse texts and key agents in phenomenological studies employing IPA.

4. Favourable Risk Benefit Ratio

The benefits of participating in this study were judged to be more than the risks. Insights into the meanings of struggle songs for black student activists and expressions of identity through singing struggle songs could prove useful for social, political and educational projects and interventions targeted at SA youth. There are some risks for those participating in this study given some of the arrests of student activists over the past couple of years. As such strict confidentiality was maintained all participants were allocated pseudonyms (see Appendix E). The services of student counselling facilities across UKZN and DUT campuses were sought and granted to refer participants should they require

psychological counselling and support (see Appendices L, M, N, O & P for permission letters from Directors of the respective counselling centres).

5. Independent Review

The proposal for this study was submitted for two independent review processes. The first was a presentation and defence of the proposal to a panel of independent reviewers from the Discipline of Psychology (UKZN). This was followed by submission of the final proposal to the HSSREC (UKZN) and their selected independent reviewers before final ethical approval for the study was granted.

6. Informed Consent

All participants in this study were expected to read the information sheet and informed consent form before deciding to voluntarily participate in this study (see Appendix E). Participants were given an opportunity to ask as many questions as they needed to regarding the study before making the decision to participate in it. All participants who were comfortable with the objectives of the study and what was expected of them by participating in the study were asked to sign the informed consent form. All participants in this study were older than 18 years of age.

7. Respect for Potential and Enrolled Subjects

All participants and possible participants in this study were respected. Privacy and confidentiality of participants was protected through the use of pseudonyms in all reports and presentations of the results of the study. Confidentiality and privacy of all information gathered from interviews was discussed with all participants and were included as clauses on both the information sheet and informed consent form, all of which were kept in a safe, locked place accessible only to the researcher and his supervisor (See Appendix E). All

electronic data was password protected and available only to the researcher and his supervisor.

Conclusion

In this chapter the methodological choices and considerations made and taken in this study for each of the respective phases were discussed in detail. These choices and considerations included a discussion of the research design for each phase of the study, including the sampling methods, data collection methods, analysis methods and the steps implemented to enhance the quality of each phase of the study. This chapter was concluded with a discussion of the ethical considerations in this study and how they were ensured. The following section is a presentation of the results from the two phases of the study.

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

This chapter presents Phase 1 of the study findings regarding the sample of struggle songs (N=21). These results are framed in terms of the two research questions relating to the discourse strategies used with the struggle songs. The sample of songs selected for this study were characterised into three broad themes. Dominant discourse strategies evident in many of the songs often depended on the theme that the song fell under. The students and singers of the respective songs made use of these themed discourse strategies in very creative ways to construct their identities. These frequently included the repetition of certain words and phrases, singing loudly, and shouting out key messages in the songs. Students and singers of these songs tended to prefer singing in groups that were led by one primary singer who was usually male. *Toyi toying* was also a common feature in the performance of most of the songs. The history of SA as detailed in the literature review was especially important in fully understanding and appreciating the use of the different discourse strategies in the songs.

What discourse strategies are used in the struggle songs that are currently sung by black student activists in SA?

Three broad and interrelated themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006) were identified in the sample of struggle songs and were used to categorise the songs[15]. The first theme was labelled **Guerrilla Army Emphasis** and included songs that when sung and performed mimicked guerrilla army singing and *toyi toying* (a rhythmic trot). The second theme was labelled **The Burden of Struggle** and included songs that reflected the pain and sorrow felt by the students who sing them. The third theme was labelled **Unity and Mobilisation** and included songs that reflected the unification and mobilisation efforts of students belonging to

[15] The use of themes to categorise songs was also used by Pongweni (1982) in his seminal work on Chimurenga songs of Zimbabwe titled *Songs that won the liberation war*.

different student movements and political organisations. PDA (van Dijk, 1997) was used to analyse the songs under each theme. The discourse strategies commonly used in PDA include topics, textual schemata, local semantics, lexicon, syntax, rhetoric, expression structures and speech acts. The sample of songs was analysed to determine which of these strategies were most dominantly and effectively used in conveying the key message of each song.

At the beginning of each theme a sample of songs (vernacular lyrics, English translations & YouTube links, also known as URLs) that best illustrate the theme and the most effective use of different discourse strategies are presented in full and numbered for ease of reference throughout the presentation and discussion of the results. Please refer to Table 2 (p. 108-109) for details regarding the notation symbols used in the presentation of the lyrics of the songs. Upon elaboration of each theme, shortened versions of the lyrics of certain songs will be presented again to highlight the specific discourse strategies that have been used.

Theme 1: Guerrilla Army Emphasis

Song 1.1: *Sith' amaguerrilla* (We are the guerrillas)

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=esWYFAbwvFY&t=39s)

Celi MSINDO we bhezuka (Please can I hear the SOUND of a bazooka)

SITH' amaguerrilla: (WE ARE the guerrillas)

eCape town eBellville na [se Mo:wbray] (In Cape Town, Bellville and Mowbray)

[THINA amaguerrilla:] (US the guerrillas)

sithi scel'umsindo we () (we are saying we want the sound of ())

Sith' amaguer[rilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[Ushilo Biko way'shilo ()] (He said Biko did say)

Wathi Yeka lento oyen[zayo:] (He said stop this thing that you are doing)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

() Way’shilo () way’shilo Issa (() he said () Issa did say()

Wathi Yeka lento o[ye:nzayo:] (He said stop this thing that you are doing)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[Uzobu:ya] (He will return)

Uzobu:ya [SIGODUKE] (He will come back and WE WILL GO HOME)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

Uzo[bu::ya] (He will return)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[Uzobuya’ buyele thina] (He will return for us)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

Iyo- ga- ga- ga- ga [guerrilla yo:] (Iyo-ga-ga-ga-ga guerrilla yo)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

Uzobuya amaguerrilla (He will return guerrillas)

Sith’ [amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[Iyo- ga- ga- ga- ga guerrilla yo] (Iyo-ga-ga-ga-ga- guerrilla yo)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

Uzobuya maguerrilla (He will return guerrillas)

Sith’ ama[guerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[Ushilo Biko wathi ()] (Biko did say ())

[Sith’ amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[wathi yeka lento oyenzayo] (He said stop what you are doing)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[Way’shilo () way’shilo ()] (He said () he said ())

wathi YEKA lento[OYENZAYO::] (He said STOP what YOU ARE DOING)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[Uzobu::ya] (He will return)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[Uzob::ya sigoduke] (He will return and we will go home)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[Uzobu:ya] (He will return)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

Uzobuya akhokhele [THINA] (He will come back and avenge US)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[Iyo- ga- ga- ga- ga guerrilla yo:] (Iyo-ga-ga-ga-ga guerrilla yo)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[Guerrilla yo:] (Guerrilla yo)

[((laughter))]

Uzobuya amaguerrilla (He will return guerrilla’s)

Sith’ [amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[Iyo- ga- ga- ga- ga guerrilla yo:] (Iyo-ga-ga-ga-ga guerrilla yo)

Guerrilla yo (Guerrilla yo)

[() uzobuya maguerrilla] (He will return guerrilla’s)

[Sith’ amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

WENA MDLWEMBE (YOU DELINQUENT)

Sith' [amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[WATHINTA lomfund' uzoy'sola] (YOU TOUCH this student and you will be sorry)

[Sith' amaguerilla] (We are the guerrillas)

WENA [NZIMANDE] (YES YOU NZIMANDE)

[Sith' amaguerilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[WANYUSA ama fees UZOYISOLA] (YOU INCREASE fees YOU WILL BE SORRY)

[Sith' amaguerilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[He NOKUZOLA] (He NOKUZOLA)

[Sith' amaguerilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[Usasemncan' uzolimala] (You are still young, you will get hurt)

Song 1.2: *Dubula Dubula* (Shoot Shoot) /*Ayesaba Amagwala* (These Cowards are scared) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n5O6neGCsOY)

AYESABA AMAGWALA: (THESE COWARDS ARE SCARED/TERRIFIED)

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT)

Dubula nges' bham' (Shoot with a gun)

AYESABA Amagwala: (These cowards ARE SCARED/TERRIFIED)

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT) ((whistle sound))

Dubula nges' bham' (Shoot with a gun)

°Dubula Dubula:° (Shoot Shoot)

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT)

Dubula nges' bham' (Shoot with a gun)

°Dubula Dubula:° (Shoot Shoot)

AYESABA Amagwala (These Cowards ARE SCARED/TERRIFIED)

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT)

Dubula nges'bham' (Shoot with a gun)

AYESABA Amagwala (These Cowards ARE SCARED/TERRIFIED)

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT)

Song 1.3: *Ghubuluzing* (Moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HZDxW_scyp8&t=23s)

Wathetha intwenjani:? He bathi sizolale' [mathafeni:] (What kind of thing are they saying? He they say we will sleep in open fields)

[We are ghubuluzing] (We are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

Buyelekhaya sthandwa: (Go back home my beloved)

We are ghubuluzing: (We are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

() wey'tshilo: (() they said)

Uthetha ntwenjani:? (What kind of thing are you saying?)

He bathi solal' emathafeni: (He they say we will sleep in open fields)

WE are ghubuluzing (WE are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

Buyelekhaya sthandwa: (Go back home my beloved)

WE are ghubuluzing (WE are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

Omdala wayetshilo: (the elder had said)

Hhawu ube thetha intwenjani? (Hhawu what kind of thing are they saying?)

[WE are ghubuluzing:] (WE are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

[He bathi solal'emathafeni:] (He they say we will sleep in open fields)

WE are ghubuluzing (WE are moving in the swerving motion of a snake) (follow)

Buyelekhaya sthandwa: (Go back home my beloved)

We are ghubuluzing: (We are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

Song 1.4: *Awuzwe* (Hear that) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f_23-cvF_ow)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Istin' esandlen (Brick in the hand)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Bantshontsh' amavo:ti (They stole votes)

AWUZWE [AWUZWE] (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

[Babulal' Izinga:ne] (They killed children)

AWUZWE [AWUZWE] (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshaye kancane (Hit it a bit) ((hand clapping))

Awshaye kancane (Hit it a bit) ((hand clapping))

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshay' ungaVU:K' (Hit it and don't get up)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshay' ungaVU:K' (Hit it and don't get up)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Free EDUCATION

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

LAND EXPROPRIATION

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

I want our land

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Bulale ibhunu (Kill the farmers/whites)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Sifun' umhlaba (We want the land)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Sifuna amaminerals (We want the minerals)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

IZWE LETHU (OUR LAND)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

AZANIA (AZANIA/AFRICA)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Bantshontsh' amavo:ti (They stole the votes)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Babulal' Izinga:ne (They killed children)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshaye kancane (Hit it a bit) ((hand clapping))

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshaye kancane (Hit it a bit) ((hand clapping))

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshay' ungaVU:K' (Hit it and don't get up)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshay' ungaVU:K' (Hit it and don't get up)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshay' ungaVU:K' (Hit it and don't get up)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshay' ungaVU:K' (Hit it and don't get up)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Song 1.5: *Wenyamazane* (Soldier) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=rM82sq0ucfc)

Siyaya wenyamaza:ne (We are going soldier)

[SIYAYA BO] (Hey Soldier we are going)

[Siyaya WENYAMAZA:NE] (We are going SOLDIER)

[SIYAYA BO] (Hey Soldier we are going)

[Siyaya WENYAMAZA:NE] (We are going SOLDIER)

[SIYAYA BO] (Hey Soldier we are going)

[Siyaya WENYAMAZA:NE] (We are going SOLDIER)

Yisthothotho: (It's these tribulations)

[Siyaya WENYAMAZA:NE] (We are going SOLDIER)

Yisthothotho: (It's these tribulations)

[Siyaya WENYAMAZA:NE] (We are going SOLDIER)

[SIYAYA BO] (WE ARE GOING BO)

[Siyaya WENYAMAZA:NE] (We are going SOLDIER)

Topics. There were two subtopics that seemed to dominate the songs under this theme. These subtopics were (1) Dissatisfaction with how university management and leadership treats students, and (2) The actions that students must take to resolve injustices against them.

1. **Dissatisfaction with How University Management and Leadership Treats Students.** The first topic is illustrated best in the lyrics and performance of Song 1.1 (p. 145-148). Often performed by students during the period 2015-2018, the performance of this song is frequently accompanied by a coordinated *toyi toying* that is reminiscent of guerrilla army marches. These guerrilla army marches are often associated with Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) (Spear of the Nation) and Azanian People's Liberation Army (APLA), the military wings of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) respectively. These armies fought together against the racist apartheid regime.

In the particular performance of this song analysed, it appears that the students are very dissatisfied and unhappy with university management and government regarding the increase of student fees, which was a dominant topic during the 2015-2016 period. This anger and dissatisfaction is captured in the words [*WANYUSA ama fees UZOYISOLA*] (YOU INCREASE the fees YOU WILL BE SORRY). The loud volume and emphasis of the words *WANYUSA* (YOU INCREASE) and *UZOYISOLA* (YOU WILL BE SORRY) suggests that the singers are very angry about the increase in fees. The word *UZOYISOLA* (YOU WILL BE SORRY) is used as a threat against those who are perceived to be increasing the fees, which in this case is the Minister of Higher Education, Dr Blade Nzimande, as illustrated in the shortened section of the lyrics of Song 1.1 below:

WENA MDLWEMBE (YOU DELINQUENT)

Sith' [amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas')

[WATHINTA lomfund' uzoyisola] (YOU TOUCH this student and you will be sorry)

[Sith' amaguerilla] (We are the guerrillas)

WENA [NZIMANDE] (YES YOU NZIMANDE)

[Sith' amaguerilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[WANYUSA ama fees UZOYISOLA] (YOU INCREASE fees YOU WILL BE SORRY)

To refer to Dr Nzimande as a delinquent (*MDLWEMBE*) and then to call him out as *WENA [NZIMANDE]* (YES YOU NZIMANDE) further demonstrates the students' anger. This type of name-calling or aggressive bullying is also in line with the threatening tone highlighted earlier. Referring to an older person and a minister by these negative phrases/names is generally considered disrespectful and confrontational. Most importantly, referring to him in this way places emphasis on the seriousness of the issues being raised by the students. The reference to Dr Nzimande as the target of the anger can be understood to extend also to the government and university management, as he represents both institutions.

2. **The Actions That Students Must Take to Resolve Injustices against Them.**

This subtopic is well illustrated in the singing and performance of two struggle songs, both of which can be described as confrontational. The first of these songs is *Dubula Dubula* (Shoot Shoot*)/Ayesaba Amagwala* (These Cowards are scared/terrified) (Song 1.2 p. 148-149). The version used in this analysis is sung by student activists whose political affiliations are unclear from the viewing of the video. This song was made popular in the late 1980s and early 1990s by the late ANC youth league leader, Peter Mokaba.

The action that is being proposed to resolve injustices faced by the students singing this song seems to be to shoot them with a gun. This is communicated in the words *Dubula nges'bham'* (Shoot with a gun). From the lyrics of the song it is not clear what the specific crime is that

has been perpetrated against the students. However, drawing from the history of the song, and the context under which it was sung by these students/singers, we can conclude that this crime is a very violent one and can be equated to the violence experienced by black people during apartheid. The magnitude of this crime and injustice is communicated in the loud manner in which the shooting must be done e.g. *DUBULA DUBULA* (SHOOT SHOOT).

The second song that is sung by black student activists that also illustrates the topic of taking action against injustice is called *Ghubuluzing* (Moving in the swerving motion of a snake) (Song 1.3 p. 149-150). When singing this song, students often mimic the movements of a snake. This song became popular during the activities of the #FeesMustFall (#FMF) movement that were often planned and executed late at night. The particular version of the song analysed is sung by an energised group of students belonging to SASCO.

Moving silently like a snake seems to have been the preferred manner in which to address and confront the injustices faced by the students/singers due to disapproval emanating from their elders. This disapproval is likely to be more an expression of fear and warning regarding the safety of their youth, which is communicated in what appears to be the words of their loved ones who are pleading with them to come back home - *Buyelekhaya sthandwa:* (Go back home beloved). This fear or warning from those who care and love the students also communicates the danger and the violence of that which they are confronting. This was likely a common experience for many parents whose young children were leaving the country to join the likes of MK during the armed struggle. In response to the fears of their loved ones, the singers respond by saying: *Hhawu ube thetha ntwenjani?* (Hhawu what kind of thing are they saying?) By responding in this way, the students are suggesting that discouraging them from what they are doing is absurd. Their expression of this absurdity could be understood as their way of communicating how necessary it is for them to fight their perceived injustice. So necessary is the struggle and the fight against the injustice that the students find it difficult to

understand how their loved ones can discourage them from pursuing the fight. Despite the disapproval of their elders, the students are choosing to continue to fight their struggle, often in silent, underground movements and under cover of darkness in order to circumvent the statued power of the apartheid government - WE are *ghubuluzing* (WE are moving in the swerving motion of a snake).

Textual Schemata

In most of the songs that were categorised under the *Guerrilla and Army Emphasis* theme, the emphasis and de-emphasis of information was performed in two ways. The first was by repeating the key message(s) (often short message(s)) over and over again in a catchy and standard way. This key message and/or phrase would be loudly articulated on each occasion it was repeated, as if to draw the attention of the listener to it. This also seemed to work well for the rhythm keeping that was necessary for the guerrilla army-like trot (*toyi toying*) that accompanied most of these songs. The second way of emphasising and de-emphasising information was to insert lengthier messages between the shorter key message(s). These inserted messages were often tailored specifically for the purposes of the protest or occasion that the song is/was being sung. Although these inserted messages were often very important, they were often less audible than the shorter key message(s) that were performed in a louder, catchier way. The inserted messages were also less rhythmical and musical, as if they were portions of a speech. In instances where these portions of a speech are not carried across well enough in the song, the listener or the audience is still aware of what the general intended message was (and/or the feelings of protestors/singers) from the repeated catchy message(s)/phrase(s). As audience to the singing of these songs, it would be easy to join the group of protestors/singers and participate in the singing because of the catchy repeated message(s)/phrase(s). It is possible that this is a deliberate strategy to engage

the audience and enable them to connect with the overall message and purpose of the protest; in essence a mobilisation tactic.

Shortened versions of four songs from this theme are used to illustrate this emphasis and de-emphasis of information and their lyrics are provided below. Full lyrics can be found at the beginning of theme 1. The repeated key messages/phrases that were catchy are in **bold font** and the inserted messages are underlined.

Song 1.1: *Sith' amaguerilla* (We are the guerrillas)

Cel' UMSINDO we bhezuka (Please can I hear the SOUND of a bazooka)

SITH' amaguerrilla:: (WE are the guerrillas)

eCape town eBellville na [se Mo:wbray] (In Cape Town, Bellville and Mowbray)

[THINA amaguerrilla::] (US the guerrillas)

sithi scel'umsindo we () (We are saying we want the sound of ())

Sith' amaguer[rilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[Ushilo Biko way'shilo ()] (He said, Biko did say ())

Wathi Yeki lento oyiyen[zayo:] (He said stop this thing that you are doing)

[**Sith' amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)**

() Way'shilo () way'shilo Issa (() he said () Issa did say)

Wathi Yeki lento o[ye:nzayo:] (He said stop this thing that you are doing)

[Sith' amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[Uzobu:ya] (He will return)

Uzobu:ya [SIGODUKE] (He will come back and WE WILL GO HOME)

[Sith' amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

Uzo[bu::ya] (He will return)

[Sith' amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

[Uzobuya abuyele thina] (He will return for us)

[Sith' amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

Iyo- ga- ga- ga- ga [guerrilla yo:]

[Sith' amaguerrilla] (We are the guerrillas)

Uzobuya amaguerrilla (He will return guerrillas)

Sith' [amaguerrilla:] (We are the guerrillas)

[**Iyo- ga- ga- ga- ga guerrilla yo]**

Song 1.2: *Dubula Dubula* (Shoot Shoot) /*Ayesaba Amagwala* (These Cowards are scared)

AYESABA AMAGWALA: (THESE COWARDS ARE SCARED/TERRIFIED)

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT)

Dubula nges' bham' (Shoot with a gun)

AYASEBA Amagwala: (These cowards ARE SCARED/TERRIFIED)

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT) ((whistle sound))

Dubula nges' bham' (Shoot with a gun)

°Dubula Dubula:° (Shoot Shoot)

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT)

Dubula nges' bham' (Shoot with a gun)

Song 1.3: *Ghubuluzing* (Moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

Wathetha intwenjani: he bathi sizolal' [emathafeni:] (What kind of thing are they saying he they say we will sleep in the fields)

[We are ghubuluzing] (We are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

Buyelekhaya sthandwa: (Go back home my love)

We are ghubuluzing: (We are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

() wey'shilo: (() said)

Uthetha intwenjani: (What kind of thing are you talking)

He bathi solal' emathafeni: (He they say we will sleep in the fields)

WE are ghubuluzing (WE are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

Buyelekhaya sthandwa: (Go back home my beloved)

WE are ghubuluzing (WE are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)

Uwekhaya way'shilo: (Go back home they say)

Song 1.4: *Awuzwe* (Hear that)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Istin' esandlen (Brick in the hand)

AWUZWE AWUZWE (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Bantshontsh' amavo:ti (They stole votes)

AWUZWE [AWUZWE] (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

[Babulal' Izinga:ne] (They killed children)

AWUZWE [AWUZWE] (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshaye kancane X2 (Hit it a bit) ((hand clapping))

AWUZWE [AWUZWE] (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)

Awshay' ungaVU:K' (Hit it and don't get up)

Song 1.2 seems to be the only one of the above songs that has inserted messages that are used as parts of the key catchy message/phrase e.g. ***Dubula nges'bham'* (Shoot with a gun).** The reason for this kind of emphasis could be to communicate the seriousness of the message.

The arguments narrated in the songs under this theme are generally organised in a similar manner. The songs attack and challenge the students' opponents as the exclusive argument structure. The audience is made aware of the intentions of the singers through the repeated catchy phrases but there is often very little information (in the form of lyrics) regarding the reason for the students' attack. The information that is provided is often subtle and relies on the audience being familiar with and empathising with the socio-political and historical perspectives of the students. It is through this empathy with the plight of students and disinterest in the other/opponent, that the position of the students is further emphasised and that of the opponents attacked. An alternative narrative to the inhumanity of the colonial and apartheid period in South Africa's history, and the need for direct confrontation against it, are often expressed by right wing movements and organisations. These alternative narratives are seldom accepted in the current mainstream socio-political discourse within the country. Guerrilla armies and armies in general are not in the habit of promoting/protecting their enemies and their approach is usually clear, decisive and unambiguous. This could further explain the argumentation style preferred in the songs under this theme.

Local Semantics

Local semantics were used very explicitly and deliberately in the songs that fell under this theme. The use of phrases in the titles of Song 1.1 (p. 145-148) *Sith' amaguer[rilla*:] (We are the guerrillas) and Song 1.3 (p. 149-150) *Ghubuluzing* (Moving in the swerving motion of

a snake) are examples of how local semantics were used in the songs under this theme. Respectively, these phrases tend to conjure up images that are both anti-establishment and secretive or shady in nature. However, in the case of some of the songs under this theme, the meanings of these phrases take on a positive connotation. This may have to do with the changing history of guerrilla fighters in the form of the MK and APLA in SA. Once despised by the establishment, these armies are now widely acknowledged by those in power for their courage and commitment to the fight against apartheid. Many of the prominent leaders in SA today were in fact members of these armies.

The word *ghubuluzing* (moving in the swerving motion of a snake), often associated with the underhand actions of men who are unfaithful to their partners, took on a positive meaning for the activists during the 2015-2018 period. The phrase *we are ghubuluzing* (we are moving in the swerving motion of a snake) came to reflect the guerrilla-like behaviour necessary for the students involved in the activities of the #FMF movement, which entailed, amongst others, student activists holding meetings late at night in secrecy to plan their activities.

Negative messages about the opponents of the students were often communicated by referring to individuals in a manner that disregarded their age and seniority. An example of this can be seen in the reference to Dr Blade Nzimande in Song 1.1 *Sith' amaguerrilla* (We are guerrillas) as *WENA [NZIMANDE]* (YES YOU NZIMANDE). This was a common way for protestors to refer to apartheid political leaders of the past such as Verwoerd and Voster. The message that was communicated about the opponents of the students by referring to them by name in this manner seems to suggest that their behaviour is similar to how the apartheid state treated black people. Other negative messages about opponents were more explicit, such as referring to them as *wena mdlwembe* (you delinquent), also in Song 1.1 and cowards (*amagwala*) (see Song 1.2 p. 148-149). A delinquent and a coward in this context is akin to being labelled a sell-out and enemy of the people.

Lexicon

The songs under this theme made use of words such as *amaguerrilla* (guerrilla) to describe Freedom Fighters. This is a common term used in SA political language. Explicit use of this word is evident in the title and throughout Song 1.1 (p. 145-148) *Sith' amaguerrilla* (We are the guerrillas). The term is referred to implicitly yet clearly in many other songs under this theme such as Song 1.2 (p. 148-149) *Dubula Dubula* (Shoot Shoot) /*Ayesaba Amagwala* (These Cowards are scared/terrified) and Song 1.4 (p. 150-152) *Awuzwe* (Hear that). There is no ambiguity about whom the students are representing in their performances of these songs. The snake-like movements of the *amaguerrill*a (guerrillas) hiding in the bushes are also captured fully in Song 1.3 (p. 149-150) *Ghubuluzing* (Moving in the swerving motion of a snake). However the more sensitive and less aggressive side of this Freedom Fighter is also captured in this song in words such as *buyelekhaya sthandwa* (go back home beloved) as the singers demonstrate an appreciation of the stress their actions cause for those they care for. The names of well-known historical figures were often used to refer to Freedom Fighters, for example, Steve Biko in Song 1.1. Although not a military man, the students characterise him unequivocally as a Freedom Fighter.

Also attached to the use of the word *amaguerrilla* (guerrillas) is the word *dubula* (shoot) (see Song 1.2 p. 148-149). The process of fighting for freedom is often captured in the word *dubula* (shoot). A Freedom Fighter must fight for their freedom by shooting against their enemy. This word is also verbally enacted in this song with the words: [*Iyo- ga- ga- ga- ga guerrilla yo*:]. The repeated *ga-ga-ga* sounds like the shooting of a gun.

Rhetoric

The popular rhetorical styles with struggle songs under this theme were: repetitions at level of meaning; hyperboles; deletion of information; and metaphor.

Many of the songs in Theme 1 made use of the rhetorical method of repeating key and/or desired information about the in-group (the students). Key meanings and messages about the in-group often reflected the activities or acts that in-group members intended on executing. Examples of songs where repetition was used for these purposes are Songs 1.1 and 1.2.

Another rhetorical style commonly used with songs under this theme was the use of hyperbole that was communicated in the form of describing excessively violent methods to achieve students' goals. In general, these goals included the confrontation of hegemonic forces, past and present. Present hegemonic forces were often compared to and equated with the apartheid system. This comparison highlighted the students' belief that the current democratic system was oppressing them just as apartheid had oppressed their elders. Songs 1.2 and 1.4 are both examples of the use of hyperbole.

In the sampled video of the version of Song 1.4 *Awuzwe* (p. 150-152) that was sung by members of the Economic Freedom Fighters Student Command (EFFSC), there is a reference to throwing bricks e.g. *istin' esandlen* (brick in the hand). Many university buildings and properties were severely damaged in the period 2015-2016, however the level of violence described in this rendition of the song is hyperbolic, meaning that it threatened even more drastic forms of violence. The use of this militant language is commonly associated with far-left organisations like the EFF and the EEFSC but is not necessarily intended to be interpreted literally. Although serious in the performance of the song, one can hear from the shouting and whistling noises that the audience is making that it is intended primarily for entertainment purposes, although recruitment to the movements is also being encouraged.

Similarly, in Song 1.2 the shooting of cowards described by the lyrics *AYESABA AMAGWALA:* (THESE COWARDS ARE SCARED/TERRIFIED) *DUBULA DUBULA*: (SHOOT SHOOT) is not to be taken literally. Students are not generally known to possess

guns, which is evidenced by the fact that despite the high levels of physical violence witnessed on university properties during the period 2015-2016, there were no reports of shootings by students. Hence this use of hyperbole appears to have been used by the students to communicate their high levels of frustration and anger at university management and government who were perceived as having failed them. As such, the singing of this song in the context of the #FMF and other "de-colonial" student movements appears to equate current university leadership with apartheid leaders characterised as unjust and white.

Deletion of information was another rhetorical style used in many of the songs under this theme. The effectiveness of this rhetorical style seems to be its ability to plant uncertainty in the mind of the listener. Song 1.5 (p. 152) *Wenyamazane* (Soldier) is a good example of this rhetorical style. Shortened lyrics of the song are below:

> **[Siyaya WENYAMAZA:NE] (We are going SOLDIER)**
>
> **[SIYAYA BO] (WE ARE GOING BO)**
>
> **[Siyaya WENYAMAZA:NE] (We are going SOLDIER)**
>
> Yisthothotho: (It's these tribulations)

The lyrics of this song seem to be clear about the intentions of the soldiers/guerrillas/students (*wenyamazane*), but no explicit answer is provided for where they are going and why. The audience needs to be familiar with the historical and political situation in SA that necessitated young people joining guerrilla armies to determine the answer and make sense of the relevance of this song for students today[16]. The repetition of the catchy key phrase *Siyaya WENYAMAZA:NE* (We are going SOLDIER) and the confident performance of the song leave the audience even more confused but still captivated by their imaginings of a possible

[16] Many young people in SA were recruited and joined MK and APLA located in different parts of Southern Africa and parts of east Africa during the 1960s.

military operation being instigated. The confusion is sarcastically acknowledged in the retort *Yisthothotho* (It's these tribulations[17]). It is not completely unreasonable to assume that the stance that university management, government and police held towards students would lead to this confusion from within the student body, given that their grievances presumably affected them all, at least at some point.

The use of the rhetorical style of metaphor was also observed in certain songs under this theme. Sometimes, powerful leaders' names were used to represent corruption and oppression, such as the mentioning of Nzimande in Song 1.1 *Sith' amaguerrilla* (We are the guerrillas). Another metaphor used in particular songs under this theme (see Song 1.2) was referring to white people as *amagwala* (cowards). One of the most common metaphors communicated in the lyrics and performances of many of the songs was the equating of historical Freedom Fighters to present-day student activists. This metaphor was communicated in the *toyi toying* and circular formations of the student protestors observed in the performance of many of the songs (see Songs 1.1, 1.2 & 1.4). The use of metaphors appears to have been an effective tool to connect the history of the songs and their continued influential power manifested by their performances in the protests of students today. In general, metaphors appear to have provided students with a wide repertoire of historically legitimate and emotional performances to draw from as a means of reviving the memories of those who had participated in the anti-apartheid movement. This served to build the strength of the student movements as they recruited many participants by drawing attention to unresolved grievances and the slow progress of transformation. These are issues that students and their parents had been promised the abolition of apartheid and a democratically elected

[17] These tribulations can be understood to be the experience of how the apartheid government and system treated black people.

government, representative of the majority population in SA, would effectively address yet has failed to do so.

Expression Structures

The singing and performance of most of the songs under this theme was done in groups but with one or two lead singers. The purpose of the lead singers appears to have been maintaining the momentum of the song, keeping the students focused on the songs and their performance, and leading the transition from one song to the next. Lead singers were usually male and there were seldom more than two leaders at a time. However female voices frequently dominated the singing, which suggested that there were either more female students participating and/or that their voices were louder. The lead singer would often stand in the middle of a circle formed by the singing students or lead a group of students marching whilst singing. The stomping of feet and clapping of hands had the effect of making the performance of the song louder and more dramatic. Songs categorised under this theme were often performed at a high tempo and loud volume from start to finish. There was a general air of solemnity from the students singing these songs, which is consistent with the military/guerrilla theme and the subject matter being vocalised.

Theme 2: The Burden of Struggle

Song 2.1: ***Decolonised national anthem*** (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_JeXV35iD8k)

Aw- NKOSI: Nkosi sike[le:la:] (Oh GOD God bless)

[Nkosi sikele:la:] (God bless)

[Aw sikele: la: iAfrica:] (Oh bless Africa)

Aw MALUPHAKANYI[S'U:] (RAISE HIGH)

[Maluphakanyis'u:] (May it be raised)

LUPHAKANYIS'U: uphondo lwayo:: (May her glory BE RAISED)

Yizwa imithanda[zo:] (Hear our prayers)

[Yizwa imitha:ndazo:] yethu (Hear our prayers)

Si:be [moya munye:] (To be united in one spirit)

[Si:be moya munye:] (To be united in one spirit)

Aw- NKOSI- NKOSI [SIKELELA:] (Oh GOD GOD BLESS)

[Nkosi sikelee la:] (God bless)

AW Nkosi sikele la [iAfrica:] (OH God bless Africa)

[Aw MALUPHAKANYIS'U:] (Oh MAY IT BE RAISED)

MALUPHAKANYI:S'U uphondo lwayo (RAISE HIGH her glory)

AW Yizwa imithanda[zo:] (OH hear the prayers)

[Yizwa imithandazo] (Hear the prayers)

AW imithanda:zo yethu: (Oh our prayers)

Si:be [moya munye:] (That we may be one spirit)

[Si:be moya: mu:nye:] (That we may be one spirit)

[Si:be moya munye:] (That we may be one spirit)

Aw- Noma (Oh even though)

noma sekunzi[ma:] (Even when hard times are here)

[Noma sekunziii ma- emhlabeni] (Even when things are hard in this world)

AWU SIHLUKUNYEZ[WA] (BEING ABUSED)

[Sihlukunye: zwa] (Being abused)

[Sihlukunye: zwa] (Being abused)

[Ka:buhlungu:] (Brutally)

Nkosi siph' AMANDLA: okunqo[ba:] (God give us STRENGTH to conquer)

[Silwe no sa:thane:] (So that we can fight the devil)

[Silwe no sa: tha:ne] (Fight the devil)

NOMA sekunzi[ma:] (EVEN WHEN hard times are hard)

[EMHLABENI] (IN THE WORLD)

[SIHLUKUNYEZWA:] (BEING ABUSED)

[SIHLUKUNYEZWA:] (BEING ABUSED)

[Ka: buhlungu:] (Brutally)

Aw Nkosi siphaman[dla:] (Aw God give us strength)

[Nkosi siphamandla] (God give us strength)

Aw siphamandla: O kunqoba: (Give us strength, to conquer)

Silwe no satha[ne] (to fight against Satan)

[Silwe no sa:thane] (To fight against Satan)

Thulu –Thulu- lu- lu-lu- lu- lu

Thulu- lu- lu- lu- lu

Thulu- lu –lu –lu- lu- lu

Thulu- lu –lu- lu- lu

Thulu- lu- lu- lu – lu

Song 2.2. *Shiwelele* (Have mercy) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8rsjG9aVy3M)

Shwe:le:le (Have mercy)

O: a:

Shiwe:le:le (Have mercy)

Sizo funda ngenkani (We will study by force)

Song 2.3: *Ndoyika* (I am terrified) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=edsoAYHe5XY)

Ha ba batle bo kapitali (They don't want capitalism)

Ba batla bo komonisi (They want communism)

Ndoyika ndo tshabalala (I am terrified of perishing)

Ndoyika ndo tshabalala (I am terrified of perishing)

Ba batle bo kapitali (They don't want capitalism)

Ba batla bo komonisi (They want communism)

Ndoyika ndo tshabalala (I am terrified of perishing)

NDOYI:KA ndo tshabalala (I AM TERRIFIED of perishing)

NDOYI:KA NDOYI:KA: (I AM TERRIFIED I AM TERRIFIED)

NDOYI:KA (I AM TERRIFIED)

Ndoyika Ndoyika ndo tshabalala (I am terrified I am terrified of perishing)

Song 2.4: *Mama we* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=mLBK8v2UmeU)

MAMA WE MAMA WE [MA] (MAMA WE MAMA WE MA)

°[Mama we ma]° (Mama we ma)

Mama thul 'ungakhali (Mother don't cry)

Mama we ma: we ma (Mama we ma we ma)

Song 2.5: *Wen'olawla i propaganda* (You are the one who determines the propaganda)

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zqHUNsBO5Uc&t=27s)

Wen'o[law':la:] (You the one who determines)

[WEN'OLAW'LA] (YOU ARE THE ONE WHO DETERMINES)

[Wen'olaw'la] i pro:paga[nda] (You are the one who determines the propaganda)

[Awus'tsh:ele] ukuth uPASMA wenzeni? (Tell us what has PASMA done?)

