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The Complicated 'Colours' of Rhythm:

A Study of Capetonian's Battle for Identity through the Hip Hop Movement in Post-Apartheid South Africa

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In partial fulfilment of the requirements for South Africa: Multiculturalism and Human Rights, School for International Training, Study Abroad, a program for World Learning.
Cape Town
Fall 2014

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Acknowledgments

Abstract

This project delves into the Cape Town Hip Hop scene in an attempt to uncover how it is an inclusive and empowering space that allows individuals to deconstruct and reconstruct individual and group identities in order to subvert colonial narratives. In order to uncover the power of Hip Hop this project uses 3 interviews with individuals intimately connected to the Hip Hop scene and reviews an abundance of literature surrounding the topic. The history of 'coloured' as a racial classification is analysed alongside with other research and is placed within the context of contemporary Capetonian Hip Hop in order to uncover 1) the history of Hip Hop and rap music in Cape Town, 2) how it is a space where the 'coloured' identity can be explored, negated, or empowered, 3) how local forms of rap music are very much localised and are not forms of American imperialism, and 4) how local Capetonian Hip Hop fits into the global Hip Hop Movement. Tis project is situated as a part of the Hip Hop Movement and in conjunction with the participants in order to further develop studies in Hip Hop and how it brings a voice to the voiceless and a spotlight to the invisible.

The Complicated 'Colours' of Rhythm:
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Hip Hop, the continuation of black social movements, something that has incessantly been ignored, underestimated, and brushed aside; something that has held a position of influence in people's lives to a degree unmeasurable; something that has become a movement for people all over the world, a global movement. Situated in the long line of black expression through song and music as well as the long line of socioeconomic movements born from oppression, marginalization, and silencing; Hip Hop emerged. A masterpiece of aesthetic and social commentary combined. A masterpiece of art, culture, and protest amalgamated in the formation of something bigger than ever expected; something bigger than a verse, and something bigger than an artist. Is it slipping through our fingers?

Hip Hop has found a place in South Africa, it has found a place in the lives of more than just blacks, as it has globally, and it has worked as a tool just as it has historically, to explore social ills and speak for social equality in bringing voices from the margin, voices that are silenced, straight to the mic to be heard. South Africa has faced one of the biggest affronts to human kind, one of the biggest violations of Human rights, and one of the most aggressive regimes in adopting and enforcing strict racial segregation – apartheid. People of South Africa have witnessed atrocities that have been forgiven by the government, they have seen the complete failure of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), and they have seen the move from apartheid and the lack of change and social empowerment this brought to the average person. More succinctly, the people of South Africa have seen the failure of democracy and a transition to an inclusive society. The people of South Africa, specifically the people on the margins, the people living the struggle every day, still fighting to be heard, fighting to be seen, fighting for the access to life that still hasn't materialized from parliament or other government institutions, have found an outlet and a new way of liberation.

Here is where I want to situate myself and my study, at the crossroads of the unrest and social injustice that still plagues communities twenty years after apartheid has ended and the forum in which they use to speak of it. I want to situate myself and this work in post-apartheid South Africa, specifically Cape Town, and how Hip Hop and rap music has become a forum for marginalised people to find a voice, to empower their own histories, their own stories, and their own identities. Specifically this study focuses on people who were categorized as 'coloured' under the apartheid regime, it looks at the perspective of these Capetonian artists and how Hip Hop has become a tool for them and people alike to find community and to find individual empowerment. By looking at Hip Hop and its uses in Cape Town in a contemporary time it can give a picture of the glaring problems South Africa still faces; it allows the words and opinions of people who are silenced and invisible to be heard and seen, to be privileged in the way they should when talking about creating an inclusive and equal society. It places the problems these people face at the forefront and reverses the dynamic of 'whitewashing' or the continual reliance on popular discourses in looking at social problems. My study takes the views of the people who live it, not the politicians, business owners, or media outlets, in order to develop a deeper understanding of South Africa today.

This work will be structured in a way that helps to uncover the power of Hip Hop yet always trying to situate this within the context of South Africa. First, and rightly placed at the forefront, is my analysis of the limitations of this study and how it is in no way an exhaustive and encompassing study of all the attitudes and ways of building identity in post-apartheid South Africa. Secondly, I will interrogate and grapple with literature around the topic of a static 'coloured' identity, how this has played out within Cape Town Hip Hop, and how this situates the culture here in Cape Town within the larger history of Hip Hop and the Hip Hop Movement. Thirdly, through an analysis and integration of my interviews with the literature I

will paint a picture of Cape Town Hip Hop. I start by unpacking what Hip Hop is, how it is

more than mere music and more than the demonised art form which complex white power

structures have deemed it to be through media and poplar discourses. I then move to an in

depth analysis of identity and its importance within society for the empowerment of

individuals, specifically in 'coloured' communities. I look at how individuals identify within

local Hip Hop and how they use it to empower their own identity and deepen the

understanding of what it means to be 'coloured' in post-apartheid South Africa. I will critique

the notion of 'cultural imperialism' in that American forms of rap music are taking over and

subsuming local types of rap music in a negative way. I will finally situate local Hip Hop in

the wider culture and socioeconomic Hip Hop Movement. Finally, I recommend areas for

further study and draw conclusions on this study as a whole. I show how 'coloured' is an

apartheid term that is much more complicated and intricate today than the term alone lets on

Limitations of Study

This project in no way is an exhaustive analysis or critique of South Africa and its

social problems and in no way represents what every single South African feels, sees, or

hears, post-apartheid. On the contrary, this project gives a sample of the way people situate

themselves in a new South African Democracy. Most glaringly obvious in this study is the

lack of female voices, or femcees. In no way is this a realistic representation and in this

recognition I hope to remove this project from the typical history and social text which

relegates the achievements and power of women to the margins. Outright it should be stated

that women are written out of history to often and ignored in popular dialogues ashamedly.

This work does not try to continue this trend and because of time and availability this project

cannot delve into this social problem although much of what this work aims to combat here is

being left out because of the absence of female voices and perspectives.

Also, the space of Hip Hop and its enormity around the multicultural makeup of South Africa again allows this work only to show a sliver of what is happening with Hip Hop in South Africa. Around the country many different people from many different backgrounds are using the forum of Hip Hop and rap music in many different ways and for many different meanings. My paper primarily focuses on 'coloured' identities and the transition or (re)evaluation of the identity which has taken place in the past twenty years. On top of this, much more work can be done on the multiple empowering identities that are emerging from 'coloured' communities and how these are interrogated and exposed through Hip Hop. More so, this project focuses on three main artists which cannot stand as accurately representing the whole of people who were classified as 'coloured.'

Lastly, this project focuses primarily on rap music, or emceeing. Hip Hop is so much more than this single element and especially in South Africa. B-Boys and B-Girls have played a vital and important role within Hip Hop in South Africa, specifically Cape Town. Again, this is still only a part of the whole and to get the complete picture and power of Hip Hop culture one must explore and analyse all of the elements that constitute Hip Hop. Hip Hop and its domain, its ability as an inclusive and empowering space, its ability to bring marginalized an oppressed people into the spotlight and highlight the problems which popular societal discourses often overlook is a monumental task that will take years and many works to explore and expose to its fullest; if it ever can be fully exposed and understood in a climate of adaptation, change, evaluation, and revaluation.