WENZENI uPA:SMA? (WHAT HAS PASMA DONE?)

WE:NZENI uPASMA? (WHAT HAS PASMA DONE?)

°Awphendule° (Answer)

[WEN'OLA:WLA:] (YOU ARE THE ONE WHO DETERMINES)

[Wen'olawla] i pro:paga[nda] (You are the one who determines the propaganda)

[Awus'tshe:le] ukuth uPASMA wenzeni? (Tell us what has PASMA done?)

HEY WENA SASA (unclear) (HEY YOU SASA)

HEY: WENA SASA AWUPHENDULE (HEY YOU SASA RESPOND)

WENOLAW:[LA] (YOU THE ONE WHO DETERMINES)

[Wenolaw:la] i pro:paga[nda] (You are the one who determines propaganda)

[Awus'tshele] ukuth uPASMA Wenzeni? (Tell us what has PASMA done?)

Topics

The common topics identified in most of the songs under this theme were pain and sorrow. The songs that best illustrate these topics are the *Decolonised national anthem* (Song 2.1) and the *Shiwelele* (Have mercy) (Song 2.2). Both of these songs were very popular during student protests over the period 2015-2018, especially during the activities of the

#FMF movement. Both songs take on a very reflective and contemplative tone reminiscent of the weight of struggle and oppression that characterised the apartheid period as well as the protests over 2015-2018.

Much like the original version of what is now the SA National Anthem, which was written and composed by the late Enoch Sontonga, this version (Song 2.1 p. 166-168) sounds very much like a prayer. The intention of prayer is communicated in the words *[Yizwa imitha:ndazo:] yethu* (Hear our prayers), which are preceded by references to blessings from God as *Aw- NKOSI: Nkosi sike[le:la:]* (Oh GOD God bless) *[Nkosi sikele:la:]* (God bless) *[Aw sikele: la: iAfrica:]* (Oh bless Africa). The repeated call of this prayer to *Nkosi* (God) sets the scene for the intensity of the pain and sorrow felt by students, which is described as *SIHLUKUNYEZWA:* (BEING ABUSED) *Ka:buhlungu:* (Brutally) and is vocally illustrated by the heightened volume with which the phrase 'being abused' is sung and the prolonged singing of the word 'brutally'.

The second song that exemplifies this topic does so in a very brief and direct manner. The *Shiwelele* (Have mercy) (Song 2.2 p. 168-169) has been largely associated with the #FMF movement but has continued to enjoy popularity post-#FMF. Although not a prayer, the *Shiwelele* remains very powerful when sung with a sound that is reminiscent of mourning and crying. The mourning and crying are communicated in the repeated singing of the phrase *Shi:we:le:le* (Have mercy). This is periodically intercepted by the collective utterance *Sizo funda ngenkani* (We will study by force). These words suggest that despite their mourning and crying, the students are not defeated but remain committed to their cause of achieving free tertiary education for all.

Textual Schemata

As with the songs under Theme 1, there was a general tendency to use catchy key messages/phrases to highlight key issues, however in the Theme 2 songs it was the collective pain and sorrow felt by the students. These catchy key phrases were repeated fairly often in the songs under this theme but not with the same regularity and predictability of the songs in the previous theme. There was also no commentary on any other perspective communicated in the songs other than the pain and sorrow of the students.

This category of songs displayed a preference for including lengthier bits of information more prominently than with songs in the previous category. This information has largely remained the same since apartheid. These lengthier messages are not necessarily de-emphasised but they do seem to be deliberately made less prominent as if to encourage the listener to become more curious and pay more attention to the messages. This draws the listener deeper into the song so that they are forced to wrestle with its deeper meaning. This search for a deeper meaning heightens the emotional intensity of the songs, which is further facilitated by the melodic tone of the songs.

Shortened lyrics of four songs under this theme that best illustrate the contrasting emphasis and de-emphasis of information are provided below. As with Theme 1, the repeated catchy key phrases have been highlighted (**bold font**) and the inserted/de-emphasised messages <u>underlined</u>. Most of these songs seem to rely heavily on historical and political memory to accentuate their messages, most prominent in the lyrics and performance of Song 2.1.

Song 2.1: ***Decolonised national anthem***

<u>Aw- NKOSI: Nkosi sike[le:la:] (Aw GOD God bless)</u>

<u>[Nkosi sikele:la:] (God bless)</u>

[Aw sikele: la: iAfrica:] (Aw bless Africa)

Aw MALUPHAKANYI[S'U:] (RAISE HIGH)

[Maluphakanyisw':] (Rise high her glory)

LUPHAKANYIS'U: uphondo lwayo:: ()

Yizwa imithanda[zo:] (Hear our prayers)

[Yizwa imitha:ndazo:] yethu (Hear our prayers)

Si:be [moya munye:] (So that we are united as one spirit)

[Si:be moya munye:] (So that we are united as one spirit)

Aw- NKOSI- NKOSI [SIKELELA:] (Aw GOD GOD BLESS)

[Nkosi sikele la:] (God bless)

AW Nkosi sikele la [iAfrica:] (Aw God bless Africa)

[Aw MALUPHAKANYIS'U:] (Aw RAISE HIGH)

MALUPHAKANYI:S' uphondo lwayo ()

AW Yizwa imithanda[zo:] (AW hear our prayers)

[Yizwa imithandazo] (Hear our prayers)

AW imithanda:zo yethu: (AW our prayers)

Si:be [moya munye:] (So that we are untied as one spirit)

[Si:be moya: mu:nye:] (So that we are untied as one spirit)

[Si:be moya munye:] (So that we are untied as one spirit)

Aw- Noma (Aw even when)

noma sekunzi[ma:] (Even when hard times are here)

[Noma sekunzima- emhlabeni] (Even when things are hard in this world)

AWU SIHLUKUNYEZ[WA] (AWU BEING ABUSED)

[Sihlukunye: zwa] (Being abused)

[Sihlukunye: zwa] (Being abused)

[Ka:buhlungu:] (Brutally)

Nkosi siph' AMANDLA: okunqo[ba:] (God give us STRENGTH to conquer)

[Silwe no sa:thane:] (So that we can fight the devil)

[Silwe no sa: tha:ne] (Fight the devil)

NOMA sekunzi[ma:] (EVEN WHEN hard times are here)

[EMHLABENI] (HERE IN THE WORLD)

[SIHLUKUNYEZWA:] (BEING ABUSED)

[SIHLUKUNYEZWA:] (BEING ABUSED)

[Ka: buhlungu:] (Brutally)

Aw Nkosi siphaman[dla:] (Aw God give us strength)

[Nkosi siphamandla] (God give us strength)

Aw siphamandla: O kunqoba: () (Aw God give us strength)

Silwe no satha[ne] () (To fight with the devil)

[Silwe no sa:thane] () (To fight with the devil)

Song 2.3: *Ndoyika* (I am terrified)

Ha ba batle bo kapitali (They don't want capitalism)

Ba batla bo komonisi (They want communism)

Ndoyika ndo tshabalala (I am terrified I am terrified of perishing)

Ndoyika ndo tshabalala (I am terrified I am terrified of perishing)

Ba batle bo kapitali (They don't want capitalism)

Ba batla bo komonisi (They want communism)

Ndoyika ndo tshabalala (I am terrified I am terrified of perishing)

NDOYI:KA ndo tshabalala (I AM TERRIFIED of perishing)

NDOYI:KA NDOYI:KA: (I AM TERRIFIED I AM TERRIFIED)

Song 2.4: ***Mama we***

MAMA WE MAMA WE [MA] (MAMA WE MAMA WE MA)

°[Mama we ma]° (Mama we ma)

Mama thul 'ungakhali (Mother don't cry)

Mama we ma: we ma (Mama we ma we ma)

Song 2.5: ***Wen'olaw'la i propaganda*** **(You are the one who determines the propaganda)**

Wen'o[law':la:] (You are the one who determines)

[WEN'OLAW'LA] (YOU ARE THE ONE WHO DETERMINES)

[Wen'olaw'la] i pro:paga[nda] (You are the one who determines the propaganda)

[Awus'tsh:ele] ukuth uPASMA wenzeni ?(Tell us what has PASMA done?)

WENZENI uPA:SMA? (WHAT HAS PASMA DONE?)

WE:NZENI uPASMA? (WHAT HAS PASMA DONE?)

°Awphendule° (Answer)

[WENOLA:WLA:] (YOU THE ONE WHO DETERMINES)

[Wenolawla] i pro:paga[nda] (You the one who determines propaganda)

[Awus'tshe:le] ukuth uPASMA wenzeni (Tell us what has PASMA done)

HEY WENA SASA (unclear) (Hey you SASA)

HEY: WENA SASA AWUPHENDULE (HEY YOU SASA RESPOND)

WENOLAW:[LA] (YOU THE ONE WHO DETERMINES)

[Wenolaw:la] i pro:paga[nda] (You are the one who determines propaganda)

[Awus'tshele] ukuth uPASMA Wenzeni? (Tell us what has PASMA done?)

As mentioned, despite the presence of the repeated catchy phrases in the songs above, their repetition is less symmetrical and predictable than in the songs under the guerrilla theme. For the majority of the songs that include the underlined lengthier messages, these can also be understood to operate much like the highlighted parts because although their delivery is more restrained, this acts to heighten their emotional intensity as has been previously explained. The purpose of this emotional intensity is to draw attention to the pain and sorrow being communicated. Many of these songs (with the exception of Song 2.1) continue to be sung using the same lyrics and melodies that were used during apartheid. This historical consistency speaks to the emphasis, intended or not, of the inserted underlined messages.

The argumentative structure favoured by the songs under this theme seems to rely on the painful memories of historical and political injustices experienced by black people in SA under apartheid rule, which is the period during which most of these songs originated. In their current protest movements, students have retained the original lyrics and melodies of these songs in order to attain a contemplative posture regarding the similarities between the past and present and how unfortunate this is. Having accomplished this, the singers require few other strategies to present a convincing argument to their audience.

Local Semantics

The messages contained in the songs that fall under this theme tend to make use of pain and sorrow as a positive form of messaging. This is to say that the pain and sorrow felt by the students seems to have been used to communicate morality, fairness, justice and human rights affirmation. This can be seen in words such as *wenolawla* and *wenzeni* in the shortened lyrics of Song 2.5 (p. 170) below:

[WENOLA:WLA:] (YOU THE ONE WHO DETERMINES)

[Wenolawla] i pro:paga[nda] (You are the one who determines propaganda)

[Awus'tshe:le] ukuth uPASMA Wenzeni? (Tell us what has PASMA done?)

In this song the singers ask the pointed question *Awus'tshe:le ukuth uPASMA Wenzeni?* (Tell us what has PASMA done?) The singers are alluding to the injustices that they as Pan Africanist Student Movement (PASMA) members are exposed to. This sounds like a plea to the perpetrators of this injustice to reconsider their actions. The singers repeatedly ask this question and remind the perpetrators of the unjust use of their power in the word *wenolawla* (you are the one who determines). The opposition to PASMA in this case (and generally when this song is sung) are those who use their positions of power negatively; a reference to both apartheid leaders and current institutions of power. Thus there is an implied negative message communicated about the opposition in this song, which is captured in the silence or absence of a response to the question above. The message communicated is that the opposition are indefensible in their cruelty, enacted by unjust and unfair practices.

Song 2.4 (p. 169) *Mama we,* also manages to communicate a positive message about the students and a negative one about the other/opposition. Despite being very short in length (in terms of lyrics), this song relies on context, performance and that which is not said to

illustrate these respective polarities (good and bad) messages, and is repeated over and over again to emphasise the plaintive message of the song evidenced in the lyrics:

> MAMA WE MAMA WE [MA] (MAMA WE MAMA WE)
>
> °[Mama we ma]° (Mama we ma)
>
> Mama thul 'ungakhali (Mother be quiet and don't cry)
>
> Mama we ma: we ma (Mama we ma we ma) (repeated)

The words *Mama thul 'ungakhali* (Mother be quiet and don't cry) were used to exemplify the courage and strength of the students displayed during the activities of the #FMF movement. Through these words the singers seem to be suggesting that their suffering and experiences are known to their mothers who love them but that their mothers should not worry because they will overcome their challenges. Their ability to overcome their challenges is demonstrated by the confident manner in which they tell their mothers not to cry. Mothers are synonymous with the ability to soothe their children in distress, but in this case the roles are reversed and the strength, passion and love associated with caring mothers is now held by the students who are comforting their distressed mothers. This inadvertently communicates how cruel and unkind the opposition is, who go unsaid yet are known to be the cause of this entire drama between courageous students and their distressed mothers.

Lexicon

The songs under this theme make use of a specific lexicon to describe the process and experience of freedom, often referred to as *iAfrica*, communism and mama (mother). A reading and viewing of Songs 2.1, 2.3 and 2.4 clearly illustrate the use of these words to refer to freedom. *iAfrica,* as it is referred to in Song 2.1, is the place/home that needs to be protected from those who oppress its inhabitants who are black people.

References to communism in the historical and socio-political context of these songs also communicates the experience of freedom. In Song 2.3 (p. 169) *Ndoyika*, the phrase *ha ba batle capitalism ba batla bokomanisi* (they don't want capitalism they want communism), proposes communism as the ideal state for black people. Failure to give these Africans their communism/freedom is so scary to the singers that they are *ndoyika ndo tshababala* (terrified of perishing). Communism in this case is the freedom itself and if not achieved one will die.

Rhetoric

As was the case with the songs in the first theme, a common rhetorical style in many of the songs under the second theme was the use of hyperbole. In Song 2.3 *Ndoyika,* the students repeatedly mention that they are fearful of dying or perishing at the hand of the status quo; a capitalist economic system. The students are not literally suggesting that capitalism will lead to their deaths but rather using the drastic consequence of death as a stern warning that government's capitalist economic philosophy is severely disadvantageous towards poor black students such as themselves.

The use of metaphor was also a popular rhetorical strategy used with the songs under this theme. There were a number of metaphors used for white people such as *wen'olawla i propaganda* (those who have the power to determine propaganda) (see Song 2.5 p. 170) and *sathane* (the devil) (see Song 2.1 p. 166-168) These metaphors are powerful in furnishing the pain and sorrow of the singers with a narrative that both singers and listeners can connect with intimately. To accomplish this emotional experience it was once again necessary to draw upon the historical memory of apartheid as a metaphorical tool that represents the pain and sorrow experienced by black South Africans, both under apartheid and under democracy.

Expression Structures

As with the guerilla-themed songs, the performances of the majority of songs under this second theme took place in groups with a lead singer. The purpose of the lead singer was to keep the momentum of the song going and the students focused on the songs and their performance. This lead singer was frequently a male student. In most cases however, the students singing songs under this theme chose to hold back on the stomping of feet and clapping of hands. This seemed to be a strategy to ensure that the key message being communicated in the song was delivered without distraction. Examples of this can be seen in the sampled YouTube performances of Songs 2.2 (the *Shiwelele*), 2.3 (*Ndoyika*) and 2.5 (*Wenolawla*), to name but a few. Although most of the songs under this theme were sung at a moderate tempo and energetically, there was definitely a more sombre and contemplative feeling to their performance when compared to the performances of the songs sampled under Theme 1.

Many of the songs sung by students and categorised under Themes 1 and 2 pre-date the 2015-2018 period and are often songs that originated during apartheid. As such, a number of these songs can be referred to as anthems that transcend generational boundaries and have the ability to draw audiences, both young and old, into contemporary struggles.

Theme 3: Unity and Mobilisation

Song 3.1: *Nansi imellow yellow* (There Comes the Mellow Yellow)

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=edsoAYHe5XY)

NA:NSI imellow: yellow ma: (There comes the Mellow- yellow)

SHISA shisa hee mama SHISA: SHISA:SHISA: hee mama [SHISA] (Burn burn hee mama burn burn burn burn hee mama burn)

[NA:NSI imellow: yellow ma:] (There comes the Mellow Yellow)

SHISA shisa hee mama SHISA: SHISA:SHISA: hee mama [SHISA] (Burn burn hee mama burn burn burn hee mama burn)

[NA:NSI iMELLOW: yellow ma:] (There comes Mellow Yellow)

SHISA shisa hee mama SHISA: SHISA:SHISA: hee mama [SHISA] (Burn burn hee mama burn burn burn hee mama burn)

Song 3.2: *Siyaya noma kunzima* (We are Headed there Despite the Hardship Present there) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=I7MhkP1ehDw&t=43s)

Siya:ya: O'Siya:ya: NOMA kubi (We are going o we are going despite how bad it is)

NOMA besidubula (whether they shoot at us) (Even if they shoot at us)

IYO Siya:ya: (Iyo we are going)

[BESIXOSHA] (They kick us out)

[IYO Siya:ya:] (Iyo we are going)

[BESISHAYA](They hit us)

[IYO Siya:ya:] NOMA kubi (Iyo we are going despite how bad it is)

NOMA () (Even if ())

[IYO Siya:ya:] (Iyo we are going)

[BESIXOSHA] (They kick us out)

[IYO Siya:ya:] NOMA kubi (Iyo we are going despite how bad it is)

KU:BI KU:BI YO: (Bad bad yo)

SIYAYA: SIYAYA: O' SIYAYA NOMA KUBI: (We are going we are going o' we are going despite how bad is)

Song 3.3: *Solomon* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5-1QJtZYB0E)

SOLOMONI: (SOLOMON)

IYO SOLOMINI: (IYO SOLOMON)

SOLOMONI (SOLOMON)

IYO: Solomoni! (IYO Solomon)

SOLOMONI: (SOLOMON)

IYO SOLOMON (IYO SOLOMON)

Wayeyi isosha! (He was a soldier)

ISOSHA LOMKHONTO WE SIZWE (A SOLDIER OF UMKHONTO WESIZWE)

WAYE[BULALA:] (WHO KLLLED)

[WAYEBULALA amabhun' eAfrica:] (WHO KILLED farmers/whites in Africa)

Wayeyi isosha! (He was a soldier)

ISOSHA LOMKHONTO WE [SIZWE] (A SOLDIER OF UMKHONTO WESIZWE)

[WAYEBULALA:] (WHO KILLED)

[WAYEBULALA amabhun' eAfrica:] (WHO KILLED farmers/whites in Africa)

SOLOMONI: (SOLOMON)

Song 3.4: *Ha rea tlela masawana mona* (We did not come here for nonsense) (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=d-KMforrcVs)

MO:N[A: (Here)

HA RA TLELA (We did not come)

MO:N[A:] (Here)

[Ha ra tlela] MONA (We did not come here)

Ha ra tlela MASAWANA: (We did not come here for nonsense)

MO:NA: (Here)

HA RA TLELA: (We did not come)

Song 3.5: *Kae kapa kae* (Where ever you are)

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dKMforrcVs)

KAE: KAPA [KAE:] (WHERE EVER YOU ARE)

Kena le WENA SASCO (I am WITH YOU SASCO)

Ke na le [WENA:] (I am WITH YOU)

[Kena le WENA SASCO] (I am WITH YOU SASCO)

[KAE: KAPA KAE:] (WHERE EVER YOU ARE)

[KENA le WENA SASCO] (I am WITH YOU SASCO)

[KAE: KAPA KAE:] (WHERE EVER YOU ARE)

[KENA le WENA SASCO] (I am WITH YOU SASCO)

[KAE: KAPA KAE:] WHERE EVER YOU ARE)

[KENA le WENA SASCO] (I am WITH YOU SASCO)

Song 3.6: *My mother was a kitchen girl/Komanisi* (Communist)

(https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=poZkw7G8Jv4)

[NOBODY wanna see us toge::ther]

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YA!]

[NOBODY BODY NO NO NO NO NO NO NO NO NO]

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YA!]

[NOBODY wanna SEE us toge::ther]

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YA!]

[NOBODY wanna SEE us toge::ther]

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YA!]

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YA!]

[NO NO NO NO NO NO NO NO NO]

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YA!]

[NOBODY wanna SEE us toge::ther]

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YA!]

[NO NO NO NO NO NO NO NO NO]

NOBODY wanna see us toge::ther

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YA!]

Let me tell you about the story of my life

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YA!]

My mother was a kitchen gir:l

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YA!]

My father was a garden boy:

[AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YA!]

That’s why I’m a freedom fi::ghter

AYABA YABA YABA YABA YABA YABA AYABA YABA YA!

Song 3.7: *Fire Brigade* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7wLkssQiFNA)

SIYA YISABA IFIRE BRIGA:DE (WE ARE SCARED OF THE FIRE BRIGADE)

HO YA: SHA::: HO YA: SHA:: (ITS BURNING ITS BURNING)

SIYA YISABA IFIRE BRIGADE (WE ARE SCARED OF THE FIRE BRIGADE)

HO YA: SHA::: HO YA: SHA:: (ITS BURNING ITS BURNING)

SIYA YISABA FIRE BRIGA:DE (WE ARE SCARED OF THE FIRE BRIGADE)

HO YA: SHA:: HO YA: SHA:: (ITS BURNING ITS BURNING)

()

HO YA: SHA:: HO YA: SHA:: (ITS BURNING ITS BURNING)

()

HO YA: SHA:: HO YA: SHA:: (ITS BURNING ITS BURNING)

Uyasha UNIBO bafwethu (UNIBO IS BURNING BROTHERS)

HO YA: SHA:: HO YA: SHA:: (ITS BURNING ITS BURNING)

Topics

The topic which dominated this theme was unity and mobilisation against a common enemy. The songs that illustrate this topic well are *Nansi imellow yellow* (There comes the mellow yellow) (Song 3.1), *Siyaya noma kunzima* (We are headed there despite the hardship present there) (Song 3.2) and *Solomon* (Song 3.3). Unlike the songs that were featured under the previous two themes and their respective topics, the singers of the songs with the unity and mobilisation against a common enemy topic were often dressed in their political party attire. Many of these songs are in fact old songs, some in their original state and some adjusted for the current political and social context. From a viewing of the sampled videos of these songs it seems as though, for election mobilisation efforts, there is a preference for a

more party focused and centred approach. Racial, historical and political symbols and references were still present.

Song 3.1 (p. 180-181) provides an interesting example of an old song that is used to unify and mobilise students. This is done by borrowing from the socio-political and historical memory of students and South Africans in general. On one level the term 'mellow yellow' refers to the colours of the ANC-aligned student body SASCO. On another level the term refers to the colour of the police vehicles often seen patrolling township streets during apartheid years. Mellow Yellow was also the name of the soda cooldrink popular in the 1980s. In the shortened lyrics of the song presented below, it is apparent that the students (seemingly SASCO members from the t-shirts they are wearing) rally each other and those watching them, to not only join them but also witness the stature of their movement:

> NA:NSI imellow: yellow ma: (THERE COMES the Mellow- yellow)
>
> SHISA shisa hee mama SHISA: SHISA: SHISA: hee mama [SHISA] (BURN burn hee mama BURN BURN BURN hee mama BURN)
>
> [NA:NSI imellow: yellow ma:] (THERE COMES the Mellow Yellow)
>
> SHISA shisa hee mama SHISA: SHISA: SHISA: hee mama [SHISA] (BURN burn burn hee mama BURN BURN BURN hee mama burn)

The imagery of violence is contained in the use of the word *SHISA*: (BURN) but this word also colloquially refers to the energetic tempo at which the song is intended to be sung and performed. The 1980s were a very violent time in the history of SA and represent a period during which many young people were involved in protests and campaigns in townships. It seems that the students currently singing this song are reminding each other and their audience of the ANC's and SASCO's historical and political credentials, which in turn

enhance their legitimacy as a voice for student concerns even today. This works well in cases where the conditions today can be compared favourably with the past.

Song 3.2 (p. 181) *Siyaya noma kunzima* (We are headed there despite the hardship present there) is an old anti-apartheid song that referred to activists' intentions to march to Pretoria (the administrative capital of SA pre- & post-apartheid) to address their grievances. This march is to be understood as a confrontation of the apartheid state and its machinery. It is ironic in terms of the current political landscape of SA that the sampled version of this song is sung by the EFF student command, who unwittingly chose a song widely used by the ANC (now the main opposition party to the EFF) to mobilise black people under apartheid. Shortened lyrics for subsequent discussion of the song are presented below:

> Siya:ya: O'Siya:ya: NOMA kubi (We are going o we are going DESPITE how bad it is)
>
> NOMA besidubula (EVEN WHEN they shoot at us)
>
> IYO Siya:ya: (IYO we are going)
>
> [BESIXOSHA] (THEY KICK US OUT)
>
> [IYO Siya:ya:] (IYO we are going)
>
> [BESISHAYA](THEY HIT US)
>
> [IYO Siya:ya:] NOMA kubi (IYO we are going DESPITE how bad it is)
>
> NOMA () (EVEN IF ())
>
> [IYO Siya:ya:] (IYO we are going)
>
> [BESIXOSHA] (THEY KICK US OUT)
>
> [IYO Siya:ya:] NOMA kubi (IYO we are going DESPITE how bad it is)
>
> KU:BI KU:BI YO: (BAD BAD YO)

SIYAYA: SIYAYA: O' SIYAYA NOMA KUBI: (WE ARE GOING WE ARE GOING O' WE ARE GOING DESPITE HOW BAD IT IS)

The confrontation proposed in this song is a collective one (*SIYAYA*) (WE ARE GOING) directed at the ANC-led government and its institutions (including the police who were often seen firing tear gas and shooting at students during the period 2015-2018) and also against university management, characterised in this song as one entity and described as violent and abusive in the words *NOMA besidubula* (EVEN WHEN they shoot at us), *BESISHAYA* (THEY HIT US) and *KU:BI: KU:BI: KU:BI* (BAD BAD BAD). The EFF students are displaying courage in the words *SIYAYA NOMA kukubi* (WE ARE GOING DESPITE how bad it is). It is with this characterisation that the EFF students spell out what unifies them; their common abuser and their courage despite this abuse. It is the confrontational resolve carried in the repeated word *SIYAYA* from which the singers seem to draw strength and unity.

Another song also frequently used by students during this period and whose topic seems to have also been unity and mobilisation against a shared enemy is Song 3.3 *Solomon*. This song precedes the period 2015-2018 and is commonly associated with the ANC. In the sampled video (see p. 182) the song is led by a well-known SASCO leader from WITS in the Gauteng province during a #FMF student march to Luthuli House, the head office of the ANC. Many of the singers are dressed in SASCO/ANC and EFF t-shirts but a large number of students are also dressed in civilian clothing. This song tells the story of a young man named Solomon Mahlangu who left SA to join MK. Upon returning to SA he was arrested and hung by the apartheid government for murder. By singing this ANC liberation song and directing it at the ANC-led government, the intention seems to be to elicit some sympathy for the students' causes while simultaneously criticising the ANC by comparing their governance with the brutality of apartheid. That Solomon Mahlangu was himself a black youth also seems to operate as a unifying tool for the singers, despite their various political affiliations.

Local Semantics

In the lyrics and performances of the majority of the songs under this theme there was strong positive messaging and emphasis on the in-group and very little messaging regarding the out-group. What was left unsung about the out-group seemed to be the opposite of what was loudly and repeatedly sung about the in-group. In Song 3.4 (p. 182-183), which is often sung by SASCO members during student body elections periods, the repeated phrase *HA RA TLELA MASAWANA:* (WE DID NOT COME HERE FOR NONSENSE) sends the message that they are a serious organisation that engages in serious matters. By omission then, opposing student organisations are labelled as engaging on unimportant matters.

Other songs that use omission/silence to accomplish this type of comparison between the in-group and out-group are Song 3.5 (p. 183) *Kae kapa kae* (Wherever you/we are) and Song 3.6 (p. 183-185). In Song 3.5 the students (often SASCO members) sing about how committed they are to their organisation and to each other [*Kena le wena* (I am with you)]. This phrase and the title of the song are repeated over and over and the image created is that this is a caring organisation and by omission, other organisations are likely uncaring. In Song 3.6 *My mother was a kitchen girl/Komanisi* (Communist) it is clear that the in-group are the marginalised black poor and by omission the other/oppressor is intended to represent wealthier (often white) classes.

The messaging in Song 3.3 *Solomon* (p.182) regarding the in-group and out-group is more explicit but is not the norm with most of the songs under this theme. In this song, the students seem to identify with being like Solomon Mahlangu. The out-group seems to be identified as *amabhunu* (farmers/whites) whom Solomon sought to kill *wayebulala amabhun' eAfrica!* (who killed boers in Africa!). The messaging around Solomon seems to emphasise a positive heroic narrative and an unwanted out-group. The use of the word *eAfrica s*eems to function as

an exclusionary point for white farmers in Africa. The history of colonialism and apartheid and the use of the term *amabhunu* in SA social, historical and political discourse lends itself to this interpretation.

Expression Structure

Yet again, the singing and performance of most of the songs under this theme was often in large groups but this time with groups of leading singers, not just one or two individuals. The groups were also usually moving purposefully as described by the term 'protest march'. This was the case with songs such as *Mellow yellow* (Song 3.1), *Kae kapa kae* (Song 3.5), *Solomon* (Song 3.3) and *Ha rea tlela masawana mona* (Song 3.4). The energetic tempo of these songs often meant that they could not be carried easily by a single lead singer. Their catchiness and simple lyrics also seemed to make it easy for all singers to lead the songs enthusiastically.

In the performance of most of the songs in Theme 3 there was a clapping of hands and stomping of feet. This seemed to serve as a method of maintaining the momentum and energy of the performance. When students sung songs from this theme they seemed to be in a jovial mood (see Songs 3.1, 3.5 & 3.7). This was consistent with the mobilisation and celebratory events during which many of these songs were sung.

Songs under this theme were also often sung repeatedly at high tempos with animated performances for long periods of time. Together with the catchy lyrics, these features seemed to make them easier to repeat many times. Songs 3.1 *Nansi imellow yellow* (There comes the mellow yellow) and 3.5 *Kae kapa kae* (Wherever you/we are) are good examples of this.

How are the discourse strategies employed in struggle songs currently sung by black student activists in SA used to construct their identities?

The 21 songs that were sampled in this study were organised into three themes that were numbered and labelled at the outset of this chapter and will now be used to present the findings on how the students employed the discourse strategies to construct their identities.

Theme 1: Guerrilla Army Emphasis

Topics

Students used this discourse strategy to construct their collective political identities as Freedom Fighters. (1) **Dissatisfaction with university management** and (2) **What needs to be done to address this injustice**, were the subtopics that emerged in the preceding analysis of the songs in Theme 1. The liberation struggle, especially the armed struggle, was used by students to enhance communication regarding their dissatisfaction with university management and how they will act against these perceived injustices. The student activists used this history and its characters to create a stencil from which they could carve out their collective political identities. For example, in Song 1.1 (p. 145-148) *Sith' amaguerrilla* (We are the guerrillas) the students are very explicit about who they identify themselves as. Through the performance (which includes marching in a military-like formation) and the lyrics, which draw on armed struggle and military terminology, they were able to confidently carve out this political identity. In the same song the leader asks the students singing with him to give him the sound of a bazooka (*Celu' MSINDO we bhezuka*) and this is immediately followed by the loud collective response of *THINA amaguerrilla:* (US the guerrillas:). Later on the students mimic the sound of a machine gun shooting in how they call each other out- *lyo- ga- ga- ga- ga [guerrilla yo:].*

In Song 1.2 (p. 148-149) student activists focus exclusively on their use of the gun to address their struggles as they loudly sing the following lyrics:

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT)

Dubula ngesbham' (Shoot with a gun)

AYESABA Amagwala (These cowards are SCARED/TERRIFIED)

DUBULA DUBULA: (SHOOT SHOOT)

The lyrics also serve to identify who the students' enemies are - *amagwala* (cowards). These cowards are not named explicitly but given the history of SA, they are likely to be those who supported the apartheid government and systems. By describing their enemies as scared (*AYESEBA*) cowards, the students are finely chiselling the contours of their political identity to incorporate a heroic and courageous dimension. This dimension is also communicated in some of the lyrics to Song 1.2 *Ghubuluzing* (p. 148-149), in which they describe their struggle as one that their loved ones are fearful of and discourage them from participating in e.g. *Buyelekhaya sthandwa:* (Go back home my beloved). Whilst acknowledging the fears of their loved ones, the students report that they must continue their struggle by stating WE are *ghubuluzing* (we are moving in the swerving motion of a snake). Students thus construct their collective political identity in direct opposition to their enemy's identity (i.e. that of a scared coward) and also by naming the struggle heroes with whom they identify.

In Song 1.1 *Sith' amaguerrilla* (p. 145-148), the students name Steve Biko as their saviour and moral ambassador. This they do in the words *[Ushilo Biko wathi()]* (Biko did say*)…..[Uzobuya buyele thina]* (He will come back for us) and *[Wathi yeka lento oyenzayo]* (He said stop doing what you are doing). In saying that Biko will return for them, the students seem to be identifying Biko as their political messiah. In so doing, the students elevate their struggle and identity construction to a spiritual level.

This spiritual theme is extended further with the cautionary words the students attribute to Biko, namely, telling their enemies to stop doing what they are doing. This enemy who is being cautioned is also named as *WENA [NZIMANDE]* (YES YOU NZIMANDE). Dr Blade Nzimande was the Minister of Higher Education and Training from 2009-2017. This period coincided with the activities of the #FMF movement. It is likely that the students are cautioning him and by extension the university management and government he represents, to stop the increase in university fees. The issue of fees was understood to represent a larger socio-economic and political question in SA; one that drew attention to the slow process of transformation led by a democratically elected government of the people. It is plausible then that the students were also naming the minister, government and university management as proxies for a larger economic and socio-political enemy, namely capitalism.

It is also notable that the students chose to confront the minister and government by identifying themselves as guerrillas/Freedom Fighters. Many of the current leaders of government were active in the armed struggle against apartheid. By using these songs against those who once used them themselves, some of whom may even have inspired their composition, likens the current democratically elected government to the government these political leaders once fought so hard to overthrow. The apartheid history of SA divided people unequally along racial lines. The armed struggle that sought to fight against this racial inequality was driven mostly by black people against a white apartheid government. By choosing to use the armed struggle to communicate their perceived injustices and their intention to act against those responsible for them, the students are inadvertently constructing their political identity as courageous, morally driven, and therefore spiritual.

Textual Schemata

The manner in which the students emphasised their messages and organised their arguments in these songs allowed them to define and construct their political identities in very unambiguous terms. In songs from this theme, the students used aggressive and confrontational methods of expression to describe how they plan to address their grievances with their enemies, thereby constructing another layer of their political identity. The students do this by using direct and catchy phrases that are sung loudly and repeatedly. These are indicated in the shortened versions of the lyrics (see p. 157-158) and include phrases such as *Sith' amaguer[rilla:]*) (We are the guerrillas) (Song 1.1), *Dubula Dubula* (Shoot Shoot)*/Ayesaba Amagwala* (These cowards are scared/terrified) (Song 1.2), and *Awuzwe* (Hear that) (Song 1.4.). These particular songs also clarify that the students intend to directly confront their enemies and harm them. Whether it is by getting in their faces and threatening them, such as described in the title of Song 1.4 and in the vocalisation of the sound of a machine gun [***Iyo- ga- ga- ga- ga guerrilla yo:***] in Song 1.1, or by shooting them in Song 1.2. Another song under this theme, *Ghubuluzing* (Song 1.3), alludes to the students' plan to confront their enemies in a more strategic, under-handed and calculated manner - ***WE are ghubuluzing*** **(WE are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)**, suggestive of adding a discerning dimension to their political identity.

In the songs sampled under Theme 1, the students seem to take for granted that everyone knows who their common enemy is. With the exception of naming Dr Nzimande in Song 1.1 and referring to *amagwala* (cowards) in Song 1.2*,* the students do not pay much attention to identifying their enemies. However, the students do manage to define their enemies through their expressed conviction and clarity about how they will confront them, thereby implying that the students define themselves as aggressive, fearless and cunning. By implication then

their enemies are defined as evil and manipulative for deserving this aggressive and calculated confrontation.

Local Semantics

The students used local semantics to construct their political identities. By utilising explicit and deliberate phrases in the songs that hold historically positive connotations, the students seem to have adopted an assertive and deliberate process by which to construct their political identity. Students used phrases such as *sith' amaguerilla* to refer to themselves as Freedom Fighters and *we are ghubuluzing* to refer to their plans to act against injustices. The positive connotations and meanings from these phrases are derived from the history of the armed struggle and the activities of those soldiers who were part of MK and APLA. The students have used these phrases effectively in the songs to communicate positive aspects about their political identity. In so doing the students use history and memory as a stencil to draw the historically conscious dimensions of their political identity.

The students also creatively construct aspects of their political identity by communicating negative messages about their opponents. By referring to their opponents as cowards (*amagwala*) in Song 1.4 and delinquents (*mdlwembe*) in Song 1.1, the students are enhancing the precision of their stencil drawings by clearly defining their opponents as negative, which constructs their own political identities as the corollary to this definition – positive.

Lexicon

Under this theme, the students use words associated with guerrilla armies to construct their political identities. Examples of these words are *amaguerrilla* (guerrilla army soldiers*), ghubuluzing* (moving in the swerving motion of a snake)*, emathafeni* (fields) and *dubula* (shoot). These words serve to furnish the content details of the political identity being constructed. The students also used these words to aggressively construct their political

identities as Freedom Fighters. For instance, the word *amaguerrilla* (guerrilla army soldiers) as it was used repeatedly in Song 1.1, was effective in boldly constructing the identity of the students as Freedom Fighters. Variations of the word in the same song in the form of the repeated emphasised phrase **[Iyo- ga- ga- ga- ga guerrilla yo:]**, as evidenced by the researcher's use of symbols to analyse shortened versions of the lyrics' transcriptions (see p. 157-158), was effective in dramatising this construction process. Listening to the song being sung and performed by the students using this word and its variations repeatedly convinces both listeners and performers of the legitimacy of this identity. The repeated and loud aggressive utterance of the word ***DUBULA DUBULA*: (SHOOT SHOOT)** and its softer but more intense version **°*Dubula Dubula*:° (Shoot Shoot)** in Song 1.2 (see p. 158) also help to solidify the Freedom Fighter dimension infused in this political identity.

The intensity of the utterance **°*Dubula Dubula*:° (Shoot Shoot)** in Song 1.2 is comparable to the repeated calls of **[We are *ghubuluzing*] (We are moving in the swerving motion of a snake)** and **[*emathafeni*:] (fields)** as sung and performed in Song 1.3 (see p. 159). Neither of these isiXhosa words are used much in everyday speech but when they are sung in the repeated and intense manner in which they are in the performance of this version of the song, they add a delicate but firm shove to how the students construct their political identities. It is notable that this song is also often sung by young male amaXhosa initiates, which adds further emphasis to the process of identity construction inherent in Song 1.3.

Rhetoric

The rhetorical styles evident in many of the songs under this theme were used very effectively to construct the political identities of the students. For instance, the repetition of messages served as a helpful strategy to convince the listener/observer as well as the singers of the confrontational and aggressive nature of the Freedom Fighters these students were

identifying as. The loud repetitions of the words **[*Sith' amaguerrilla*:] (We are the guerrillas)** in Song 1.1 and the word ***AWUZWE* (HEAR THAT)** in Song 1.4 (see p. 159-160) are good examples of this. In the sampled version of each of these songs, these words are sung in an aggressive and confrontational manner. It as though the singers want to ensure that their identification with Freedom Fighters (*amaguerilla*) is known and not forgotten. Thus they continually remind each other and their audience to hear them in the loudly repeated words ***AWUZWE AWUZWE* (HEAR THAT HEAR THAT)**.

The use of hyperbole is another rhetorical strategy that the students used in the songs to construct their identities. This was consistent with the confrontational and aggressive Freedom Fighter/guerrilla identity (i.e. political identity) they were constructing. Students threatened their enemies with violence and aggression, such as throwing bricks at them *(Istin' esandlen)* (Brick in the hand) and hitting them ***(Awshay' ungaVU:K')* (Hit it and don't get up)** in Song 1.4 (see p. 159-160), and shooting them ***DUBULA DUBULA***: **(SHOOT SHOOT)** in Song 1.2 (see p. 158). There were numerous instances during the period 2015-2016 when students did become very violent so we cannot completely rule out the reflection of reality communicated especially with reference to the throwing of bricks in Song 1.4, however shooting of ones enemies is not an accurate reflection of reality for protesting students during 2015-2018 in SA. As such, these phrases can be considered hyperbolic. Nonetheless, the deliberate use of hyperbole communicates the extreme measures that students are willing to implement, which effectively demonstrates the extent of their serious commitment to the cause and builds the strength of their identity as Freedom Fighters within this context.

The use of omission in songs such as *Wenyamazane* (Song 1.5 p. 152) is also consistent with the guerrilla army identity that students are constructing for themselves. In this song, the students do not mention where they are going. This level of silence or secrecy is consistent

with military operations, where one does not want their enemies to know their plans. Although this song is vocalised less aggressively than some of the other songs, there is a subtle threat communicated in the repeated calls of *Siyaya Wenyamaza:ne* (We are going Soldier).

Metaphor was also used as a rhetorical strategy by the students to construct their identity. With metaphors such as *wenyamazane* (soldier) in Song 1.5, the students were able to build upon their construction of themselves as Freedom Fighters. *Nyamazane* is the isiZulu word for buck. These animals are known to operate and live silently in the bush and as such are likened to guerilla fighters of the past. The level of secrecy that was used in the planning of many of the activities of the students during the period 2015-2016 could be described as being as covert as the movements of buck in the bush. Although a feature of guerrilla armies, this covert nature of their operations is equally matched with their aggression, which is communicated in the calls for the sound of guns *Celu' UMSINDO we bhezuka* (Please give me the SOUND of a bazooka) (see Song 1.1 p. 157-158 and the loud calls to repeatedly shoot one's enemies ***(DUBULA DUBULA)*** **(SHOOT SHOOT)** in Song 1.2 (see p. 158) The names of political figures such as Nzimande in Song 1.4 (p. 150-152) and Song 1.1 (p. 145-148) respectively were also used metaphorically to define the enemies of the students. Their names were repeatedly sung in a confrontational and disrespectful manner not only to communicate the students' dislike of them, and by extension university management and government, but also the aggression that the students felt was necessary in confronting them.

Expression Structures

The *toyi toying*, clapping of hands and the loud performances of the majority of songs sampled under this theme played a significant role in how the students constructed their political identities. These performances were often well orchestrated as if they had been

rehearsed and as such communicated the coordinated, confrontational and aggressive approach adopted by the students to construct their political identities as Freedom Fighters. This coordination is communicated primarily through the choice of charismatic, male students with the loudest voices for leading the protesting groups. An identifiable (usually male) leader is commonly observed giving aggressive, highly charged and motivational instructions for military and guerrilla operations. The combination of these variables express the confrontational and aggressive approach to the construction of the students' political identities.

Theme 2: The Burden of Struggle

Topics

The songs under this theme focused on the topic of pain and sorrow experienced by the students. Detailed and emotional expressions of the depth of pain and sorrow experienced at the hands of the enemy, drawn from the songs' history of apartheid, were used to outline the contours of the emotional dimension of the students' contemporary political identities. This dimension is located in a history and reality filled with black pain and sorrow that characterises the students as a black and oppressed class. This is not be understood as a weakened dimension of the identity of the students but rather one the students used to create a more complete representation of themselves and their struggle, one that demonstrates their appreciation of the history of black oppression in SA, its politics and players. Through emotional, cognitive and spiritual engagement with each other and their audience about their pain and sorrow, the students begin the process of constructing this dimension. The *Decolonised national anthem* (Song 2.1 p. 166-168) is a good example of a song under this theme that is used to construct this emotional dimension. This song borrows from the familiarity with the prayer that is now the SA national anthem, but distorts it to demonstrate

the pain and sorrow of black people that persists in SA today, demonstrative of the students' reflective abilities. The use of only indigenous southern African languages in this version of the song also stimulates the cognitive, emotional and spiritual faculties of the students to enhance the quality and clarity of this emotional dimension.

Song 2.2 (p. 168-169) *Shiwelele* (Have mercy), also demonstrates how students have used this discourse strategy to construct the emotional dimension of their political identities. The mournful and contemplative tone evident in the repeated phrase of ***shi:we:le:le:*** **(have mercy)** is effective in constructing this dimension and allows the students and their audiences to reflect on their shared history and pain as they construct this dimension of their identities.

Textual Schemata

The students made use of the country's historical and political memory and that of black South Africans in particular as a lyrical textual arrangement upon which to construct their political identities. These memories were emphasised in many of the songs under this theme by drawing similarities between students' struggles today and the violence their black predecessors were exposed to during apartheid. This we read from the detail in the lyrics of many of the songs under this theme as well as the preservation of spirit and the original lyrics of the songs. For instance, the *Decolonised national anthem* (Song 2.1) was used by students to emphasise their pain and sorrow as historical and political facts and experiences from which they emerge and define themselves. The lyrics of the struggle song version are different from the original composition of the song as a prayer as well as the lyrics of its current form as the SA national anthem. The students' choice to deviate from the current norm by singing the struggle version of this song, which is clearly identifiable as the national anthem in terms of its melody, seems to serve as a critique of the contemporary black SA experience as represented by this anthem. This critique is both confrontational and aggressive

in its assertions about the pain and sorrow still experienced by black South Africans at the hands of the devil (***sa:thane***) who they are still fighting, as evidenced in the repeated emphasised lyrics (see p. 172-174 & below):

Nkosi siph' AMANDLA: okunqo[ba:] (God give us STRENGTH to conquer)

[Silwe no sa:thane:] (So that we can fight the devil)

By choosing to sing the decolonised version of the anthem, these students both acknowledge and borrow from the historical and political memories of South Africans whilst their critique of the current SA national anthem both differentiates them and represents how they see themselves as black people today who, like their forefathers, want to fight against oppression and injustice - ***Si:be [moya munye:]*** **(So that we are united as one spirit)**.

The other songs under this theme seem to focus more narrowly on detailing the historical and contemporary questions that contribute towards the pain and sorrow of black people. Songs 2.3 (see p. 169) and 2.5 (see p. 170) remind us of some of the sources that have historically been associated with the oppression of black people in SA, namely capitalism and the imposition of perspectives, as illustrated in the shortened lyrics to these songs below.

Song 2.3 ***Ndoyika***

Ha ba batle bo kapitali (they don't want capitalism)

Ba batla bo komonisi (they want communism)

Ndoyika ndo tshabalala (I am terrified I am terrified of perishing)

Song 2.5: ***Wen'olawla i propaganda***

[WENOLAWLA] (YOU ARE THE ONE WHO DETERMINES)

[Wenolawla] i pro:paga[nda] (You are the one who determines the propaganda)

[Awus'tsh:ele] ukuth uPASMA wenzeni? (Tell us what has PASMA done?)

The reading of these lyrics suggests that the oppressor is already known to South Africans. This is a common approach taken in most of the songs under this theme, one that supports the notion that there is a reliance on historical and political memory for the students' constructions of identity. The systemic questions that the students raise in these songs demonstrate a level of sophistication involved in their assessment of their enemies and oppressors. This in turn seems to illustrate the students' ability to evaluate their current struggles in relation to larger societal and ideological ones.

These songs also capture the confrontational approach seemingly favoured by students. In Song 2.3, the students begin their singing with the words *Ha ba batle bo kapitali* (They don't want capitalism), in an effort to communicate what they are resisting and then follow this up by loudly repeating ***Ndoyika ndo tshabalala*** (**I am terrified of perishing**), to communicate the severity of the pain induced by this resistance. In Song 2.5, their confrontational approach is captured in the repeated loudness of the words **[*Wenolawla] i pro*:*paga*[*nda*] (You are the one who determines the propaganda)**. The students are thus very clear about where to place their blame – at the feet of those who control the propaganda.

As illustrated in the above discussion, the students appear to organise their arguments in the songs under this theme in a manner that allows them to construct and define their political identities as extensions of those of their political predecessors. By singing the songs in a similar manner to how they were sung in the past, the students borrow from the historical and political memory of the experiences of black South Africans as a powerful means of communicating the similarities between the subjects and characters involved in past and present struggles. The changes in some of the lyrics, as illustrated in Songs 2.1 and 2.5 above, seems to serve the purpose of highlighting their set of contemporary issues without proposing them as larger than their historical source. In so doing the students construct their political

identities against their history but sculpture it to also reflect their current struggles and challenges.

Local Semantics

Students relied on local semantics surrounding socio-political polarities originating in the history of SA that are evident in these songs, to construct their political identities. The contemplative tone of these songs allows the listener to engage with these polarities as realistic interpretations of contemporary SA life. In most of the songs under this theme the students manage to communicate their struggle and construct themselves as pursuers of a moral and just fight and struggle. In the portion of lyrics presented in the song below, the students present themselves as victims of a propaganda machine built by those in power. They challenge this power by asking what seems like a rhetorical question posed in a sarcastic and confrontational manner.

Song 2.5: ***Wen'olawla i propaganda***

> **[Awus'tsh:ele] ukuth uPASMA Wenzeni? (Tell us what has PASMA done?)**
>
> **WENZENI uPA:SMA? (WHAT HAS PASMA DONE?)**
>
> **WE:NZENI uPASMA? (WHAT HAS PASMA DONE?)**
>
> **°Awphendule° (Answer)**

The repeated loud call of ***WENZENI uPA:SMA*****?** (WHAT HAS PASMA DONE?) suggests the confrontational posture taken by the students in their opposition to those in power. The students seem to be suggesting that the cause of their apparently aggressive protests is obvious given the unfairness and oppression directed towards them by those they perceive to be holding the power inherent in the propaganda.

The students are also able to communicate the unjust and punitive nature of their opponents and thereby the students' morally justified personas in their call for their mothers to not cry (*Mama thul 'ungakhali*) in Song 2.4 *Mama we* (see p. 169). Many young people who joined the armed struggle in SA did so against the cautions of their parents who were worried about their lives. By borrowing from this powerful historical familial drama, the students constructing their identities against the magnitude of their opponents. Their request for their mothers not to cry, as if to say 'we appreciate that you understand how bad our opponents are but we must fight', presents the students as courageous pursuers of justice against an enemy so bad that it makes mothers cry in fear for their children's lives. The students accomplish this without ever mentioning who these opponents are. As such it is the historical and political memory of SA that furnishes these details, which reinforce the courage of the students and the corrupt nature of their opponents. Shortened lyrics are presented below.

Song 2.4: ***Mama we***

MAMA WE MAMA WE [MA] (MAMA WE MAMA WE MA)

°[Mama we ma]° (Mama we ma)

<u>Mama thul 'ungakhali (Mother keep quiet and don't cry)</u>

Mama we ma: we ma (Mama we ma we ma) (repeated)

Lexicon

The students use a lexicon in the struggle songs that allows them to construct their political identities in a creative manner but also draws on historical, political and ideological consciousness, thereby enabling the students to carefully chisel the finer details of their political identities. The words '*iAfrica*' (Song 2.1), 'communism' (Song 2.3) and 'mama' (Song 2.4) are used to describe the process and experience of freedom. This lexicon defines the language of their struggle and in order to understand it, the students need to familiarise

themselves with the history of colonialism and apartheid in SA. In so doing the students are able to utilise this lexicon to construct their own political and ideological consciousness. This is not just a cognitive exercise but an emotional one too, evident in the pain and sorrow communicated through the contemplative tone of many of these songs.

This lexicon is also able to characterise the players in the process towards achieving this much sought after freedom. The lyrics of the struggle songs identify those who fight against the attainment of freedom as this who do not want to protect *iAfrica*

([Nkosi sikele:la:] (God bless)

[Aw sikele: la: iAfrica:] (Oh bless Africa))

and who do not share in communist ideology

Ha ba batle bo kapitali (They don't want capitalism)

Ba batla bo komonisi (They want communism)

and as such are their enemies, whose purpose is to see the death of Africans

Ndoyika ndo tshabalala (I am terrified I am terrified of perishing).

This lexicon characterises comrades of the students as not only black but those who share in their beliefs and values, as evidenced in the lyrics above.

Rhetoric

The use of hyperbole communicates the degree of the emotional experience. In Song 2.3 (see p. 174-175) the students' cries (***Ndoyika ndo tshabalala*) (I am terrified of perishing)** are not literally suggesting that they will die under capitalism. Hyperbole here is used to construct the emotional dimension of the students' political identities. This it does by sharply and narrowly carving the aspects of this emotional dimension as delicate enough that if abused and not cared for could lead to death.

Metaphors are also used to carefully shape the specifics or vulnerabilities of the emotional dimension of the students' identities. These vulnerabilities are shaped by borrowing from other experiences that may be spiritual/religious and/or psychological in nature. In the *Decolonised national anthem* (Song 2.1 p. 166-168) and Song 2.5 *Wenolawla* (You are the one who determines) (p. 170) the students refer to their enemies as *sathane* (satan) and power as propaganda. Using these religious and psycho-political metaphors, the students are able to borrow from accessible comparisons in order trace the fine and vulnerable contours of the emotional dimension of their political identities.

Expression Structures

The leading of Theme 2 songs again by male students seems to be used by the students as a way to construct their political identities as contemplative but dominant. The male students stood out as powerful vocalists who led the songs under this theme with the delicate appreciation of their message(s). The more moderate use of *toyi toying* and clapping of hands diminished much of the distraction that these can create from the messages about pain and sorrow. Managing this dramatic, loud but also contemplative performance requires a deep sense of appreciation of the meaning of the songs and messages. The students being led in these songs in turn follow the direction and posture presented by the leader of the song. This can only be achieved if the followers trust their leader. The construction of a dominant and contemplative political identity can be observed in the sampled videos of Song 2.1, 2.3 and 2.5 (see p. 166-170 for YouTube links).

Theme 3: Unity and Mobilisation

Topics

The students using the topic of unity and mobilisation against a common enemy, constructed their political identities by giving it physical presence and lyrically identifying

themselves with historical political figures they collectively respected. In Song 3.1 *Nansi imellow yellow* (There comes the mellow yellow) (p. 180-181), Song 3.2 *Siyaya noma kunzima* (We are headed there despite the hardship present there) (p. 181) and Song 3.3 *Solomon* (p. 182) the students in the sampled videos are dressed in political party attire. This attire is the physical demonstration and construction of who they are and who they want to be identified with. This is a very simple yet effective way to construct the physical dimension of their political identity. In the lyrics to Songs 3.1 and 3.2, the students are also explicit, confrontational and persistent in how they construct the physical dimension to their political identities and how they identify themselves.

In the words ***NA:NSI imellow: yellow ma:*** **(There comes the mellow- yellow)** the students refer to themselves collectively as a physical entity that is yellow. The repeated call of who they are and how they look, together with the words loudly sung word ***SHISA*** **(BURN)**, suggest and demonstrate the confrontational and persistent nature of how the physical dimension of the student's political identity is constructed. This is also the case with Song 3.2 (p. 181) *Siyaya noma kunzima* (We are headed there despite the hardship present there), in which the students take their identity construction even further by also communicating their collective courage in the face of hardship - *SIYAYA: SIYAYA: O' SIYAYA NOMA KUBI:* (WE ARE GOING WE ARE GOING O' WE ARE GOING DESPITE HOW BAD IT IS).

Race is also used as a tool to construct the physical dimension of the political identity of the students. The collective terms ***NA:NSI*** (THERE COMES) in Song 3.1 and *SIYAYA*: (WE ARE GOING THERE) in Song 3.2 both draw on historical and political references that separate black people from white people. For instance, the term 'mellow yellow' was historically used to refer to the police vehicles that patrolled black neighbourhoods during some of the most violent times in the history of SA. Black youths were often victims of the violence perpetuated by the police driving these yellow vehicles. By using the term

contemporarily to demonstrate their unity, the students also demonstrate the confrontational nature of how they are constructing the physical dimension of their political identities. In Song 3.2, the destination that the singers are headed to was historically Pretoria, which during apartheid represented the epitome of white hegemony and its wrath. For the students to sing about heading there today, they further demonstrate the confrontational manner in which they are constructing the physical dimension of their political identities.

Song 3.3 *Solomon* (p. 182) illustrates the most comprehensive example of how the students construct the physical dimension to their political identities with songs under this theme. The repeated and loud calls of *SOLOMONI:* (HEY SOLOMON) and his background

> **ISOSHA LOMKHONTO WE SIZWE (A SOLDIER OF MKHONTO WESIZWE)**
>
> **WAYE[BULALA:] (WHO KILLED);**
>
> **[WAYEBULALA amabhun' eAfrica:] (WHO KILLED farmers/whites in Africa)**

demonstrates how the students borrow historically to persistently and confrontationally construct themselves collectively as black, courageous Freedom Fighters.

Local Semantics

The students used local semantics to construct their collective political identity. The students relied on brevity and simplicity of their messaging in the songs to construct both a clear political identity and political stance. This is evidenced in the shortened lyrics of Song 3.2 (p. 188 & below):

> Siya:ya: O'Siya:ya: NOMA kubi (We are going o we are going EVEN IF it's bad)
>
> NOMA besidubula (Even if they shoot at us)

IYO Siya:ya: (IYO we are going)

The brevity and simplicity of the words to this song also communicates the courage of the students. This is captured in the message that they are still continuing their movement (*Siya:ya:*) even if they are shot at *NOMA besidubula*.

The students were conspicuously silent in their messaging about their opponents. This further contributed to the clarity of the collective political identity. This silence also represented the perceived insignificance of the opponents in relation to the students, their positions and identities. In the absence of an alternative to the loudly, clearly and simply presented collective political identity, there was no challenge. The absence of an alternative also seems to suggest that any other perspective and identity was the polar opposite of the one(s) presented.

We see these opposite identities in Song 3.3 (p. 182) *Solomon* and Song 3.6 (p. 183-185) *My mother was a kitchen girl/Komanisi* (Communist) where the students have chosen to identify the out-group as the white Afrikaners *(amabhunu)* who are to be killed by the black people of Africa - *Wayebulala amabhun' eAfrica* (he killed the farmers/whites in Africa) and the wealthy and privileged white capitalists who made black South Africans their servants.

Expression Structures

As discussed, most of the songs under this theme were led by a number of singers, which facilitated the construction of a collective political identity for the students. The high tempo and energy required for the singing of these songs allowed for equitable contribution of the singers in the construction and definition of their collective political identity. The greater number of lead singers also solidified and legitimised the collective identity being constructed. The clapping of hands and stomping of feet dramatised and illuminated the idealised collective identity that the students were constructing. It was this dramatic

performance of the songs that also assisted in making this identity aspirational to those who were not a part of the students singing the songs.

Conclusion

This chapter employed Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) (van Dijk, 1997) to present the most common discourse strategies evident in a sample of struggle songs. The discourse strategies in these songs were then analysed in terms of how they were utilised by students in the construction of their identities during the period 2015-2018 in South Africa. Songs were initially categorised into three distinct but interrelated themes. The first reason for doing this was to highlight the differences in the types of songs that were sampled in this study. The second reason for doing this was to ensure that each song and the discourse strategies used within it were adequately analysed. All of this was undertaken to illustrate how students use these songs to construct an identity. The discourse strategies used by students in this sample of songs were used to construct a black political identity. There were a number of dimensions to this political identity, namely emotional, ideological and physical. Whiteness and white people are defined in direct opposition to blackness and black people, and more crudely and hyperbolically by defining them as Satan and cowards. The historically negative connotations of whiteness in terms of the South African political landscape, are not necessarily reserved for Caucasians but are used primarily by contemporary black student struggle song singers to identify and call out other black people who behave in ways that are reminiscent of the apartheid government and who are therefore perceived to be indifferent to the needs of black students.

CHAPTER SIX: THE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF SINGING STRUGGLE SONGS

This chapter presents the results from the second phase of the study. The intention is to analyse contemporary lived experiences of black student activists in KZN, SA who have sung struggle songs during student protest actions at some point during the period 2015-2018. Excerpts from the transcriptions derived from the audio recordings of in-depth interviews with a sample of 10 students are presented and discussed with reference to three common and key themes that emerged from an analysis of these interviews: **1) Anger and Pain**; **2) Fighting Injustice**; **3) Hope and Transformation**. Together, these themes communicate a narrative of pain and anger fuelled by injustice and oppression. This pain and anger experienced then provides the motivation for members of the oppressed population to pursue a different and more just society. The manner in which these members, who for the purposes of this study happen to be young, black student activists, chose to pursue this goal was through protest activities that centred around the singing of struggle songs. The major theme drawn from the analysis of the interviews regarding the meaning of the struggles songs for the student activists has been labelled by the researcher as: **Becoming an Activist**. This overlying theme represents the highest ideals and values that these students aspire to.

A brief description of each participant (see Table 3 p. 129 for when they were first introduced in this thesis) will precede the presentation, analysis and discussion of selected sections of interview transcriptions relevant to each of these themes (see Table 2 p. 108-109 for an explanation of the various symbols used in the transcription notations).

Participants

ANDILE. Andile is a male participant who has been registered at UKZN's Howard College campus for more than three years. Andile had been involved in politics and activism before his arrival at university. He has since served in many senior roles in university student

politics including within SASCO. Andile is passionate about the well-being of students and black youths in general.

THANDI. Thandi is a female participant who has been registered at UKZN's Howard College campus for more than three years. Thandi was first introduced to student politics and activism when she arrived at university. She describes her upbringing as one that was very protected and discouraged participation in politics. Thandi's subsequent participation in university politics was thus initially not welcomed by her family but they have come to accept it. Thandi is passionate about politics and activism that can lead to real and practical changes in the lives of students and youths in general.

KWANELE: Kwanele is a male participant who has been registered at UKZN's Pietermaritzburg (PMB) campus for longer than 4 years. Kwanele has served in many senior roles as a student leader and within SASCO. He holds very dear a socialist orientation towards politics and its promise for a more just and equitable society. Kwanele is passionate about the well-being of black students and black people in general. For Kwanele, activism is a calling.

MANDLA: Mandla is a male participant who has been registered at UKZN's PMB campus for over 4 years. Mandla has served as a student leader in various roles including within SASCO. He is passionate about his rural background and how it has shaped the person and activist he is today. Mandla believes that his background prevented him from participating in politics but on his arrival at the university he entered student politics. This was a major transformation that was difficult at first but he has come to welcome it. Mandla values the historical and philosophical elements of politics and their implementation in SA.

NKOSI. Nkosi is a male participant who has been registered with UKZN (WSTVL) for over three years. Nkosi feels that he was thrust into politics on his arrival at university but is very

proud of his contributions to the well-being of black students. Nkosi was one of the founding members of the EEFSC at UKZN, which placed him in a very vulnerable position. Nkosi considers himself a reserved, philosophical and militant activist. Nkosi is also a very passionate Christian.

SANDA: Sanda is a male participant who has been registered with UKZN (WSTVL) for longer than 3 years. He is an EEFSC member and has served in some senior positions in student leadership and politics. Sanda is very concerned about what he perceives to be an onslaught by universities against black students and believes this must be confronted directly. Sanda values the contribution of leader such as Steve Biko, whom he refers to frequently in discussions regarding his political orientation.

THANDO: Thando is a female student who has been registered with DUT at their Riverside campus in PMB for over 3 years. Thando describes her journey in student politics as having begun during her high school years and that she was excited to participate in university politics when she completed matric. Thando has participated in some senior student leadership positions. She is passionate about the importance of female participation in politics and is critical of patriarchy in student politics and politics in general.

PHILI: Phili is a female student who has been registered with DUT at their Riverside campus in PMB for over 3 years. Phili describes leadership as her calling and believes that her participation in youth politics and leadership began long before she arrived at university. Phili is an EFFSC member and has served at various levels of student leadership. She is passionate about improving the living conditions of students and black people in general.

NTOMBI: Ntombi is a female student who has been registered with DUT at the Steve Biko campus in DBN for over 3 years. Ntombi was raised in a politically active home but was shielded from participating in politics for most of her childhood. Upon arrival at university

and confronted with some of the challenges facing her fellow students, she decided to actively participate in student politics. This was mostly during the period of the #FMF movement. Ntombi has served at various levels of student leadership and politics. She values the connection to one's ancestral and familial roots for self-discovery in her politics.

MPUME. Mpume is a female student who has been registered with DUT at the Steve Biko campus for over 3 years. Mpume began participating in student politics during her second year of study when she was confronted with financial exclusion and housing difficulties. As an avid learner and churchgoer, she was affronted by the punitive treatment of students by university management. This led to her adopting a very militant posture in her politics that alienated her from many people in her life. This is an experience that has really hurt her and she is working on repairing many of these relationships. Mpume has served at various levels of student leadership.

What are the lived experiences of singing struggle songs for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu-Natal?

The background to the lived experience for all the participants in this study was a common South African and university one. This is a background that is perceived by many black people and students as still dominated by racial injustice and oppression. The themes that emerged around the lived experiences of singing struggle songs need to be understood within this context and background. The three key themes identified and mentioned in the introduction to this chapter are expanded upon below.

Theme 1: Anger and Pain

This theme represents the prevailing experience of singing struggle songs, which is a reminder of the anger, pain and suffering that continue to dominate the lived experience of black people and university students within a contemporary, democratically-led country. The

participants are very cognisant of the history of racial injustices in SA and often expressed their pain and anger with this historical awareness as a background. This is what Sanda had to say about the first time he heard these songs and his experience of them.

> Sanda: Yes, the first time I became familiar with struggle songs, you know uhm just like everyone I knew that apartheid was wrong, this thing shouldn't have happened but you know every time, every time I heard them sing, it was something different, "hai no man these people" I, I can feel like, it's like it's like I'm with them. Every time every time they sing struggle songs that's the time I get frustrated, I see this thing, they were harassing people, killing them every time they sang is something that happened to me.

Hearing these songs for the first time, Sanda reports that he was reminded of the pain that black people in SA experienced during apartheid but also how this pain was still present in a post-apartheid SA. The songs, it seems, made it very difficult for Sanda to ignore this pain. This pain was experienced by Sanda as a something that frustrated him. This experience of frustration brought on by hearing these songs led to Sanda becoming aware of what he felt the university was doing to black students like him, which was to "frustrate" and "kill" them.

In keeping with the ability that struggle songs seem to have of being able to bring awareness to personal feelings, Phili suggests that these songs are inherited by black people through birth, and are the mechanism through which black people can be present in this world and experience it emotionally.

> Phili: almost let's say seventy or eighty percent of black people should know of certain struggle songs 'cause they've been there, like, we were BORN into struggle songs because (..) struggle songs are one thing that take, that just (..) gives you that emotion, it makes you FEEL about what's happening in that moment.

Phili describes her feelings almost as a collective birthright for all black South Africans and which are thus unavoidable and find expression within the current university context as a perceived "anti-black" attitude expressed by the university system and management as described by Sanda below.

> Sanda: Students get excluded every day, students get academically excluded (…) these people do MISTAKES that COST students their education, they don't care, they don't care about US; they don't care about black people. The university as a whole is anti-black, so every time you are here, you know that "I am here but (..) the university because is anti-black doesn't want me to be here (..) I am just here for the sake of being here (..) but the system is COLLAPSING.

Sanda interprets his experience of the university system as uncaring and rejecting and as such he labels the university as "anti-black". There is a palpable sense of desperation and perceived injustice in parts of Sanda's explanation, especially when he briefly acknowledges the imperfections of students and the unfair treatment of them. This experience of being uncared for and rejected by university management seems characteristic of what one often associates with neglectful parents. Acknowledgement of the imperfections of students seems to be an admission of some degree of culpability but which are unfairly managed. The effect of poorly managing these imperfections is experienced in its extreme form as an anti-black posture towards black students. In the face of this perceived anti-black attitude, one of the participants argued that black students felt helpless and vulnerable.

> Phili: Why we being killed? Why are we being killed? …. we not in this world to disrupt them from doing whatever they are doing it, but now they make it part and parcel, *SENZENI?* (What have we done?) (…) by that just song, it's a question asking the university. AND it's not a question that someone can answer, "WE DON'T

> KNOW, WE DON'T KNOW" (..) WE DON'T KNOW why apartheid was there. "SENZENI? What did we do to deserve apartheid?". "WE DON'T KNOW". These songs you sing but you there is no answer but they just feel relevant for that time.