Literature Review

The scares and residue left by the systematic racial separation of people under apartheid has been harder to shake and much more complicated to dismantle psychologically

than could have ever been imagined by liberation fighters and advocates of political freedom. One of the biggest complexities left from apartheid is the crises around 'coloured' classifications and the battle for (re)claiming the multiple identities that make up the politically categorized group. The intricacies around finding a static definition or one singular 'coloured' identity post-apartheid is increasingly difficult. In contemporary Cape Town, Hip Hop and rap music have opened a forum for histories, stories, representations, public visibility, and identity to be grappled with and developed. Hip Hop in 'coloured' communities has captured the youth and become a source and space of inclusion and socialization. Although much of the rap music prevalent is influenced by main stream America rap and seems to focus on crime, gun totting, hyper-masculinity, male conquest, and other negative images, there is a space where conscious critiques of socioeconomic situations and problems come into the open. Capetonian rap is a form of music like no other, yet fits nicely into the socioeconomic Hip Hop Movement which has been capturing the globe; the Movement that opens up a space for social commentaries on societal ills and inequalities in order to make visible the lives of invisible and marginalized people. It is a mic for the silenced and a spotlight for the invisible.

There has been an abundance of literature exploring Hip Hop in South Africa and Cape Town in specific, and there has been a growing intellectual debate over Hip Hop as a global space that is inclusive and attacks socioeconomic issues. By understanding the racial categorization, separation, and hierarchy that was apartheid, and developing a constructive understanding of the complexities of a 'coloured' identity in post-apartheid South Africa it becomes possible to situate local Capetonian rap in a larger Hip Hop Movement. In exploring the literature surrounding local Hip Hop and rap music it becomes evident that it is a space where 'coloured' identities can be explored, (re)evaluated, and empowered through self-representation and the subversion of colonial narratives.

'Coloured' as Racial Classification

To begin to understand the complications surrounding a singular 'coloured' identity and how Hip Hop is a forum for investigation and empowerment it is key to understand the history of 'coloured identities' and place them in the forefront. Although solidified into law and segregated geographically accordingly with apartheid in 1948, the formation of a 'coloured identity' started to take formation during the early days of Dutch colonization and control in the 17th century. 'Coloured' people consisted of Cape slaves who were brought in from other countries, the indigenous Khoisan population, and many other people from African and Asian descent who were deemed neither white nor black. Not until the mid to late-19th century did a full-fledged and prominent 'coloured' identity and population come to culmination because of the mineral revolution in the Cape and the congregation of many different races and cultures. Because of the economic competition that the mineral revolution created, coupled with the visible prevalence of white supremacy and privilege, a 'coloured' identity began to take political form in order to gain certain privileges not granted to blacks (Adhikari, 2005).

After this formation and through the 19th and 20th centuries, basic civil rights were denied to people of 'colour,' laws and acts began to be put in place that limited 'coloured' mobility, visibility, education, access to work, and relegate them to the margins of society. Although the primary objective of 'coloured' people was to gain access to the dominant white culture, or assimilate, in 1902 a 'coloured' political party was formed in order to combat the inhumane and marginalizing treatment they received in society. The African Political Organization (APO), which was established in Cape Town, was the first fundamental 'coloured' political party who protested for political and social rights (Adhikari, 2005). Despite the establishment of the party, human rights violations ran rampant and came to a

pinnacle in the years of apartheid. 'Coloured' identities, from the inception of the term, have

been fluid and hard to pin down despite apartheids strict definitions and stratifications.

Often, 'coloured' identities have been predicated as being of 'mixed race.' The

identity has straddled a line of being not white and not black, therefore, receiving more

privileges than blacks but not as many as whites (Adhikari, 2005). In terms of identity this

idea of 'coloured' being 'mixed race' denies specific histories and morphs a dynamic and

complex group into one colonized narrative and identity. As Zimitri Erasmus writes in

Coloured by History, Shaped by Place: New Perspectives on Coloured Identities in Cape

Town (2001) "we need to see them [coloured] as cultural identities comprising detailed

bodies of knowledge, specific cultural practices, memories, rituals and modes of being.

Coloured identities were formed in the colonial encounter…" (p. 17). In other words, limiting

'coloured' identity to the colonial narrative of being 'mixed race' is dehumanizing and

oppressive at best. The 'coloured' identity is a complex creolization of different "cultural

practices, memories, rituals and modes of being" which have come to create a diverse and

dynamic group of identities. To limit 'coloured' identities to a distinct identity fails to

encompass and license people of 'colour' to claim their unique and empowering histories.

Cape Town rap music is a key site where this classification has been grappled with and

critically exposed to many different people.

Hip Hop of 'Colour'

Due to the colonial and apartheid connotations of the classification 'coloured,' many

people have begun to reject the term and initiated (re)evaluating self-empowerment in Hip

Hop and rap music through Black Consciousness notions of all oppressed people fighting

against an oppressive system. Marco's *Rhyming with "knowledge of self": the South African*

hip-hop scene's discourses on race and knowledge (2011) shows how because of the

hierarchical breakdown of race under apartheid in post-apartheid South Africa many 'coloured' people have rejected the term and begun to function under the inclusive term Black. Black not as in terms of the color of their skin but Black as an empowering rhetorical structure that encompasses marginalized and oppressed people; a term dictated by marginalized and oppressed people and not by an oppressive apartheid regime. To better understand how Black Consciousness has become a framework in which local rappers have used to destabilize and critique the colonial 'coloured' identity Gqola's states:

> If apartheid worked well because it divided Black people, Black Consciousness realised that the most effective tool against racism as a force was Black solidarity. As a starting point then, BC redefined "Black" as a racial marker to include all South Africans on the receiving end of historical discrimination grounded in race. Black self-redefinition was perceived as crucial to toppling the power structure which, under apartheid, was identified as primarily based on race (as cited in Marco, n.d., 19-20).

This depiction and exposure of Black Consciousness as an inclusive space where all oppressed and marginalized people could come together in order to build self-defined histories which would in turn be able to deconstruct apartheid shines light on why Hip Hoppers seem to be drawn to it. Black Consciousness and Hip Hop have long roots together and are both spaces that give marginalized people voices and visibility in public.

Marco (2011) shows how artist like Ready D, member of Prophets of da City (POC) and more recently Brasse Vannie Kaap (BVK), reject the classification of being 'coloured' and in doing so empower themselves. Ready D exposes the political use of 'coloured' and encourages people, through his rhymes and lyrics, to be critical of society and to try and develop identities outside of the racial classification of 'coloured' and begin a process of "self-naming through black consciousness, which means that all people of colour term

themselves Black and that one does not submit to the system of apartheid" (p. 102). More succinctly, rappers in Cape Town used the forum of Hip Hop to create a space where the 'coloured' identity was subverted and complicated. Many Hip Hoppers began to refer to themselves as Black in order to resist apartheid definitions of race that were restricting and oppressive. They began to go beyond the colonial narrative and definition of 'coloured' in order to (re)claim and (re)assert an empowering self-determined identities. With Black Consciousness as a framework artists are able to bring marginalized people and histories together in order to develop dialogue in mainstream discourses.

Daniel Künzler (2011) in his article *South African Rap Music, Counter Discourses, Identity, and Commodification Beyond the Prophets of Da City* takes this a step further when he discusses how building identity with self-representation is in nature political and resistance to stabilized hegemonic discourses. In this space social problems are seen through the eyes of the marginalized groups, located in the context of 'coloured' communities, and therefore the rapper or performer becomes an "agent of social change" (p. 31). As can be seen, rappers use Hip Hop as a space for social activism in order to subvert hegemonic structures, in this case a colonial narrative of a 'coloured' identity, and subvert them in order to critique them. In turn, it results in a self-empowering form of "self-naming" and creating and exposing alternative histories beyond the colonial ones. In conjunction with this, Tricia Rose (1994) states in her exploration of Hip Hop, "it is at once a part of the dominant text and, yet, always on the margins of this text; relying on a commenting on the text's centre and always aware of its proximity to the border" (p. 19). By speaking of the lived realities of marginalized people their lives come into dialogue with political and social discourses which are the centre. Through this contact the mere lives of marginalized people become politicized and a site of contestation to the dominant powers. There marginality becomes hyper-visible and a point of contestation.

Cape Town's in the Hip Hop Movement

This creation of counter-discourses which create a polyvocal dialogue with the wider South African political community and subvert colonial ideologies and narratives can been seen to blend in with the history of Hip Hop; therefore, situating Capetonian rap music in the globalized yet very local Hip Hop Movement. To understand the space of Hip Hop in Cape Town and how 'coloured' people use the space for empowerment and subversion of social discourses and practices it is essential to know the history of Hip Hop and the Hip Hop Movement. Jeff Chang's *Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip Hop Generation* (2005) is a powerful portrayal of the Hip Hop Movement and its history from its forming in the Bronx, to the commercial explosion of the 80's and 90's. Chang builds the Hip Hop Movement as a multifaceted cultural production in which the marginalized formed a space for the invisible to be seen and the silenced to be heard. Chang exposes and elaborates on how African Bambaataa, the man known as the forefather of Hip Hop, used the collective neighbourhood or block to bring people together. Hip Hop, from its inception, was a culture where marginalized people spoke about their lived realities which in turn brought them into contact with main stream discourses. Cape Town rappers are in the same position, marginalized yet always commenting on their lived realities in order to centre their lives and experiences. In doing so they come into direct connection with the history of rap which shines light on how it is a global and inclusive space.

The Hip Hop Movement as a global arena for political and social commentaries by communities designated to the margins of society is expanded on by Dr. Rabaka (2013) who judiciously lays out the Hip Hop Movement as "*simultaneously a multicultural, multiracial, multinational, multilingual, multireligious, and extremely multi-issue musical and sociopolitical macro movement composed of several often seemingly uncoordinated micro-*

movements" (327). This is to say that the Hip Hop Movement cannot be synchronized and contained in one limited framework or definition. The Hip Hop Movement is an inclusive "multi-issue" social, political, and musical movement which attacks racism, classism, sexism, inadequate education systems, homophobia, environmental problems, and many more issues. In Cape Town, artist are falling in this line of logic. The inclusive space of Hip Hop allows local artists to find empowerment in constructing their own histories, their own stories, their own identities. They create a sort of micro-movement that concentrates on specific problems that face South Africa and the marginalized people that live there. The Hip Hop Movement is a global "macro-movement" that provides a space for Capetonian Hip Hoppers to build agency and enter local and global discourses on oppression, marginalization, and all societal ills that plague people every day.

"Rap" Up

What has been neglected to get adequate coverage in this writing as well as the article's reviewed here is how 'coloured' as an identity is not opposed by everyone who falls into the racial category. In some ways people have taken the identity classification and embraced it, they have built their identities by empowering and condoning being 'coloured.' Using Black Consciousness and rejecting everything apartheid is not the only way people of 'colour' empower themselves and build identities with self-representation. In Hip Hop obviously embracing Black Consciousness has become popular but it is not the only way. The diversity and complexities of pinning down a 'coloured' identity lends space for multiple interpretations and uses. In this paper there is not enough time to explore how all Hip Hoppers build identity in different ways but the literature review here stands as a starting point to understanding Capetonian rap and the bigger Hip Hop scene and its ability to open space for marginalized groups to come into dialogue with main stream discourses in order to create social change.

Unfortunately, much of rap music in Cape Town today has become absorbed into negative portrayals of hyper-masculine, hyper-violent, and hyper-criminal representations of day to day life. To say all rap in nature is political because it brings marginalized and silenced voices into dialogue with popular discussions is true. What is also true is that negative and inhumane practices of oppression must be adamantly opposed and fought against. The Hip Hop Movement has the inclusive ability to bring all marginalized people empowerment through self-representation but if the path of popular rap is continued down, in which negative practices are heroicized, Hip Hop faces the threat of falling through the cracks, of becoming a demonized and forgotten art form which held all the potential to create a different world for everyone. This paper is to be situated against these main stream forms of Hip Hop yet in the Hip Hop Movement as a type of subversion, critique and way of building and spreading knowledge. The Hip Hop Movement holds plenty of space for music and academics alike to play a role in spreading knowledge and fighting for a better world. Here in Cape Town local artists and academics are carrying the torch in spite of hyper-commodification of rap music.

'Coloured' identity, diverse and complex as it is, has continually been limited to narrow colonial interpretations and narratives and relegated people to the margins of South African society. Even after the end of apartheid and the creation of 'democracy' people of 'colour' live on the margins, their voices barely heard in political and social discourses and their identities invisible to the greater nation; subsumed under the dominant narrative of being of 'mixed race.' Hip Hop has created a forum, a space, a seat and a mic for people of 'colour' to politicize their lives on the margins. Through Black Consciousness and the rejection of the term 'coloured' which is an apartheid created classification based on racial inferiority, rappers build empowering identities and always question discourses that support power structures that limit people to the margins of society. In talking of their marginalized

lives they come into contact with dominant discourses of power and begin to question them. In this, the rap is politicked and highlights the shortcomings of the South African democracy. More importantly, and what is approached in the rest of the study, is the way powerful identities are being constructed in spite of the classification 'coloured' the Cape Town's Hip Hop scene. Identities beyond Black Consciousness and beyond 'coloured.' Self-defined and empowering identities which are the core of major social change; which is vital in the radically humanist fight towards a multicultural and inclusive globalised world.

Methodology

My primary methods of collecting information for my research project was through one-on-one interviews, reviewing literature surrounding the topic, and general interactions with people on a daily basis. All played an integral role in the knowledge that was gathered and was handled with the utmost ethicality and open understanding. What is also important is the amount of reflexivity or fluidity of all methods. Never did I go in with a strict structure or solidified goal in mind. I allowed my interviews, my sources, and my interactions to guide me to my findings and to innately develop my understanding of Hip Hop in Cape Town and its importance within 'coloured' communities.