Drawing on a struggle song from the apartheid era sung often during times of mourning (*Senzeni na?*), Phili draws parallels between the plight of black students in universities today and the violence that caused the death of so many black people during apartheid. The pain of this experience forces black students to ask rhetorical questions, the effect of which seems to be to highlight the desperation of black students in the face of their unjust treatment and victimisation by university management. Despite the desperation emanating from this perceived anti-black attitude, the experience of being confronted by it has managed to inspire and conscientise many black students to the plight of black people in contemporary SA more generally.

> Andile: Maybe I can make an example about a song, () the song that we sing today, by Msizi Dube, *"asina mali asi sebenzi…."* (we do not have money we do not work) that song was sung here at eThekwini (Durban) eh during the protest. Msizi Dube was the leader of the protest to say "we are black, we are not working, we can't pay rent to the municipality WHY are you chasing us?" That SONG was sung in that context. NOW we brought it in the, in the, in the university level, campus level to say *" wathi Msizi Dube abantu bamnyama asisebenzi abana mali asinamali"* (Msizi Dube said black people do not work, they have no money we have no money) that is how we contextualise it within our own struggle to say "we are students, we are black, we don't have money to pay the university why are you chasing us?". That, the minute you sing that song, even the students who are apolitical start to, to, to, to process on those lines to say "oh, this, this forces are fighting this fight. This fight is about", that is how your conscious[ness]s is built, that is how we are able to attract a lot of people

> to say (..) that there is a song, there is the struggle, no matter (..) how we fail to articulate our opposition, but through the struggle song we feel we do wonders in articulating our position, that is how we attract people. That is how we build consciousness.

According to Andile, the collective power of struggle songs should conscientise even the most apolitical of students, by making them aware that their struggles as black people are common to those who are protesting and as such they should unite and join them. Singing struggle songs is thus described as a deliberate attempt to make all black students come to the realisation that their pain is not a subjective/individual experience but a collective one, shared by many other black students as well as generations of black people who have come before them. Andile's use of the example of this song by Msizi Dube can be interpreted as his attempt to locate the struggles of black students within those of the larger communities in which they were raised, e.g. *eThekwini* (Durban) where many black people are poor.

Locating the struggles of black students within the larger historical, socio-economic and political discourse of SA was directly referred to by one of the participants in the description of her experience of struggle songs and her participation in student politics.

> Kwanele**:** So we then had the fees must fall and it also included outsourcing must fall (..) because uhm in the outsourcing must fall ours was was to agree that "we as the children of the working class, we identify with the workers because they are our PARENTS at the end of the day and we believe that they must work in conditions that are conducive for THEM and must GET pay that is equivalent to the work they give". But what PAINED us the most was also that there are the aunties and uncles that clean the university, but their children will never set foot in the university, they clean the lecture halls and possibly admire the lecture halls and hope that their children will

> one day at least one day come to these institutions. But because of the commodification of institutions of higher learning and education in our country, their children will not be able to.

Kwanele believes that black students are directly affected by these larger socio-economic and political questions because of who they are in terms of their background and upbringing. Many black student activists and black students in general are the children of poor working class parents, who like the cleaners and gardeners at the university cannot afford to pay university fees. Some may also have unemployed parents and others may have had no parents at all or been raised by their grandparents or extended family or even their community as a whole; yet another inherited and ongoing injustice from the apartheid system. Described in this way by Kwanele, most black students and activists cannot separate themselves and their struggles from those facing the larger black working class in SA.

This consciousness and awareness may also be the result of childhood experiences exemplified by Mandla's description of himself as "a boy from the rural areas", who would otherwise be misled by the sense of accomplishment and achievement brought on by being exposed to the perceived privileges of university life.

> Mandla: For instance, if you take a boy from the rural areas, yes, you've taken them to res, they have seen the light and all that. So (..) there's more excitement that "I'm here!", then my condition is worse than I think than what I see, you know (…) So it was two things that I, am part of this because I understand that I should be part of it.

Mandla seems to be arguing that despite whatever illusions of grandeur present themselves to black students on arrival at university, the true reality of their lives and experiences will inevitably find expression, often through songs.

Mandla's description of his reality is referred to in more spiritual terms by Ntombi when reflecting on her experience of the songs.

> Ntombi: SO: I think that's the realisation I just got is "okay the struggle songs are actually something very genuine" BECAUSE when you look at it you will be like "ahh mang sings a song and it gets everyone all huffy puffy and wanting to go and burn things" it's not that, it's the fact that it touches your soul and makes you realise that where you are at, you are actually oppressed we need to break through these chains (..) but like I said It was from a very young age.

From Ntombi's perspective, it is limiting to focus exclusively on the performance of the song at the expense of the larger and deeper experience that the performance of the song has to offer. For Ntombi, the songs are a good reflection of the singers' experiences and as such facilitate the process of conscientising and raising awareness of the oppression experienced by black students and people. This awareness that is raised through singing struggle songs in part contributes greatly to the experience of wanting to fight against the oppression of black people or in Ntombi's words, "break through these chains".

Theme 2: Fighting Injustice

This theme represents the experience that the participants reported about singing the songs in the face of their palpable feelings of pain, anger and continued injustice. The motivation to fight injustice follows the awareness of the pain caused by apartheid and the perceived ill-treatment of black students by university management today. Black students' experience of this ill-treatment as earlier discussed, is often equated to the apartheid government's treatment of black people. This motivation in part explains what sometimes seems like the impulsive response to fight against injustice.

This is what Nkosi had to say about the first time he felt like fighting (or "being ready to tackle") injustice when singing struggle songs.

> Nkosi: these revolutionary songs if I may say (..) better than gospel that I love the most. I still love gospel now but (..) there is something that just happened to me when, when we were singing, you know, as a group. And to the extent that at some point you feel that uhm (..) whatever enemy that may come at this time we are ready to tackle it now. You know, that was the kind of feeling or emotion that um.

Nkosi begins his response by making a distinction between gospel music and struggle songs. This distinction seems to serve the purpose of differentiating how he feels about both types of music. Nkosi makes a point of noting that despite his love for gospel music, his experience of collectively singing struggle songs was even more powerful or "better" as he describes it. Earlier in the interview Nkosi mentioned that he comes from a strong religious background. It is against this background that one needs to interpret his statement about struggle songs being "better" than gospel music. There seems to be a need for Nkosi to protect his love for gospel music in the face of his new-found appreciation for struggle songs. This is communicated in how he precedes his experience with struggle songs by reminding the researcher that he loves gospel music. This reminder seems to serve the purpose of limiting any guilt he may feel due to his new appreciation of struggle songs. This guilt is likely to stem from the topics and experiences often understood to be associated with the two types of music. Whereas gospel songs and music are associated with feelings and topics relating to love and forgiveness, struggle songs, as we learn later from his words, are associated with fighting.

Nkosi says that singing struggle songs changed him and motivated him to confront the "enemy". This enemy can be interpreted to be the source of the pain and suffering that protesting black students often express, namely the university's failure to address the

concerns and grievances of black students. These concerns and grievances are often understood to stem from inherited perpetuated racial injustice and poverty. Nkosi notes that his experience of feeling like he wanted to fight ("tackle") the enemy was an unexpected one that emerged from singing struggle songs as part of a group. Despite the unexpectance of this feeling, Nkosi infers that singing the songs as a group gave him courage that "whatever enemy that may come at this time we are ready to tackle it now".

What seems like an unexpected feeling of courage to fight one's enemy and confront the source of one's grievances is expressed in a slightly different way by another participant.

> Mpume: I was a churchgoer, I was in NCO, and I was praising the Lord, you know! Come second year (..) I started being absent from NCO I was like in SASCO, I was wearing a yellow t-shirt, I was busy striking. I was a MESS, I'm telling you, and I was a mess.
>
> Mpume: it is, trust me, it is and my family was like, "how did we get HERE? Because at first year you were this child that is respecting, that knows the rules" but second year I was not even coming back home. I was starting to stay at campus, no more visiting home even when school close, I chose to be with comrades, we engage, we do all those things they do. So even my family was like, "what changed?" I told them, "I didn't have issues at first year so I didn't understand what these people are doing but come second year, I KNEW the pressures that they are going through"…… I was an ANGRY returning student, second year, I was ANGRY.

For Mpume it was the people around her that were most surprised by what they perceived to be her sudden, unexpected response and behaviour. This is likely because she describes herself as "a churchgoer", by which she implies that she was a peaceful person who respected rules before she began participating in student politics and singing struggle songs. Mpume

presents this background for what seems like a similar purpose to that of Nkosi. Providing this background seems to be Mpume's way of demonstrating how different her experience of singing struggle songs and participating in student politics was from her churchgoing activities. Activities relating to church seem for Mpume to represent a gentler version of herself than her singing of struggle songs and participation in student politics.

Mpume reports that her negative experience of struggling to register due to financial reasons and the university's callous response to this in her second year, gave her insight into what striking students were experiencing. Mpume had not been able to identify with these striking students in her first year because she did not have these financial problems. It was this experience and others that led her to experience the songs as a motivation to fight against what she perceived as injustices faced by black students. It is against this background that Mpume does not believe that her transformation was sudden. Mpume seems to believe that her response to her new problems and experiences was to be logically expected, although her words also seem to convey a possible element of regret that by virtue of the university's unjust treatment of black students, she temporarily lost sight of her initial goals and became caught up in collective political action. This speaks to the power of struggle songs to conscientise and unite people in their fight against their oppressors but the word "struggle" also alludes to the internal struggle experience by those who sing these songs. A struggle between the past and the present, the self and the collective, a struggle to construct an identity that is both unique and individual but also representative of the collective identity of the people who raised you and the people to whose group you now belong. Despite these new experiences in Mpume's life during her second year, people in her life still experienced her transformation as surprising.

Fighting perceived injustice is also described as a never-ending process for black students and black people. This is what Phili had to say about the lived experience of singing struggle songs and fighting.

> Phili: °we are always fighting° (…) I know you might not realise it, some people don't realise that we are always fighting but we are always fighting. AND what's the sad part is THAT (..) we FIGHT against black people.

> Phili: It's like this one *Senzeni na?* (What have done?) (..) You sing that song and you actually cry because you end up asking yourself "WHAT DID I ACTUALLY DO to deserve what's happening right now?" (..) My only mistake is that I wanted to help black students. Because we are still fighting , every day we are still fighting against apartheid because now they try to shut us up by education and they are using varsities for that…….. Nothing is made easy for a black person, NOTHING in this world is made easy, and we have to fight for everything as much as we think everything is fine now. Its fine, we are living life. NO! NOTHING IS FINE (..) if we still struggling to do something. We are still fighting everything. At times, the way they actually made it, now we are just fighting each other as black people. I am just like (..) "my vice chancellor is black and wow the things he's doing (..) the things he's doing are not okay. How can he only allow students to sleep on the road? On the road!

For Phili it would seem that the need to keep fighting is not optional for a black person. This is because injustice against black people is unrelenting, particularly in SA. Whereas many black people, including Mpume and Nkosi, may not have realised until joining student politics that black people are always fighting, Phili seems to argue that the hardships experienced by black people are by design and deliberately positioned as an "acceptable" narrative within contemporary SA society. This can be likened to the oppressive structures of

apartheid, many of which were “normalised” to such an extent that most black people were not even consciously aware that they were being oppressed. Hence the need for anti-apartheid activists to develop a powerful tool for conscientisation, which they found in the form of struggle songs. Phili contends that even today black people and students have to fight for everything in life because the world does not care for them. Phili argues that access to higher education seems to be the new plane where the war against black people and students is being waged. This fight is made even more painful by the fact that it is now black people themselves, who by virtue of their socio-economic, historical and political position in society, now lead the oppression of their own people, through methods often reminiscent of apartheid.

This black-on-black violence is something that Phili feels strongly about and it comes up numerous times in the interview with her as demonstrated in the extracts above. One space where this black-on-black violence is very visible is in the university context. For Phili, the naming of the vice chancellor seems useful for her to illustrate black-on-black violence and the contradictions and violence inherent in SA society, which she believes lie in recognising the achievements of some black people who then oppress other black people and prevent them from attaining similar achievements. Her understanding seems to demonstrate the enduring struggle facing black people and students that has no clear and obvious escape in sight.

Sanda continues in similar vein to Phili by further naming the other players in this fight against injustice. In his view, fighting injustice is more an exercise that is taken up by black students and not white and Indian students.

> Sanda: since I came three thousand students but there is a population of fourteen thousand (..) so we get three thousand people () who decide who is going to lead fourteen thousand people. You know why? People don’t like politics people. The

> majority of students here are not affected by anything (..) They are white people, they are Indians. They are not affected if EVEN the people I always say "you can't be neutral. If you are neutral Steve Biko says that in the situation of injustice you've automatically chosen the side of the oppressors". So if there is INJUSTICE and you are NEUTRAL (…) YOU ARE THE OPPRESSOR you can't be neutral.

According to Sanda, white and Indian students are not affected by any of the conditions experienced by black students at university. As a result of this, white and Indian students do not appear to see the need to fight any injustice. It is however not white and Indian students as race groups that are the subject of most of his criticisms but rather those who claim neutrality in the face of injustices experienced by black students. Sanda echoes Biko's argument that those who do nothing and are indifferent to the oppression of others are themselves the enemy and the oppressor. As such, neutrality is actually a choice to accept the injustice and thereby indicates support for the oppressor. Labelling some people as neutral then broadens the definition of those who are the oppressors. Through this definition, some black people and students can be considered to be part of the oppressors.

In illuminating this, Sanda seems to inadvertently share some of the views of black-on-black violence communicated earlier by Phili. According to Sanda, those black people who remain neutral are also cowardly because in the face of what he considers to be objective facts, in this case injustice against black people and students, they choose to remain impartial. This is different from his description of white and Indian students as largely unaffected and possibly ignorant.

Neutrality thus affords more power to the oppressor and seems to be a variant of what Thandi describes as "wokeness". There is a growing apathy that Thandi reflects on in student politics and activism that she warns against.

> Thandi: we can talk about how black people are marginalised. We can talk about how, um, how, how much the injustices are affecting us and all that but what are we doing about it? You know, coz it will stay like that. That is how I was like, I stayed in the dark for so long, like when I was in high school, when I was in my community because no one could stand up and say, okay, "ku nje! We are going to do this now, we are moving in this direction. (.10)", so yeah, it's, it's, it's, sometimes I don't blame them because it is the communities that they have been raised in the backgrounds and they have been exposed to environments that they see, yeah.

Unlike those who are neutral, Thandi seems to place apathy at the door of some who are involved in student politics today and not just those who are not visibly aligned to political movements and activities. For Thandi, those who do nothing despite their knowledge of the injustices faced by black people, delay the progress to redress these injustices. Thandi accuses herself of having once been one of those people who knew of the injustices but did nothing about them. Thandi describes this way of being as like staying "in the dark". This metaphor for Thandi seems to suggest an absence of direction. This in a sense suggests that there is no point to knowledge because it leads to nothing. Thandi does provide some comfort to herself and others who demonstrate apathy to possibly their socialization and not exclusively by choice. Andile, student leader and activist, briefly discusses how his particular socialisation has prevented him from being apathetic.

> Andile: we attended rallies at Esigodini, we attended rallies where the political party will bring their leaders, then there will be struggle songs that are sang like a saying like, like a church you sing the song that indicate that you are at church in the political space you sing the struggle songs that indicates that you are in the struggle.

> Andile: if you aspire to be someone at the society and you ASPIRE the society to be something else, it then BECOMES your responsibility to execute those, those, those aspirations because I ASPIRE to, to, to see a society where there is democracy and prosperous society, that is my view and it is within me that responsibility not some, not a waste and not an expense to me it is not a liability to me. It is what I must do, if I am not doing it, who will do it? Because it is my responsibility.

Andile recalls how his very political socialisation directed him towards an active role in changing the lives of people and that of his community. The songs that he sung in politics from an early age in his community educated him and made him aware of the struggle that black people were engaged in. This education and socialisation in part influenced his belief that fighting for change and shaping his community was a responsibility that he had to pursue. In part because he was socialised in this way, his contribution to the fight for change has not been a waste for him.

This pursuance of change and a need for transformation is addressed in the third key theme identified regarding how the singing of struggle songs was experienced by many of the participants in this study.

Theme 3: Hope and Transformation

This theme highlights the feelings of hope and transformation that the participants experience when they sing struggle songs. Hope is experienced as an anticipatory feeling for positive change and evolution. This change is one that moves from a less preferred societal and personal state to a preferred new one. Transformation is experienced as an ideal state of equality and unity and is expressed implicitly on a societal level but more explicitly on a personal level, as evidenced by the participants in this study. At a societal level, equality and unity refer to the state of shared privilege and access to resources as well as harmony between

persons. On a personal level, equality and unity refer to a state of spiritual contentment with self and connection between one's past, present and future. Whilst the hope for a positive change remains relatively alive for some participants, it has been lost for others.

For many of the participants, transformation remains an ideal that has been difficult to achieve on both societal and personal levels. Sanda presents the most comprehensive and positive expression of hope and transformation experienced from singing struggle songs.

> Sanda: you know when you sing this song (..) they are very personal, you know when you sing you get motivated you know man, "this thing can't happen they are people who die for this things" (..) and those people during the difficult times the only thing they had was their voices to sing, there was nothing they can do, they was nothing they can do. The only thing they can do during that period during that time was to sing (…) to VOICE out whatever that was troubling them, the only thing they had was a voice to sing and that kept them [going]. So during Fees Must Fall, the times we sang we knew that "no there is nothing we can do here" but when we sing every time, we know that "no man this thing is going to work", we get hope. We get coming from nowhere, just from singing. We see now that this thing is going to happen, so there is this one song , uhm "nobody wanna to see together", you know we sang that song (..) during the times we sang it (..) we were united, even though we had differences, even though we were from different political parties but when we sang that song we were united, we were one cause we knew that we can relate to each other, that song kept us together, that song kept us during the whole Fees Must Fall, and there is a song '*Nkosi sikelel 'iAfrika Maluphakanyisw' uphondo lwayo'* (God bless Africa, may her glory be lifted high), that song only started during Fees Must Fall (.) Nkosi sikelela ((singing)), you know that song every time we sang that song you knew things are

> going to work and fees will fall, EVERY TIME we sang that song we just know that fees will fall.

For Sanda, his experiences of singing struggle songs, such as the *Decolonised national anthem* (Song 2.1 p.166-168) as he describes them here were an incredible source of motivation and strength that was shared by his political predecessors, who much like black students today, had very little hope to draw from to drive them and their struggle against oppression. Yet in the collective singing of struggle songs, both contemporary black student activists and their political predecessors found a "voice" to communicate their message and help them work towards achieving their desired ends. Sanda's repeated use of the word "voice" is significant in that he imbues it with a political meaning, one that differentiates players in a political game. Access to a voice is both a source of power and transformational potential as well as an identity. For Sanda to suggest that the songs gave him and his political predecessors a voice is to suggest that the songs gave them some access to power that could potentially enable them to change their lives and those of other black people. Making a comparison between his struggle and that of his political predecessors also seems to be a way of legitimising black students' current struggle. Despite being different and holding different political views, Sanda argues that singing struggle songs during the #FMF movement unified all of those who believed in the movement. Through the singing of struggle songs, particularly those which emanated from the apartheid era, all parties were able to see their broader commonalities and work towards a common goal. Sanda's direct reference to #FMF also seems to represent more than achieving free tertiary education but a larger societal goal of equality and redress.

Ntombi chose to describe her experience of hope and transformation by drawing on African spirituality and traditions.

> Ntombi: from experience what I've learnt is (…) being in these surroundings where students are singing these songs and they are hearing these drums it has first one made them go back start re-reading history (..) two, go back and actually start hearing what our elders had to say about our history hence you find a lot, like they say that the upcoming generation now is more or less straying away from Christianity and going more towards spirituality, it's because of these things… UBUNTU is vested in that in that we care for those around US before ourselves that's how our previous ancestors used to live….. singing these songs it connects you though you are not realising it, and it sends you back into finding out "what was initially happening? How were my ancestors living?" And that's how you end up finding and going into yourself. Like I said a lot of people end up understanding themselves like I said previously, a lot of people start growing towards spirituality…

The hope that these songs provide for Ntombi and other black students who sing them is the possibility of reconnecting with their roots and pasts, which according to Ntombi, requires the execution of a few activities that some of them have already undertaken. Amongst others, these activities include learning about one's history and culture, however Ntombi does not speak of a societal transformation; a personal transformation seems to be the focus of her thoughts and is one that she has also noticed in other black students. Personal transformation for Ntombi and some of her black peers has been a process of spiritual awakening and connecting with her past and the values of her ancestors. Fully understanding and living according to values such as *Ubuntu* feature prominently in how this personal transformation takes shape. Ntombi therefore suggests that the singing of these songs activates a process of self-discovery that leads to spiritual growth and transformation.

On the other hand, Thando's personal experience of singing struggle songs and engaging in political activism has been one in which many of her hopes have not been met and there has been very little transformation, at least in the manner in which she would have liked.

> Thando: YES, a girl scaring management, I think, I think it has to with spirituality also, you know, uhm growing up, you know and understand ukuthi [that] this is where I stand as a person AND you know and understand that these are the things that I want to accomplish in life, so when I put my mind into something I want to achieve it, no matter what it takes. I, I am a fighter like by birth, by nature, by everything, so: I just when you sing a song. A song for me I listen to it very different music, it has to be soulful in order for me to understand …where I relate with when it comes to the spirituality of the music because it all has to do, it all has to have a meaning all the time so for me it was more or less uhm connecting with the song and understanding the song. Each and every word in the song and me analysing it. I know no one understands that females, especially in the political sphere, it's not easy for them to, to prosper or COMMAND a song, you har:dly see a woman commanding a song….. ONE that commands the COMMANDER of the song it's always men and for ME: it never bothered me until a certain time where I realised that I do have a voice. I could have always done it, but because they needed a different voice, MY voice was not enough to be heard, you know, I would scream and shout on the sides.

Although she does not go into much detail, Thando indicates that she does have particular hopes and aspirations for change that she believes are important and achievable due to her history and fighting spirit. This fighting spirit is also communicated in how deeply and spiritually she considers the music she listens to and the songs she sings. We gain some insight into what her hopes might be in her statements about the treatment of women in student politics and the politics of leading struggle songs in particular. Her realisation that she

has a voice awakened her to the reality that females are not treated equitably or valued as much as males are in student politics. Societal transformation in her opinion then would seem in part to include a redressing of women's roles in political activism. On a more personal level these struggles for women in politics have inspired what seems like a discovery of her innate strength as a woman who has a voice, albeit not fully appreciated at this time. The importance attributed to the commanding or leading of struggle songs is dealt with later in this section.

The tensions that an individual is faced with regarding transformation are dealt with further by Mandla who recalls how his initial transformation experience was not consensual.

> Mandla: protest it was LESS of your CHOICE, you know it was less of your choice because you will have that song "zinja niya attenda" ((singing)) (these dogs are attending [lectures]) and has so much vulgar when, when it was intensified. And the morning there will be mobilisation at five o'clock, so you are sleeping in your WOB [William O'Brien] residence, someone is no, is not knocking ((knocking on table)), is BANGING the door, you've been told the day before that "there's protest, you must go and attend to protest" and people were leadership, people were respected, they have been here for some time… .

Mandla's early experiences of struggles songs was hearing them sung by aggressive and forceful older male student political leaders who threatened him and other students who were new to the university. During this time Mandla does not recall holding any specific hopes or transformational ideals apart from those he was possibly being forced to support. This and these initially imposed efforts eventually led to what Mandla describes as an unsettling disruption of who he was.

> Mandla: so (..) so I think that's the out of order disruption that happened in me and I think it's the out of order disruption that happened in so many people you know? (..) in so many people, that is why there are many people who can never apologise for the events JUST like the people of apartheid will never apologise for the events of apartheid whether they have killed the person whatsoever (..) it was a necessary killing (…) it was bound to happen because it was it was a state out of order, of disruption.

Like Thando, Mandla offers no clear description of what his hopes and transformational ideals were. It would seem that for Mandla the actual details of what his hopes and transformational ideals were, was/is less important than the personal change taking place. Mandla seems to depersonalise his experiences in student activism and politics by describing them as common in the history of many political actors, including during apartheid. In doing so it seems as though Mandla believes that some of his goals and ideals may not be appreciated by those who do not share his political beliefs. This is based on his suggestion that many acts by political actors during apartheid were not and continue to be misunderstood by those who do not have experience of this disruption. This manner of defending political actors and their acts in some way does communicate a certain the confidence that Mandla holds about his hopes and transformational ideals.

Kwanele, who shared a political home with Mandla, provides a more detailed description of his experience of being inducted into student politics.

> Kwanele: I was then approached by comrades that belonged to the student organisation called SASCO….I remember when they ((chuckle)) they first tried to recruit me I told them that we are all politically conscious, and ((laughs)) I didn't know what that meant at that time , I was just telling them that "I think I know"

> because they were senior students uhm one person who's now A great friend of mine, I was doing masters at that time, I'd say he was patient with me, ehh because the others were offended when I told them "we are all politically conscious I will make my own decision they don't need to come to my room every day". And he, he then gave me some books to read, he gave me uhm Steve Biko's pdf, that's the person that I would say was patient with me uhm and as time went I then joined SASCO. Uhm and I fell in love with the organisation and what it represents ……..That's when I learnt that people can eat from a pot (..) and share that food ……So having brothers that we can have conversations with and eat from the same pot then that's when I got to realise that I would have conversations with these people and some would become my friends so that's how I became a student activist……towards the end of 2015 uhm there was SRC on campus, the SRC on campus of that time, was the ANC of the youth league I didn't agree with them and I have and for a long time even to this day I have felt that the politics left the ANC youth league when the leadership of the Malema's, Floyd Shivambu's were expelled from the organisation and I felt that that that absence of politics and ideology.

In detailing his introduction to SASCO, Kwanele describes in some detail what can be understood as his orientation to the organisation and its values. The values of SASCO, according to Kwanele, seem to have been captured in the reading of Steve Biko's book, the sharing and brotherliness he experienced as a member of SASCO and identification with the organisation's political ideology at the time.

Furthermore, there were other traditions that Kwanele found in SASCO that could speak to the hopes and transformational ideals held by its members.

> Kwanele: comrades CHANT, they CHANT, they chant, they chant, they chant and it sets the mood for the meeting (..) and it (..) somehow one may even think that its somehow a call for those who have walked the journey before us (..) and both the living and the dead, because within those songs you'll find that there will be names of people who have died uhm the example would be there is a song that includes Siphiwe Zuma, Siphiwe Zuma was a young man uhm who died in the early 2000s uhm Siphiwe Zuma was president of SASCO at that time unfortunately he didn't finish his term of office.

Although not a comprehensive account of the hopes and aspirations held by Kwanele, he provides some insight into a common singing practice during SASCO meetings and his experience of it. To suggest that there is a calling for political predecessors refers to the possibility of commonly held hopes and transformational ideals between them. This is made more explicit in the naming of particular political characters in many of the songs. To suggest that it was unfortunate that Siphiwe Zuma "didn't finish his term in office" is indicative of the high value he placed on his political identity and the leadership of SASCO at that time.

Returning to Mandla's somewhat negative experience of the largely external disruption caused by his induction into student politics, Thandi reflects on how the more internal experience of disruption, although not easy for her, was a welcome one. This is what Thandi had to say about leading the singing of a struggle song for the first time.

> Thandi: I only LED a song in 2018 (..) and I was NERVOUS, you know, coz I am just like (..) "are they gonna sing with me?" Uh, but you couldn't just pop up and say, okay, I wanna lead this song you had to be known that you stand for those views. You had to be known that wena you are always there for students, you know, so you couldn't just, yeah.

Thandi draws our attention to the fact that even once the disruption has happened within you, there is still a nervousness that other activists may have not noticed or validated it. It is not enough for the change or the transformation to take place within the person, other activists have to acknowledge this transformation and proof of this acknowledgement is expressed in them allowing you to lead them in song.

Andile confirms this view held by Thandi and argues very strongly that being able to lead a song is a sign of good leadership.

> Andile: You know when you are young I always have the mentality to say "as the growing generation, I am not that much of a drinker, I am not that much of a smoker, in fact I don't smoke. I drink occasionally", I always say that if you are the person who drinks, I was the president of the SRC I was known at the community, if I drink I must make sure that I am at home in my room or somewhere at the club I can't get drunk in front of young ones, young ones must must have role models and they look up to us. If I do something whether *dom* [stupid] or good or what what, the young ones will will will take a note of that behaviour and copy it because they look into ourselves. Even OURSELVES when we sang the songs and the people do sang with, we WANTED to be like them. We felt that "WE are like them", we felt that we want to be like them that is how I feel to say "one day I want to sing this song at the podium, I want to be like them MYSELF.

For Andile there are many things that a political leader cannot participate in because they have to reflect particular values and beliefs especially to younger people. These values are often held by those who are respected in the organisation that one belongs to. Andile, like Mandla and Kwanele earlier, belong to SASCO. The detail he provides for good leadership and the important values for a leader is probably the clearest picture of what the hopes and

transformational ideals held by other SASCO members such as Kwanele and Mandla are likely to be.

Much like Thandi then, Andile argues that the indication that one was achieving the valued transformational goals of the organisation is in being given a platform and podium to lead a song. This in part is the power of song that Nkosi notes below.

> Nkosi: political music (.10) from a Christian point of view, I would say it is probably DEMONIC to some level because it has that power you know to drive you and move you. And you can find your identity in music (..) who you are (…) who you are.

According to Nkosi, struggle songs are so powerful in their ability to instigate change that they can be described as "demonic". As "demonic" as they may be, they allow one to find themselves. The meaning that these songs hold for the participants in this study focuses on the process of becoming. This is presented in the section that follows.

What do struggle songs mean for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu-Natal?

There was only one common theme that emerged strongly for the meaning that struggle songs hold for the participants in this study. This theme was titled by the researcher as: **Becoming an Activist**. A subtopic to this theme was the distinction made by the participants between a politician and an activist.

Theme 1: Becoming an Activist

This theme represents the journey expressed by the participants towards becoming activists. Being an activist forms a part of who the participants define themselves as. Struggle songs were the unifying means and mechanism through which this journey towards becoming activists was achieved. The journey of becoming an activist can be described as

form of rebirth for all participants. For some this rebirth began as early as their childhood and for others on arrival at the university.

This is what Andile had to say when responding to the interviewer's question regarding when he first became familiar with struggle songs and began to sing them himself.

> Andile: I think it was 2000, some, some mid-2000, because my community was a very active communities of South Africa where I learnt some of this, in my high school days that is where we were exposed to these struggle songs by the community because they were sang in the community I lived in [at]Esigodini, that is how we got too exposed to struggle songs.
>
> Andile: Yeah, my community is Pietermaritzburg Esigodini at Kalangeni area, it is known for being active in politics of South Africa, we have several activist who reside in our community, near our community to have, Dr Blade Nzimande near us, we have Harry Gwala near Esigodini Pietermaritzburg, Zweli Mkhize near Pietermaritzburg. There are lots of activists who grew up in Pietermaritzburg who have a history in the struggle of South Africa that's where we are exposed because it became a struggle site. Yeah, yeah. Yes.
>
> Andile: When you grew up, you are seeing something, you want to become that thing, that's how you were socialised. You see eh, big people making impact in the community involved in the life of the community, you want to be like them its where you we cut the pattern that is where we (..) built and what we became, that is a reflection of, of our communities. Yeah.

Andile's response begins with him describing the community where is from and the struggle heritage of that community. This struggle heritage, he argues, can be seen in the number of prominent anti-apartheid activists and leaders that came from his community. As a result of

this heritage and his upbringing in this context of vibrant political activity, who and what he wanted to become was clear to him from very early in his childhood. Andile states categorically that this is how he and others from his community were socialised. This socialisation made the process of becoming an activist for him easy because all he had to do was to "cut the pattern" that was already in place by virtue of the struggle heritage and prominent political leaders and activists who emerged from his community.

Becoming an activist was however not as easy for some of the participants whose rebirth began on arrival at the university. For Mandla, the socialisation that he received from his community discouraged political involvement and it was only when he arrived at the university that he felt free to participate in political activities, including singing struggle songs. He describes his background and his arrival at the university in the following way.

> Mandla: So essentially, in rural areas there are you are ORGANISED to do certain things just like playing because you are young, going to school and making sure that you study if you, if you got ehh cows at home ehh you will [look] after those cows and then, you will be a go to person whatever that is needed.
>
> You'll do what essentially boys do in the rural areas. POLITICS is left for specific people and in fact you don't think about those things (..) and even if you see an injustice (..) ehh it doesn't look as an injustice because you've been programmed ehh (..) even when you raise it, whoever that you are raising it with (..) you'll be told that "but we grow up on this things ma:n!

Mandla describes his socialisation as not only prescribing roles for people but also as a form of programming (or propaganda) that made it impossible to even identify injustice, an ability he seems to have associated with a certain political orientation and programming. However

on arrival at the university, the programming of his upbringing in a rural and largely apolitical community, fell away when he realised how life operates in the university context.

> Mandla: When you come to university you meet your peers and ALL of them are participating you know, ALL of them are in politics (..) and then (…) when they speak about these things and then you start to realise that "oh! it's like this and like this.

There is a kind of awakening that Mandla describes that is similar to the experience that another participant, Thandi, described in her journey of becoming an activist.

For Thandi, her socialisation was also largely apolitical, possibly due to her socio-economic background. Thandi's socialisation can be described as protected and one that seemed to promote a kind of naivety in the children and youth from that context.

> Thandi: So now they are busy singing on campus and I'm just like, "okay, what's going on, are they are striking? What's going on?" because I come from a school where you know, we don't really sing, we don't really like ACTIVISM was NONE, you know. I was in a private school. So those things were not in existence. So then I got fascinated by the fact that these people are singing and they are sing[ing] about black people and the history of black people, which I was which I also which like have read a lot on. So now I'm hearing black struggles in a song and people are singing them singing them. But I didn't know the lyrics and I wished so much to know the lyrics because I was still struggling in Zulu. Coming here, I'm Sotho, I don't know what's going on, but I can hear *ukuthi ino umuntu mnyama phakathi* (it has a black person in it). THEN you know I start following them, you know, asking them, "okay, how do you get active?" and all that. …..And you know, it, it sparked something about me, like no, "actually I have been missing out. Where have these

> people been?" You know, coz *angiyazi lento* (I don't know this thing). I don't know it at all.

Apart from the obvious naivety reported by Thandi about politics, there is palpable romance in the manner in which she describes her journey to becoming. An uncomfortable but welcome seduction by the songs leads her away from her protected, carefree life to the realities of black people and their struggles, and most importantly to herself.