Each of my three interviews took place in a neutral setting. Emile Jensen and I met at a local coffee shop in Muizenberg. Garlic Brown and I met at the bus station in Stellenbosch and walked around for a while before hanging in the local gardens for our more formal conversation. Sabelo Mkhabela and I met at Bush radio upon Andy Mkosi's request. She stated that this was the most convenient and comfortable spot to meet.

For my one-on-one interviews I wrote out some specific questions (See appendix) as a sort of guide line through what I am wont to call *our* conversation, not *my* interviews. These questions worked as a starting point and in no way dictated the flow of the conversation or

were necessarily used for every interview. I let the flow of our conversations dictate what was to be asked and often times very few questions were asked, instead, me and the participants had a dialogue going, understanding each other and developing intellectual conversations on my topic. Our conversations ranged from thirty minutes to an hour in which I recorded them and wrote notes after asking if this was acceptable to them. Apart from the more formal time in which we were recording the participants and I had conversations about anything in which was relevant to talk about. This helped in both of us becoming more comfortable and being more willing to talk about important issues.

Ethical Reflexivity

Throughout the process of this project as a whole ethical reflexivity was vital. In the forefront is the importance of situating myself in context to the study, I am a white, middle-class American who is a fan of Hip Hop myself. In being a fan I obviously already have biases and certain opinions about the questions in my project. To the best of my ability I have tried to not let any of this filter what I am receiving from any participants in this project. The fact that I am a white man researching Hip Hop may very well influence some of what my participant decide or decide not to share with me. This fact should not be ignored and I did my best in during the interviews and other work to keep this dynamic in mind.

Also, I always allowed the people who participated in my project the right to leave or not answer any question I was asking at any time. I let them know I was not trying to take knowledge from them but be a co-creator of knowledge in a discussion. In this I let them know they had all rights to be kept anonymous and I would in no way expose things they told me that would jeopardize their wellbeing. To ensure a duality of trust I tried to share things

with them that were intimate to me in order to develop a relationship that was not all take, but reciprocal in nature.

On top of this, in order to retain the integrity of the participants in this project everything written herein is transcribed to the best of my ability, the information I retained from the interviews is placed in this paper in a way as to try my best to reflect and expose the participants thoughts and points they were trying to get across. In no way does this work try and reflect what 'I' wanted to find from the participants. I have done my best in respect to them, to try and allow what I have received from them to guide the writings.

Participant Introductions

Emile "YX?" Jansen

Emile is 46 and has been involved in Hip Hop since the early 1980's. He grew up in the Cape Flats and is a member of the historical Hip Hop group Black Noise. He continues to be an influential figure within the Hip Hop scene in South Africa and travels around the world as he continues to live Hip Hop, mentoring youth and teaching them the true roots of Hip Hop and spreading all five elements of Hip Hop.

Garlic Brown

Garlic Brown is a Hip Hop artist who was a member of Brasse Vannie Kaap (BVK) before they separated. He has been influential within the Hip Hop scene in South Africa ever since and is now a solo artist. He has multiple stage names including Judah, Knoffel Bruin, Vulgar Tongue, and more.

Sabelo Mkhabela

Sabelo is the co-host of the Hip Hop show Headwarmers which airs on the Cape Town Bush Radio. He has been influenced by Hip Hop for his entire life and lived in Swaziland before moving to Cape Town.

Findings and Analysis

Through my interviews and copious review of multiple areas of literature I have found Hip Hop in South Africa to be very much localized. In order to fully understand how Hip Hop provides a forum for identity to be built I have found it is important to understand what Hip Hop is as a culture, and what Hip Hop is specifically in Cape Town through the eyes of artists and other individuals intimately involved in the space. This is what will be exposed in this section. I will show what I have found through my research methods, I will show what Hip Hop is to local Capetonian's, how it is a forum to build identity which, in turn, debunks notions of Hip Hop being a perpetrator of cultural imperialism, and finally moving into how Cape Town's, for lack of a better descriptor, 'coloured' Hip Hop scene as a micro movement in the larger and globalised macro Hip Hop Movement.

What is Hip Hop?

Hip Hop is much more than rap music. Although rap music is the most recognised aspect of Hip Hop it is only a piece of the larger whole, an intricate one, yes, but not all. Hip Hop is a culture, it is composed of five core elements, emceeing or femceeing, Breaking (B-Boys and B-Girls), Graffiti, DJing, and Knowledge of Self (Chang, 2005). There is arguably more today with the mass of academic material accumulating but that is not the point of this study to interrogate. However, these five elements all play a vital role in Hip Hop as a whole and are very much localized in their prevalence. Obviously, in this study rap music is the

main element being analysed and exposed, but the people who participated in this study are

not only emcees, they are Hip Hop. Hip Hop as a whole with all five of its elements have

played major roles in their lives in South Africa, and specifically Cape Town, respectively.

In South Africa, unlike in America, breaking was the first major element to take hold

(personal communication, November 17, 2014). Because of apartheid and the systematic

oppression of 'coloured' people, economic prosperity was and is obviously not common.

Therefore breaking, which only takes a body to move and no money to be able to afford all

the electronics and relatively new technology at the time to be able to DJ, was the most

common element of Hip Hop. Emile YX? delves deeper into this with his own experiences as

he says "I started B-Boying or breakdancing in 1982. B-Boying was the first thing to arrive

here, right. DJing you need cash, really. Not only for the vinyl's but for the turntables, the

mixers, the sound systems. DJing wasn't there and still isn't really there" (personal

communication, November 17, 2014). Garlic Brown reiterated what Emile said when he told

me how he started B-Boying before he switched to rapping, or emceeing. When talking about

this part of his career he said "We had nothing, and we had to create something out of

nothing. I had to learn what it means to be a break dancer" (personal communication,

November 20, 2014). Both Emile and Brown show how Hip Hop is far more than the rap

music that everyone hears on the radio. Through B-Boying they found alternative means of

expression, they found a forum in which they could be themselves and "create" what they

wanted. Both artists are exposing the history of Hip Hop in South Africa and how it is not a

history one can read in a text book, but one that must be understood from the multiple

perspectives and experiences that lived it.

From its inception in the States Emceeing was never the primary element of Hip Hop;

the performances, or block parties, consisted of all the elements. Chang (2005), in his work

Can't Stop Won't Stop: A History of the Hip Hop Generation, moves to show the multiple

forces within the Hip Hop Movement: rap, graffiti, breaking, DJing, and knowledge. He uncovers how the Hip Hop Movement is more than rap music, it is a cultural expression through art which the youth in the Bronx embraced and brought to heights never imagined. From Public Enemies breakthrough album "It Takes a Nation of Millions to Hold Us Back," to Ice Cube's "Death Certificate," Chang shows how artists used the medium of rap to promote "Black collectivity" (p. 252) and the notion that African Americans must "unite or perish" (p. 343). In conjunction with Chang, it is easy to see how Hip Hop in South Africa is very similar. Artists like Garlic Brown and Emile both used the art form in its totality to express themselves, to talk about their lives and to expose the poignancy and power of Hip Hop as a culture. Emile explained in depth how even today he relies on all the elements of Hip Hop in his performances and in the performances he mentors. When talking to Emile about Hip Hop and its role in his life he said "It was about more than our (Black Noise's) songs, it was about our performances." This is to say that Hip Hop historically in Cape Town was more than just Emceeing, it was the totality of DJing, Breaking, Graffiti, Emceeing, and gaining knowledge.

To understand Hip Hop it is important to recognise and privilege the fact that it was born in the margins of American society. Hip Hop in its every aspect was political, from demanding physical space and ones presence through breaking and graffiti to publicly voicing frustrations and experiences through rap, every act was one of political contestation to the status quo of white domination. Hip Hop and rap music were informed and matriculated from the lives, loves, and loses of oppressed people (Rabaka, 2013). To better understand this it is beneficial to look at Tricia Rose's (1994) *Black Noise: Rap Music in Contemporary America* which captures the Hip Hop Movement as a complex "cultural expression" that comes from the margins of society, and which concentrates on "social, cultural, and political issues" (p. 2). Rose builds Hip Hop, like others, as more than rap

music, she claims it is a space where societal issues take forefront and multiple voices have

an ability to conjoin and create change. To do this though, Hip Hop and rap music must be

analysed and concentrated on; to really get the meaning of Hip Hop you have to understand

the context in which it is in. As Garlic Brown expands, "Hip Hop was one of the cornerstones

that allowed my mind to open up to also realize that I need to elevate not only my conscious

mind but my spirituality. Hip Hop became a way of life for me. Hip Hop is not religion. Hip

is a state of being. Its knowledge" (personal communication, November 20, 2014). As is the

case in America, Hip Hop in South Africa also formed on the margins, in the townships and

slums of South Africa, and with the people that were gruesomely oppressed under the

apartheid regime.

Brown, growing up in Mitchells plain, a 'coloured' township in the Cape Flats which

is a vivid reminder of apartheid and its residual effects, reflected on how he did not want to

become involved in gang life and crime. In this decision he found Hip Hop as a way out. He

found the inclusive space where he could present himself no holds barred. Hip Hop became

an avenue, a forum where he could grapple with his life, with himself, therefore gaining

knowledge of himself and finding empowerment through the introspection (personal

communication, November 20, 2014). Connecting Brown's history to Rose's (1994) analyses

of Hip Hop it can be understood that Brown used Hip Hop as a "cultural expression" in

which he, as a marginalized individual in greater South African society, could express his

experiences and feelings. In turn, these expression were political in that his life as a

marginalized member of society took the forefront and subverted power structures of white

domination in that his voice was privileged (Rose, 1994). Brown could write, move, and

speak how he wanted and still wants through the forum and space of Hip Hop.

To better understand the history of Hip Hop in Cape Town and it is vital to look at

Adam Haupt (2008), who is a professor and Hip Hop activist as the University of Cape Town

(UCT), and his book where he writes "Cape-based hip-hop during the 1990's issued challenges to neo-colonial discourses, such as apartheid, in its exploration of the politics of identity, history and location…" (p. 184). Brown and Emile, as breakers and emcees during the 90's and into today, challenge "neo-colonial" discourses with their art. Apartheid relegated people classified as 'coloured' to the margins of society; it removed them from popular discourse in that their skin, their bodies became markers of their marginality and lack of a role in popular discourses. With Hip Hop, which was rapidly becoming more and more popular during the 90's and found space within the public sphere, both Emile with Black Noise and Brown with BVK positioned themselves within popular discourses in which they would have not had access to under the apartheid regime (Haupt, 2008). Their art may have not directly focused on the politics of apartheid but their mere presence made their acts political and in this politicking they became, as Haupt (2008) ingeniously writes, "organic cultural intellectuals" who "contributed to the development of South Africa…" (p. 184).

In the space of popular discourse and through rap and their mere physical presence, both artists subverted the power structures of South Africa. Through this they were granted a space, they were granted an arena to build an empowering and self-defined identity, whatever that may be. Sticking to the Hip Hop element of knowledge of self both artists began to develop knowledge that was not dictated by popular discourses which oppressed and demonized the color of their skin. They took the tool of identity into their own hands, in the face of power structures, and began to develop empowering identities. They did this in a time when the country was shifting, in the time of a developing democracy and in this they were vital players not only in the history of South Africa, but in the development of empowering national identities.

Politics of Identity

As can be seen, 'coloured' cannot be captured into a static definition or a single culture or identity. It can be argued that many different cultures, many different values, beliefs, and histories make up what apartheid deemed 'coloured' people (Adhikari, 2005). To talk about the identity of 'coloured' in the singular is to blatantly fall into a colonial or neo-colonial rhetorical and physical cycle of oppression, disenfranchisement, and marginalisation. The truth is, as can be seen earlier in the Literature Review with Black Consciousness, is that since the rise of democracy in the early 1990's and the dismantling of the apartheid regime many different people who were classified as 'coloured' began to revaluate the racial classification in terms of their own identity and began to realign with more empowering and self-defined identities. To begin to understand the power of this move from within 'coloured' communities it is important to construct a working definition of identities and how they function as empowering in a racialized, segregated, and unequal society like South Africa.

Before beginning to deconstruct and reconstruct identity in the context of South African individuals and communities that were deemed 'coloured' under apartheid, first it must be understood that identity is often premised on differences. More succinctly put "cultural differences among groups are socially constructed" (Bernstein, 2005, p. 50). This is to say that different, may I say races and cultures, are socially constructed as different. When examining the history of South Africa before and during apartheid, identity was most often based around race which dictated life opportunities and economic access. During apartheid it was put into law, so strict was it that individuals had to carry "dom passes," which were passport like identity cards that classified which race an individual was and which area they were supposed to be in (Bickford-Smith, 1995). At the transition to democracy in the early 1990's a multicultural and humanist ethic was implemented into the country, at least rhetorically. The shift and ethos of the time can be explained as "identity groups" started to

advocate "for recognition of and respect for their cultural differences" which was a derivative

of "their distinct group identities" (Bernstein, 2005, p. 50). This is to say that after apartheid

and the fall of the regime individuals, groups, and communities started advocating for

powerful and recognized racial identities. The country wanted to move toward an inclusive

multicultural space after the gruesome affront of human rights that was apartheid.

Unfortunately, as Strelitz (2004) puts it, South Africa "remains a deeply divided society.

Despite the transition to democracy that followed the elections in 1994, the social effects of

apartheid are very much still in evidence" (p. 630). This can be seen when traveling through

Cape Town, from the suburbs to the townships, from rural to urban, segregation and

racialized mindsets are still very much a part of South Africa. As Emile YX? explicitly puts it

"The reality of the country is the reality of the country. Although we think race is bullshit,

this is how it is" (personal communication, November 17, 2014).