> Thandi: I fell in love with the songs, not because maybe they made, they were popular but the message that were in them, something that I haven't thought about ever in my life. You know, it was like that light bulb "Hey ((clicking fingers)) there's this!", you know, because usually my school, predominantly it's white people. So we didn't care about those things. We all wanted to be, you know, white he he ((laughing)) and um….So yeah, the year 2016 was just an eye opening, like an eye opener. Like wow it is actually another world where black people's rights and struggles and history can, you can know that in a song, you know?

Thandi's use of the colloquial expression "light bulb" suggest this awakening of this self-in-becoming, but unlike the naive romanticisation previously noted, there is a confident evolution of her person captured in her dismissal of what she had learnt at her private and primarily white school. Thandi's sudden awareness of the problematic apolitical largely white socialisation she had experienced is a theme towards becoming that is shared by Nkosi and Ntombi.

Nkosi described his rebirth and becoming that was facilitated by struggle songs as a reconnection with himself and his blackness. He also describes his background and socialisation as being Christian. On arrival at university however, he began a journey of connecting with his black activist self, concerned with the welfare of black people.

> Nkosi: It was in 2016, uhm (..) I was a first year student (..) eh (..) during that time (…) we had just recently been registered, I was not familiar with the environment I was in (..) but already as a first year student that already identified problems within the university that I felt that um, they were going to probably be a problem further in my mind and my my academic life. Um, so, um, at that time (..) um, I used to stay in one of the biggest residences in town in South Beach and, um, there, that was the political hub of of this campus in particular, that residence used to take decisions that bind everyone in this campus, the way students were politically active and things were happening too fast, you know. Eh, anything that would be focussed probably between few friends who are politically inclined would be implemented before the end of the day, the way people would be just, you know, it was that quick. So, uh, at that time, and I grew up in a Christian family, you know, so that *mfundisi* (preacher) kind of thing, and now already I felt that I had already been bought by this political view of things and as they were singing I joined them, actually I really began to enjoy, uh, these revolutionary songs if I may say better than gospel that I love the most.

Nkosi's journey towards becoming seems to have caught him with his Christian guard down. On reflection, Nkosi believes that it was the struggle songs that triggered this journey, something he had not expected as someone who loves gospel music. It is the power of struggle songs that led him not only towards his activist self but also the formation and leadership of a new branch of the EEFSC at his university campus in KwaZulu-Natal.

> Nkosi: I can officially say that, um, I am the founder of the EFFSC here in this campus being a first year student by the power of the music I was, I was eventually introduced to my political activism. Um, implicitly that actually it became an ambition to me that, you know what, um, "you ought to, you ought to stand for what you think is right, you ought to stand for your views".

For Ntombi this sudden awareness of her problematic largely white socialisation and the beginning of her journey of self-discovering her blackness is described as a removal of shades.

> Ntombi: So it was a shift in how you see things (..) I'm literally wearing shades in sunny day and therefore that is why I am not feeling that STRAIN on my eyes, and once you remove your pair of glasses you start feeling that strain and you start realising this is what's happening.

With her shades on Ntombi seems to describe the comfort her eyes experienced as a metaphor for what could be described as her blissfully ignorant and apolitical upbringing. This all changed when she became cognisant of the conditions of black people that had been shielded from her by her socialisation. Removal of these shades made her realise that little had changed since apartheid.

> Ntombi: The white people that I grew up with don't see colour. That was also another thing, I didn't see colour until I got to DUT and it was "NO (..) COLOUR EXISTS" and you can't forget a lot of people say "but forget about apartheid, it's been done for twenty something years, why are you guys still holding onto it? And at that point you realise that, we hold on to apartheid because we are currently still living with the repercussions of apartheid, it might be done (..) away with but the repercussions are still going on there and ripple effects are still going.

There is a political awareness that seems to have also occurred with Ntombi as her metaphorical shades were removed. This political awareness takes the form of understanding that apartheid has not completely been dismantled in SA; a reality that many of her white friends and others who grew up like her do not seem to have realised yet.

Sanda explains that the action of singing struggle songs connects one to their blackness and is necessary to also realising that there is a fight that needs to be waged in the war against the continued injustices experienced by black people and students.

> Sanda: You know when they sing these songs (..) you feel that you belong with them, you must also fight, you must fight, struggle songs are very, like what they do to US as black people is that they motivate us, they keep us going.

Sanda makes an example of Steve Biko's process of conscientisation to illustrate the importance of this connection and the injustices faced by black students and people.

> Sanda: For instance Steve Biko was studying at medical school, Steve Biko was doing his medicine he was fine. You know he said something (..) and then there is a song created (..) about Steve Biko Steve Biko said uhm (…) "its fine I'll graduate I'll be a doctor, I'll have money, I'll buy a big house, and live at Umhlanga Rocks have a nice car, IS THAT ENOUGH? IS THAT ENOUGH? What about other black people? So must I be selfish and leave everyone and just think for myself? (..) What about black people? BLACK PEOPLE must be liberated…". So (..) these songs what they do to us (..) we relate to what to what was happening during that time, that time in 1976 the time they were fighting, we also saw that we are fighting like them in 2015.

For Sanda, this journey towards becoming can be compared to the one that Steve Biko followed and is thus a selfless one. The fight for black people, according to Sanda, cannot be suspended for personal goals when injustices against the larger black community continue. By comparing his personal process of becoming with the posture he argues was taken by Steve Biko, Sanda seems to want to convince the interviewer of the importance of his journey beyond the immediate struggles he experiences as a black student. In other words, his journey towards becoming is built upon journeys taken by many powerful individuals before him.

Politician vs Activist

Many of the participants in this study went beyond describing their process of becoming and also chose to define and characterise the end result of their journey, the activists they were becoming, and their resultant current identity.

Nkosi made a point of differentiating between being an activist and being a politician.

> Nkosi: Um (..) I feel, I feel that there is a difference between a politician and activist, um, such that a politician, most politicians (..) they (..) they see what is best for them and people around them at a particular time. An activist can die for what they believe in (.10) and wouldn't be embarrassed by what you believe in.

Nkosi seems to rely on morality as a measure to distinguish between the two. Politicians seem to hold the lowest level of moral standing when compared with activists. Politicians can be characterised as selfish and nepotistic whereas activists are described as principled and selfless. To suggest that "an activist can die for what they believe in" elevates principle far beyond the spatial and temporal realms to the spiritual and supernatural. Despite what seems like an extreme way to define activism by Nkosi, there is no sense of fanaticism often associated with such views. In fact, one is led to believe that his use of the fairly common colloquial expression, "die for what you believe in", is for dramatic effect only, particularly when followed by a statement, seemingly supporting the former, that activists would not be embarrassed of their beliefs. A disregard for embarrassment caused by standing by one's beliefs is worlds apart from being willing to die for one's beliefs, in terms of motivations or commitments to any cause.

Nkosi's negative characterisation of politicians is further diminished by what he believes constitutes the value of politicians versus activists during protests and mobilisation efforts.

> Nkosi: Let's say probably we are going to mobilise for something, take the politicians and put them at the front and they will mobilise for you, but in a mass meeting whereby we have to address the students, it wouldn't be wise to allow a politician to address and talk. They will NEED an activist who can even engage questions (…) because they have an idea they have explored all threats that are willing to challenge that idea. They have probably tried to find a workable solution around sustaining that idea. So, yeah in in in what difference is that I think I was more of an activist than a politician, yeah.

According to Nkosi, politicians are only useful when mobilising people, not for the substantive work of addressing the people and presenting ideas, which is reserved for activists. This demeaning characterisation of politicians as the skivvies of activists extends further to the use of songs and their analysis.

> Nkosi: I feel like authors of songs (..) it maybe that they were activists or it maybe that they were also politicians putting in a certain particular narrative at that time but they are activists (.10) they would have understood but the MESSAGE within those songs is carried off 'cause the meaning is what matters and an organisation or a political party organises people from different spheres, different backgrounds, religions, ORGANISES different people. So amongst the people, you have activists who are probably, they don't know anything about politics but they can stand for a right idea. You have eh politicians who THINK that they are activists and you have activists who are just there for being activists, they know they found themselves. So it's a, it is an organisation. Songs will be written, they will be sang but (..) I feel like the effect they have lies mostly with those we implement what the songs say and it is the activist.

This characterisation of activists and activism is a theme that Kwanele builds upon when he describes it as a process that matures and becomes more sophisticated over time.

> Kwanele: Can I give an example of something that uhm, happens almost every (.10) once in a while of a person's life? The signing of a contract for example. There are those BIG, BOLD words in a contract but they are those °sma::ll° words in a contract and those are the important words so I would say the same thing applies with struggle songs, I am using that as an example because (..) that's how (..) maturity happens, one starts to appreciate the finest and the smallest parts of activism and somehow it is channeled to a particular cause that "this is the cause that I am fighting". It may change with time but there is lesser excitement of wanting to do everything but then it takes particular purpose that "I want to do this, this is what I identify with". It is not an easy journey because (..) it begins with a colorful one of excitement, of, that comes with a whole number of things but then as one grows and matures it gets °narrower, narrower, narrower, narrower° to an extent that (..) I hardly introduce myself as an activist now. My work must speak for myself, there was a time when I was younger, when I would feel that I need to say this, I am an activist but now I hardly say it, I (..) I ensure that in my work, in my practice in everything that I do there is activism. So I am going back to what you are saying that it becomes quieter, it becomes more sophisticated, it becomes more channeled and more purposeful, it becomes like still water that do not make noise.

Kwanele makes use of the fine print of legal contracts to illustrate the sophistication and appreciation of detail that develops as a true activist matures. He describes that the more mature an activist becomes, the less excitable they become about causes. According to Kwanele, one of the key identifiers of this sophistication and maturity is the doing away with having to announce one's activism and instead allowing one's work to define them as an

activist. This description of a mature activist can be considered to provided further substantiation for assigning negative connotations to many contemporary politicians, who despite their evident physical maturity, still display the need to be recognised or popular, which relegates them to the same level as immature activists, implying that their work is often just for show. This is in direct opposition to the nature of a true and mature activist who allows their work to speak for them – in other words implying that once an activist has actually participated in creating visible change that can be quantified in society, they then become identified by that quantifiable change which is often collective in nature. Activists thus prioritise the collective over the individual in their fight for change.

Although her description may be considered as less sophisticated than Kwanele's, Thandi also expresses the importance of doing or working for change in order for one to really be considered an activist.

> Thandi: Um (..) I maybe I coined this thing on my own like recently to say that there is a difference between student activism and WOKENESS. So I believe *ukuthi* (that) OK. I was WOKE at that time. I say woke, maybe making reference to how people who know stuff are all talk, but when it is time to maybe face that injustice or thing or do something about it. They just like, no, but we, "we, we are not gonna do that. Um, we will let people who we have put in charge, do it.

Thandi makes a distinction between activists who do and those who are "all talk" or only theorise about change. For Thandi, it would seem that an activist is required to be active and physically confront injustices that they come across. Those who are "woke", on the other hand, will only talk about matters and do nothing about them. Here, Thandi seems to be drawing on the morality principle argument that Nkosi made use of when differentiating

between politicians and activists. Thandi also makes use of this distinction to draw attention to what she believes is a shortcoming or problem with activism and student politics today.

> Thandi: Well, when I was still learning the ropes, when I was still learning about, you know, um, student activism and all that, I think wokeness wasn't such a problem as it is now. NOW, I mean there are leaders that we put in power that disappoint us now and then and everyone who has, like everyone has a view to it, you know, everyone has a view, but the more the years go, you know, people are less interested in maybe fixing, you know, the things that they can fix. So, right now I think student activism, like nationwide, like there is that problem, *ukuthi* (that) okay, there is a person who was dissatisfied. We will talk about it and not do anything that they can do here because we still are in the university environment….People don't even want to be class reps.

By reflecting on her process of becoming, Thandi seems to question the authenticity and credibility of what seems to be an emerging type of activist. The current crop of student leaders and activists, according to Thandi, seem to be regressing to an immature level of activism, which lacks problem solving ability and action.

These descriptions and characterisations of activists, which were shared by many of the participants, can at times appear a little idealistic and aspirational. Nonetheless, this seems to speak to the collective value and importance that these participants hold for becoming activists and who they are and what they believe in. This is captured well in the words of Andile when reflecting on his experience of attending political rallies from a young age.

> Andile: You need to have your own interpretation as a person especially as an activist, you need to have your interpretation. You can't (..) always rely on them, other people's interpretation.

It would seem that Andile is making a distinction between student activists and others. This distinction is based on not being afraid to have and voice ones views, beliefs and interpretation of events.

Conclusion

The lived experience of singing struggle songs, and the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists, are closely related. The two tell a story of the process of constructing an identity that is initiated by an encounter with struggle songs at various points within a student's life. The collective dimension of this story is one that can best be understood with an appreciation of the racialised and oppressive history of SA, its key characters and events. The individual dimensions to each of these stories is built upon common themes emanating from this collective history but which are narrated and interpreted with nuanced differences depending on each student's socialisation and socio-economic background, as filtered by the lens of their specific experiences and personality. As such each student's story of becoming an activist is unique but all their stories were initiated by their interactions with commonly performed struggle songs at various points in their lives. In this way, struggle songs can be directly linked to the construction of individual political identities. These identities are formed within the context of a shared collective political identity that is shaped by common experiences of confronting one's identity as a contemporary black student faced by continued injustices perpetrated by universities who function as extensions of a democratically-led SA government. In summation, this study has revealed a high degree of consistency between the results in the both phases of the study, which in part seems to stem from the shared background from which these struggle songs emerged and which has been discussed in detail in the literature review. Chapter 7, which follows attempts to elucidate the connections between the results of both phases of this study and the literature and existing studies and methodologies that substantiate the specific findings of this unique study.

CHAPTER SEVEN: DISCUSSION

This chapter discusses the findings from both phases of the study in terms of the key questions and objectives of the study as set out in Chapter 1, the literature reviewed and the theories and studies employed in the analysis of the results generated by this study.

The first two research questions that refer to the discourse strategies employed in the sample of struggle songs selected have been discussed as single question. The reason for doing this is based on the syntactic logic of discussing the object with the verb, in this case the 'what' and the 'how'. The discussions of the collective lived experience of singing struggle songs and the meaning of struggle songs for the students who sing them have however been separated.

How are the discourse strategies employed in struggle songs currently sung by black student activists in SA used to construct their identities?

The three themes identified during analysis of the sampled song lyrics and performances capture the larger experience of the songs as used by the students who performed them in each video. To fully interpret the selected songs and the discourse strategies used in them and how these strategies were then employed by the students to construct their individual and collective political identity/identities, it is important to have a thorough understanding of the context under which many of these songs were composed and sung. This context has been discussed frequently at various points throughout this thesis but it will be further expanded upon here in terms of how this context relates to the findings of this phase of the study and the existing literature, studies and theories that have informed this study.

Theme 1: Guerrilla Army Emphasis

Topics

The history of the liberation struggle in SA and in particular the armed struggle, was used by the students who performed the songs in the sample of videos categorised under this theme to emphasise their messaging about their identities. It is for this reason that these identities have been defined as political identities. The use of the SA liberation struggle history seems to have been effective because of the similarities that can be drawn between the experiences of many black students today and those of black people during apartheid. Nyamnjoh (2015) has referred to this as collective black pain due to the slow process of transformation within what should now be a country firmly rooted in democracy that was instituted more than 26 years ago. According to Khanyile (2018), this is a consequence of a continuing anti-black racism. It is hard to deny this when confronted with the employment statistics (Stats SA, 2018) and rising levels of inequality (Hundenborn et al., 2018) that suggest that the lives of the majority of black people and black youths in particular are as bad as they were during apartheid with no end in sight.

The use of history in songs to emphasise messages about identity and racial identity in particular have received negligible empirical attention. There are however some studies that seem to have found that history can be used as a means to emphasise messages about identity. Mutonya (2007) notes how *Mugithi* music in Kenya uses history to redefine the identities of urban dwelling Kenyans in a positive light. Coplan (1997, as cited in Pfukwa, 2008) has also identified how Chimurenga songs in Zimbabwe employed history as the vehicle with which to protect and retain a positive identity for black Zimbabweans. Nyawo (2012) has further argued that the songs of the third Chimurenga have been used by ZANU-PF youths to remind Zimbabweans about the negative role of white people in the history of Zimbabwe, thereby

securing the political party's power in Zimbabwe. The utilisation of history in this polarising manner is similar to what was found in the current study, however black students use this history to not only communicate the extent of their dissatisfaction with the status quo but also as a means to justify their actions taken to address the injustices they experience.

Langa (2018) has argued that some SA politicians have used the history of the liberation as expressed in many struggle songs to define their identities and legitimise their politics. This legitimacy is achieved from the perception that the armed struggle in SA (and by extension those who participated in it) was an appropriate means to confront the aggression of the apartheid state. As such, Langa's (2018) findings seem closest to and therefore most applicable to the current study regarding how history can be used as a discourse strategy in struggle songs to emphasise messaging about identity. Langa's (2018) findings are even more similar to the current study because they refer to this identity as a Freedom Fighter identity and one that is defined in terms of both race and politics.

Context in our understanding of identity and racial identity in particular (Sellers et al., 1998) is very important. This statement is true of this study and with the struggle songs categorised under this theme. In SA, race and identity are political topics that find expression in various aspects of people's lives (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). Our understanding of identity and how it is expressed and constructed therefore cannot ignore the importance of race and politics. Furthermore, discussions about identity in SA cannot disregard the contested nature of this identity and its construction. The students singing the songs sampled under this theme appear to be aware of this background of internal identity struggle and make deliberate use of it by expressly defining their contemporary challenges as extensions of historical, racial and political ones. As such, an appropriate identity is required in order to confront these challenges as they explicitly claim to do in these songs. The identity they claim is that of a Freedom Fighter.

The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in terms of its underground approach[18] (see Chapter 3 of this thesis), acknowledges the importance of culture and context in how we understand identity. This is significant for the current study in which we find that there is a need for a broader accommodation of culture and context in our understanding of identity, due to the pervasive complex and intricate connection between history and politics in terms of how race is defined and understood within SA. In this context these complexities have historically been violent and confrontational in nature, which in turn impacts heavily on how identity and racial identity is understood and constructed.

Textual Schemata

The simplicity and catchiness of the lyrics of the songs under this theme is very effective in clearly communicating the singers'/students' messages about their identities. It seems as though this method was chosen specifically because of its direct and confrontational nature. The apartheid system was direct and unambiguous about its preference for white people and subsequent oppression of black people. This was communicated in the implementation (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a) of its policies and its monopoly on defining people according to their race group alone (Posel, 2001). Apartheid policy and its implementation affected all aspects of life in SA including the most personal and intimate aspects (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). The repetition and catchiness of the messages in these songs may be understood as a reflection of the students' frustration with the continued and unrelenting presence of the legacy of apartheid policy in contemporary SA life. Two and a half decades after the abolition of apartheid, black people still represent the overwhelming majority of the poor and disadvantaged in SA (Hundenborn et al., 2018; Stats SA, 2018). Khanyile (2018)

[18] One of two approaches to the MMRI (Sellers et al. 1998). According to Shelton and Sellers (2000), the focus of the *underground approach* is/was to provide a qualitative description of what it means to be black in terms of a person's attitude and beliefs about the African American community.

argues that this reality is the result of persistent anti-black racism in SA. This could explain the aggressive and confrontational manner in which the sampled songs are also written and performed. Struggle songs reflect their contexts (Gray, 2004). From the perspective of the students singing the songs in these videos then, the SA experience seems to be a violent and confrontational one defined by the historical and ongoing struggle between black and white, but also now complicated by oppression experienced at the hands of a primarily black government, many of whom actively participated in the liberation struggle that led to the abolition of apartheid, but who fail to acknowledge their role in the current perpetuation of this institution for their own ends.

Pongweni (1982) refers to Chimurenga songs that relied on the repetition of lines as fixed types. He argues that these fixed type songs were sung in this manner to communicate political sentiment. An analysis of the repetition of specific lines within the sample of struggle songs viewed appears to express negative sentiments about their perceived oppressors who form the subjects of these songs. Given the context under which these songs were sung and by whom, those who oppress the singers/students are understood to be university management and by extension the democratic SA government, referred to as a system that sustains the perpetration of pain on black students (Nyamnjoh, 2015). In this way the students have used repetition in these songs to construct a direct parallel between current university management and government and the historically white apartheid government.

The apartheid system defined the identities of South Africans (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a) and the meaning of these definitions are still in effect today. The subjective meaning of race and defining it (Sellers et al., 1998) seems to be a privilege that is not available to all if one considers the messages conveyed in the songs sampled. This is a privilege that the singers/students seem to be fighting for when they sing the songs under this theme, hence their deliberate attempts to construct their political identity as that of a Freedom Fighter. A

reading of the underground approach to the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) as well as its assumptions and dimensions seems to take for granted that individuals have the power to define themselves when this is not necessarily the case in SA. Who one is and chooses to be remains a struggle and a fight for many South Africans, particularly black people. Racial centrality (Sellers et al., 1998) in the SA context can also be understood to describe a more prescribed identity and less of an individualised way of expressing ones identity, referred to as normative in the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). This context-based understanding allows us to extend the use of racial centrality as a concept even further.

Local Semantics

Local semantics used in the sampled songs sung by student activists also draw from the liberation struggle in SA. The use of phrases that allude to military/guerrilla activities represent the severity of the struggle that the students believe they are engaged in. Groenewald (2015) reminds us that many of these songs were composed in military camps during the armed struggle. This is important in light of what Gray (2004) reports about the songs reflecting their contexts. That the songs are now being sung by student activists communicates their experience of their current context. This experience is likened to being at war. As such, the students' singing of these struggle songs communicates that theirs is not just a student struggle but also a societal one. This is in line with Nyamnjoh's (2015) and Naidoo's (2016) assertions regarding the student protests witnessed in the period 2015-2016.

What the students seem to have been able to achieve in using local semantics in the manner that they have, is to extend the liberation struggle to include their generation (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014). In so doing, the students have managed to make their struggle and themselves part of the larger struggle narrative and history of SA. By defining their context as well the meaning of their experiences and struggles in this way, the students thrust their

struggles into the drama and friction involved in attempts of achieving a South African identity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). This dismantles the idealised rainbow nation idea that dominated much of the post-1994 identity narrative. SA remains a nation at war in which the opposing parties are still largely arranged against racial lines, though socio-economic status now also informs this struggle.

This discourse strategy demonstrates the relevance of history in how students define themselves. The importance of recognising the historical aspect in how identity is constructed has already been mentioned in relation to enhancing the effectiveness of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in the SA context.

Lexicon

The language and vocabulary used in the songs sung by the students categorised under Theme 1 is consistent with the semantics. The students make use of a vocabulary in their songs that speaks to the military/guerrilla and the activities of these institutions. The use of this vocabulary allows students to align their struggles with those whom they believe to have participated in the armed struggle and the fight against apartheid. This vocabulary thus legitimises the struggles of students as socially and politically significant in the manner that Nyamnjoh (2015) and Naidoo (2016) have already alluded to. The lyrics or vocabulary of the sampled struggle songs sung by students reflects their context (Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; Schumann, 2008; le Roux Kemp, 2014; Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014), which is very similar to that of their historical and political predecessors (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014). Taylor's (2007) concept of post-blackness appears to hold very little significance for the students singing struggle songs in SA today, as they make little distinction between their context and its struggles and those of their political predecessors.

In the vocabulary or lyrics of the songs sung by these students, the past remains as a relevant reminder of how little has changed in SA, particularly in the lives of the majority of the population who are black people. The implications of this for the usefulness of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in SA are significant. In a context where history and struggle remain such key markers and defining features for subjective experiences including identity, one wonders whether identity and racial identity should not be interpreted or understood as a temporal experience as opposed to a static personality feature. This is more in line with the African perspective of personality development and becoming (Mkhize, 2004). In this sense identity is better understood as a lifetime process that extends even into the spiritual realm (Mbiti, 1969), a notion that will be discussed in more detail later on in this chapter.

Rhetoric

The rhetorical strategies used in the songs sampled under this theme serve to strengthen the contextual and political positions adopted by the students. The experiences of black youths in SA are a subject of serious concern and urgency (see Stats SA, 2018). The hyperbolic language used in many of the songs thus seems appropriate in light of the alarming lack of transformation and improvement in the lives of the majority of black South Africans more than 26 years after the institution of democracy (Nyamnjoh, 2015; Naidoo, 2016) and the inequality that continues to grow seemingly unabated (Hundenborn et al., 2018). The use of metaphors demonstrates the depth and legitimacy of the topic, semantics and lexicon used in the songs. For metaphor to work effectively, a context needs to be present and convincing. The history of SA, the actors and the current challenges of the students create the space and opportunity for metaphor and its use.

Expression Structures

Maree (2011) argues that the struggle songs performed by the Mayibuye cultural group seem to have glorified a masculine conception of the liberation struggle. This we see to a large extent with the preferred expression structure in the sampled songs under this theme, which is consistent with the subtopics identified in these songs. The nature of the performance of a song is key in communicating its intended message. This is particularly the case with songs and music that are political (Martiniello & Lafleur (2008). The performances of these songs seems to further populate the meaning of the messages being communicated by the students. In a sense, the performance provides the additional element to vocally and physically amplify the strong messages already inherent in the lyrics. Groenewald (2005) reminds us that the *toyi toyi* used in the performance of many struggle songs, particularly those categorised under Theme 1 and sung by students today, is borrowed from the Zimbabwean liberation army camps. This further aligns the struggles of students today with the larger liberation struggle efforts in SA and the continent. These expression structures are supported by and consistent with the preferred speech acts and interaction observed in the performances of these songs.

The approaches to the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998), its assumptions and dimensions provide very little discussion around the performance of a racial identity. This use of expression structures and speech acts provides a novel way in which students are able to demonstrate their identity in a manner not included in models such as the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). The apartheid system formalised and structured all aspects of life, including the performance of identity (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). This it did by prescribing the type of education and work that black people could engage in. These are all important aspects of how identity and racial identity were constructed by the apartheid government system that still persists in SA today.

Theme 2: The Burden of Struggle

Topics

The pain and sorrow communicated by students today in the songs that they sing categorised under this theme suggests that their experience is just as painful as that of their political predecessors. This is consistent with arguments made in songs under Theme 1, which allude to a continuing struggle. Nyamnjoh (2015) argues that the protests we saw in 2015 were a communication of a collective black pain due to slow transformation. This collective aspect of the pain is also communicated by the students singing the songs under this theme. It is hard to challenge and question this pain especially when confronted with the statistics (Stats SA, 2018) that reflect the dire state of black youths in SA. The dehumanising conditions that black people were forced to live under during apartheid have been largely perpetuated by our now democratically-led and predominantly black government in the majority of ordinary black peoples' lives. These dehumanising conditions, understood from an African perspective of *Ubuntu* (Mkhize, 2004) have the effect of denying the students not only their identity but their humanity. It is these conditions that are the subject of the pain of the students. These dehumanising conditions are captured in Khanyile's (2018) assertions that there remains a persistent anti-black racism in SA. That this continues under black leadership is even more painful.

Reflecting on the dehumanising conditions that Zimbabweans lived under during their liberation struggle, Coplan (1997, as cited in Pfukwa, 2008) argued that Chimurenga songs were useful in retaining the dignity and positive self-concept of Zimbabweans. Moreover, Chimurenga songs played a role in helping Zimbabweans begin the process of recreating and shaping their identities post-liberation. However it does not appear that the students who sing these songs, which express their pain and sorrow, are trying to recreate a new identity for

themselves. Rather it seems as though the students are choosing to construct their identities by borrowing from the pain and sorrow experienced by black people during apartheid. Using pain and sorrow in this manner seems to be a way of honouring those who suffered before them (Asante, 1987). In so doing, pain and sorrow are constructed as noble and positive experiences. The morality and nobility suggested here also seems to speak to what Allen (2004), Asigbo (2012), Soyinka (1976) and Sibanda (2004) identify regarding the responsibility placed upon African musicians to address socio-political issues in their music.

The pain and sorrow expressed by the students singing these songs is also a source from which they can collectively draw strength from one other. Allen (2004) argues that under repressive systems singing songs with others about one's suffering connects individuals and validates their experiences. This is an empowering process and experience and seems accurate in terms of how the subjects of pain and sorrow evident in these songs are used by the students to construct and strengthen their identities. This identity is further strengthened by being built upon the shoulders of those who suffered and fought against apartheid (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014).

The students in this study seem to have monopolised pain and suffering in a manner that suggests that it is an ideal state for them and black people. The oppression of black people has in the past been understood (see DuBois, 1903, as cited in Sellers et al., 1998) to affect (presumably negatively) the development of the self-concept of black people, but this does not seem to be the case with the students who sing songs under this theme. The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in its underground approach, assumptions and dimensions does not adequately capture this aspect of pain and sorrow in how racial identity is defined and understood. From the perspective of the students using these songs, pain and sorrow serves as an important tool in the struggle to define their identities. The pain and sorrow communicated by the students is their way of connecting with their ancestors (Asante, 1987; Mbiti, 1990)

and their political predecessors (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014) and as such becomes a valuable resource from which they draw motivation to continue their struggle to define themselves. This seems a key contribution to our understanding of how racial identity is constructed and defined by the students using these struggle songs.

Textual Schemata

The preference apparent in the analysis of Theme 2 songs for the inclusion of slightly longer lines of information (referred to as inserted messages) interspersed with a few shorter and catchier key messages, was consistent with the contemplative tone observed in most of the performances of these older anti-apartheid struggle songs. Theme 1 songs also included inserted messages but they were used far less frequently and more as a means to occasionally reference the reasons for the struggle and pay homage to individual Freedom Fighters without distracting from the key, impactive, call to action, mobilising intensions of the often repeated and very loud and catchy key messages that predominated in these energetic songs. The inclusion of far more inserted messages with more detailed information in the Theme 2 songs appears to have allowed the students to really emphasise their pain and sorrow. This was enabled by the audible space or occasional absence of sound provided by the slower tempo of these songs, which allowed room for both singers and audience members to really contemplate the pain and sorrow communicated by these longer inserted messages within its historical context. This audible space, slower tempo and more mournful tone in combination with more detailed lyrical information to provide context for the songs, assisted in heightening their emotional impact. This is not as easily identified in a simple reading of the lyrics as it is in the performances of these songs. This emotional intensity gives these songs immense power to connect with people on a more spiritual level, which can be linked to the historical influence of Christianity and the church on the evolution of struggle songs and is

evidenced later on in the responses of some students who compared the power of some of these songs with that of gospel music.

The communicative power of struggle songs is well documented (see Gray, 2004). What is unique about the songs under this theme however is that part of this communicative power lies in the alignment of their historical composition with their contemporary use. The use of a collective history and memory contained within the textual structure of the lyrics effectively expresses the lack of change between then and now and as such elevates the students' grievances to the same level of importance as that of the liberation struggle during which so many innocent people suffered and were killed at the hands of their oppressors. Mtshali and Hlongwane's (2014) assertions of connections with their political predecessors thus rings very true here. However this lyrical and historical expression also touches on elements of spirituality related to conceptions of self that in a sense reflect the souls of those who sing. In this way we also see the depth of the songs and those who sing them and Mbiti's (1969) assertions about them for Africans. The revelation of the innermost parts of the people in this study is also their critique of the hypocrisy contained within the myth of a united, egalitarian, post-1994 SA (Swartz et al., 2016).

In communicating their pain and sorrow, the students also critique wider economic and ideological positions/decisions taken by the SA government (Badat, 2015; Naicker, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2015; Pillay, 2016). Some of these critiques speak to propaganda and capitalism as sources of their pain and sorrow. The students construct their identities in opposition to any form of control, whether it be their minds or their labour. The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) proposes four ideologies as part of its dimensions of racial identity. However, none of the ideological philosophies of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) is able to fully capture the ideology of the students communicated in these songs. Although there are aspects of a humanist preference (focuses on the similarities shared by all human beings) for the students,

this is defined in a different manner to the one proposed by the MMRI. The shared humanity communicated by the students is defined by their pain and sorrow and in so doing the students define humanity in a manner that affords pain a high status for defining humanity, and marginalises the humanity of those who do not share in that pain and sorrow.

Pongweni (1982) describes songs of this type as being narrative in nature. In other words, these songs tell a particular story. The story that the students have chosen to tell by employing this discourse strategy is one that narrates their historical and contemporary experiences of pain and sorrow. The students draw strength from this story in much the same way that Zimbabweans drew strength from Chimurenga songs (Pongweni, 1982).

Local Semantics

Local semantics were used within these songs to represent the courage of the students as well as their high levels of morality, fairness and justice. Courage was necessary in the efforts to defeat apartheid. This courage was demonstrated in the armed struggle and the many violent community protests that often also included the youth. The moral and ethical aspects of the liberation struggle in SA have been well documented. The UN declaration that apartheid was a crime against humanity (International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, 1976) justifies the argument that those who fought against it were pursuing a moral and just cause. This international or worldwide justification of the fight against apartheid amplifies the moral and ethical value of the students' historically aligned but contemporary experiences communicated through the lyrical messages of pain and sorrow in these songs.

The communication of pain and sorrow at an international level through struggle songs is therefore not a novel approach. The Mayibuye and Amandla cultural ensembles who toured the world with their performances of struggle songs (Gilbert, 2007) are examples of how this

same approach was used internationally during the period of the liberation struggle in SA. The impactful nature and sheer scale of the student protests seen across the country during 2015-2016 also attracted worldwide attention and through the dramatic and powerful performances of songs such as the ones under this theme, the international community was alerted to the continued pain and suffering still faced by the majority of black people in SA. Ironically, it was the aggression of the apartheid system that forced many liberation struggle musicians to disguise the real meanings contained in their songs (Schumann, 2008), yet today "born free" students use their democratic right to freedom of expression, fought for by liberation struggle leaders and now enshrined in The Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996), to openly expose their wounds to many of those very same struggle leaders who now form the government of the country and who use their positions of power ostensibly to oppress the majority of the predominantly black population. Expression of one's pain and wounds is thereby a clear demonstration of courage. The history and irony referred to here enhances the morality of the emotional (and also spiritual) dimensions of the students' identities and tarnishes those of their opponents.

The use of local semantics in these songs suggests that the construction of an identity and especially a racial and political identity in SA is a courageous attempt. This is because it requires the person to have the inner strength to confront their oppressor with their pain and insist on their humanity. In a context where identity was previously defined by the State (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a; Posel, 2001) these students seem to be challenging this directly. The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in its definition of racial identity, assumptions and dimensions seems to take for granted that identity construction is something that everyone can freely and equally participate in. In this study we learn that this is not always the case and that it requires courage. This is an important consideration to note in how we understand identity construction in spaces where people have been or are currently oppressed.

Lexicon

The lyrical use of the term *iAfrica* (and variations thereof) to express the denial of freedom and the process towards attaining freedom is a way in which the students express their pain and sorrow as being political in nature, which further confirms the already made suggestion that the students have managed to locate their struggles within the larger socio-economic and political struggle not only in SA but also across the continent. This is another example that substantiates the arguments made by Nyamnjoh (2015) and Naidoo (2016) that were referred to in the discussion of the textual schemata of the songs under this theme. Freedom is the subject of most liberation efforts including their lyrical vocalisation in the form of songs. We find this in the freedom songs used in the black civil rights movement in the USA (see Sanger, 1997) and across the African continent (see Pongweni, 1982). This seems to enhance the connection between black students' struggles and larger liberatory efforts both continentally and abroad. Badat's (2015) cautions regarding the making of simple comparisons between the SA student protests of 2015 and other youth-driven movements over the same period thus seems to ring true.

Rhetoric

Through the use of hyperbolic language in the lyrics and the metaphors created to represent the subject of pain and sorrow communicated through the songs, the students managed to locate their struggles within the larger socio-economic and political history of SA. Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014) argue that it is the presence of unresolved grievances, experienced by the students as pain and sorrow, that connect singers of struggle songs today with their original composers. The degree of the pain and sorrow seems to be related to the fact that the current source of the pain is other black people. This is evidenced by the levels of inequality that continue to grow in the democratic dispensation (Hundenborn et al., 2018).

As such, the hyperbolic nature of some of these songs is enhanced by the implication of betrayal contained within the irony of using these songs in a contemporary context to fight the injustices experienced at the hands of those who inspired their composition. However to describe the pain and sorrow of the students as hyperbolic seems like an act of further victimisation. Denial of the pain caused by apartheid and its legacy today remains a contentious topic in the political discourse of SA. There is no real measure of pain other than how it is expressed by those who experience it. The dehumanising nature of apartheid affected all areas of black lives (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). Some of these effects are apparent in the grave inequalities that still exist between the majority of black and white South Africans (Hundenborn et al., 2018; Stats SA, 2018). So grave are these inequalities, that Khanyile (2018) has argued that they represent continued anti-black racism in SA.

The metaphors that the students use serve the purpose of further amplifying their experiences of pain and sorrow by making these experiences more accessible to their listeners. Ironically, metaphor was cleverly employed by many anti-apartheid musicians as a means to disguise the intended messages of the suffering of black people during performances of their songs so as not to openly offend the apartheid government, an act which may have led to imprisonment and possibly death, but to still conscientise the affected members of their audiences (Schumann, 2008). These metaphors were created by using colloquial expressions, often in the vernacular. Failure to address the conditions that black students and black people are faced with does probably warrant this use of metaphor. The lackluster approach to addressing black grievances during apartheid led to the armed struggle and the eventual abolition (relative) of apartheid. This was also the response of government to the demands of the students during the activities of the #FMF movement (Naidoo, 2016). The extremities we see in the hyperbolic and metaphorical expressions of pain and sorrow as expressed by many contemporary black students also reflect the extremities between the lived realities of the

majority of black and white South Africans. The importance of subjective reports regarding how people identify themselves as well as the assumptions and dimensions of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) do not fully accommodate the identification of race in a context where the construction of one also constructs another in a legitimate way.

Expression Structures

The sombre, contemplative tone and performance of these songs assists in communicating the pain and suffering of the students. The contemplative tone of many of the song performances categorised under this theme echoes the tone in which they were sung during apartheid. This tone was also observed in the performances of songs composed post-1994. That these types of struggle songs are often led by male students also seems consistent with how many of them were performed during apartheid. These expression structures have not been subjected to much research in the existing body of literature. A few authors have explored the use of the *toyi toyi* (Groenewald, 2005; le Roux Kemp, 2014; Pongweni, 1982*)*, however, there is very little recorded literature that analyses the performance of struggle songs where the *toyi toyi* does not feature, such as the songs categorised under Theme 2 of this study. The focus on the *toyi toyi* and the apparent disregard of other expression structures used in the performances of other struggle songs, speaks in part to the common perception that these songs are sung mostly in a confrontational tone. This is not entirely inaccurate however because the contemplative tone does not mean that the singers of such songs are resigned to their misfortune and pain. Rather these singers have chosen to participate in the struggle in a different way that although more subtle could be argued as even more effective in their conscientisation efforts because as has been discussed, these songs appear to elicit a more reflective, emotional (and possibly spiritual) element within individuals that has been identified as necessary for identity construction.

Theme 3: Unity and Mobilisation

Topics

Struggle songs have been well documented as tools for unity and mobilisation. This was a topic that the students presented in some of their songs under this theme. The use of songs to unify and mobilise against one's enemies assisted in defeating apartheid (Gilbert, 2007; Schumann, 2008). Students today retain this tradition in order to enhance their political identities as relevant players in the larger struggle for socio-economic transformation. Relevance seems so be a very important theme for political actors and their identities. This is a subject that Langa (2018) and many other writers and commentators (Chirwa, 2001; Nyairo & Ogude, 2005; Schumann, 2013) have picked up on. Even more important than relevance however is the demonstration of unity against one's opponents. This unity emphasises a strong collective identity of the political actors at play in society. The ability of songs to facilitate a collective political identity is dealt with by Sanger (1995) with reference to freedom songs in the USA and Pfukwa (2008) with reference to Chimurenga songs in Zimbabwe. What both of these writers demonstrate is the power of songs to enhance collective identity and purpose.

Vandiver et al. (2002) argue that a black identity is a collective one. Operating within this context then the students define race as a collective identity. As was the case during both apartheid and the civil rights movement in the USA, the oppression of black people has also united black people. It is unclear whether the singing precipitates this unity or enhances it. The latter seems more probable in light of Allen's (2004) observations about music's ability to unify those who participate in its performance by validating their individual experiences of suffering as a common collective reality. Irrespective of the answer it appears that most of the students are cognisant of the power of songs for purposes of unity and mobilisation.

Through their performances of these songs, the students seem to communicate that to be black is to be united with other black people against an opposing other. The individualised manner in which the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) seems to understand racial identity is found wanting in this context and with these students. From an African perspective (Asante, 1987; Mkhize, 2004) persons are understood in relation to others. This suggests a collective identity, which is evident in how the students make use of these songs. The quality of relationships with people are understood from an African perspective to reflect the quality of one's relationship with God. In this case the quality of the relationships between the students is tainted by their suffering and oppression.

Local Semantics

In their collective singing of these struggle songs, the students unify and mobilise around their courage and commitment to one another in the face of very serious injustices. The meaning of courage and commitment in the political space is important to note. Struggle songs generally represent the hopes and aspirations of those who sing them (Nkoala, 2013). The songs sampled under this theme appear to represent these values as being attached to their organisations and their members. Reflecting on freedom songs during the black civil rights movement in the USA, Sanger (1995) notes that these songs allowed the activists to communicate with each other and spread messages of positive self-definition. This seems to hold true for the students who sing struggle songs in SA.

In his discussion of the elements of music that define it as political, Street (2012) provides further insights into the use of local semantics within songs under this theme. Street (2012) argues that when music begins to inspire and influence collective thought it becomes political. Martiniello and Lafleur (2008) also pick up on this theme and argue that the lyrics can make music political. The lyrics in these songs that represent the commitment and

courage of the students displayed despite the gravity of the injustices they oppose, make these values political in nature. As previously noted, the politics of SA is highly racialised. This in turn suggests that these values shown by the students take on racial connotations. The use of local semantics in this way also provides further details into how struggle songs have or can be used in extending our understanding of how racial identity can be defined by people and as such can assist in furthering a more contextual understanding of the regard racial dimension of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). The students seem to use the local semantics within these songs to project how they view themselves and expect others to view them. As noted above, the students seem clear in their expectation to be viewed as serious people who are committed to addressing their shared struggles. The students also want to be viewed as courageous for their attempts to address these social, racial and political struggles. In so doing the students provide us with a window into how they regard their opponents. These observations highlight how important it is for the application and usefulness of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in SA to include a political component or dimension. Politics have been repeatedly discussed in this thesis and chapter as being central to our understanding of identity and racial identity in SA. Apartheid made all topics of race and racial identity the purview of political engagement and discourse. Most concerning for this study is that apartheid made topics of race and racial identity tools for oppression and dehumanisation. It is the unity and mobilisation against this that forms the central message communicated by the songs sampled under this theme.

Expression Structures

The expression structures used with the songs under this theme seem consistent with much of what has been captured in the literature regarding the performance of struggles songs (see Groenewald, 2005). Groenewald (2005) focuses specifically on the *toyi toyi* in the performance of the struggle songs, which is directly linked to the performances of the Theme

1 songs sampled. As with the Theme 2 songs however, the students' performances of the Theme 3 songs are also less militant, however unlike the sombre and contemplative nature of the Theme 2 songs, the songs in Theme 3 are more celebratory in their performances. This celebratory nature is another aspect of the performance of struggle songs that has not received much attention in the existing literature. The reason for this may lie in the failure to distinguish and differentiate struggle songs in the majority of the literature on the subject. This failure is unfortunate because there is wide acknowledgement that struggle songs are sung to communicate particular messages at certain points and times, however the time and issues are not always ones that require a militant exhibition and the expression structures used with songs under this theme demonstrates this.

The large number of students who lead these songs demonstrates a deviation from the primarily individually-led performances of Theme 1 and 2 songs. The reason for this could lie in the nature of these songs. As previously noted, songs under this theme are often sung during celebratory and/or mobilisation activities before, during and after student body elections. The celebratory energy demonstrated by all who participate in performances of these songs cannot even be matched with performances of politically motivated music by famous musicians during which audiences often sing along with artists. As such, these celebratory songs require a strong leadership group to direct their performance.

These celebratory struggle song performances also speak to the performance of an identity; one that is vibrant and energetic and which celebrates its strengths in the face of adversity and opposition. Black identity is often discussed as a sombre topic given the history of black oppression across the world. However the performances of students singing these celebratory songs appears to demonstrate the resilience of black people. Resilience is a topic that Allen (2004) briefly mentions in her discussions of the power of music for oppressed people when she argues that music has an empowering potential for people who are oppressed by

validating their experiences. This is made possible by the perceived ownership of a song that comes with singing a song that resonates with ones experiences. Allen (2004) is not reflecting on struggle songs specifically and certainly not on the struggle songs sampled under this theme but nonetheless her observations are helpful in furthering the premise that the singing of struggle songs is an integral part of the identity construction of those who are oppressed.

The collective performances of these songs is further evidence of the importance of including performance in any understanding and definition of identity. This appears to be missing in the assumptions and dimensions of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). A distinction needs to be made between how racial identity is manifested according to the dimensions of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) and how racial identity is performed. However the Nigrescence models seem to acknowledge the importance of performance in how identity is defined and this is captured in the different stages of Nigrescence and their respective identities (see p. 81-82).

Resilience as an aspect or dimension of identity is not overtly included in the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). One could argue that resilience can be captured in the ideological dimension of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) because of its relational component. However in the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) the ideological dimension speaks primarily to a philosophical approach as opposed to a practical and performative act. For the students singing struggle songs, resilience represents an acknowledgement of the history of oppression of black people in SA, which could be linked to a philosophical framework, however the collective pain expressed and their attempts to address the source of this pain, are far more active performances of resilience.

What are the lived experiences of singing struggle songs for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu-Natal?

In this section the lived experiences of singing struggle songs as reported by the black student activists who participated in Phase 2 of this study, are discussed. As mentioned in the findings of this phase of the study, the lived experiences of singing struggle songs needs to be understood within the students' shared context of a prevailing feeling of continued subjection to injustice and oppression, typical of the conditions and lived experience of black people during apartheid. This background or context reflects the participants' experiences of themselves and their struggles as being connected in some ways to the experiences of their political predecessors. This connection between the singing of struggle songs today and in the past is a subject that is discussed in some depth by Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014). From the perspectives of these student activists, we also come to the realisation of the interrelated nature of the relationship between the student activists' experiences of these songs and how they are used by black student activists to construct their political identities. This kind of relationship and the insights it provides towards our understanding of how people think and act politically is discussed in some detail by Street (2012) and will be reflected on in relation to the particular themes identified in this phase of the study. These themes represent to a large extent the impact of struggle songs on student activists and how student activists make use of these struggle songs. Their experiences were largely narrated in their interviews in the form of stories composed of these common themes but which they each interpreted in different ways. Their narratives have been identified as stories in terms of the fact that each seemed to have a beginning and an end.

Theme 1: Anger and Pain

The theme identified and explained in this part of the students' stories is told from a background of pervasive feelings of continued subjection to injustice and oppression at the

hands of university management and by extension the government. The metaphor of telling a story is similar to the concept of authorship, coined by Bakhtin (1981), and expanded upon by Clarke and Holquist (1984). The beginning of this narrative or story is represented by the identified theme of **Anger and Pain** that emerged at different times for each student interviewed. Some were alerted to this theme early in their upbringing and others only upon arrival at university but the anger and pain communicated by these student activists has a common source; that of the perceived injustices and oppression that black students and black people in general continue to be subjected to. This pain is experienced by the students as an anti-black posture characterised by an uncaring attitude so extreme that it violates students' humanity. Khanyile (2018) argues very strongly that there remains a systemic anti-black racism in SA that goes as far back as the 17th century. Khanyile's (2018) view and those expressed by the students in this study, share the observation that this anti-black racism and its trauma has severed the experience of a shared humanity between black people and white people. The students seem perplexed by the motivation behind such an attitude that challenges what they perceive to be a common humanity or *Ubuntu* (Mkhize, 2004). The severing of *Ubuntu* seems to be a further traumatic experience of the students and will be elaborated upon at a later stage in this chapter.

The experience of the students seems to be that of collective black pain (Nyamnjoh, 2015). It is in the interpretation of this pain as a collective experience that the students begin a process of repairing their humanity as black people. Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014) do not discuss the collective identity that forms between singers of struggle songs today and those who composed them in the past as playing a role in this reparation of relations and humanity. However many of the students' responses to the interview questions demonstrates a certain degree of identification with their political predecessors through the singing of struggle songs. As such the students appear to use the songs in part for repairing their collective

humanity, which includes the living and living dead (Mbiti, 1969). The importance of repairing this shared humanity is a consequence of a process that seems similar to what Pring-Mill (1987) refers to as "concientización". Repairing and resuscitating this humanity is thus an exercise of moral reawakening, colloquially referred to by one participant as "wokeness" (see p. 250). After all, the severing of relations and relationships through oppression affects the African at the core of his/her humanity and being (Mkhize, 2004).

Colonialism and apartheid have stained the lived experience for all in SA but especially for black South Africans who were worst affected by these institutions. So invasive and far-reaching were these acts of violence inflicted that apartheid was declared a crime against humanity by the UN (International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid, 1976). Some have described this as a crime so devastating it took away the right for people to define themselves (Ndlovu Gatsheni, 2012a; Posel, 2001) in any other way than that of their race and interpretations thereof. These were reflected in every aspect and domain of people's lives to communicate the inferiority of being black and the superiority of being white (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012a). Struggle songs are a reminder to the students of this reality and their need to confront this. In light of this, it seems as though the student movements that dominated the socio-political discourse of SA from 2015-2018 were pursuing a larger project than raising awareness about the slow pace of transformation (Badat, 2015; Naidoo, 2016; Naicker, 2016; Nyamnjoh, 2015). These authors and the students in this study all seem to report that their lived experiences of singing the songs has also been to repair the humanity of black people.

These lived experiences introduce a very important consideration for understanding identity and its construction, one that seems to be missing from the conceptualisation of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in its assumptions and dimensions. This consideration is the incorporation of an African understanding of humanity in its conceptualisation of identity.

This humanity, from an African perspective, is a collective one represented by interconnectedness, spirituality harmony and reciprocity (Asante, 1987; Mkhize, 2004). The history of oppression in SA has negatively affected the humanity of black people. Any understanding of identity and in particular a racial identity in SA should be based on a broader understanding of what it means to be human in all aspects of identity. Yet for the majority of black South Africans, their entire humanity has been the subject of oppression and abuse as a result of just one dimension of identity; that of race.

Theme 2: Fighting Against Injustice

The lived experience of wanting to fight against injustice was fuelled by the development of a consciousness of persistent historical injustices and the immediate pain and anger that was precipitated by this conscientisation. In line with the metaphor of telling a story and authorship, the black student activists in this study experienced the songs also as motivational inspiration for them to act against the perceived injustices directed at them as a race group both historically and presently. As such, the students' experiences of singing struggle songs are comparable to them being given access to a tool or weapon with which to fight their perceived oppressor and their injustice. The weaponisation of struggle songs is alluded to in the numerous accounts detailing the role that struggle songs and other similar genres of music have played in the liberation struggle continentally (see Nyawo, 2012; Pongweni,1982; for the role of Chimurenga songs in the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe; see Gray, 2004; Groenewald, 2005; le Roux Kemp, 2014; Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014; Schumann, 2008; for the role of struggle songs in the liberation struggle in SA) and in other liberation movements across the globe (see Sanger, 1995 & Freedom songs in the civil rights movement discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis). What we learn from the identification of this theme is that the experiences of singing the songs and how student activists make use of these songs, are interrelated. It is not just the feeling of wanting to fight against injustice that the

student activists experience when singing these songs, but also the feeling that they are actually fighting these injustices by singing these songs.

The fight against injustice more importantly represents a response towards healing and repairing the humanity of the students and black people in general. The pain and anger led to responses of students that indicated their need to fight. In other words, the students were not always like this (violent). Their need to fight is a response to what they are experiencing and a conscientisation of the black condition both historically and today. Their responses are demonstrations of resilience in the form of actively participating in struggle songs and student politics. Their demonstrations of resilience are legitimised by identification with the shared history and humanity of their predecessors (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014). To further demonstrate that the fight against injustice is experienced more as a fight to repair humanity with regards to all dimensions of identity, rather than an exclusively racial one, the students report that sometimes their fight is against other black people, who by virtue of their political power, oppress other black people through their behaviour and policies. This suggests that this fight is not just about race and between races but between humanity and dehumanisation.

One would like to believe that race would unite people but this is not always the case. Some black people, it would seem from the responses of the students, lack humanity or *Ubuntu*. This is in line with the African proverb of *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu* (Mbiti, 1969). Being a person is demonstrated by one's behavior and relationships with others and not simply by one's colour. This is why neutrality and inaction by other black people in the fight or process towards healing is comparable to "selling-out" or not valuing humanity or *Ubuntu*. Nonetheless, the students still believe that the importance of *Ubuntu* should be understood and shared by all black people and as such fighting for its healing is mandatory or a birthright as one participant expressed. This is suggestive of the students' belief that *Ubuntu* is a shared

ethic for all people but especially for black people, regardless of their socio-economic background.

Identity as an aspect of humanity, as has been argued here, is something that should be worked towards. In the context of this study and based on the responses of the students, humanity and identity must be worked for by actively confronting injustices and inhumane practices. The students appear to expect this active confrontation from all people but black people in particular. Should these people choose an inactive or neutral position, they are in affect aligning themselves with the oppressor. The performance of humanity and identity is not well articulated in the approaches to racial identity captured in the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) as well as in its assumptions and dimensions. This is very important to note because *Ubuntu* is not just a philosophical ideal but rather a lived ethic (Mkhize, 2004). Looked at in this way, how we understand the behaviour of these student activists and how they view their need for such behaviour must be understood within this cultural and historical context. The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in its underground approach however appreciates the importance of context and culture but there is a need to extend this appreciation more explicitly in the assumptions and dimensions of the model for it to hold more value in understanding identity in this context.

Theme 3: Hope and Transformation

Despite the anger and pain and fighting the injustices, the student activists in this study seem to believe that there is still hope for the possibility of a better future. This is captured in this theme and understood as part of how these student activists think and act politically.

Reflecting on the use of liberation songs (more similar to politically motivated music) used in the liberation struggles in Latin America, Pring-Mill (1987) argued that these types of songs

can also be understood to be songs of both struggle and hope. Much like the lived experiences of the black student activists with struggle songs in SA, Pring-Mill (1987) notes that these liberation songs record and tell the stories of people's lives. This is consistent with the authorship referred to by Bakhtin (1981) and the position argued for in this discussion. It is Pring-Mill's (1987) argument that one of the topics carried in these songs is 'concientización' that seems to ring very true with the reported experiences of singing these songs by the student activists in this study. In this context, 'concientización' loosely translated refers to the important role of songs in terms of their ability to draw people's attention to the moral aspects of the messages raised in the songs and the revolutionary struggle at large. These values cannot be more clearly demonstrated in the experience of hope and transformation communicated by the participants in this study. The value of the genuine equality ideal captured in the hope of this theme speaks to the very core of the liberation struggle historically and the calls of black student activists today. Genuine equality lies in the acknowledgement of pain and suffering that black people have endured in the past and are experiencing today, as a result of unresolved grievances (Laclau, nd, as cited in Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2014). Students display hope in their messages of commitment to transformation, both personal and political, in order to achieve this genuine equality for all.

More specifically, these hopes of transformation speak to the achievement of humanity and *Ubuntu* for the students and black people in all aspects of their lives both public and private. This remains an ideal for the students given the extent of work that is still required to achieve it. In some sense this is a reflection of the true extent of the poor conditions experienced by the majority of black people in SA in all aspects of their lives (Khanyile, 2018; Stats SA, 2018). Achievement of humanity is thus and will be both a private and public transformational process. This further emphasises the importance of the other in how a person is defined and understood from an African perspective (Mbiti, 1969). Accomplishment of this

humanity it seems would strengthen bonds between the students and with their ancestors and/or political predecessors. This too is in line with an African understanding of *Ubuntu* and becoming (Mkhize, 2004) and as such the humanity being pursued here is also a spiritual one.

In its underground approach, the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) as previously mentioned does take African principles and values into consideration in how it interprets and conceptualises identity and racial identity. However this is not adequately reflected in its assumptions and dimensions. This is especially the case with the African understanding of *Ubuntu* in the construction of identity. The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) is even more silent in acknowledging the processes involved in the formation of an identity that is constructed around the notion of *Ubuntu*, which for most black South Africans is a vital process that one lives everyday as part of who one is. *Ubuntu* extends to all relationships that one has in life and is a subject for their judgement. This aspect of confirmation is not considered or covered in any of the assumptions or dimensions of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). This judgement or confirmatory requirement for identity is possibly the most significant omission of the MMRI in understanding identity, especially in this context. Who one is a subject of judgment and comment by one's community who are also implied in one's definition of self and humanity.

Summary and Conclusion of the Lived Experiences of Singing Struggle Songs

This section has included a detailed discussion of the collective lived experience of singing struggle songs from the perspectives of contemporary black student activists. In describing this collective experience, the student activists have unintentionally co-authored aspects of their experiences of living and being a black person in SA.

Student activists' communicated experiences of living in SA and studying at university has led to much of their pain and anger. These emotions represent their perceived dehumanisation

and the loss of connection with both who they are and with their fellow people. The oppression of black people in SA has perplexed these students especially in light of its overt violation of their humanity and that of those who oppress them. To this end, the students seem to have accepted that this humanity is not important to all people including many other black people. This is communicated by the lack of active participation in the process to recapture and resuscitate their humanity displayed even by those who claim to be conscientised. This is captured in the fighting for injustice theme. The students acknowledge that the resuscitation of their humanity and the humanity of all who are part of SA is process that is far from complete.

These experiences with their humanity and attempts to resuscitate it have provided useful insights into possible enhancements of the MMRI. Moreover these experiences have confirmed the value of *Ubuntu* in the lives of South Africans, even those who have often been negatively judged for their behaviour. Theirs is a moral and values-based struggle for the resuscitation of a lost humanity.

What do Struggle Songs Mean for Black Student Activists in Universities in KwaZulu-Natal?

In this section a discussion of the meaning of struggle songs for those who sing them will be presented. This discussion is a continuation of the earlier discussion of the lived experiences of singing struggle songs for the black student activists in this study. The lived experiences and the meanings inherent in these songs are intimately tied together and as such it is difficult and incomplete to discuss the meanings of these songs without having first understood the lived experiences of singing these songs. This discussion centres on the key theme that emerged from the sampled participants' articulation of the meaning that struggle songs hold for them in terms of their process of becoming black student activists.

Theme 1: Becoming an Activist

The collective lived experience of singing struggle songs and the specific interpretations of the meaning that these songs embody for each of the participants in this study was self-acknowledged as part of their journey to becoming activists. This becoming is synonymous with the processes engaged in the development of one's black identity and more importantly one's humanity. The participants in this study did not separate their processes of becoming activists from those of becoming black and/or human. For the purposes of this study then, the process of becoming an activist is synonymous with becoming human. The journey to becoming an activist was commonly described as a process of personal discovery or a rebirth/reawakening that was not easy to navigate as it often disrupted everything the participants had been taught and socialised into believing about themselves and the world. This process of becoming an activist speaks very closely to the process described in the Nigrescence model (Cross, 1971). As illustrated in Table 1 (see p. 81-82) of this thesis, the Nigrescence model spells out the processes of becoming black or a resocialisation (towards an Afrocentric Identity) (Cross, 1995). For many of the participants in this study the event that triggered the beginning of their journey to becoming black/human and/or an activist was their arrival at university where they were closely exposed to struggle songs. An experience or series of experiences that trigger the process towards becoming black/human is also noted in the *Encounter* stage of the Nigrescence model. What is interesting with the participants in this study and their trigger event is that despite some familiarity with the songs before arriving at university, it was only once the songs and their experiences of being in university interacted, that this triggering effect towards the process of becoming was activated. For many of the participants in this study their experiences of the university environment caused the messages in the songs to resonate so deeply with them that they began their journey towards becoming. These university experiences, as earlier discussed, reflect larger societal

injustices that have their roots in colonialism and apartheid. Despite the theoretical understanding of the oppressive and racist history of SA, it seems that the courage to confront this oppressive history and what it means for the participants in terms of their identity, was initially triggered by hearing struggle songs and later singing them themselves. This courage in part was a product of understanding their struggles not as individual ones but as collective ones.

Much like the process of becoming, which is a concept discussed in detail in Africentric understandings of personhood (Mkhize, 2004), the identification with the collective as part of this process is important too. According to Mkhize (2004), this process of becoming is earned and is ongoing throughout one's life. The African proverb, *motho ke motho ka batho babang* (one becomes a human being through other human beings), gives expression to this becoming and the importance of the other. This identification with the other(s) is a complex process of appreciating that one's humanity is only made possible by and through the humanity of others, present and past (Mkhize, 2004). Similarly the pain of others becomes the pain of all. In this study this was not a merely a philosophical adage but a reality experienced.

The participants in this study were drawn to appreciating their shared humanity through their perceptions of shared hardships triggered by hearing struggle songs being sung on arrival at university and revived each time they sang the songs. It may be more than a consciousness (Mtshali & Hlongwane, 2004) then that connects singers of these songs but rather a spiritual experience, NTU[19] (Phillips, 1990), that struggle songs stimulate in those who sing them and in their audiences. The spiritual power of struggle songs is one that has been noted with the freedom songs of the civil rights movement (Sanger, 1997) and Chimurenga songs in the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe (Pongweni, 1982). The power of music to connect people at

[19] The universal energy that is the essence of all that is.

their deepest levels is communicated most succinctly by Mbiti (1969, p. 67) in the following statement: “Singing and dancing reach deep into the innermost parts of African peoples, and many things come to the surface under music inspiration which otherwise may not be readily revealed”. The innermost parts that Mbiti (1969) refers to are likely to be the spirituality and humanity in people. The collective performance of music, which emphasises oneness with others, appears to be the vehicle that brings these dimensions of shared spirituality and humanity to the surface.

In keeping with the authorship metaphor used with regards to the collective lived experience and meaning that struggle songs hold for the black student activists in this study, questions of becoming facilitated by the surfacing of a shared spirituality and humanity, seem to introduce a further aspect in these students’ journeys of becoming. The awareness of the connection between spirituality and humanity appears to have triggered a further more humanist stage in the evolution and process of becoming. This evolution is discussed in relation to the Sellers et al.’s, (1998) MMRI ideological dimension, which in this study speaks to the preferred ideology held by Africans regarding their interactions with others and society. A nationalist ideology characterised by a racialised identification with the anger and pain experienced by black people during apartheid and continuing today, as well as the need to fight against this injustice and pain, seem to have played a major role in triggering the initial stages of becoming. The *Immersion* stage (Cross, 1971) best characterises the participants at this point in their lives. This immersion is not linked to African culture as much as it is to an appreciation of the history of African oppression at the hands of white people.

A more humanist ideology then seems to reflect the students’ aspired hopes for transformation that includes an acceptance of the humanity of all and the need to work towards promoting this ideology. This humanist ideology also seems to speak to the *Internalisation Commitment* stage of the Nigrescence model (Cross, 1971). The events of SA

in 1994 in many ways held an almost magical promise of change and transformation that is now perceived to be too slow or even non-existent in some aspects (Nyamnjoh, 2015). It seems that this perception has reinitiated the process of becoming as expressed in some of the conservative and nationalist ideals still held by some participants in this study.

It is important to note that when discussing their processes of becoming, participants in this study also made attempts to differentiate themselves from those who were not like them. In as much as one's humanity depends on the appreciation and recognition of the humanity of the other, the recognition of the activist is dependent on recognition and legitimisation by other activists. The question of legitimacy is a common one with regards to the liberation struggle and its actors. The importance of this question is demonstrated in how political actors and organisations make use of it to further their often selfish political ambitions and agendas. Langa (2018) draws our attention to this in how he argues that Julius Malema and Jacob Zuma have deliberately used struggle songs to remind people of the liberation struggle in order to leverage their political power. This holds true for how Chimurenga songs have been used in Zimbabwe especially by the ZANU-PF to weaken opposition parties (Nyawo, 2012). The student activists accomplished this differentiation by questioning both ideological groundedness and participation/action. Action without ideology was frowned upon and labelled as populism and the sprouting of ideology without action was considered impotent.

This approach to defining self and others by drawing on differences seems consistent with the dichotomised reality of SA society and reminiscent of Freirean articulations of revolutionary struggles and activities, namely that ideology without praxis is meaningless (Friere, 1968). This might be considered a moot point and a slight stretch were the ideological influences of many of the student activists in SA, especially those who participated in the activities of the #RMF and #FMF movements, not identified (see Naidoo, 2016) to be prominent, anti-colonial revolutionary thinkers.

Summary and Conclusion

In this section a discussion of the meaning of struggle songs for the participants in this study was presented. The overarching theme identified is one of becoming black student activists. The process of becoming an activist for the participants in this study is synonymous with the process of becoming black/human and as such participants made very little distinction between the two. This process of becoming both black/human and an activist is similar in many regards to the one described in the Nigrescence model. Interestingly, in this study the triggering or precipitating factor for this process was the interaction of songs and personal negative experiences on arrival at university. The process of becoming is thus characterised by a series of triggers at various points in the lives of the participants. Each of these triggers seem to move the participants from one critical stage of becoming to the next. Participants in this study seem to move from the earliest stages of the Nigrescence model to the latest and then back to the earliest again, all of this characteristic of the different steps and processes of becoming within an African context. This series of becoming is understood in relation to the politics of SA and the frustrations that accompany the rhythm of these politics, namely the perceived slow process of transformation that essentially leaves black people in much the same place as they were during apartheid.

The participants in this study each described their journey of becoming a black student activist as a difficult and lengthy process but one that they all value tremendously. Becoming and being black is a humanist ideal that represents addressing the injustices of the past. The memories embodied in the stories of this past and contained within many of the older struggle songs seldom leaves the minds of student activists who align themselves and their identities closely with that of their political predecessors and liberation struggle Freedom Fighters.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

This study explored the meaning of struggle songs for contemporary black student activists at two universities in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

The objectives of the study were the following:

1. To explore the discourse strategies that are used in the struggle songs that are currently sung by black student activists in South Africa.
2. To explore how the discourse strategies employed in struggle songs currently sung by black student activist in South Africa are used to construct their identities
3. To explore the lived experiences of singing struggle songs for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu-Natal.
4. To explore the meaning of struggle songs for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu-Natal.

These objectives were approached by employing a qualitative exploratory design (Durrheim, 2006). There were two phases to the study. The first phase explored the discourse strategies (see van Dijk, 1997; for Political Discourse Analysis) that were used in a sample of commonly sung (N=21) struggle songs. This was followed by an exploration of how these discourse strategies were used by the black student activists who sing them to construct their identities. The second phase of the study explored the lived experiences of singing struggle songs with a sample of 10 student activists from two universities in KZN. What follows is a summary of the conclusions reached about the research questions.

Summary of Conclusions about Research Questions

1. **What discourse strategies are used in the struggle songs that are currently sung by black student activists in South Africa?**

The discourse strategies that were employed in the sample of commonly sung struggle songs by black student activists were topics, local semantics, lexicon, syntax, rhetoric expressions, structures and speech acts (van Dijk, 1997). Each of these discourse strategies were used within most of the songs that formed the sample in this study. However, the degree to which these discourse strategies were used was determined largely by their effectiveness in enhancing the black student activists' messaging about identity. This was also determined by the theme under which each song was categorised. The researcher identified three key themes within the sample of songs, which were then used to categorise them. These themes include the following: **(1) Guerrilla Army Emphasis; (2) The Burden of Struggle; (3) Unity and Mobilisation.**

The discourse strategies that were most effective in communicating the students' messages about identity in songs categorised under the **Guerrilla Army Emphasis** and **The Burden of Struggle** themes were topics, textual schemata, local semantics, lexicon, rhetoric and expression structures. Topics, local semantics and expression structures were the most effective discourse strategies identified in **Unity and Mobilisation** themed songs.

2. **How are the discourse strategies employed in struggle songs currently sung by black student activist in South Africa used to construct their identities?**

The major findings regarding how the different discourse strategies were used by the students to construct their identities are presented here under each of the themes into which the songs were categorised.

Theme 1: Guerrilla Army Emphasis

The findings from the analysis of the songs under Theme 1 suggest that the students make use of the respective discourse strategies to construct a collective political identity best described as a Freedom Fighter. This term is borrowed from the liberation struggle in SA. This is an incomplete identity as a consequence of the history of oppression of black South Africans that continues today. As such, the Freedom Fighter identity seems to represent the fight that the students are engaged in not only against the perceived sources of their oppression but also the struggle to be able to identify themselves as complete black people.

The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in many instances falls short in assisting us in understanding how the students singing these songs construct and define their identities. The first of these instances is with the taken for granted assumption that people have the agency to define and construct who they are. In the context of SA and from what the students seem to be communicating about their identity in the songs under this theme, this is not necessarily the case. The apartheid legacy of imposing a purely racial identity on black South Africans and the continued oppression suffered by the majority of black South Africans at the hands of those who once led the liberation struggle means that their struggle to freely define their own identities (in this case black students) continues. The growing levels of inequality that place black youths at the most disadvantaged end of society also denies them the opportunity to be who they want to be. As a result they are forced to borrow a Freedom Fighter identity from their political predecessors to continue the fight for freedom to determine their own identities.