G'rap'pling With 'Coloured' Identity

In South Africa's transition to a democracy and inclusive, multicultural, multilingual,

and overall humanist state, Hip Hop was a major forum in which identity took center stage

and individuals and communities began to advocate empowering and self-defined identities.

Identities began to be explored, personal histories uncovered, and ancestral empowerment

utilized. As discussed earlier, many 'coloured' Hip Hop artists evoked Black Consciousness

as a form of empowerment. They began to refer to themselves as black, not as the color of

their skin, but as an inclusive term for all oppressed and marginalized people (Marco, n.d.).

When speaking to Emile YX? about his implementation of Black Consciousness in his and

Black Noise's music he remarked "A lot of the songs were about our blackness. We were

extremely angry about apartheid and the lack of education. Then we started localizing our

situation. We understood all the black consciousness information" (personal communication,

November 17, 2014). In other words, the residual effects and animosity still prevalent in

communities after the fall of apartheid opened an area where all people who were oppressed under apartheid wanted to join up and fight the struggle together. The ability to define one's self moves away from colonial narratives which devise and ascribe identities to people deemed inferior. This is exactly what apartheid did and this is exactly the structure that Emile and Black Noise wanted to deconstruct through identifying as Black.

Unfortunately, Emile went on to explain, "When trying to push Black Consciousness a lot of people would be like, 'you're not talking to us, because we are not black.' Initially we were speaking to the majority of the cape flats youth, and they didn't understand what we meant" (personal communication, November 17, 2014). In other words, the rhetoric of Black Consciousness and the reality of apartheids racial classifications did not mix. Black, to the majority of youth and Hip Hop fans, meant black as in the color of one's skin. As Emile says and I reiterate, many Hip Hop fans that aligned and identified with Hip Hop culture could not align with Black Consciousness because they still considered themselves 'coloured' (personal communication, November 17, 2014). The reasons for this I have already discussed earlier and this is only one more example of the deep residual scares left by apartheid. The key that should be noted here is that artist like Emile, as well as Garlic Brown with BVK, Prophets of da City (POC), and others now had the freedom, the social access to self-identify and this is a form of power in a country which previously strictly prohibited it. This also exemplifies knowledge of self, a core component of Hip Hop culture, and how it was playing out in Cape Town in order to develop empowering identities post-apartheid.

In progression of this, when I asked both Emile and Garlic Brown how they racially identified they both said that they do not. Instead Emile went on to tell me about how he teaches "his kids" about their roots as Khoisan. He teaches them about the Khoisan as the first people not only in South Africa but in the world (personal communication, November 17, 2014). Similarly, when I asked Garlic Brown he went on to tell me the history of Cape

Town and the first Dutch ships that came into contact with the cape (personal communication, November 20, 2014). Both artists had the freedom, the power, and the accessibility to identify any way they deemed fit. What was at work here was their ability to deconstruct the histories and South African racial stereotypes and reconstruct their own identity in a way that is empowering and self-definitive. As Mitchell exposes "Hip-hop… has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity…" (as qtd in Haupt, 2003). Both Emile and Brown use Hip Hop in their lives in order to "rework" their "local identity." They are granted the privilege to subvert colonial discourses of racialized and whitewashed histories in order to find empowerment in self-identifying and exploring alternative histories; histories they then propagate through their art to wider audiences.

On top of this both artist often rap in Afrikaaps which is a Cape Flats dialect of Afrikaans. In doing so they propagate the language to a wider audience. When I asked Sabelo what he thought about rapping in Afrikaaps he expressed how he loved it (personal communication, November 28, 2014). On top of this, Emile illuminated how he often uses Afrikaaps in a political way and it also allows him to reach a wider audience (personal communication, November 17, 2014). On a similar note, Garlic Brown exposed part of the wider history of Afrikaans as a language and Afrikaaps in specific when he said "We made our Afrikaans in order to fool, you know, the slave masters. So they couldn't pick up on what we were saying. Because we had to make certain plans and we had to get shit done" (personal communication, November 20, 2014). Compiling both Emile's use of Afrikaaps and Brown's History of it is easy to begin to see how the use of the language, which is localised to the Cape Flats and the Cape Flats only, empowers not only the artist who are from there but also fans alike who listen and absorb the music. In using Afrikaaps these artist empower their own language and subvert popular discourses which deem the Cape Flats and its language as

inferior. These artist empower their language, they use it to develop their own identities and to connect with other people on an intimate level.

Since the end of apartheid many different people who were classified as 'coloured' have found Hip Hop as a space where they can revaluate this classification in terms of their own histories; in terms of their own personal identities and languages which is explicitly at work here with both Emile and Brown. As Garlic Brown insightfully told me that Hip Hop gives people the ability "to be who you want to be. You are the master of your own identity" (personal communication, November 20, 2014). These words echo through the roots of Hip Hop, they exemplify the power of Hip Hop and its ability to be a space where empowering identities are formed. The fact that both BVK and Black Noise aligned as Black in the earlier stages of their carriers and have more recently shifted to uncovering different aspects of their identities as in being Khoisan or something else shows the fluidity of Hip Hop; it shows the malleability of Hip Hop as a space which grants people who have been marginalized to be able to find their own identities and to build an empowering voice which historically was silenced or deleted. Both of these artists are not leaving their roots behind and claiming an American Hip Hop identity. No, Hip Hop has alternatively just granted them a space to build their own localized identity; it has granted them a voice (or mic) and a spotlight to deconstruct and reconstruct what they see as themselves.

Hip Hop Imperialism

The debate around Hip Hop and rap music as a type of American Imperialism is a contested and highly provocative one. As Pritchard (2009) writes "Previous studies of Americanisation or cultural imperialism have often been framed within simplistic concepts where global capitalism is seen to overwhelm local experience, causing the destruction of local cultures" (p. 51). Is American Hip Hop actually taking over local music forms, cultural styles, as in dress and other material markers, and other forms of traditional South African

culture? To ask this question is to ignore the intricacies of rap music, Hip Hop, and the multicultural make-up of South Africa. It is to ignore the inclusive and localized nature of Hip Hop and rap music, how it is a music born from local experiences and represents these specific experiences to the wider world; it is to ignore the many different cultures that make-up South African society. Although Hip Hop was born in America many different cultures from all over the world are identifying some features of it as elements of their own cultures which shows not how Hip Hop is a form of cultural imperialism but how many people from all over the globe, especially here in South Africa, disassemble and reassemble Hip Hop to make it something of their own (Alim, Ibrahim, & Pennycook, 2009). This project focuses on 'coloured' identities, and as can be seen from the previous section, the classification 'coloured' more or less captures many different experiences, cultures, and identities and lumps them under one heading. To say that Hip Hop has Americanized these cultures is a blatant disregard of the mere content and objective of local rap music and how it has be claimed by local cultures.