The second instance where the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) seems to fall short in this context is its lack of full appreciation for the complex interaction of history, race and politics in how identity and racial identity can be understood in SA, especially with these students. This complex interaction is also a violent one that remains a contested terrain. The students in this

study construct themselves as Freedom Fighters in order to participate in this interaction, which has huge implications for their well-being and ability to construct their identities.

The third instance lies with the MMRI's (Sellers et al., 1998) weakness in understanding identity and racial identity construction as an ongoing process as opposed to an identity that can be defined at any one time. From this study it seems as though the students define their identity as a process of becoming that precedes them and extends even into the realm of the spiritual. This way of understanding and constructing identity is consistent with an African understanding of the process of becoming.

Theme 2: The Burden of Struggle

The findings from the analysis of the use of the discourse strategies within the songs under the second theme alert us to the importance of the emotional dimension of identity construction. The Freedom Fighter identity that the students seem to aspire to, is one that is courageous but also feels pain and sorrow. These powerful emotions are what connects them to their ancestors and political predecessors and thereby fuels their struggle to pursue the freedom to be able to define themselves by aspects other than just their race.

Pain and sorrow are not adequately captured by the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) in how identity is understood and constructed in a SA context where a history of violence embodied by racial identity has and continues to play such a defining role in shaping the quality of life for people. For these students then, pain is a necessary resource from which to draw the courage required to construct and define one's own identity based on a variety of other aspects, not just race. The source of this courage is the connection the students experience with Freedom Fighters from the liberation struggle when they sing these songs. Furthermore the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) does not accommodate how this pain and sorrow serves as a unifying resource for how people identify themselves and their ideologies. It is through

sharing in the pain and sorrow of students that one is accommodated in their definition of humanity. This shared pain thus defines those who do not share it as their opponents. This sharing or not sharing of an emotion as the defining factor for both the oppressed and oppressors is another aspect that the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) does not accommodate.

Theme 3: Unity and Mobilisation

The findings from the analysis of the discourse strategies that were more dominant and effective with songs under this theme suggest the importance of courage, unity and commitment towards ones in-group as key aspects to their identity. These values and traits are even more important in the pursuance of defining oneself for black students in South Africa. These values and traits that are not captured in the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). What is more concerning is the absence of resilience as a dimension to identity and racial identity that these values and traits represent. Resilience is a very important aspect or dimension of these students who define themselves by drawing similarities between themselves, their struggles and those faced by their political predecessors. To continue their struggle for freedom and the ability to construct and define themselves requires resilience and commitment. As such resilience is a major component in any model whose intention is to better understand identity and racial identity for black youths in South Africa.

3. What are the lived experiences of singing struggle songs for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu Natal?

Three broad themes were identified as common in the student activists' responses regarding their lived experiences of singing struggle songs. These themes include: **(1) Anger and Pain; (2) Fighting Injustice; (3) Hope and Transformation.** Each of these themes represented the students' experiences of resuscitating their humanity and that of other black people.

Theme 1: Anger and Pain

The experience of these emotions whilst singing these songs was a consequence of the students' realisations of the oppressive conditions that black people lived under during apartheid and whom many continue to live under today. These conditions have severed the relationships between people and most importantly their humanity. The students' realisations provided motivation for them to begin the process of rebuilding their humanity as based on an African understanding of what it means to be a person, which incorporates the principles of interconnectedness, spirituality harmony and reciprocity (Asante, 1987; Mkhize, 2004).

Based on these findings, a major criticism of the MMRI (Sellers et al. 1998) is that despite the importance it assigns to African culture in its underground approach to the conceptualisation of identity, it falls short in its consideration and explicit incorporation of an African understanding of humanity and *Ubuntu* in its conceptualisation of identity. In the SA context this is very unfortunate and has the unintended implication of missing the most important aspect of identity; the person.

Theme 2: Fighting Injustice

This theme represents the beginning point in these students' journeys towards healing and repairing their humanity and that of black people. This exercise is one that is experienced by the students as a fight against injustice. This is largely due to the violent history of SA that saw the oppression and discrimination of black people under colonialism and apartheid. The students also seem to suggest that participation in this fight is the defining feature for one's humanity and identity as a black person. This is based on the students' observations and criticisms of black people whom they perceive as oppressing other black people and those who are indifferent to the process of healing and repairing humanity and *Ubuntu*. This process is consistent with the African understanding of the process of becoming a person

(Asante, 1987). Personhood is achieved not given. This process of becoming also seems to be missing in the underground approach's conceptualisation of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998).

Theme 3: Hope and Transformation

These ideals represent the achievement of *Ubuntu* and humanity that the students yearn for. From an African perspective this achievement of *Ubuntu* and humanity is understood to be both a private and public accomplishment and one that also extends to enhanced relationships between the living and the deceased (Mkhize, 2004). *Ubuntu* is a process that a human being engages in every day and in all interactions and relationships and as such is subject to the judgement and determination of others. The process of becoming *umuntu* (person) is therefore one that is dependent on others and which has no end point. The MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) does not seem to accommodate this process and the necessity of others to determine the validity of the humanity and *Ubuntu* of a person. Public regard as a dimension does not have the depth to capture the role of the other (and by extension the group or community) in determining the humanity and *Ubuntu* of the individual.

4. What do struggle songs mean for black student activists in universities in KwaZulu-Natal?

Becoming an activist was the only overarching and fully inclusive theme identified by the researcher in the students' responses to what the songs mean for them. In different ways, each student likened the process of becoming an activist to that of becoming a black person in the context of South Africa's history and continued perpetuation of oppression. Their common experiences of anger and pain, fighting injustice, and hope and transformation, represent the journey that the students take in working towards becoming a person with a varied and complete humanity. This is a long journey for the students, one that many of them acknowledge is far from over. This journey is defined by a series of practical activities that

the students have had to go through and continue to go through. In many ways some of the stages of the Nigrescence model and its revisions illustrate the performative aspect and these requirements for identity that are inherent in the students' experiences of performing struggle songs, which are not very well accommodated for in the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). This is despite many assertions that its underground approach is indicative of an evolution in our attempts to better understand identity and black identity construction from an African perspective in particular.

Unique Contributions of the Study

The unique contribution of this study lies in how it enhances our understanding of identity and specifically black identity by locating *Ubuntu* at the centre of black identity theory. Theories of identity and black identity go as far back as Du Bois in 1903 and the subsequent influential theories of black identity developed in the 1970s. The earlier and most significant theories of identity and black identity have acknowledged the impact that the oppression and discrimination of black people has had on their construction and definition of self. Despite acknowledging this oppression and discrimination however, these theories also indicate an appreciation for the mediating power of culture in protecting and enhancing a positive self-identification for black people (Cokley & Chapman, 2009; Cross, 1995; Du Bois (1903, as cited in Sellers et al., 1998; Stefani, 2015). There is a large body of research that has explored the role of culture in various aspects of the lives of black people including identity. However, in the theories of identity and studies exploring identity there has been very little attention focused on *Ubuntu*. This is noteworthy because from an African, and a southern African perspective in particular, *Ubuntu* is at the heart of any understanding of personhood, as without the person there can be no identity. This omission of *Ubuntu* is not altogether surprising in light of the prevailing status quo which sees the majority of research

on identity and the subsequent development of theories of identity and black identity in particular as originating in North America.

The Nigrescence model and its revisions offer some of the most important contributions to our understanding of black identity and its relationship to many aspects of human psychology. The stages of the model and their revisions thereof contribute significantly to our understanding of the process of becoming black or the development of a black identity. This process however seems to have been less emphasised in the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) which has been acknowledged as a valuable evolution in the study and understanding of black identity. The current study's finding regarding the centrality of *Ubuntu* in how the black students construct their identities reminds us of this very important contribution from the Nigrescence models. Aggression and violence as adjectives for how many black student activists have been perceived and defined in SA society does not in any way suggest an inherent *Ubuntu* but rather the opposite. In this current study however, we learn that in the SA context where violence has been used to define black people as inferior (Khanyile, 2018; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012), it can also be used to repair their sense of humanity. The value and necessity of violence in the liberatory process of oppressed peoples is one that is acknowledged in liberatory politics (Friere, 1968) and in the psychopolitics of Fanon.

One's identity and humanity is the subject of continual critique, judgement and confirmation by other people within one's community. This statement refers to a communal understanding of self (Mbiti, 1969). This is another important contribution of this study to the theories and understanding of black identity. The public regard component of the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) does not adequately address this communal aspect of identity. Furthermore, the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998) takes for granted that individuals have the agency to define who they are. This agency to construct and define oneself is not as straight forward in the SA context as it may be elsewhere. The violence and oppression that was and continues to be directed at

black people and youths in SA, which is evidenced by the obvious socio-economic marginalisation of the majority of black South Africans and black youths in particular (Hundenborn et al., 2018; Stats SA, 2018), limits the full extent to which black people can construct and define who they are.

For black students and youths in SA, *Ubuntu* and the process of becoming or being a person is a generational goal that bonds them with their ancestors and political predecessors. This observation made by Mtshali and Hlongwane (2014) is now supported with empirical evidence from this study. The spiritual component of how the students construct their identities and their humanity is consistent with understandings of *Ubuntu* and the cyclical nature of life (Asante, 1987; Mkhize, 2004). As we learn from this study, a black identity is an incomplete project that is also spiritual in nature. This spirituality is not adequately incorporated or addressed in the major theories of black identity, which include the Nigrescence models and the MMRI (Sellers et al., 1998). This is unfortunate due to the centrality of spirituality in any understanding of the African person (Mbiti, 1969). In the current study, spirituality emerged as an important aspect of *Ubuntu* and black identity.

Spirituality and connection to one's ancestors also communicates another important finding and contribution that this study makes to our understanding of identity and black identity. This contribution is the identification of resilience. According to the students in this study, the oppression and violence that has been the historical experience of black people, has served as fuel for the students' process of constructing their identity and resuscitating their humanity despite their own struggles with authority. This display of resilience and its acknowledgement as a vital aspect of black identity is important because it also acknowledges the proactive nature of black people in the face of oppression and violence. Resilience in this regard can be classified as an evolutionary development in the face of violent and oppressive environments.

Although the value of music for constructing identity is a subject that has received some attention in the literature, there are no studies that have used music to understand black identity in particular. This study has contributed towards the growing literature and arguments about the interdisciplinary nature of knowledge and knowledge production. In the case of this study, music in the form of struggle songs was analysed in terms of the discourse strategies employed within these songs and used by SA students to construct their black identities. Despite the importance of music in the lives of Africans in general (Mbaegbu, 2015; Mbiti, 1969) there are no existing studies that have explored how a genre of music can be used to construct black identity. What was found however is that an African perspective of identity was more dominant than a black one. Although race is an important part of one's black identity and has historically been viewed by colonialists and the apartheid system as the central aspect to defining identity, the students in this study appear to experience race rather as a series of experiences and not as a central aspect of who they are and are working towards becoming. After all, it is an historical fact that the participants in this study were African in terms of their origins long before they were classified as black.

Implications for Policy, Research and Practice

The implications for policy that this study presents have to do with the place of politically shaped historical and cultural artefacts in a democratic SA. The South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) from which the current laws and policies of the country draw meaning, is faced with the enormous responsibility to ensure that all South Africans are afforded the rights to dignity and justice. These songs represent a continued critique of its failure and the failure of those entrusted with implementing it to ensure the realisation of dignity and justice for all. Despite legal rulings that have banned some struggle songs from being sung (see Pillay, 2013) many other songs that carry similar messages to those banned continue to resonate with the majority of South Africans of all ages. For policy to hold

meaning it needs to speak to the concerns of those they are intended for. This study provides some insight into certain contemporary issues and concerns facing young black South Africans. Implied in the findings of this study are proposals for some policy considerations.

There thus appears to be a need for more research into the concerns and activities of politically active youths in SA and across the African context. There is a growing dissatisfaction with transformational promises that were made by liberation movements and leaders following the end of colonialism on the continent and the abolition of apartheid in SA. These promises have for the most part not been met and young black people in particular are becoming more marginalised and desperate as socio-economic disparities and unemployment levels continue to grow largely unabated. This poses a great risk for economic developmental and security efforts in many communities across the continent and country. The recommended research should involve concerned youth as much as possible to ensure the relevance and validity of its objectives. Globalisation and rapid change in the world requires that more attention be given to both local and global trends to ensure congruency between research and needs. The operations of SA universities have been greatly affected by the disruptions that directly affected them over the period 2015-present. These disruptions have led to the burning of some university buildings and cancellation of teaching and other operations of universities. These disruptions have come at a great cost to universities and those associated with them ("Student Protests Cost", 2018). Responses from universities have often been to match these disruptions with tighter security measures and frequent arrests of students, which only leads to more violent displays of anger and frustration at those perceived to be the source of the injustices these students face and so the cycle of violence continues. As such there appears to be a need to begin a process of mending and/or reorganising the relationships between university management and students. It would seem that the current operational dynamics and systems, which simply give elected students a seat on the decision-

making structures of universities are not as effective as they should be. These platforms may be outdated and require re-examination and improvement.

Implications for Theory

Young black people in SA born after 1994, colloquially referred to as 'born frees' and who make up the sample of students in this study, hold a unique view about reality and its possibilities (Norgaard, 2015). Many of these young people are aware of the promises made post-1994 and many of these have not been met. Furthermore, the extent to which young black people have been largely excluded from the mainstream economy and the growing inequalities in SA pose a huge dilemma and challenge that is likely to affect how 'born free' black youth view themselves, their expectations and aspirations. The failure of university management and by extension the government to meet these expectations some two and a half decades since they were promised, has left many black students affected by this continued inequality, falling short of their own and their elders' desired aspirations for them that were inherent in the opportunities promised by a new, democratic dispensation. The anger inherent in these students' failure to achieve these aspirations, through no fault of their own, has led to many violent and antisocial methods of addressing these unfulfilled expectations, driven by black youths in SA and across the globe. These factors present new challenges and considerations for theory development around identity construction for young black South Africans primarily and many young Africans of all races in general.

A further implication for theory is the evident need for more continentally-based studies on racial identity led by continentally-based researchers. Most theories and theorising around a black African identity has been driven by African-Americans (see Cokley & Chapman, 2009; Sellers et al., 1998; Umaña-Taylor et al., 2014; Vandiver, 2001; Vandiver et al., 2002). Despite an acknowledgement of the unique cultural perspective that Africans hold, which is

explicit in their work, many African-Americans have a limited experience of extended daily life continentally. The rapid shifts on the continent and in the world have are likely to affect how continental Africans view themselves in relation to each other and the rest of the world.

The growing involvement of the Chinese on the African continent has begun a new chapter in the lives of African people and how they view themselves and their relations with the international community. The full of extent of the Chinese involvement and how it will affect African politics and identity is yet to be fully understood. The role of BRICS (Brazil, Russia, India, China and SA) in the SADC (Southern African Development Community) region is also growing and is likely to affect relations with other blocs on the continent and internationally. The extent to which these dynamics may impact upon Africans' and South Africans' understandings of themselves is also unclear at this stage.

Rising xenophobia especially in SA is another daily experience that is shifting how Africans and South Africans in particular view themselves and each other (Crush, 2008). The growing inequalities in SA and across the continent and the limited resources to accommodate these growing populations of migrants has created palpable tensions that question the strength of our unity and interdependence as a country within a continental community (Asante, 1987; Mbiti, 1969). These values and how they are practised are very important to how Africans define themselves. As a result, these values and the rising levels of xenophobia and their implication for identity construction should be carefully considered in relation to relevant theories of black African identity, the development of which it is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute significantly towards.

Limitations and Criticism

The sample of videos that presented performances of certain struggle songs used in Phase 1 of the study were gathered using keyword searches on the YouTube platform. As

earlier noted, YouTube is the largest video posting platform presently available (Askanius, 2012) that allows the general public to upload videos. There are restrictions on the kind of content that can be posted on YouTube and the ownership of that content as discussed in the terms of use for the application and platform (Terms of Service, 2019). Some of these terms include the labelling of videos. YouTube can remove videos from their platform that do not adhere to their terms and conditions of use. Owners of videos can also remove videos. The use of YouTube videos is also guided by terms and conditions that often rely on permission being given by the owners of the videos. These issues present some limitations for the study.

The first of these limitations is the guarantee of the continued availability of the sampled YouTube videos on the platform. In this study, each specific YouTube video sampled and analysed had a unique ID in the form of a URL (Uniform Resource Locator) more commonly known as a website address. The full URLs for each video were included as a citation next to the presentation of their lyrics in Chapter 5, however due to the reasons outlined above, the researcher cannot guarantee the continued availability of these videos as they could be removed at any time without the knowledge of the researcher. This limitation regarding the control of data has implications for the trustworthiness of the data and its analysis. Secondly, searching for videos relevant to the objectives of the study was dependent on a series of key word searches on the YouTube search engine. This key word search is reliant on the labelling of the videos. Despite the large number of relevant videos found, it is possible that the search did not capture all of the videos potentially relevant for this study due to the inconsistent labelling of some of the videos. YouTube warns against inaccurate labelling of videos, but in practice this is difficult to police in all circumstances.

Another limitation of the YouTube platform is the accessibility of the platform. Uploading videos on YouTube requires familiarity with and a level of competence in using the platform. Availability of internet data is also important to be able to upload videos. Both these factors

pose further limitations for this study in terms of the fact that in SA in particular, people do not have equal access to upload such videos, which brings the question of ownership into discussion and thereby the identity of the lens through which the video is filmed. The variations in this lens will naturally impact upon a viewer's interaction with these videos and if there is not an equitable distribution of lenses represented, the study's findings may be slightly skewed. The sampling of participants in the second phase also posed some limitations for the current study. Given the arrests of student activists across universities in the country, many appropriate candidates were fearful and anxious about participating in the study. This necessitated the use of purposive and snowball sampling that is acknowledged as possibly limiting the variation of participants in this study.

Indications for Further Research

The role of student activists in the lives of students and how universities across SA are governed is growing. Following the 2015-2016 protests there is a palpable need to increase the involvement of student activists and leaders in the transformational plans and agendas of universities. We have begun to see some of the weaknesses and successes of these interactions and involvement in the revision of teaching and learning activities necessitated by the Covid-19 crisis. These developments have implications for the identity and role of SA student activists going forward and are also likely to shape the parameters and definitions of management models that have been used in universities. Research into these areas would be helpful to facilitate further understanding and improve access to and within these spaces.

The role of student activists and leaders also needs to be understood beyond the confines of the university environment due to the fact that many of the tensions present in universities are often extensions of concerns in other spheres of society. Larger surveys and quantitative methods may be helpful in this regard. The developing militarised version of black identity

that has been identified in the responses of the black student activists in this study requires further exploration. Heightened security measures create and perpetuate fear and distrust between members of the university environment, which is not conducive for effective teaching and learning. This has implications for recruitment and retention of both staff and students. Access to education is one of the goals of the National Development Plan 2030 (National Planning Commission, 2011) and this could be negatively affected by increasingly unconducive tertiary education environments.

References

Allen, L. (2004). Music and Politics in Africa. *Social Dynamics, 30*(2)*,* 1-19. https://doi.org/10.1080/02533950408628682

Al-Sowaidi, B., Banda, F., & Mansour, A. (2017). Doing Politics in the Recent Arab Uprisings: Towards a Political Discourse Analysis of the Arab Spring Slogans. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, *52*(5), 621-645. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021909615600462

Arthur, S., & Nazroo, J. (2003). Designing Fieldwork Strategies and Materials. In J. Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 109-137). Sage Publications.

Asante, M. K. (1987). *The Afrocentric Idea*. Temple University Press.

Askanius, T. (2012). *Radical Online Video: YouTube, Video Activism and Social Movement Media Practices.* Lund University. https://lup.lub.lu.se/record/3159660

Badat, S. (2015). Deciphering the Meanings and Explaining the South African Higher Education Student Protests of 2015–16. *Pax Academica, 1 & 2,* 71-106. http://paxacademica.codesria.org/

Bakhtin, M. M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (M. Holquist, Ed.; C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). University of Texas Press.

Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006) Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3*(2)*,* 77-101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa

Brocki, J. M., & Wearden, A. J. (2006). A Critical Evaluation of the Use of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) in Health Psychology. *Psychology and Health*, *21*(1), 87-108. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/14768320500230185

Bronkhorst, S., & Matukane, M. M. (2017). Student Funding Model Used by the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) at Universities in South Africa. *The Journal of Internet Banking and Commerce*, *22*(2), Article. https://www.icommercecentral.com/open-access/student-funding-model-used-by-the-national-student-financial-aid-scheme-nsfas-at-universities-in-south-africa.php?aid=86184

Castillo-Mantoya, M. (2016). Preparing for Interview Research: The Interview Protocol Refinement Framework. *The Qualitative Report, 21*(5)*,* 811-831. https://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol21/iss5/2?utm_source=nsuworks.nova.edu%2Ftqr%2Fvol21%2Fiss5%2F2&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages

Chavous, T. M., Bernat D. H,, Schmeelk-Cone, K., Caldwell C. H., Kohn-Wood, L., & Zimmerman, M. A.(2003). Racial Identity and Academic Attainment among African American Adolescents. *Child Development, 74*(4), 1076-1090. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8624.00593

Chirwa, W. C. (2001). Dancing Towards Dictatorship: Political Songs and Popular Culture in Malawi. *Nordic Journal of African Studies*, *10*(1), 1-27. https://www.africabib.org/htp.php?RID=229492096

Clark, K., & Holquist, M. (1984). *Mikhail Bakhtin*. Harvard University Press.

Cokley, K. O., & Chapman, C. (2009). Racial identity theory: Adults. In H. A. Neville, B. M. Tynes, & S. O. Utsey (Eds.), *Handbook of African American Psychology* (pp. 283–297). Sage Publications.

Congress of the People. (1955). *Freedom Charter.* https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/freedom-charter

Creswell, J. W (2007). *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches* (2nd ed.). Sage Publications.

Creswell, J. W., & Miller, D. L. (2000). Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry, *Theory Into Practice, 39*(3)*,* 124-130. https://doi.org/ 10.1207/s15430421tip3903_2

Cross, W.E. (1995). The Psychology of Nigrescence: Revising the Cross Model. In J.G. Ponterotto, J. M. Casas, L. A. Suzuki, & C. M. Alexander (Eds.), *Handbook of Multicultural Counseling* (pp. 93-122). Sage Publications.

Dawson, S. (2011). The First Chimurenga: 1896-1897 Uprising in Matabeleland and Mashonaland and the Continued Conflicts in Academia. *Constellations*, *2*(2), 144-153. https://doi.org/10.29173/cons10502

Dhlamini, N. (2017). *Music as a Medium of Protest: An Analysis of the Selected Kalanga Music.* [Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation]. UNISA.

Dressler, R. A., & Kreuz, R.J. (2000) Transcribing Oral Discourse: A Survey and a Model System. *Discourse Processes, 29*(1), 25-36. https://doi.org/10.1207/S15326950dp2901_2

Durrheim, K. (2006). Research Design. In M. Terre Blanche, K. Durrheim, & D. Painter (Eds.), *Research in Practice: Applied Methods for the Social Science (*pp. 33-59). University of Cape Town Press.

Emanuel, E, J., Wendler, D., & Grady, C. (2000). What Makes Clinical Research Ethical? *Journal of American Medical Association, 283*(20), 2701-2711. https://doi.org/10.1001/jama.283.20.2701

Friere, P. (1968). *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. The Continuum Publishing Company.

Gilbert, S. (2007). Singing Against Apartheid: ANC Cultural Groups and the International Anti-apartheid Struggle. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *33*(2), 421-441. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070701292848

Goertzen, C. (2016). Freedom Songs: Helping Black Activists, Black Residents, and White Volunteers Work Together in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, During the Summer of 1964. *Black Music Research Journal*, *36*(1), 59-85. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/691606

Golafshani, N. (2003). Understanding Reliability and Validity in Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, *8*(4)*,* 597-607. http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol8/iss4/6

Graneheim, U.H., & Lundman, B. (2004). Qualitative Content Analysis in Nursing Research: Concepts, Procedures and Measures to Achieve Trustworthiness. *Nurse Education Today, 24*, 105–112. https:// doi.org/10.1016/j.nedt.2003.10.001

Gray, A. (2004). The Liberation Songs: An Important Voice of Black South Africans from 1912 to 1994. *Journal of Education, 33*(1), 85-102.

Groenewald, H. C. (2005). The Role of Political Songs in the Realisation of Democracy in South Africa. *Literator: Journal of Literary Criticism, Comparative Linguistics and Literary Studies*, *26*(2), 121-136. https://doi.org/10.4102/lit.v26i2.231

Guba, E.G., & Lincoln, Y.S. (1994). Competing Paradigms in Qualitative Research. In N.K. Denzin & Y.S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 105-117). Sage Publications.

Gunner, L. (2009). Jacob Zuma, the Social Body and the Unruly Power of Song. *African Affairs, 108*(430)*,* 27-48. https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adn064

Hamm, C. (1991). 'The Constant Companion of Man': Separate Development, Radio Bantu and Music. *Popular Music*, *10*(2), 147-173. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0261143000004487

Hartford, B. (2011). The Power of Freedom Songs. https://www.crmvet.org/reprints/pofs.pdf

Harvey, R. D., Blue, C. D., & Tennial, R. E. (2012). The Conceptualization and Measurement of Racial Identity and Racial Identification within Psychology. In J. M. Sullivan & A. Esmail (Eds.), *African American Identity: Racial and Cultural Dimensions of the Black Experience* (pp. 50-70). Lexington Books. ProQuest Ebook Central https://ebookcentral.proquest.com

Hauser, C. (2016, September 22). Fees Must Fall': Anatomy of the Student Protests in South Africa. *New York Times.* https://www.nytimes.com/2016/09/23/world/africa/fees-must-fall-anatomy-of-the-student-protests-in-south-africa.html

Heffernan, A., & Nieftagodien, N. (2016). Introduction: Narratives of Student Struggle. In A. Heffernan & N. Nieftagodien (Eds.), *Students Must Rise: Youth Struggle in South Africa Before and Beyond Soweto'76* (pp. 1-5). WITS University Press.

Hundenborn, J., Leibbrandt, M. V., & Woolard, I. (2018). *Drivers of Inequality in South Africa* (No. 2018/162). WIDER Working Paper. https://doi.org/10.35188/UNU-WIDER/2018/604-3

Issa, S. (2018). Ibrahim Qashoush's Revolutionary Popular Songs: Resistance Music in the 2011 Syrian Revolution. *Popular Music and Society*, *41*(3), 283-301. https://doi.org/10.1080/03007766.2016.1254712

Jones, M. K., & Day, S. X. (2018). An Exploration of Black Women's Gendered Racial Identity Using a Multidimensional and Intersectional Approach. *Sex Roles*, *79*(1-2), 1-15. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0854-8

Khanyile, B. (2018). Since 1652: Tortured Souls and Disposed Bodies. *Souls*, *20*(3), 289-303. https://doi.org/10.1080/10999949.2018.1532/756

King, M. L., & Washington, J. M. (1986). *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr*. Harper & Row.

Kusá, D. (2018). The Born Frees as Assertive Citizens? Student Protests and Democratic Prospects in South Africa. *Polish Political Science Yearbook, 47*(4)*,* 722-741. https://doi.org/10.15804/ppsy2018410

Lambrechts, D., & Maree, A. (1998). The Law in South Africa Regarding State Security. *Acta Criminologica: Southern African Journal of Criminology*, *11*(1), 50-58.

Langa, R. (2018). A 'Counter-Monument' to the Liberation Struggle: The Deployment of Struggle Songs in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *South African Historical Journal*, *70*(1), 215-233. https://doi.org/10.1080/02582473.2018.1439523

Lee, H. (Director). (2002). Amandla! A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony. ATO Pictures.

le Roux-Kemp, A. (2014). Struggle Music: South African Politics in Song. *Law and Humanities, 8*(2), 247–268. https://doi.org/10.5235/17521483.8.2.247

Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic Inquiry*. Sage Publications.

Lucia, C. (2002). Abdullah Ibrahim and the uses of Memory. *British Journal of Ethnomusicology, 11*(2), 125-143. https://doi.org/10.1080/09681220208567341

Maree, G. H. (2011). *" Listen to our Song Listen to our Demand": South African Struggle Songs, Poems and Plays: An Anthropological Perspective* [Masters Thesis, UNISA]. http://uir.unisa.ac.za/bitstream/handle/10500/5617/thesis_maree_g.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Markham, A., & Buchanan, E. (2012). *Ethical Decision-Making and Internet Research: Recommendations from the AOIR Ethics Working Committee (version 2.0).* http://www.aoir.org/reports/ethics2.pdf

Martin, D., Johnson, P., & Mugabe, R. (1981). *The Struggle for Zimbabwe: The Chimurenga War*. Faber & Faber.

Martiniello, M., & Lafleur, J. M. (2008). Ethnic Minorities' Cultural and Artistic Practices as Forms of Political Expression: A Review of the Literature and a Theoretical Discussion on Music. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *34*(8), 1191-1215. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691830802364809

Massad, J. (2003). Liberating Songs: Palestine Put to Music. *Journal of Palestine Studies*, *32*(3), 21-38. https://doi.org/10.1525/jps.2003.32.3.21

Mathangwane, J. T. (2009). Bakalanga Traditional Music: Some Cultural Insights. *Botswana Notes & Records*, *41*. 83-94.

Maxwell, J. A. (2009). Designing a Qualitative Study. In L. Bickman & D. J. Rog (Eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Applied Social Research Methods* (pp. 214-253). Sage Publications. https://doi.org/10.4135/9781483348858.n7

Mbaegbu, C. C. (2015). The Effective Power of Music in Africa. *Open Journal of Philosophy, 5,* 176-183. https://dx.doi.org/10.4236/ojpp.2015.53021

Mbiti, J.S. (1969). *African Religions and Philosophy*. East African Educational Publishers.

Mkhize, N. J. (2004). Psychology: An African Perspective. In D. Hook (Ed.), *Critical Psychology* (pp. 24–52). University of Cape Town Press.

Mtshali, K., & Hlongwane, G. (2014). Contextualizing South Africa's Freedom Songs: A Critical Appropriation of Lee Hirsch's Amandla!: A Revolution in Four-Part Harmony. *Journal of Black Studies, 45*(6)*,* 507–527. https:// doi.org/ 10.1177/0021934714541839

Mutonya, M. (2004). Praise and Protest: Music and Contesting Patriotisms in Postcolonial Kenya. *Social Dynamics*, *30*(2), 20-35. https://doi.org/10.1080/02533950408628683

Mutonya, M. (2007). 'Touch What You Don't Have': Mũgithi, One-man Guitar and Urban Identities. *Muziki*, *4*(1), 12-26. https://doi.org/10.1080/18125980701754579

Naicker, C. (2016). From Marikana to #FeesMustFall: The Praxis of Popular Politics in South Africa*. Urbanisation, 1*(1)*,* 53–61. https://doi.org/10.1177/2455747116640434

Naidoo, L. (2016). Contemporary Student Politics in South Africa: The Rise of the Black-led Student Movements of #RhodesMustFall and #FeesMustFall in 2015. In A. Heffernan & N. Nieftagodien (Eds.), *Students Must Rise: Youth struggle in South Africa Before and Beyond Soweto'76* (pp. 180-190). WITS University Press.

National Youth Development Agency. (2015). *National Youth Policy 2015–2020*. Presidency, Republic of South Africa. http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/download/file/fid/58

Ndlovu, S. M. (2016). A Brief History of the African Students' Association. In A. Heffernan & N. Nieftagodien (Eds.), *Students Must Rise: Youth Struggle in South Africa Before and Beyond Soweto'76* (pp. 6-15). WITS University Press.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2012a). Racialised Ethnicities and Ethnicised Races: Reflections on the Making of South Africanism. *African Identities, 10*(4)*,* 407-422. https://doi.org/10.1080/14725843.2012.692550

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J. (2012b). Rethinking "Chimurenga" and "Gukurahundi" in Zimbabwe: A Critique of Partisan National History. *African Studies Review*, *55*(3), 1-26. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0002020600007186

Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S. J., & Willems, W. (2009). Making Sense of Cultural Nationalism and the Politics of Commemoration under the Third Chimurenga in Zimbabwe. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, *35*(4), 945-965. https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070903314226

Neal, B. A. (2006). *" We Shall Overcome": From Black Church Music to Freedom Song.* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Pittsburgh]. http://d-scholarship.pitt.edu/7626/1/nealba_etdpitt2006.pdf

Neblett, E. W., Smalls, C. P., Ford, K. R., Nguyen, H. X., & Sellers, R. M. (2009). Racial Socialization and Racial Identity: African American Parents' Messages about Race as Precursors to Identity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, *38*, 189-203. https://doi.org/ 10.1007/s10964-008-9359-7

Nkoala, S. M. (2013). Songs that Shaped the Struggle: A Rhetorical Analysis of South African Struggle Songs. *African Yearbook of Rhetoric, 4*(1)*,* 51-61.

Nobles, W. W. (2015). From black psychology to Sakhu Djaer: Implications for the further development of a Pan African Black psychology. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *41*(5), 399-414. https://doi.org/ 10.1177/0095798415598038

Norgaard, S. (2015). 'Born Free'? Names, Identity, and Identity-Formation. *Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa, 69*(2)*,* 233-244.

Nyairo, J., & Ogude, J. (2005). Popular Music, Popular Politics: Unbwogable and the Idioms of Freedom in Kenyan Popular Music. *African Affairs*, *104*(415)*,* 225-249. https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adi012

Nyamnjoh, F. B. (2015). Black Pain Matters: Down with Rhodes. *Pax Academica, 1 & 2,* 47-70. http://paxacademica.codesria.org/

Nyawo, V. Z. (2012). Rhythms of Resistance: Chants that Propelled Zimbabwe's Third Chimurenga. *Muziki*, *9*(2), 53-65. https://doi.org/10.1080/18125980.2012.742235

Osaghae, E. E. (2002). What Democratisation Does to Minorities Displaced from Power: The Case of White Afrikaners in South Africa. *Forum for Development Studies, 29*(2), 293-319. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/08039410.2002.9666209

Parham, T. A., & Helms, J. E. (1981). The Influences of a Black Students' Racial Identity Attitudes on Preference for Counselor's Race. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 28* (3), 250-257. https://doi.org/10.1037/0022-0167.28.3.250

Pfukwa, C. (2008). Black September et al: Chimurenga Songs as Historical Narratives in Zimbabwean Liberation War. *Muziki, 5*(1)*,* 30-61. https://doi.org/10.1080/18125980802633003

Phillips, F. B. (1990). NTU Psychotherapy: An Afrocentric Approach. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *17*(1), 55-74. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F00957984900171005

Pillay, K. (2013). From 'Kill the Boer' to 'Kiss the Boer'–Has the Last Song Been Sung? Afri-Forum v Julius Sello Malema 2011 12 BCLR 1289 (EQC): Case Note. *South African Public Law, 28*(1)*,* 221-244.