Rather than look at rap music and Hip Hop as being birthed in a homogenous American societal context it is important to understand the intricacies of how and where Hip Hop found its roots and began its critique of dominant power structures. Piggybacking what Pritchard (2009) insightfully writes, "We need to recognise that an unfortunate implication of utilising the term 'Americanisation'…say what you like about America, you cannot accuse it of being a homogenous place; it is a place of extremes and there is a great variety of cultures and ideas, and hip-hop is not excluded from this" (p. 52). This is too say that Hip Hop and rap music is not homogenous; it is not created by people who are all the same, live the same experiences, and talk about the same things in music. Hip Hop, like American and South African societies, is very heterogeneous and relies very much on locality and personal experience. In conjunction with this line of though, it is easy to see how artists like Emile

YX? with Black Noise and Garlic Brown as a solo artist and as a member of BVK may be influenced by American Hip Hop because it was created there and spread to South Africa but to say that American Hip Hop has extinguished and washed away South African culture would be to take these artists out of their lived experiences and context and to discredit their work.

Emile and Garlic's works revolve around their lived realities in South Africa and so it would be misguided to say Hip Hop is an agent of cultural imperialism. Bennett as quoted in Pritchard (2009) puts it more accurately when he writes "perhaps because of its street cultural, and largely improvised origin, rap appears to be particularly conducive to the process of cultural reterritorialization" (p. 51). This is to say that instead of looking at American forms of Hip Hop as agents of imperialism which erase local cultures, it would be more precise to see Hip Hop has as a forum in which localized or "territorial" experiences can be exposed, engaged, and analyzed. In this we can begin to see the work of Capetonian artist like Emile and Garlic as fitting into the trend of Hip Hop as a culture, yet talking about and exposing issues or experiences that are prevalent in South African and Cape Town society. This is more easily understood when you look at when Emile told me "A lot of Hip Hop back then was about copying what you saw, reproducing what you saw, and then creating your own thing" (personal communication, November 17, 2014). What is seen from this quote is how American forms of Hip Hop were seen and used by local artist in South Africa yet they took these things and spun them into something localised, spun them into their "own thing." In this, American forms of Hip Hop were not erasing local cultures but creating a space where these cultures can be grappled with and exposed through a popular forum.

Local Capetonian forms of Hip Hop therefore were not just imitation of American forms of Hip Hop. It is not wrong here to argue that there needs to be a distinction made between certain forms of Hip Hop though. As Haupt (2003) writes:

> …hip-hop's continued appeal across the globe cannot simply be ascribed to American imperialism – such a response would be too simplistic. Firstly, a distinction needs to be made between hip-hop and its more commercial spin-off, gangsta rap. A key aspect that informs what is often termed 'conscious' hip-hop is the concept of knowledge of self, which alludes to the idea that subjects need to achieve a significant level of self-awareness through a process of introspection so that they may engage critically with their reality (p. 4).

This is to say that some forms of local Capetonian Hip Hop which is consumed by negative forms of 'gangsta' or 'commercial' rap which focus and perpetuate social ills of misogyny, hyper-violence, hyper masculinity, and other negative aspects of modern societies may be more influenced by American forms of Hip Hop. It would not be far from the truth here to say that these local forms of rap music are not agents in erasing local cultures through cultural imperialism, but more accurately are perpetuating in the spread of negative racial stereotypes and other social ills. On the other hand, artists like Emile and Garlic who may not fall strictly under the category of 'conscious' rap, nevertheless are more localized in there rhymes, in their use of rap music and Hip Hop culture than other artists. This is blazingly clear when one listens to local rap stations. There is a seemingly over dependency to play 'pop' rap rather than critically engaged and more 'underground' forms of rap music.

To unpack this line of though further and to develop an understanding of local forms of 'commercial' rap and local forms of 'conscious' rap Sabelo's thoughts are ingenious when he told me that he didn't necessarily believe in the term 'conscious' rap. He expanded on this when he said "I'm not necessarily a fan of the term conscious Hip Hop because the

money and the women could be an example of what is happening in a person's life." He went

on to give an example of Reason, a local rapper who has moved from the underground scene

and is now in the commercial scene, and with this has transitioned to talking more about

money and fame (personal communication, November 28, 2014). This is to say that, if Hip

Hop finds power in exposing peoples lived realities, then the realities of money and fame

need to be talked about and respected just as much as the music that talks about oppression

and marginalization. With the term 'conscious' rap there seems to be a stigma surrounding it

that says all forms of 'conscious' rap must talk about politics. Emile told me that around the

time that Black Noise was beginning they were not concentrated on being political. He said

"We didn't necessarily want to rhyme about the political situation, Black Noise. We

understood the commercial industry for what it was. We just wanted to create a sound that

didn't exist" (personal communication, November 17, 2014). Emile's work therefore may not

have been put under the category of 'conscious' rap. The truth is, though, that Black Noise

and Emile also do not fall under the category of 'commercial' rap. What can be seen is the

limitations both of these headings put on forms of rap music. Although Emile may not have

started as being political, his work still exposes and engages forms of identity in South Africa

and disseminates knowledge to children in ways that don't perpetuate neo-colonialism.

What is important to note here is that commercialized forms of Hip Hop and rap

music may not be the perpetrators of cultural imperialism that so many have set out to argue

it is. In no way am I saying that the messages of 'commercial' or 'gangsta' rap which focus

on hyper masculinity, violence, gun toting, and misogyny should be overlooked in there

perpetuation of these social ills. What I am arguing through the conversations I had with

Emile and Sabelo is that Hip Hop is about ones lived realities and that all realities, opinions,

and personal narratives should be considered and looked at. American forms of 'commercial'

rap and Hip Hop are not enacting cultural imperialism, they are not erasing local cultures.

What I am saying in conjunction with my conversations is that Hip Hop is a forum, a space, for people to voice their realities. Hip Hop, as Bennett says in Pritchard's (2009) article, is more of a forum for "cultural reterritorialization," in that localized issues and realities find a space to be exposed and disseminated to the wider audience; Hip Hop creates an avenue and venue for people on the margins to come into contact with popular discourses and therefore subvert the power structures that relegate these individuals to the margins (Rose, 1994).

The Hip Hop Movement

Trying to pin the Hip Hop Movement down and place a definition on it is a challenging objective which may never be complete. Hip Hop is not focused on one goal, one outcome, or one change; the Hip Hop Movement is broad, far reaching, and a forum for social and political debates and protests to take place on a national and even international scale. Continually forms of rap music have been "whitewashed" and corporatized like many other forms of music but at its core with conscious, underground, and political rap, Hip Hop continues, and I am wont to say may continue, its trend of inclusiveness and subversion of systems of oppression and inequality in order to change the landscape of colonization and imperialism; in order to bring the "wretched of the earth" to the forefront of social and political debates and to discontinue the lasting ripple effects and systems of apartheid and overall oppression of people globally (Rabaka, 2013).