Pillay, S.R. (2016). Silence is Violence: (Critical) Psychology in an Era of Rhodes Must Fall and Fees Must Fall. *South African Journal of Psychology, 46*(2)*,* 155–159. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0081246316636766

Pongweni, A. J. (1982). *Songs That Won the Liberation War*. College Press.

Posel, D. (2001). Race as Common Sense: Racial Classification in Twentieth-century South Africa. *African Studies Review*, *44*(2), 87-113. https://doi.org/10.2307/525576

Pring-Mill, R. (1987).The Roles of Revolutionary Song - A Nicaraguan Assessment. *Popular Music, 6*(2), 179-189.https:// doi.org/10.1017/S0261143000005973

Ramaite-Mafadza, P. E. A. (2016). *Indigenous Protest Lyrics in Women's Musical Performances: Vhavenda Women in Vhembe: A case of Vhavenda Women in the Vhembe District, Limpopo Province* [Doctoral dissertation, University of Venda].

Reagon, B. J. (1987). Let the Church Sing "Freedom". *Black Music Research Journal*, *7*,105-118. https://doi.org/10.2307/779452

Reddy, T. (2004, February). *Higher Education and Social Transformation: South Africa Case Study.* Council on Higher Education. http://www.che.ac.za/

Republic of South Africa (RSA). (1996). *South African Constitution Act 108 of 1996*. Government Printer. https://www.gov.za/sites/default/files/images/a108-96.pdf

Ritchie, J., Lewis, J., & Elam, G. (2003). Designing and Selecting Samples. In J, Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp. 77-108). SAGE Publications.

Rowley, S. J., Sellers, R. M., Chavous, T. M., & Smith, M. A. (1998).The Relationship Between Racial Identity and Self-esteem in African American College and High

School Students. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(3)*, 715-724.* https://doi.org/10.1037//0022-3514.74.3.715

Sanger, K. L. (1995). *When the Spirit Says Sing!: The Role of Freedom Songs in the Civil Rights Movement*. Garland.

Sanger, K. L. (1997). Functions of Freedom Singing in the Civil Rights Movement: The Activists' Implicit Rhetorical Theory. *Howard Journal of Communications*, *8*(2), 179-195. https://doi.org/10.1080/10646179709361752

Schumann, A. (2008). The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the Resistance against Apartheid in South Africa. *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien*, *14*(8), 17-39.

Schumann, A. (2013). Songs of a New Era: Popular Music and Political Expression in the Ivorian Crises. *African Affairs, 112*(448), 440–459. https://doi.org/10.1093/afraf/adt023

Scottham, K. M., Sellers, R. M., & Nguyên, H. X. (2008). A Measure of Racial Identity in African American Adolescents: The Development of the Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity-Teen. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, *14*(4), 297-306. https://doi.org/10.1037/1099-9809.14.4.297

Sellers, R.M., Caldwell C.H., Schmeelk-Cone, K.H., & Zimmerman M. A. (2003). Racial Identity, Racial Discrimination, Perceived Stress, and Psychological Distress among African American Young Adults. *Journal of Health and Social Behavior, 44*(3)*,* 302-317. https://doi.org/10.2307/1519781

Sellers, R. M., Rowley, S. J., Chavous, T. M., Shelton, J. N., & Smith, M. (1997). Multidimensional Inventory of Black Identity: A Preliminary Investigation of

Reliability and Construct Validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 73* (4)*,* 805–815. https://doi.apa.org/doi/10.1037/0022-3514.73.4.805

Sellers, R. M., & Shelton, J. N. (2003). The Role of Racial Identity in Perceived Racial Discrimination. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 84*(5)*,* 1079–1092. https://doi.org/ 10.1037/0022-3514.84.5.1079

Sellers, R. M., Smith, M.A., Shelton, J. N., Rowley, S. A. J., & Chavous T.M. (1998). Multidimensional Model of Racial Identity: A Reconceptualization of African American Racial Identity*. Personality and Social Psychology Review, 2*(1)*,* 18-39. https:// doi.org: 10.1207/s15327957pspr0201_2

Shelton, J. N., & Sellers, R. M. (2000). Situational Stability and Variability in African American Racial identity. *Journal of Black Psychology*, *26*(1), 27-50. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0095798400026001002

Sibanda, S. (2004). "You Don't Get to Sing a Song When You Have Nothing to Say": Oliver Mtukudzi's Music as a Vehicle for Socio-Political Commentary. *Social Dynamics*, *30*(2), 36-63. https://doi.org/10.1080/02533950408628684

Silverman, D., & Marvasti, A. (2008). *Doing Qualitative Research: A Comprehensive Guide*. Sage Publications.

Smith, J. A., & Osborn, M. (2003). Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis. In J. A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative Psychology: A Practical Guide to Research Methods* (pp. 51–80). Sage Publications.

Snape, D., & Spencer, L. (2003). The Foundations of Qualitative Research. In J, Ritchie & J. Lewis (Eds.), *Qualitative Research Practice: A Guide for Social Science Students and Researchers* (pp.1-23). Sage Publications.

Starks, H., & Trinidad, S.B. (2007). Choose Your Method: A Comparison of Phenomenology, Discourse Analysis and Grounded Theory**.** *Qualitative Health Research, 17*(10), 1372-1380. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1049732307307031

Statistics South Africa (2018). *Labour Market Dynamics in South Africa, 2018*. http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-02-11-02/Report-02-11-022018.pdf

Stebbins, R. A. (2001). *Exploratory Research in the Social Sciences*. Sage Publications.

Stefani, A. (2015). Sounds of Freedom: Songs in the 1960s Southern Civil Rights Movement. *Complutense Journal of English Studies, 23,* 55-67. https://doi.org/10.5209/rev_CJES.2015.v23.49357

Street, J. (2000). Invisible Republics and Secret Histories: A Politics of Music. *Journal for Cultural Research*, *4*(3), 298-313. https://doi.org/10.1080/14797580009367202

Street, J. (2003). 'Fight the power': The Politics of Music and the Music of Politics. *Government and Opposition*, *38*(1), 113-130.https:// doi.org/10.1111/1477-7053.00007

Street, J. (2012). *Music and Politics.* Polity.

Student protests cost universities close to R800 million in damages. (2018, August 8). *Businesstech.* https://businesstech.co.za/news/finance/263885/student-protests-cost-universities-close-to-r800-million-in-damages/

Swartz, S., Mahali, A., & Chiumbe, S. (2016). Youth (educational) Activism: Then and Now. *HSRC Review, 14*(2)*,* 26-28. http://hdl.handle.net/20.500.11910/9832

Taylor, P. C. (2007). Post-Black, Old Black. *African American Review, 41*(4)*,* 625-640. https://doi.org/10.2307/25426981

Teddlie, C., & Yu, F. (2007). Mixed Methods Sampling: A Typology With Examples. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(77), 77-100. https://doi.org/ 10.1177/2345678906292430

Temple, C. N. (2010). The Emergence of Sankofa Practice in the United States: A Modern History. *Journal of Black Studies, 41*(1)*,* 127-150. https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934709332464

Terms of service. (2019, December 10). Retrieved April 28, 2020, from YouTube, YouTube terms of service website. Retrieved from https://www.youtube.com

Thorson, K., Driscoll, K., Ekdale, B., Edgerly, S., Thompson, L. G., Schrock, A., Swartz, L., Vraga, E. K., & Wells, C. (2013). YouTube, Twitter and Occupy Movement. *Information, Communication & Society, 16*(3), 421-451. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/1369118X.2012.756051

Thorson, K., Ekdale, B., Borah, P., Namkoong, K., & Shah, C. (2010) YouTube and Proposition 8. *Information, Communication & Society, 13*(3)*,* 325-349. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/13691180903497060

Umaña-Taylor, A. J., Quintana, S.M., Lee, R. M., Cross Jr, W. E., Rivas-Drake, D., Schwartz, S. J., Syed, M., Yip, T., Eleanor Seaton, E. & Ethnic and Racial Identity in the 21st Century Study Group. (2014). Ethnic and Racial Identity during Adolescence and into Young Adulthood: An Integrated Conceptualization. *Child Development 85*(1)*,* 21-39. https:// doi.org/ 10.1111/cdev.12196

Valassopoulos, A., & Mostafa, D.S. (2014). Popular Protest Music and the 2011 Egyptian Revolution. *Popular Music and Society, 37*(5)*,* 638-659. https://doi.org/ 10.1080/03007766.2014.910905

Vambe, M. T. (2004). Versions and Sub-versions: Trends in Chimurenga Musical Discourses of Post-independence Zimbabwe. *African Study Monographs, 25(4)*, 167-193. https://doi.org/10.14989/68235

van Dijk, T. A. (1995). Discourse Semantics and Ideology. *Discourse and Society, 6*(2)*,* 243-289. https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0957926595006002006

van Dijk, T. A. (1997). What is Political Discourse Analysis. *Belgian Journal of Linguistics*, *11*(1)*,* 11-52. https://doi.org/10.1075/bjl.11.03dij

Vandiver, B. J. (2001). Psychological Nigrescence Revisited: Introduction and Overview. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 29*(3)*,* 165–173. https://doi.org/10.1002/j.2161-1912.2001.tb00515.x

Vandiver, B. J., Cross Jr W.E., Worrell, F. C., & Fhagen-Smith, P. E. (2002). Validating the Cross Racial Identity Scale. *Journal of Counseling Psychology, 49*(1), 71-85. https://doi.org/ 10.1037//0022-0167.49.1.71

Vatuk, V. P. (1964). Protest Songs of East Indians in British Guiana. *The Journal of American Folklore, 77*(305)*,* 220-235. https://doi.org/10.2307/537745

Yip, T., Seaton, E. K., & Sellers, R. M. (2006). African American Racial Identity Across the Lifespan: Identity Status, Identity Content, and Depressive Symptoms. *Child Development*, *77*(5), 1504-1517. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8624.2006.00950.x

Zangana, H. (2009). Iraqi Resistance has its Song. *International Journal of Contemporary Iraqi Studies*, *3*(3), 277-286. https:// doi.org/10.1386/ijcis.3.3.277/1

Zuma, J. (2017). *The President's Response to the Heher Commission of Inquiry into Higher Education and Training.* The Presidency. http://www.thepresidency.gov.za/press-

statements/president%E2%80%99s-response-hehercommission-inquiry-higher-education-and-training.

List of Appendices

Appendix A

APPENDIX A

Thabo Sekhesa
6 Musson Mews
Hayfields
Pietermaritzburg
3201

Registrar (UKZN and DUT)

RE: Request to conduct study with students at the university

My name is Thabo Sekhesa from the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN), School of Applied Human Sciences, discipline of psychology in Pietermaritzburg (cell: 0607186161; tel: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za). I am currently in the process of completing my PhD in psychology with the UKZN.

The title of the study is: **Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.**

The study expects to enrol student activists registered at the following university campuses: University of KwaZulu Natal (Pietermaritzburg campus, Howard College campus, Westville campus and Edgewood campus) and Durban University of Technology (Steve Biko campus and Riverside campus).

The aim and purpose of this research is to explore the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists across universities in the KwaZulu Natal province. In light if this, a request is made to recruit students at your university. A detailed recruitment strategy and how ethical considerations will be managed is discussed below.

A request is made to make a presentation regarding the purpose of this study with members of student organisations and activists on your respective campuses. All students who show an interest in participating in the study and meet the necessary requirements to participate in the study, namely, being registered at the universities mentioned above, 18 years old and older, who sing (or have sung) struggle songs and have participated in university protests over the period 2015-2018, will be required to read and sign an informed consent form before participating. All participants will be given an opportunity to ask any questions about the study before committing to participate. An informed consent form has also been made available to you.

To supplement the recruitment process described above a second recruitment request is made. This request entails permission to place posters inviting students to participate in this study at strategic places on the respective campuses. Such places include university notice boards, student residence notice boards and library notice boards. The posters will include the following details: the title of the study, the aim of the study and the researchers contact details. A copy of this poster has also been made available to you.

The study may involve the following risks and/or discomforts: struggle songs are often sung during student protests and these are sometimes sensitive and emotionally driven and heightened exercises. For those participants who may experience some discomforts from participating in this study, the services of the student counselling services at their respective campuses have be arranged. A copy of the approval to refer participants to these counselling centres has been attached.

We hope that the study will benefit students in allowing them to discuss key issues around their experiences of singing struggle songs and the meaning that these songs hold for them. These songs are often a vehicle that is used to communicate their challenges hopes and inspirations, issues that often do not receive much attention except during protests.
The scientific benefits of the study are that this study will contribute towards the empirical studies looking at struggle songs and identity in a post-colonial environment such as South Africa.

Participation in this research is voluntary. Should participants wish to withdraw from the study at any point, they will be allowed to do so without incurring any penalty or loss of treatment or other benefit to which they are normally entitled. Should a participant wish to withdraw from the study they can communicate with Thabo Sekhesa through any of the contact methods described earlier namely: cell: 0607186161 tel office: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za.

All consent forms and data collected (which include audio recordings, transcripts and field notes) will be saved on an external hard drive that will be password protected and kept in a locked safe cupboard in the office of the researcher (Thabo Sekhesa) at the university of KwaZulu Natal Psychology Building (Pmb campus). This information will only be accessible to the researcher and his supervisor Prof N Mkhize (Mkhize@ukzn.ac.za). In reports pertaining to this study, including journal articles and presentations, pseudonyms will be used to refer to participants.

Should you have any questions regarding this request and this study, please contact me on cell: 0607186161; tel office: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Thabo Sekhesa

Appendix B

Directorate for Research and Postgraduate Support
Durban University of Technology
Tromso Annexe, Steve Biko Campus
P.O. Box 1334, Durban 4000
Tel.: 031-3732576/7
Fax: 031-3732946

14th January 2019

Mr Thabo Sekhesa
c/o School of Applied Human Sciences
College of Humanities
University of KwaZulu-Natal

Dear Mr Sekhesa

PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH AT THE DUT

Your email correspondence in respect of the above refers. I am pleased to inform you that the Institutional Research and Innovation Committee (IRIC) has granted Provisional permission for you to conduct your research "Struggle songs and multidimensional black identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa " at the Durban University of Technology.

The DUT may impose any other condition it deems appropriate in the circumstances having regard to nature and extent of access to and use of information requested.

We would be grateful if a summary of your key research findings can be submitted to the IRIC on completion of your studies.

Kindest regards.
Yours sincerely

[redacted]

PROF CARIN NAPIER
DIRECTOR (ACTING): RESEARCH AND POSTGRADUATE SUPPORT DIRECORATE

Appendix C

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

7 November 2018

Mr Thabo Sekhesa (SN 20314725)
School of Applied Human Sciences
College of Humanities
Pietermaritzburg Campus
UKZN
Email: sejhesa@ukzn.ac.za

Dear Mr Sekhesa

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

Gatekeeper's permission is hereby granted for you to conduct research at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN) towards your postgraduate studies, provided Ethical clearance has been obtained. We note the title of your research project is:

"Struggle songs and multidimensional black identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa."

It is noted that you will be constituting your sample by conducting interviews with students on the Pietermaritzburg, Howard College, Edgewood and Westville campuses.

Please ensure that the following appears on your notice/questionnaire:

- Ethical clearance number;
- Research title and details of the research, the researcher and the supervisor;
- Consent form is attached to the notice/questionnaire and to be signed by user before he/she fills in questionnaire;
- gatekeepers approval by the Registrar.

You are not authorized to contact staff and students using 'Microsoft Outlook' address book. Identity numbers and email addresses of individuals are not a matter of public record and are protected according to Section 14 of the South African Constitution, as well as the Protection of Public Information Act. For the release of such information over to yourself for research purposes, the University of KwaZulu-Natal will need express consent from the relevant data subjects. Data collected must be treated with due confidentiality and anonymity.

Yours sincerely

[redacted]

MR SS MOKOENA
REGISTRAR

Office of the Registrar
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban, South Africa
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 8005/2206 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 7824/2204 **Email:** registrar@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Founding Campuses: Edgewood, Howard College, Medical School, Pietermaritzburg, Westville

Appendix D

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

21 February 2019

Mr Thabo Sekhesa 203514725
School of Applied Human Sciences
Howard College Campus

Dear Mr Sekhesa

Protocol reference number: HSS/0003/019D
Project title: Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Application

With regards to your response received 16 February 2019 to our letter of 04 February 2019, the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL.**

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

Please note: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

[redacted].....
Dr Shamila Naidoo (Deputy Chair)

/px

cc Supervisor: Prof N Mkhize
cc Academic Leader Research: Dr M Mthembu
cc School Administrator: Ms A Ntuli

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
Dr Rosemary Sibanda (Chair)
Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/8350/4557 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 4609 **Email:** simbap@ukzn.ac.za / snymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunsp@ukzn.ac.za
Website: www.ukzn.ac.za

Appendix E

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

INFORMED CONSENT RESOURCE TEMPLATE

Note to researchers: Notwithstanding the need for scientific and legal accuracy, every effort should be made to produce a consent document that is as linguistically clear and simple as possible, without omitting important details as outlined below. Certified translated versions will be required once the original version is approved.

There are specific circumstances where witnessed verbal consent might be acceptable, and circumstances where individual informed consent may be waived by HSSREC.

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date:

Greeting: Dear student

My name is Thabo Sekhesa from the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN), School of Applied Human Sciences, discipline of psychology in Pietermaritzburg (cell: 0607186161; tel: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za). I am currently in the process of completing my PhD in Psychology with UKZN.

You are being invited to consider participating in a study whose aim is to explore the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists across universities in the KwaZulu Natal province.

The title of the study is: **Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.**

Participation in this study would require firstly that you are registered at one of the following universities in KwaZulu Natal: University of KwaZulu Natal (Pietermaritzburg campus, Howard College campus, Westville campus and Edgewood campus) and Durban University of Technology (Riverside campus; Steve Biko campus).
Secondly, you are 18 years old or older, you have sung or sing struggle songs and have participated in university protests over the period 2015-2018.

Participation in this study will include availing yourself to be interviewed on your experience of singing struggle songs and the meaning these songs hold for you.

The study may involve the following risks and/or discomforts: struggle songs are often sung during student protests and these are sometimes sensitive and emotionally driven and heightened exercises. For those participants who may experience some discomforts the services of the student counselling services at their respective campuses have be arranged. A copy of the approval to refer participants to these counselling centres has been attached.

We hope that the study will benefit participants in allowing them to discuss key issues around their experiences of singing struggle songs and the meaning that these songs hold for them. These songs are often a vehicle that often used to communicate their challenges hopes and inspirations, issues that often do not receive much attention except during protests.

The scientific benefits of the study are that this study will contribute towards the empirical studies looking at struggle songs and identity in a post-colonial environment such as South Africa.

Participation in this research is voluntary. Should you wish to withdraw from the study at any point, you will be allowed to do so without incurring any penalty or loss of treatment or other benefit to which they are normally entitled. Should you wish to withdraw from the study you can communicate with Thabo Sekhesa through cell: 0607186161; tel office: 0332605370 or email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za.

All consent forms and data collected (which include audio recordings, transcripts and field notes) will be saved on an external hard drive that will be password protected and kept in a locked safe cupboard in the office of the researcher (Thabo Sekhesa) at the university of KwaZulu Natal Psychology Building (Pmb campus). This information will only be accessible to the researcher and his supervisor Prof N Mkhize (Mkhize@ukzn.ac.za). In reports pertaining to this study, including journal articles and presentations, pseudonyms will be used to refer to all participants.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number_HSS/0003/019D____).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at (Thabo Sekhesa cell: 0607186161 tel office: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Participation in this research is voluntary. Should participants wish to withdraw from participation at any point of the study, they will be allowed to do so without incurring any penalty or loss of treatment or other benefit to which they are normally entitled. Should a participant wish to withdraw from the study they can communicate with Thabo Sekhesa through any of the contact methods described earlier namely: cell: 0607186161; tel office: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za.

All consent forms and data collected (which include audio recordings, transcripts and field notes) will be saved on an external hard drive that will be password protected and kept in a locked safe cupboard in the office of the researcher (Thabo Sekhesa) at the university of KwaZulu Natal Psychology Building (Pmb campus). This information will only be accessible to the researcher and his supervisor Prof N Mkhize (Mkhize@ukzn.ac.za). In reports pertaining to this study, including journal articles and presentations, pseudonyms will be used to refer to all participants.

CONSENT

I (Name:) have been informed about the study entitled (**Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa**) by Thabo Sekhesa.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about available psychological assistance should I experience distress from participating in this study.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at cell: 0607186161; tel office: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za.

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO

_____ _____
Signature of Participant **Date**

_____ _____
Signature of Witness **Date**
(Where applicable)

_____ _____
Signature of Translator **Date**
(Where applicable)

Appendix F

Interview schedule (MAIN STUDY)

Meaning

1) Could you give me a history of when you became familiar with struggle songs and when you started to sing them?
   Prompt: How old were you? Who were you with? What was happening?

2) Could you describe to me what it was like to hear and sing struggle songs for the first time?

   Prompt: How did you feel (emotionally, physically and spiritually) and what did you think about (mentally)?

3) How does your experience of hearing and singing struggle songs today compare to when you first heard and sang them?
   Prompt: Does it feel the same or not? Do you think about the same things or not?

Lived experience of singing struggle songs and meaning of struggle songs

4) Are there particular struggle songs that have special meaning for you as a person?

   Prompt: Focus on particular songs. Emotionally, mentally, and spiritually.

5) Why do those songs hold such special meaning for you as a person?

   Prompt: Focus on particular songs. Aspects of the songs and your personal history, beliefs, values etc.

APPENDIX G

UKZN HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (HSSREC)

APPLICATION FOR ETHICS APPROVAL
For research with human participants

Information Sheet and Consent to Participate in Research

Date:

Greeting: Dear student

My name is Thabo Sekhesa from the University of KwaZulu Natal (UKZN), School of Applied Human Sciences, discipline of psychology in Pietermaritzburg (cell: 0607186161; tel: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za). I am currently in the process of completing my PhD in Psychology with UKZN.

You are being invited to consider participating in a pilot study whose aim is to revise the interview schedule for a study titled: **Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.**

Participation in this study would require firstly that you are registered at the University of KwaZulu Natal (Pietermaritzburg campus). Secondly, you are 18 years old or older, you have sung or sing struggle songs and have participated in university protests over the period 2015-2018.

Participation in this study will include availing yourself to be interviewed on your experience of singing struggle songs and the meaning these songs hold for you.

The study may involve the following risks and/or discomforts: struggle songs are often sung during student protests and these are sometimes sensitive and emotionally driven and heightened exercises. For those participants who may experience some discomforts the services of the student counselling services at their respective campuses have be arranged. A copy of the approval to refer participants to these counselling centres has been attached.

We hope that the study will benefit participants in allowing them to discuss key issues around their experiences of singing struggle songs and the meaning that these songs hold for them. These songs are often a vehicle that often used to communicate their challenges hopes and inspirations, issues that often do not receive much attention except during protests.

The scientific benefits of the study are that this study will contribute towards the empirical studies looking at struggle songs and identity in a post-colonial environment such as South Africa.

Participation in this research is voluntary. Should you wish to withdraw from the study at any point, you will be allowed to do so without incurring any penalty or loss of treatment or other benefit to which they are normally entitled. Should you wish to withdraw from the

study you can communicate with Thabo Sekhesa through cell: 0607186161; tel office: 0332605370 or email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za.

All consent forms and data collected (which include audio recordings, transcripts and field notes) will be saved on an external hard drive that will be password protected and kept in a locked safe cupboard in the office of the researcher (Thabo Sekhesa) at the university of KwaZulu Natal Psychology Building (Pmb campus). This information will only be accessible to the researcher and his supervisor Prof N Mkhize (Mkhize@ukzn.ac.za). In reports pertaining to this study, including journal articles and presentations, pseudonyms will be used to refer to all participants.

This study has been ethically reviewed and approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number: HSS/0003/019D).

In the event of any problems or concerns/questions you may contact the researcher at (Thabo Sekhesa cell: 0607186161 tel office: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za) or the UKZN Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, contact details as follows:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557- Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Participation in this research is voluntary. Should participants wish to withdraw from participation at any point of the study, they will be allowed to do so without incurring any penalty or loss of treatment or other benefit to which they are normally entitled. Should a participant wish to withdraw from the study they can communicate with Thabo Sekhesa through any of the contact methods described earlier namely: cell: 0607186161; tel office: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za.

All consent forms and data collected (which include audio recordings, transcripts and field notes) will be saved on an external hard drive that will be password protected and kept in a locked safe cupboard in the office of the researcher (Thabo Sekhesa) at the university of KwaZulu Natal Psychology Building (Pmb campus). This information will only be accessible to the researcher and his supervisor Prof N Mkhize (Mkhize@ukzn.ac.za). In reports pertaining to this study, including journal articles and presentations, pseudonyms will be used to refer to all participants.

CONSENT

I (Name:) have been informed about the study entitled **(Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa)** by Thabo Sekhesa.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at cell: 0607186161; tel office: 0332605370; email: sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za.

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview YES / NO

_____ _____
Signature of Participant **Date**

_____ _____
Signature of Witness (Where applicable) **Date**

_____ _____
Signature of Translator (Where applicable) **Date**

Appendix H

Interview schedule

Lived experience of singing struggle songs

1) Could you give me a history of when you became familiar with struggle songs and when you started to sing them yourself?
Prompt: how old were you? Who were you with? What was happening?

2) Could you describe to me what it is like to hear and sing struggle songs?

Prompt: how it feels (emotionally, physically and spiritually) and what you think about (mentally)

3) Who do you sing struggle songs with and why?

Prompt: participants

4) What do you do when you are singing struggle songs?
Prompt: toyi toying, dancing

5) Why do you do what you do when you sing struggle songs?
Prompt: the purpose of the acts that accommodate the singing

6) How do you determine which struggle songs to sing?
Prompt: 1)protesting for different issues e.g. housing, fees, accommodation, books and supplies, NSFAS, Management issues, academic issues 2)Reworking old songs and composing new ones

7) What do you think about when singing struggle songs?
Prompt: do you think about different things depending on the song(s), old, reworked and new

Meaning of struggle songs

1) Could you describe to me what struggle songs mean for you?
Prompt: their purpose/role etc. according to you

2) Does singing struggle songs mean the same thing to you all the time of does it change?
Prompt: (context and history) meaning changes with events and songs

3) Do struggle songs mean the same thing for most people that you sing the songs with?
Prompt: The issues may affect what the sings mean for participants

4) Are there particular struggle songs that have special meaning for you as a person?

Prompt: emotionally, mentally, and spiritually

5) Why do those songs hold such special meaning for you as a person?

Prompt: emotionally, mentally, and spiritually

6) What influences the meaning that these songs have for you?
Prompt: political ideology, race, history etc.

7) Do these songs always have this meaning for you?
Prompt: importance of context and changes in context that these songs are sung

8) How do you believe you are perceived by the public when you sing struggle songs?
Prompt: support in some circles and not in others

9) Would you say that the struggle song you sing say something about who you are or not?

Prompt: your beliefs, values and aspirations

Appendix I

Appendix I

Thabo Sekhesa

6 Musson Mews

Hayfields

Pietermaritzburg, 3201

Director of the Child and Family Centre/Student Counselling Centre

Request for to make referrals to the Child and Family Centre/ Student Counselling Centre

My name is Thabo Sekhesa and I am conducting research for the purpose of obtaining my PhD in Psychology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus.

I am conducting research at university campuses in KwaZulu Natal. These campuses are University of KwaZulu Natal (Pietermaritzburg campus, Howard College campus and Westville campus) and Durban University of Technology (Riverside campus; Steve Biko campus).

This study is titled: **Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.**

The aim of this study is to explore the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists across universities in the KwaZulu Natal province.

A potential risk is that some participants may experience some psychological distress from participating in this study. I therefore request that you allow for the referral of participants from the Durban University of Technology (Riverside campus) that may need psychological services.

Sincerely,

Thabo Sekhesa

_____

Appendix J

Thabo Sekhesa

6 Musson Mews

Hayfields

Pietermaritzburg, 3201

Director of the Student counselling services Durban University of Technology (Riverside campus; Steve Biko campus)

Request for to make referrals to the Student Counselling Centre

My name is Thabo Sekhesa and I am conducting research for the purpose of obtaining my PhD in Psychology with the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

This study is titled: **Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.**

The aim of this study is to explore the meaning that struggle songs hold for black student activists across universities in the KwaZulu Natal province.

A potential risk is that some participants may experience some psychological distress from participating in this study. I therefore request that you allow for the referral of participants that may need psychological services.

Sincerely,

Thabo Sekhesa

Appendix K

DUT DURBAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY

STUDENT SERVICES & DEVELOPMENT

MEMORANDUM

TO:	MR. SEKHESA
FROM:	MR. SIHLE MBANJWA [ACTING DIRECTOR: STUDENT SERVICES & DEVELOPMENT]
SUBJECT:	PERMISSION TO REFER STUDENTS FOR COUNSELLING
DATE:	18 FEBRUARY 2018
CC:	DR. R THABEDE [MIDLANDS CAMPUS DIRECTOR]

Dear Mr. Sekhesa

The Department of Student Services & Development (DUT Midlands) through its Student Counselling Centre hereby give you permission to refer DUT students that are participating in your research for counselling, should they require the service.

Thanking you

[redacted]

Mr. Sihle Mbanjwa
Acting Director: Student Services & Development (DUT Midlands)
sihlem@dut.ac.za
0338458814
Midlands Centre
Durban University of Technology

Durban University of Technology
Student Services and Development
PO Box 101112
Scottsville
3209
Tel 033-8458814 Fax: 033-8458873

Appendix L

Student Counselling Centre
PO Box 1334
Durban
4000

Lower Library Complex
Steve Biko Campus

MEMORANDUM

Date: 28/01/2018

Subject: Permission to refer students for counselling

CONFIDENTIAL
Kindly treat the information contained in this memo with due confidentiality.

Dear Mr Sekhesa

As per our email correspondence. The department of Student Counselling and Health hereby give you permission to refer DUT students that are participating in your research for counselling, should they require the service.

Kind Regards,

[redacted]

Name: Jessica Parker
Designation: Counselling Psychologist
Contact: 031-3733010

DURBAN UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY
STUDENT COUNSELLING & HEALTH CENTRE
70 STEVE BIKO RD, DURBAN 4001
P.O. BOX 1334, DURBAN 4000
TEL: 031-373 2266 • FAX: 031-373 2159

Appendix M

College of Agriculture, Engineering and Science
Student Support

P/Bag X01 Scottsville

PIETERMARITZBURG, 3209

South Africa

Phone: +27 33 2605695

Fax: +27 33 2606289

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

31 October 2018

To whom it may concern

This letter serves to provide the assurance that should any interviewees/participants who are registered students from the College of Agriculture, Engineering and Science at UKZN require psychological assistance as a result of any psychological distress arising from the research process for the PhD entitled: **"Struggle songs and multidimensional black identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa"** being conducted by Mr Thabo Sekhesa (20314725), it will be provided by psychologists at Student Support Services in the College of Agriculture, Engineering and Science at UKZN. Students can make a booking online using the website ukzn.b4appointments.co.za/booking for counselling or they can contact our help desk officer on 033- 260 5695 or email aessupport@ukzn.ac.za.

Yours sincerely

[redacted]

Shelley Barnsley

Manager: Student Support

Counselling Psychologist

Tel: 033-2605697

Email: Barnsley@ukzn.ac.za

University of Kwazulu-Natal
Student Support Services
2018 -10- 31
College of Agriculture, Engineering & Science

Appendix N

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
YUNIVESITHI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

COLLEGE OF HEALTH SCIENCES

STUDENT SUPPORT SERVICES

Physical Address:
CHS: Professional Services
Block E3
Westville Campus

Postal Address
Private Bag X54001
Durban, 4000
South Africa

Fax: 031-2607412
Tel: 031-2607087
Email: chs.sss@ukzn.ac.za

7 February 2019

Mr Thabo Sekhesa

Student Number 20314725

Cc: Prof Nhlanhla Mkhize

Dear Mr Mkhize

Access to Counselling Services for respondent's from the College of Health Sciences participating in a research study

Please be advised that respondents may access counselling services should they experience any stress as a result of participation in your study.

They will follow the usual booking process like all other students. There will be no report provided to you on the outcomes of counselling due to the confidential nature of counselling processes.

Respondent may book their appointments via the Front Desk Assistants at all CHS sites. See below.

CAMPUS	FRONT DESK ASSISTANT	CONTACT DETAILS	ADDRESS
Westville	Pina van Rensburg	0312607087	E block – CHS Professional Services
Howard	Kholeka Dlamini	0312608060	Desmond Clarence building – ground floor
Medical school	Bonnie Shabane	0312604575	Medical School – main building, 2nd floor

Regards

Dr Saloschini Pillay
College Manager : Student Support Services
College of Health Sciences, University of KwaZulu- Natal
President: Southern African Federation for Student Affairs and Services [SAFSAS]
National Executive : Southern African Association for Counselling and Development in Higher Education [SAACDHE]
Chair : Education, Training and Development - Professional Board for Social Work South Africa
0312607681

INSPIRING GREATNESS

Appendix O

UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU-NATAL
INYUVESI YAKWAZULU-NATALI

02 November 2018

For attention: Mr Thabo Sekhesa (Student no.: 20314725)
By e-mail: Sekhesa@ukzn.ac.za
Cc: Prof Nhlanhla Mhkize (Mkhize@ukzn.ac.za)

Dear Mr Thabo Sekhesa

Access to counselling services to participants (registered with the College of Humanities) of the proposed research study entitled: *Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.*

This serves to confirm that students who are registered in the **College of Humanities** may access counselling services should they experience any distress as a result of their participation in the study conducted by Mr Thabo Sekhesa, entitled, ***Struggle songs and multidimensional black Identities: A phenomenological study on the meaning of struggle songs for black university student activists in the province of KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.***

The College of Humanities Student Support Services offices are located as follows:

Howard College - brown house next to Gate 1
Edgewood – next to the campus clinic
Pietermaritzburg – House 6, Milner Road

Please email me confirmation of full ethical clearance once received

Regards

[redacted]

Angeline Stephens
Manager: Student Support Service
College of Humanities

College of Humanities Student Support Services
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000, South Africa
Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 1120 **Facsimile:** +27 (0) 31 260 1512 **Email:** stephensa@ukzn.ac.za **Website:** www.ukzn.ac.za

1910 - 2010
100 YEARS OF ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

Founding Campuses: Edgewood Howard College Medical School Pietermaritzburg Westville

PHD SUBMISSION

ORIGINALITY REPORT

1%	1%	0%	%
SIMILARITY INDEX	INTERNET SOURCES	PUBLICATIONS	STUDENT PAPERS

MATCH ALL SOURCES (ONLY SELECTED SOURCE PRINTED)

< 1%

★ researchspace.ukzn.ac.za

Internet Source

Exclude quotes	On	Exclude matches	< 100 words
Exclude bibliography	On		