In order to contextualize and understand what it is when Hip Hop scholars refer to the Hip Hop Movement it is important to look at Dr. Rabaka (2013) who judiciously lays out the Hip Hop Movement as "*simultaneously a multicultural, multiracial, multinational, multilingual, multireligious, and extremely multi-issue musical and sociopolitical macro movement composed of several often seemingly uncoordinated micro-movements*" (p. 327). This is to say that The Hip Hop Movement is a global "*musical and sociopolitical*"

movement that is composed of smaller "*micro-movements*" of which we can situate local Capetonian 'coloured' Hip Hop as one. On this line of logic it can be seen that local Capetonian Hip Hop and rap music form a micro-movement that engages localised issues that are central to the lives of people based in Cape Town.

What can be inferred from The Hip Hop Movement when it is understood how it is a multi-issue movement is that it is an inclusive and seemingly hyper-visible space due to the reality that it has become commoditized and globalised unprecedented to any other form of music or culture in time memorial. As Katy Khan (2010) puts it "Hip hop music of South Africa encourages the artists and the audience to become more aware of the many perspectives in the world that contradict, complement, affirm, negate, and confirm their views of life" (p. 159) This can be seen more clearly when we put into play Emile Jensen's account of when he went to an African Hip Hop Summit years ago. He told me he was sceptical of going at first but in the end decided to go. He went into detail on how inspirational it was to see Hip Hop artist from all over coming to one place, people that shared knowledge of Hip Hop and people that all were intricately involved with Hip Hop as a way of life (personal communication, November 17, 2014). What can be seen here is intercultural dialogue being developed with in The Hip Hop Movement. South African raptivists (rapper activists) and other global artist are coming together, are creating a popular discourse surrounding people on the margins, people who have historically and continually been oppressed.

As Mitchell exposes in her ingenious and influential words "Hip-hop and rap cannot be viewed simply as an expression of African American culture; it has become a vehicle for global youth affiliations and a tool for reworking local identity all over the world" (as qtd in Haupt, 2003). Reiterating and expanding on this line of logic is Garlic Browns words "all the underground cats from around the world are connecting" (personal communication,

November 20, 2014). What is at work here is the fact that Hip Hop has become a space, a forum for people across the globe to build identity and to connect with each other. The Hip Hop Movement and the numerous micro-movement's it is composed of have created intercultural, international, interlingual, intergenerational, and many more cross-barrier dialogues to open up. Hip Hop as a sociopolitical movement has brought the lives of marginalized people to the forefront of humanist debates, it has created a platform unprecedented in world history for oppressed people to come into contact with popular discourses and arguably, not only subvert, but create from scratch a discourse that is all at once "*multicultural, multiracial, multinational, multilingual, multireligious, and extremely multi-issue*" (Rabaka, 2013, p. 327). In this inclusivity and broad space there is room for so much more than DJing, emceeing, breaking, graffiti, and knowledge of self. There is room for academics, theatre, video production and much more. There is already an abundance of material that has accumulated around the study and analyses of the Hip Hop Movement. The question is where will we as Hip Hoppers take it?

Recommendations for Further Study

This project could be developed further in numerous ways, of which there are to many to not. One of the most important and I am want to say needed ways to further this study, would be to look at the role of women. As should be clear, there is a major absence of the female voice in my project as a whole. To get a more grounded and in depth understanding of Hip Hop as a whole in Cape Town and how it helps build identity one could focus on studying women's perspective only and how they situate themselves within Hip Hop. This would be invaluable to the field of Hip Hop, Hip Hop studies, and academia in general. Too often and for too long have the voices of women been oppressed and silenced. Hip Hop is a

space for the marginalised to find a footing, a light, and a voice and to research how this works for women would be integral to all studies surrounding Hip Hop in Cape Town.

Conclusion

Hip Hop in South Africa has taken the battle for liberation, the battle for recognition, multiculturalism, and human rights to new heights, heights unimaginable. What this project has uncovered through a copious review of all things Hip Hop in Cape Town is how it is a space for individuals, communities, societies, and nations to come into dialogue. I have found and uncovered the history of Hip Hop to be a powerful one, one of inclusion and multicultural ethics. Hip Hop is a space that allows local identities to be formed, nurtured, and empowered through all five elements. The local culture is not one that is identical to that of America. It is a culture that has connections but is localized, a forum where Capetonian issues and problems come to the forefront and are grappled with. It is a space where the apartheid classification of 'coloured' can be deconstructed and reconstructed and individuals can find empowerment through this process. I have found through artists and literature that the racial category of 'coloured' is no longer a form of oppression, people align and identify with it as they see fit, and use it as empowering or realign themselves elsewhere on their own terms.

Hip Hop in Cape Town is not a type of American imperialism, it is simply a space for people to battle with their own identities, their own histories and to evaluate them in a public sphere that directly contrast that of popular colonial discourses that oppress; despite 'commercial' forms of rap music that hinder this process. Capetonian Hip Hop falls in line with the roots of Hip Hop and, in turn, can be situated in the global Hip Hop Movement. This is also where this project is situated. It continues the trend of Hip Hop in subverting popular discourses. Too often is Hip Hop seen as vulgar and demonized as is the trend with anything that is born on the margins. This has become an increasing trend in South Africa with the

massive influx of 'commercial' forms of American rap music and local artist's transition into a more 'commercial' style of Hip Hop and rap music. This project tries to subvert this trend, it is true that many forms of South African rap have fallen in line with 'commercial' types of rap music but too often is the role of research to look at the negatives of this. Here is an attempt to show how Hip Hop in South Africa is still a space where social issues take to the forefront and empowering identities can be formed.

The only question that remains is where Hip Hop in Cape Town will go from here? I do not condone any type of propaganda of negative social values such as hyper-violence, hyper-masculinity, misogyny, sexism, racism, and many more, but all type of narratives need to be looked at and considered. As a radical humanist it is vital to put all things on an equal playing field and critique them all in a way that is conducive to inclusivity and societal growth. Hip Hop in South Africa stands at a crossroads with unlimited possibility to be a space for change, a space for empowerment, and a space where all silenced and invisible people on the margins of society can find a voice and spotlight to express themselves, to express there experiences, loves, loses, and realities. This projects stand as a shout out to all artists and fans to evaluate the power of Hip Hop; to think about the power that is in their hands and to take it to heights unimaginable.

Appendix

1. Please state your name, where you are from, your age, and other general information.
2. How do you racially identify?
3. How long have you been rapping, DJing, breaking, grafitting, or in general been living Hip Hop?
4. What do you know and how do you construct the history of Hip Hop in general and specifically here in Cape Town?
5. How has SA Hip Hop been used for social change and upliftment?
6. How has it been used for building identity? Can you explain this in the context of yourself?
7. How important do you think Hip Hop is in the lives of youth?
8. How important has it been in your life?
9. Do you or have you seen a change in local Hip Hop recently?
10. How much do you think SA Hip Hop has inherited from American Hip Hop and rap music?
11. Do you see potential in Hip Hop as being a global culture to create a more multicultural and inclusive world?
12. What do you think of the term "The Hip Hop Movement?" What does it mean to you?
13. What are your thoughts on Cultural imperialism?
14. How do you see 'conscious' or 'underground' rap functioning in the face of the booming 'commercial' and 'gangsta' rap market?
15. Do you have any general thoughts or inquiries you would like to express for the benefit of this project?

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